

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The main objective of this study was to determine whether there are synergies between biodiversity conservation and sustainable rural development of the communities adjacent to the Tsitsikamma National Park. This was done through documentary reviews as well as through field visits to the park and the adjacent communities. This first chapter gives a background to the research problem and the study area and outlines the objectives to be addressed. It includes an investigation into the history of the South African National Parks (SANParks) and the proclamation of the Tsitsikamma National Park against the backdrop of the apartheid regime of the time. This chapter also provides facts on the current status of community involvement and benefit sharing in the park. Chapter 2 puts conservation in South Africa and all its associated problems in the context of the influences of colonialism on conservation in Africa. Literature on the development of the concept of community involvement in conservation is reviewed. International concerns for community involvement in conservation, the evolution of the concept of sustainable development and how the two were married are also discussed.

Chapters 3, 4 and 5 contain the results obtained from the questionnaires which were administered in the four communities adjacent to the park: Coldstream, Covie, Storms River and Thornham. Community responses to biodiversity conservation in the Tsitsikamma National Park are presented in chapter 3. The discussion of these results — people's responses — is done by comparing the observed responses of the four communities with community perceptions and attitudes in other parks. Chapter 4 deals with the responses to benefit sharing, communication between the management of the park and the local communities, and community representation on the park management. It also probes the manner in which the communities regard the current communication between the park and the community representatives who were unilaterally chosen by the park. The results are discussed in a similar manner as in chapter 3. Respondents' views for overturning negative community perceptions of the park are reported and discussed in chapter 5.

The final chapter (chapter 6) makes recommendations to SANParks, the Tsitsikamma National Park and the communities on the paradigm shifts required to create synergies between sustainable rural development and biodiversity conservation in the Tsitsikamma area.

1.2 Basic concepts

Biodiversity can be defined as “the total number of species occupying a region, continent, or the entire planet”... and “the variety and variability among these species and the ecological complexes in which they occur” (Kramer & Von Shaik, 1997). Conservation is a much used term, its meanings ranging through a variety of contexts. In the African context, the view that has commonly identified conservation with the protection of species and habitats, with movements to preserve wildlife and wilderness, has given way to a broader discussion linking conservation to the process of rural development and the survival of agrarian societies in Africa (Anderson & Grove, 1987).

The definitions for sustainability and rural development are those that are used in the South African Government’s Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2000). This report states that sustainability is derived from increased local growth, where rural people care about success and are able to access resources to keep the strategy going. Conversely, rural development is multi-dimensional and much broader than poverty alleviation through social programmes and transfers. It places emphasis on changing environments to enable poor people to earn more, invest in themselves and their communities and contribute towards maintenance of key infrastructures. Sustainable rural development involves making people less poor, rather than more comfortable in their poverty.

Finally, there are many definitions used for local community. However, the definition of local community that is in the park’s management policy is the most suitable for this research project because it is the park’s involvement with local communities that is being evaluated. Local community means any community of people living in a distinct geographical area, and includes any such community that is a traditional community (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

1.3 Background to the study

International and national approaches to conservation have strived to harmonise conservation with social needs and the development agenda since the 1972-United Nations (UN) Conference on the Human Environment and the 1992-UN Conference on Environment and Development.

Consequently, the perception of a protected area has evolved. The aims of protected areas now include the sustainable use of natural resources, the preservation of ecosystem services and integration with broader social development processes, along with the core role of biodiversity conservation. More attention is now paid to respecting cultural values as essential associates of biodiversity and to the need to involve indigenous and local communities in management decisions

affecting themselves (IUCN, 2004). The main objective of this study is to determine the position of the South African National Parks and specifically that of the Tsitsikamma National Park in this process.

In the past, conservation areas in South Africa were largely established through enforcement and compulsory exclusion. The history of South African national parks was often characterised by conflict between the parks and neighbouring communities. The preservationist view that communities 'contaminate' natural wilderness, resulted in a rift between those who lived around national parks and those who were responsible for running the parks.

South African protected areas have come under increasing pressure to reconcile a wealth of natural resources with the acute social and economic needs of the black rural majority in the wake of apartheid. Demands for land reform, poverty alleviation and job creation have all had profound implications for the conservation and management of the nation's protected areas (Picard, 2003). In 1994, the post-apartheid government inherited 17 national parks, the flagship of which is the second oldest national park in the world, the Kruger National Park. This park can be traced back in history to 1898 when a small game sanctuary was established at Sabie. This sanctuary and the land added to it became the nucleus of the Kruger National Park, which was founded in 1926. The other national parks in South Africa are smaller, but constitute part of an attempt to develop the conservation of a representative sample of each of South Africa's diverse ecological systems (Cock & Fig, 2000). SANParks has also had a phenomenal expansion since 1994 (Mabunda, 2004a).

The National Parks Board has administered these parks since 1926. This name was used confusingly for the governing body of non-executive board members (technically, the Board of Curators) and the organisation as a whole. In 1996, the organisation was renamed the South African National Parks (SANParks), after a public competition was launched to propose a new name. The Minister of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism is the political head responsible for SANParks (Cock & Fig, 2000). Before 1994, board members were exclusively appointed from the ranks of white males who were generally closely aligned with Afrikaner nationalism. They developed close bonds with the Nationalist Government after 1948 (when the latter came to power) (Carruthers, 1995). This was also apparent in the proclamation of the Tsitsikamma National Park in 1964.

The creation and management of these protected areas clearly reflect the history of relations of power and privilege, which have shaped the South African society. Under apartheid the majority of South Africans were subjected to a double exclusion from the national parks: exclusion as consumers of the park's recreational and educational opportunities and exclusion from policy

formulation and decision-making. This adversarial relationship was exacerbated by the fact that communities often paid heavily for conservation due to a loss of land and a loss of access to natural resources. This also meant reduced economic opportunities, which in some cases led to further environmental degradation (Cock & Fig, 2000; Pelser, 2001).

Another trademark of the prevalent colonial philosophy of exclusion and domination of indigenous peoples was the fact that the proclamation of national parks in the past often went hand in hand with big social disruption in the form of the forcible removal of communities, often at gunpoint. Some of South Africa's most well-known parks, such as the Kruger National Park, the Pilansberg National Park and the Richtersveld National Park, have a history of forcible removal of human communities (Pelser, 2003). The only Africans allowed to remain in the Kruger National Park were low-paid labourers (Carruthers, 1995).

Furthermore, Cock (1993) adds that under apartheid, the Kruger National Park was used for a variety of military purposes to support the apartheid regime. This included the training of South African Defence Force soldiers, the covert supply of material to Renamo in Mozambique and even the launch of an attack on Frelimo troops in 1992 with chemical weapons. According to Cock & Fig (2000), there was no recognition of the labour of the thousands of black workers who made the national parks possible and devoted themselves to wildlife conservation. The organisation was dominated by conservationists who were exclusively concerned with preserving biodiversity, to the neglect of human needs and social issues. Consequently, overcrowded and degraded rural areas surrounded the parks. Overall, the parks reflected the worst aspects of colonial conservation (Carruthers, 1995). This led to tension and conflict between local communities and conservationists whilst poaching across park borders was the order of day (Pelser, 2001).

This reflected the culture of the white administration, which involved racist employment and housing practices. The colonial notion of pristine wilderness and human exclusion was sectional, and exacerbated national divisions along racial lines. Rather than being a means of nation building, the parks worked against national unity to reflect and maintain the privileges of the white minority. The Tsitsikamma National Park was no exception. Nevertheless, the former SANParks Chief Executive, Dr G. A. Robinson (previous manager of the Tsitsikamma National Park), had become sensitised to community issues. His personal commitment to community conservation is evident in the first community-owned contractual park, the Richtersveld National Park, in 1991. He saw the need to systematise community relations, and appointed a general manager for 'social ecology'. Thus, began the first systematic attempt to restore relations with the parks' rural neighbours (Cock & Fig, 2000).

Since the first democratic elections in 1994, SANParks has undergone major changes with regard to its philosophy, policy and organisational structure to reflect the new political, economic and social realities of South Africa. For example, a new Board of Curators was appointed in October 1995. Nine members were chosen by a subcommittee of the national cabinet through a process of public nomination, whilst a further nine members were nominated by provincial premiers. The board's term of office is three years and it is accountable for the overall performance of the organization. The board has delegated the day-to-day management of SANParks activities to the chief executive officer and his team of directors (executive managers) (Mabunda, 2004b). The board's transformation statement reads as follows:

South African National Parks is striving to transfer power and control of resources from the minority that had been appointed and privileged by an undemocratic system, to the majority that participates in the new democratic process. It is also directing the benefits of its activities to providing for all South Africans, rather than the wealthier and privileged sections of society (Cock & Fig, 2000).

SANParks is now committed to promoting a different concept of conservation that is linked to issues of development and the meeting of human needs. This concept implies a harmonious relationship between people and parks, and builds on traditional concepts of wilderness and wildlife in African indigenous cultures. The key to this new concept of conservation is that it attempts to link the protection of biodiversity to human benefits. The shift could be described as a movement away from the colonial model of conservation that focussed on preservation through exclusion of communities to an indigenous, community-based model of conservation, which focuses on human benefits and sustainable utilisation (Cock & Fig, 2000). This transformation was critical because close to 90% of all the official protected areas in South Africa also border on communal communities, or are situated in their close proximity (Els, 1996).

Consequently, the Social Ecology Unit was created in 1995 in order to facilitate positive relationships with local people living adjacent to national parks. A great deal of effort was invested in building the capacity of the Social Ecology Unit between 1997 and 1999 so that it could establish and service various community structures. However, these community structures became centres of conflict on issues of power and access to resources. Furthermore, SANParks' management marginalized the Social Ecology Programme, arguing that it did not fall within the organization's core functions. This resulted in frustrations and lack of well-defined paths for social ecologists, which led to a high staff turn-over and eventually a near collapse of the Social Ecology Programme (SANParks, 2005a).

The emphasis on *People and Parks* and *Benefits beyond Boundaries* at the World Summit (2002) and later at the 2003 World Parks Congress highlighted the important role, which SANParks could play with regard to issues around sustainable economic development. After several strategic workshops and the inputs of independent consultants, it was decided to create a directorate which would deal specifically with the people and parks interface. This new directorate, called People and Conservation, was established in August 2003. Its aim is to instil values of stewardship of the environment and raising awareness of conservation issues. The directorate concentrates its constituency building efforts on schools, communities around parks, employees and the general South African public (SANParks, 2005a).

1.3.1 Legal framework for community involvement in conservation

South Africa ratified the UN Conventions, particularly those developed for signature at the Earth Summit in 1992. These conventions strongly advocated a combination of government decentralisation and devolution to local communities of responsibility for natural resources (Lundy, 1999). South Africa was no exception. South Africa's existing environmental policy and legislation could be traced to these multilateral environmental agreements. It is noteworthy that the Constitution of South Africa promotes participatory, cooperative governance (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1996). According to the National Environmental Management Act of 1998, communities that live within or close to protected areas should be involved in making decisions for the management of these natural resources. This act also promotes sharing of benefits that arise from the management of protected areas between conservation agencies and local communities (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1998). Key principles of the act that encourage interactive involvement of local communities are outlined below:

- Equitable access to environmental resources, benefits and services to meet basic human needs and ensure human wellbeing must be pursued and special measures may be taken to ensure access thereto by categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination.
- The participation of all interested and affected parties in environmental governance must be promoted, and all people must have the opportunity to develop the understanding, skills and capacity necessary for achieving equitable and effective participation, and participation by vulnerable and disadvantaged persons must be ensured.

- Decisions must take into account the interests, needs and values of all interested and affected parties, and this includes recognising all forms of knowledge, including traditional and ordinary knowledge.
- Community wellbeing and empowerment must be promoted through environmental education, the raising of environmental awareness, the sharing of knowledge and experience and other appropriate means.
- The social, economic and environmental impacts of activities, including disadvantages and benefits, must be considered, assessed and evaluated, and decisions must be appropriate in the light of such consideration and assessment.

Community participation, including benefit sharing is also encouraged by the Protected Areas Act of 2003. For example, the act aims to promote sustainable utilisation of protected areas for the benefit of people. The act also seeks to promote the participation of local communities in the management of protected areas (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2003). Similarly, the National Forests Act of 1998 and the Biodiversity Act of 2004 support and encourage the same ethos for protected area management. Therefore, participatory, cooperative management and benefit sharing in South Africa are well institutionalised (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1998; 2004).


1.3.2 Tsitsikamma National Park policy and strategy for community participation

The park management operates within the context of the policies, planning and budgeting systems of SANParks, while recognizing the unique context of the park. The Tsitsikamma National Park management is subject to the relevant national policies and legislation and also to the international conventions that have been signed and ratified by South Africa. SANParks must also honour any contractual agreements it may conclude with private landowners or any public agencies. Furthermore, the areas outside the park are subject to provincial legislation, local by-laws and approved land-use plans that may determine regional and local land-use policy.

An Integrated Environmental Management System (IEMS) has been developed for the Tsitsikamma National Park. One of the documents that form an integral part of the overarching IEMS is the management policy. The management policy of the Tsitsikamma National Park details the intent and commitment of the park management to a course of action that will enable the realization of the vision for the park.

SANParks and the Tsitsikamma National Park have committed themselves to community involvement, including sharing of the benefits arising from this protected area. The transformation mission of SANParks is stated in the management policy of 2003. This mission commits the Tsitsikamma National Park to transform its established system for managing the natural environment to one which encompasses cultural resources, and which engages all sections of the community (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). The vision for the Tsitsikamma National Park is also stated in this policy. Accordingly, the park envisions a sustainable national park that builds and maintains a park community that works together for, and benefits equitably from, the conservation and enhancement of the unique marine, terrestrial and aquatic biodiversity, ecological processes and cultural, historical and scenic resources of the park (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

The Tsitsikamma National Park has 14 overarching management goals that guide the development of the park objectives and policies. The sixth goal, which is relevant to this study aims to build a park community, which works together for, and benefits equitably from, the long-term sustainability of the park. Six key areas of action are proposed in the management policy, according to this sixth goal:

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- Key Result Area 1: Park Planning and Development
 - Key Result Area 2: Park Resource Management
 - Key Result Area 3: Park Partnerships
 - Key Result Area 4: Park Visitor Facilities
 - Key Result Area 5: Effective Park Management
 - Key Result Area 6: Park Education, Interpretation and Awareness.

Each Key Result Area is defined by a set of objectives (the main objectives required to achieve the goal) and policy statements (the policies required to realize each objective). Specific references are made here to those key result areas that promote the sustainable development of the adjacent communities.

The second objective of the first Key Result Area is to integrate planning and development of the park with relevant local, provincial and national authorities and other stakeholders. The relevant policy statement under this objective requires the park management to develop a strategy that ensures that economic opportunities, which arise through conservation planning and

development, are accessed equitably, with specific attention to all disadvantaged people (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

The third Key Result Area concerns park partnerships. The first objective is to develop and nurture relationships between the park management and stakeholders that promote the long-term social sustainability of the park. This should be accomplished by developing relationships with stakeholders in planning and managing the park and surrounding areas. Such relationships should be based on mutual respect, empowerment, equity, co-operation and collaborative problem solving. The park undertakes to ensure that its policy decision-making is transparent and accountable and that it involves relevant stakeholders in considering policy formulation and changes. The management of the park should involve relevant stakeholders where their interests are affected; it should also develop a communication strategy to create effective mechanisms for on-going communication with stakeholders. Furthermore, the park management should ensure that SANParks' transformation policy is implemented by developing community partnerships and optimizing benefits to local communities and community structures (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

The second objective of this Key Result Area is to ensure equitable distribution of benefits to surrounding communities. To accomplish this, the park management should identify and enable access on an equitable basis to direct and indirect economic and other benefits derived from the park. Benefits that are made available to local communities should encourage self-sufficiency and discourage economic dependence on the park. All stakeholders that derive benefits from the park are to be effectively managed to avoid significant negative impacts on ecological, cultural and scenic resources. The management should also ensure that the allocation and terms of reference of contracts enable contractors to fulfil any environmental and social performance criteria contained in such contracts (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

The third objective is to institutionalize a mechanism of representative and accountable participation in advisory structures for the park. To reach this goal the park management should, in partnership with relevant stakeholders, establish and support a representative and accountable Park Forum to advise on local park planning and management issues. Clear terms of reference are to be established for the Park Forum (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

The fifth Key Result Area deals with the manner in which the park management would implement the above objectives and policy statements. Of special importance is the objective which states that the park management would ensure the existence of efficient, representative, and well-resourced institutional structures to enable the implementation of the management policy and

its monitoring (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). This broad objective should be accomplished by ensuring that the park's organizational staff structure provides for the implementation of its management policy and strategic management plan. The park should also collaborate with relevant stakeholders. Pursuance of SANParks' national employment equity strategy is also encouraged. The policy statement also affirms that the park management would ensure the inclusion of disadvantaged people and institutions in park research (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

The only objective of the sixth Key Result Area is to create awareness in visitors, staff, contractors, private landowners and users of the Tsitsikamma National Park about the park and its policies and plans. This should be achieved by promoting the appreciation among stakeholders and users of the ecological and heritage significance of the park. Stakeholders should also be made aware of the contribution that these assets provide to the economy of the Eastern Cape, and the resources and management strategies required for their protection and enhancement (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

The management of the Tsitsikamma National Park has placed an enormous amount of emphasis on sustainable rural development through cooperative management and benefit sharing with adjacent communities in its management policy and strategies (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). Therefore, participatory, cooperative management and benefit sharing in the Tsitsikamma National Park is well institutionalised. This research was aimed at finding out if the communities experience these institutionalised community involvement and benefit sharing as defined by the park policy and strategy.

1.3.3 Overview of current park operations with communities

The Tsitsikamma National Park contributes in different ways to the economic development of the region. The park attracts tourists to the region, provides economic opportunities for local entrepreneurs, acts as an implementing agency for poverty relief programmes, creates employment and training opportunities for some of the area's poverty stricken communities. It also provides environmental education through various environmental education programmes (E. Bester, 2004: personal communication).

The People and Conservation Department in the park aims at enhancing biodiversity conservation through the promotion of conservation ethics and the development of park-community relations. The largest part of the work conducted by social ecologists is directly or indirectly related to environmental interpretation and education. It focuses on the various park user groups and local communities. Social ecologists often work in partnership with various non-

government organisations, community-based organisations and community liaison structures. They also work with the private sector to reach park goals and develop a healthy community custodianship for the park (E. Bester, 2004: personal communication).

The People and Conservation Department has several Key Performance Areas, which guide the department's activities. These Key Performance Areas are:

- Environmental Interpretation and Education
- Community Relations
- Cultural Heritage Resource Management
- Youth Outreach and Development
- Social Research

The People and Conservation Department implements these Key Performance Areas through different programmes (E. Bester, 2004: personal communication). For example, the Tsitsikamma National Park has a budget of about 18 million rand (\$3 million), of which one third of this is spent on salaries. About 95% of contracts that are outsourced in the park are given to local contractors, the other 5% concerns specialist services that are not locally available. A further R15.3 million (US\$2.5) is spent on three projects dealing with poverty relief: the Working for Water project (invasive plant clearing), Coast Care (coastal conservation) and the Extended Public Works project. The bulk of the budget is therefore spent on job creation. This brings the total to R33,3 million, creating about 400 to 500 jobs at any one time (E. Bester, 2005: personal communication).

During 2004, the Tsitsikamma National Park ran several skills training programmes. These included courses for conservation, reception and housekeeping. Thirty people were involved (unemployed and park staff) and the programmes ran for eight weeks. During 2005, long-term training, namely learnerships followed. Seven unemployed persons from local communities and four park staff members participated. It includes training in housekeeping, reception and conservation. These interns are employed by SANParks for one year while receiving their training. Every few weeks they also attended a week or two-week training session (E. Bester, 2005: personal communication).

SANParks has also adopted a policy that mandates each park to establish a Park Forum. This forum provides a means for the park to liaise with local interest groups and individuals and for local stakeholders to provide an advisory service to the planning, development and management of

the park. The intention of the forum is to represent the interests of local communities, landowners and institutions adjacent to the park (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). It consists of representatives of stakeholder groups in the area. The Tsitsikamma National Park Forum was created in December 2004 (E. Bester, 2005: personal communication). The park used the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry's participatory forestry management (PFM) forum as a platform for communications with local communities before the existence of the Park Forum.

The Tsitsikamma National Park incorporates various cultural heritage sites ranging from Khoisan cultural heritage sites such as caves, shell middens and rock art to more recent culturally historic sites. The latter consists of the ruins of small fisher settlements, remnants of the past forestry industries and grave sites. The park has a Cultural Mapping Project, which aims to identify and protect all cultural heritage sites within the park, as well as an Oral History Collection Project that recovers and interprets information relating to cultural heritage. It is believed that the more recent history of the forestry and fishing industries that is still in the memories of older folk from the region strongly connects local communities with the park and can enhance park-community relations (SANParks, 2005b).

The park is involved in several environmental education programmes. The four most important ones are the Imbewu camps, Khula Nam day excursions, the Adopt-a-beach Programme and Eco-schools. In all of these, outcomes-based education plays an important role. Imbewu is a joint venture between the Wilderness Foundation and SANParks. It is aimed at high school pupils and uses wise elders from the communities who offer traditional knowledge and understanding of conservation. The Tsitsikamma National Park conducts 20 such four-day camps in a year. Khula Nam is the result of a partnership between Mountain-to-Ocean Forestry and the Wilderness Foundation. In Tsitsikamma, the park is the implementing agency for this programme. The programme is aimed at primary school pupils in grades six and seven. It focuses on teaching pupils the importance and role of both indigenous and commercial forestry by allowing the pupils to make discoveries themselves (E. Bester, 2004: personal communication). The park has a close relationship with the Khoisan Village. This community project was facilitated by the park to secure funding. Stormsrivier Adventures is a privately owned adventure company, which presents eco-tourism activities in the park and also has a close relationship with the park through collaboration on a guide development programme and the establishment of a THETHA¹ accredited guide-training centre (E. Bester, 2004: personal communication).

¹ Tourism and Hospitality Education and Training Authority

1.4 Problem statement

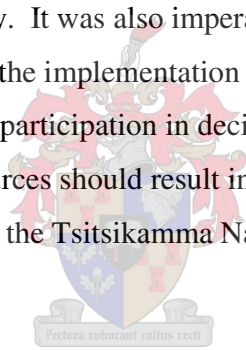
It would seem as if SANParks and the Tsitsikamma National Park are on track as far as transformation is concerned. However, Els and Bothma (2000) felt that even though SANParks propagates interactions with local communities as a part of its policy statements, the implementation of this philosophy into real practical terms with measurable results is still largely lacking in many instances. They maintained that the current main problem is that most of the conservation programmes are still focussed on wildlife as a point of departure, and not on the interaction between human developmental needs and the principles of wildlife management.

Several critics argue that rural communities' economic aspirations are incompatible with sustainable resource use (Holmes, 2003). According to Gillingham and Lee (2003), the effective long-term conservation of wildlife in and around protected areas requires the support of the people who experience the direct impacts of the establishment and management of those areas. Local people cannot be expected to provide this support if the costs of doing so outweigh the benefits, for example, if the existence of the protected area and its wildlife have negative impacts on local livelihoods (Gillingham & Lee, 2003). De Oliveira (2002) maintains that compatibility between development and environmental goals continue to be mostly a theoretical dream. The Tsitsikamma National Park is a marine protected area that has a 'no-take' policy on fishing. In 2004, a member of the staff confidentially informed the author that fishing still occurs in the Tsitsikamma National Park as a livelihood strategy as well as for recreational purposes. In fact, some of the employees of the park from the adjacent communities have been accused of this crime.

This leads one to question whether biodiversity conservation in the Tsitsikamma National Park results in sustainable rural development and *vice versa*. Conservation here refers to the protection of natural resources in the park as well as in the residential areas occupied by the local communities. Consequently, it became necessary to investigate whether this is the case in the Tsitsikamma National Park and the adjacent communities. The aim of the research was to establish whether SANParks' transformation policies are actually implemented on the ground. If so, what has changed since 2000? It is apparent that some transformation has taken place, but is it enough or is this mostly paper transformation without the actual measurable results that Els and Bothma (2000) mentioned? How do the communities perceive this transformation and what are their needs from the park?

1.5 Research objectives

A preliminary community perceptions survey was conducted in the four communities of Coldstream, Covie, Storms River and Thornham in December 2003. The purpose of the survey was to determine whether the practice of participatory democracy in the management of the Tsitsikamma National Park reflects commitments in the policies and laws that affect protected area management throughout South Africa. All the communities surveyed fall in the immediate surroundings of the Tsitsikamma National Park and were considered legitimate stakeholders of the park by the resident SANParks officials. In February 2004, the SANParks official responsible for managing people and conservation issues was interviewed to corroborate or clarify local community perceptions of the Tsitsikamma National Park. This preliminary survey indicated that the adjacent communities had a negative view of the Tsitsikamma National Park, mainly due to the 'no-take' (no fishing) policy of the park, as a marine protected area. As a result, it became necessary to determine whether this is an entrenched opinion of the park in the minds of adjacent communities or a transitory animosity. It was also imperative to determine whether this is a fair view of the park, taking into account the implementation of the park's existing policy and strategy. According to this policy, community participation in decision-making and sharing of the benefits accruing from protected natural resources should result in sustainable rural development. To determine whether this is the case for the Tsitsikamma National Park five key objectives were formulated for investigation:

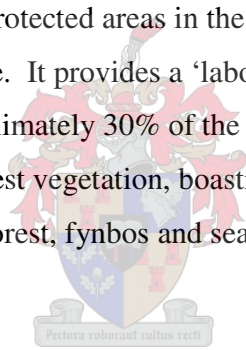


- 1) To determine the contribution of these four adjacent communities: Coldstream, Covie, Storms River and Thornham to biodiversity conservation in the Tsitsikamma National Park
- 2) To determine the existing contribution of the Tsitsikamma National Park to socio-economic development of the four adjacent communities
- 3) To determine community views on communication between the park management and the communities
- 4) To determine community views on decision-making in the management of the park
- 5) To identify opportunities for overturning negative community perceptions (if any)

1.6 Description of the study area

The Tsitsikamma National Park is situated in the heart of the tourist region, popularly known as the Garden Route, which stretches from the north-eastern part of the Western Cape Province to the most southern part of the Eastern Cape Province. *Tsitsikamma* is a Khoisan (early inhabitants of the area) word meaning “place of much water”. The park incorporates 80 km of rocky coastline and remote mountainous areas covered in mountain fynbos and temperate high forests. The Tsitsikamma National Park is the third most frequently visited park in South Africa, which makes it one of the few national parks in South Africa that operates profitably. The park makes a significant contribution to less profitable parks and conservation as a whole. The park conserves a considerable portion of the natural biota of the Garden Route. The primary vegetation biomes consist of mountain fynbos, coastal fynbos, afro-montane forest and the marine herbland-, inter-tidal- and sub-tidal zones (SANParks, 2005b).

The Tsitsikamma National Park protects inter-tidal and marine life. This is one of the largest single unit ‘no-take’ marine protected areas in the world, conserving 11% of South Africa’s temperate south coast rocky shoreline. It provides a ‘laboratory’ for fisheries baseline research on endangered line fish species. Approximately 30% of the park is covered in fynbos (Cape Floral Kingdom), scattered amongst the forest vegetation, boasting a wide variety of flowers, including proteas and heath. Many species of forest, fynbos and sea birds are present (SANParks, 2005b).



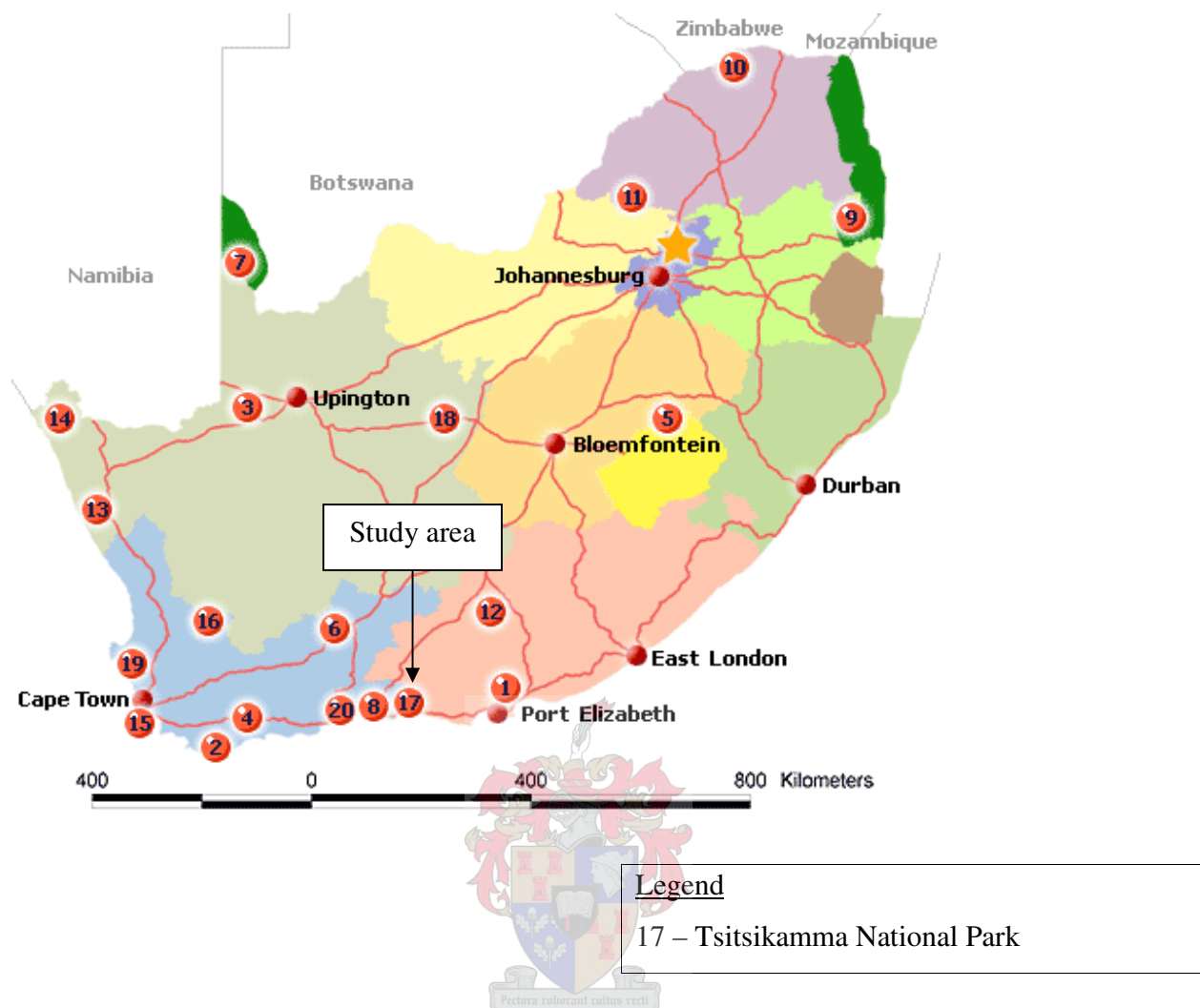


Figure 1: Map of South Africa showing the position of the study area (SANParks, 2005c)

1.6.1 Proclamation of the Tsitsikamma National Park

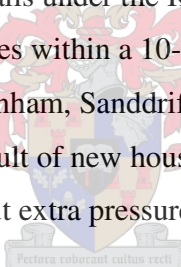
During the First World Conference on National Parks in Seattle in 1962, the World Conservation Union (IUCN) appealed to governments for the establishment of marine parks and reserves. A South African, Dr. Rocco Knobel, as a member of the executive committee of the World Conservation Union (IUCN) attended (Robinson, 1989). The National Parks Board responded with the proclamation of the Tsitsikamma National Park. It was the first marine reserve for Africa (SANParks, 2005b).

Knobel (1989) explains how the Tsitsikamma National Park came into existence. The original coastal park extended some 59 km between Groot River (east) ($24^{\circ}12'$ E, west of Oubosstrand) and Groot River (west) ($23^{\circ}34'$ E at Nature's Valley). This included the areas approximately 800 m landward and 800 m seaward of the low water mark (horizontal distance-contours ignored). In September 1983, the seaward boundary of the park between the Groot River

(east) and the Bloukrans River (23°, 39' E) was extended to three nautical miles and the remainder from Bloukrans to Groot River (west) was changed to 0.5 nautical miles offshore. The small Tsitsikamma Forest National Park was deproclaimed in 1989 and the coastal park became known as the Tsitsikamma National Park. In December 1987, the De Vasselot Reserve (2561 ha) was added to the park. An extension of the seaward boundary was proclaimed as part of the Tsitsikamma National Park during April 1996. This section extends from Groot River (west) along the same seaward boundary to a point parallel to Grootbank and then back to the Groot River (west) along the high water mark (SANParks, 2005b).

Contractual areas have, subsequent to the original proclamation, been added to this park. Properties 382 and 444 and the remainder of property 434 in Nature's Valley were added to the Tsitsikamma National Park as contractual areas in March 1995. The farm Buitenverwachting was gazetted as a contractual national park in 1996. In October 1991, a 30-year lease on the neighbouring Soetkraal area (24 372 ha) was signed with Rand Mines Properties Ltd (SANParks, 2005b). The park falls under the Bitou Municipality to the west of the Bloukrans River in the Western Cape. In the Eastern Cape it falls under the Kou-Kamma Municipality.

There are eight local communities within a 10-km radius from the park boundary: Kurland, Covie, Coldstream, Storms River, Thornham, Sanddrift, Woodlands and Eerste River. The region has had a great influx of people as a result of new housing developments, which fall under the Kou-Kamma Municipality. This has put extra pressure on the park and the resources in the area.



1.6.2 Natural resources use by communities

The Tsitsikamma area has a long history of marine and forest utilisation and most of the local communities relied mostly, in one form or another, on these two ecosystems for their survival. The previous resource utilisation provided obvious economic value to the communities from the region that is now incorporated into the park (SANParks, 2005b).

Delius (2002) describes how this relationship goes back to the 19th century when woodcutter communities worked the narrow belt of the indigenous forest that straddled the coast and the parallel mountain range between George and Humansdorp. These forests had long provided resources of timber, game and honey to the Khoisan communities that lived in the region. By the 1850s a considerable population had grown up in the vicinity of the forests, which was largely dependent on woodcutting for its livelihood. They had limited alternatives as distances from markets, bad roads and poor soils hindered agriculture or stock farming. The only crop that thrived in these conditions was the sweet potato, which became the staple diet of many poor

families. The market for timber gradually increased, but supply often exceeded demand and the returns to most woodcutters remained modest. Demands quickened in the late 19th century after the discovery of diamonds and gold. The expansion of a railway network provided demand for sleepers and a more efficient means of transport for timber. However, in a world increasingly dominated by timber merchants and mill owners, woodcutter communities became mired in poverty (Delius, 2002).

In 1865, the Conservator of Forests reported of the Tsitsikamma area that “the coloured woodcutters are without employment or provisions and subsist mainly on fish” (Brown, 1887). This position had not changed much by 1883 when the Superintendent of Woods and Forests reported that “the old Tzitzikamma Forest has been worked for nearly 80 years and is thoroughly cleared out of mature timber” (G34-84, 1883). In the following year, he noted that in the waste crown lands, to the east of Storms River there were about 50 families of squatters. Each family cultivated 2 to 3 acres of burnt bush soil around the forests, some were woodcutters, others gained a precarious living by fishing (G32-85, 1884). In the 1960s, fishing continued to offer an important source of subsistence, recreation and income. In the Covie community, those that caught more fish than they needed, sold the surplus to their neighbours or travelled further afield to settlements at Coldstream, the Craggs and Nature’s Valley to find a market (Delius, 2002). The coloured communities in Tsitsikamma were poor, but self-sufficient and contented with their lives and those who did not have received from those who did. With the proclamation of the Tsitsikamma National Park in 1964 also came the end of the era.

At the time of the park’s proclamation, the neighbouring local inhabitants were largely employed by the Department of Forestry and nearby sawmills. They and visiting anglers were permitted to collect bait and fish anywhere along the coast, provided they purchased an entrance permit from the local forestry offices (Robinson, 1989).

1.6.3 Phasing out of fishing

As a consequence of prior arrangement with the Department of Forestry as well as socio-political pressure, shore-based angling was permitted to continue throughout the park for a further 11 years from 1964 to 1975. The fishing permit system used was similar to that imposed by the Department of Forestry, except that the collection of bait was limited to certain sites and offshore angling was apparently prohibited (Hanekom *et al.*, 1997).

In 1975, the National Parks Board restricted shore-based angling to 15 sites along the length of the western sector of the park. Finally in 1978, despite numerous letters and a petition

with some 300 signatures from local residents, angling was limited to a single three-km stretch of the coast. This extended from the western sector of the Storms River Mouth rest camp to the Waterfall (also the first three km of the world famous Otter Trail). The collection of bait organisms was prohibited. This restriction had been a source of dissatisfaction to local anglers, and in December 1994 the Tsitsikamma Angling Union submitted a petition with 344 signatures to the National Parks Board. They requested that the whole park, or significant parts of it, be opened to local residents for angling. Negotiations were held with the Tsitsikamma Angling Union and the National Parks Board during 1995 and 1996. Although the National Parks Board reduced the gate fee for local residents from R135 to R10, anglers were still dissatisfied (Hanekom *et al.*, 1997).

It was Hanekom *et al.* (1997) who recommended that it would be ecologically preferable to close the Tsitsikamma National Park to all angling, and that this ruling would not have a major impact on the subsistence of the local communities. Consequently, the last three-km stretch was closed to fishing in 2001; apart from fishing at the Nature's Valley, the park now has a 'no-take' policy on fishing.

The loss of legal access to the fisheries resources in the area where the park was proclaimed had a detrimental effect on the economic welfare of the communities. In addition to subsistence fishing being viewed as a livelihood strategy, it defined these communities culturally. They saw and still see themselves as traditional fishermen and fisherwomen of Tsitsikamma. Therefore, it appears that this ruling had both a socio-economic and a cultural impact on the local communities, contradicting what Hanekom *et al.* (1997) predicted.

This is more so because of the way the park was proclaimed and the manner in which fishing was phased out without consulting the local communities. The lack of respect for the communities and also the apparent lack of consideration for the effects of this decision on them are inappropriate, especially in the democratic South Africa. This explains the current level of resentment among the local people at the margins of the Tsitsikamma National Park as indicated by the preliminary survey.

This is further reflected by the protest march organised by the Tsitsikamma Angling Forum in April 2005 against the 'no-fishing' policy. They handed a memorandum expressing their dissatisfaction with the situation. A copy of a letter sent to the Honourable Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, was also submitted. This memorandum requested the park manager to resume talks on angling rights for the local communities in the Tsitsikamma National Park. The park formed a fishing Task Team to respond to this request and to propose a plan of action from the park's side. Marine and Coastal

Management authorities were also invited to join the presentation of the Task Team to the Tsitsikamma Angling Forum in July 2005 (E. Bester, 2005: personal communication).

This presentation centred on the fact that even though the park is a national park, it is also a marine protected area, which falls under the jurisdiction of Marine and Coastal Management, which in turn, is under the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. Therefore, the fish in the sea belong to the State. The laws regulating fishing in marine protected areas are not passed by SANParks even though they are the implementing agency for these laws (E. Bester, 2005: personal communication). She referred to the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998. Under this law, the Tsitsikamma National Park is a marine protected area where fishing is prohibited (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1998). A member of the Tsitsikamma Angling Forum told the author that they were especially dissatisfied when the Task Team stated that SANParks does not have the authority to change these laws. It was thus explicit that the extent of community dissatisfaction with the Tsitsikamma National Park and the influence of it on synergies between biodiversity conservation and sustainable rural development had to be measured.

1.7 Methodology

Triangulation was the main method used in gathering data for this study. The aim of triangulation is to achieve objectivity, reliability and validity (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Qualitative research is often blamed for lacking the tenets of 'good' science. However, this was overcome in this research by triangulation which strengthens findings by showing that several independent sources were used in deriving data for drawing the relevant conclusions in a given study (Decrop, 1999). The method employs a variety of techniques, but the following were used in this investigation:

Literature review

Assessment of the influences of colonialism on conservation is included as a background to the review of current literature which helps to understand the recent arguments pertinent to the role of biodiversity conservation in sustainable rural development and *vice versa*.

Interviews

Face-to-face meetings were held with key informants. Formal and informal discussions were also conducted with these informants, for example, a workshop was organised to gain useful insights into community views and needs. These interactions shaped the contents of the semi-structured questionnaires that were administered to randomly selected respondents.

Semi-structured questionnaires

Semi-structured questionnaires were used to gather relevant information from randomly selected community members. This was done to overcome the fear of community representatives who were shy to articulate their views at the data gathering workshop and during informal group discussions.

Personal observations

The author's personal observations legitimised or refuted the answers tendered by stakeholders, especially as what people say is not necessarily what they do. For example, many people who live at the margins of the Tsitsikamma National Park often deny having benefited from this protected area. Nevertheless, it is possible to see that members of their households work for projects administered by the park. Thus, personal observations provided opportunities for overturning decoy or inaccurate information to support the results from the formal and informal interviews and the questionnaires.

1.7.1 Criteria for selecting stakeholders

The “who counts” matrix developed by Colfer (1995) was used in the stakeholder identification in the study area. The following six factors were used in determining who qualifies to be a stakeholder and who does not: (1) proximity to the protected area; (2) pre-existing rights of tenure to the resource; (3) dependency on the protected area for a range of goods and services; (4) level of local/indigenous knowledge about the protected area; (5) natural resource culture integration (i.e., religious & symbolic links with the park); and (6) power deficits — people who live within or at the margins of protected areas often have little power in comparison to others (Colfer, 1995).

Based on this matrix, four communities were chosen for this study: Covie, Coldstream, Storms River and Thornham. They are the communities closest to the Tsitsikamma National Park and hence are the most affected by the day-to-day management of the park. Furthermore, it is the same adjacent communities who most experienced loss of livelihoods during the establishment of the park in 1964.

1.7.2 The survey

The problem definition survey was followed by a workshop that was held on the premises of the Tsitsikamma National Park in June 2004. Twenty-five key informants from the four communities attended the workshop. Key informants in this case comprised community leaders, professionals, businesspeople and persons who were considered influential and knowledgeable of community

issues by their respective constituents. They had good knowledge of the history of the park, different phases in regulated fishing and of current park-and-community relationships. These participants were divided into four groups (according to their communities) to discuss specific park management issues which were of great concern to them. They were also requested to make recommendations and state their needs generally and specifically with respect to the management of the park.

The preliminary survey, workshop, other formal and informal interactions with key informants and personal observations in the respective communities indicated that local communities were displeased with SANParks' policy of 'no-fishing' in the Tsitsikamma National Park. These communities consider fishing as an important part of their livelihood and culture. Consequently, the lack of access to the sea as a major source of conflict between the local people and SANParks administration in Tsitsikamma needed further investigation. This resulted in a formal survey of community perceptions of the Tsitsikamma National Park. The survey was carried out in October 2004. One-hundred adult residents in the four communities (Coldstream, Covie, Storms River and Thornham) were interviewed by means of a semi-structured questionnaire to authenticate the results gathered using the other techniques. This constitutes 1% of the four communities. A low sampling intensity was chosen because sufficient information had already been gathered from the workshop as well as from formal and informal interactions and personal observations. Three community members who have had previous experience in administering questionnaires assisted in the interviews. The questionnaires were drafted to match the vocabulary of the local communities.

The data derived from the questionnaires were cross checked with information obtained from the group discussions during the workshop as well as during formal and informal meetings with key informants in June and October 2004 and in September 2005. The key informants interviewed during the field visits included business owners; community leaders; contractors in the park; Working for Water and Coast Care officials; a neighbouring land owner; ex-park staff and current park staff; local municipality officials; Department of Water Affairs and Forestry officials and SANParks head office employees. Thus, a great deal of the various sections of the relevant local population was interviewed.

The data obtained from the questionnaires were used to determine whether there are differences in the perceptions of the park and needs expressed by the communities. The data were also used to determine the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. In fact, these characteristics influenced the responses of the surveyed subjects. The data were entered into Excel

and analysed using Statistica 7.0. Chi-square tests were done to determine significance differences with a 95% confidence interval. Mann-Whitney tests, with a 95% confidence interval, were used to determine significance differences when age was used as the main variable.

1.8 Socio-economic characteristics of the surveyed respondents

The first 13 questions in the questionnaire were used to compile the socio-economic profile of the respondents in the surveyed areas: Coldstream, Covie, Storms River and Thornham. This is presented in Table 1 below.

Table 1: Socio-economic profile of the respondents

Main sources of income	Proportion
Yes	n = 46
No	n = 54
Ethnic group	
Black	n = 19
Coloured	n = 79
White	n = 2
Native to the area	
Yes	n = 51
No	n = 49
Language	
Afrikaans	n = 82
IsiXhosa	n = 16
IsiNdebele	n = 1
English	n = 1
Gender	
Male	n = 62
Female	n = 38
Education	
After school diploma	n = 10
High school level of education	n = 57
Primary school level of education	n = 29
No formal school education	n = 4
Work status	
Disabled	n = 4
Pensioner	n = 14
Unemployed	n = 37
Employed	n = 45

Table 1 (continued)

Employer	
Private sector	n = 16
Government	n = 10
Private tourism operator	n = 8
Community project	n = 7
Natural resource management parastatal	n = 2
Own business	n = 2
Livelihood strategy	
Agricultural produce	n = 5
Home gardening	n = 12
Taken care of by other people who work	n = 31
Pension	n = 15
Day wage labour	n = 12
Trading	n = 9
Salary	n = 41
Welfare	n = 13
Wild foods	n = 2
Steal	n = 1
Own business	n = 2

Only 2% of the respondents indicated that they use wild foods as a livelihood strategy. This includes fishing. Conversely, they could have been unwilling to admit the extent to which they rely on this resource as a livelihood strategy due to the controversy around fishing in the park.

1.9 Significance of the study

Recently, people-orientated conservation approaches have been severely criticized by some neo-radical conservationists for their failure to achieve their main goal, i.e., the protection of biological diversity. Their five main arguments include: (1) protected areas require strict protection; (2) biodiversity protection is a moral imperative; (3) conservation linked to development does not harmoniously protect biodiversity; (4) ecologically friendly local communities are myths; and (5) emergency situations require extreme measures. Unfortunately, these views are ignorant of specific social and political contexts (Lam, 2004). That is why a study of this nature is necessary to examine the role of communities in conservation to determine whether sustainable rural development indeed leads to the expected outcome of biodiversity conservation by rural communities. Only when we are sure that communities have been empowered and are truly made role-players in conservation management without successful results, can we make decision on the abandonment of community-based conservation efforts.

There are concerns that lofty policies, strategies and/or laws for sustainable natural resource management in other government departments do not result in the wise use and management of these resources. This is exemplified by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry's PFM policy. The PFM policy appears to be ingenious and realistic on paper, but hardly translates into sustainable forest management and socio-economic development in the forested parts of the country (Watts, In Press). However, successful implementation of management policies and strategies by the Tsitsikamma National Park, which this study aimed to determine, would encourage sustainable natural resource management in other parks and conservation agencies.

1.10 Expected outcome and contribution of the study

This study aimed to present the true situation on the ground: the relationship between biodiversity conservation in the Tsitsikamma National Park and the socio-economic status of the adjacent communities. The author intends to present an unbiased, multi-voiced account of all the stakeholders involved in the use and management of the park. This should provide strategic and realistic opportunities for promoting synergies between biodiversity conservation and sustainable rural development to make biodiversity conservation every community's business in Tsitsikamma.



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Chapter 2: Synergies between biodiversity conservation and sustainable rural development

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the evolution and development of pre-colonial and colonial conservation practices, and attempts to demonstrate their influences on contemporary conservation policies and practices in Africa. The chapter also aimed to put the concept of community involvement in conservation into perspective by looking at the history and evolution of this concept worldwide.

The sustainable management of natural resources in protected areas is in a crisis, mainly due to the conflict between biodiversity conservation and human needs. This is especially so in rural areas where park neighbours are poor communities that depend on natural resources as sources of livelihood. Parks and forest reserves are likely to be one of the major issues of future rural social conflict in many developing countries (Ghimire, 1992). Conservation that is insensitive to local needs has led to a situation where the “majority of local people view wildlife conservation as alien, hypocritical, and as favouring foreigners” (Munthali, 1993). However, we have to look at the history of conservation in Africa to properly understand this current situation.

2.2 Pre-colonial conservation practices in Africa

For Africa, we should start at what the face of conservation looked like before Western influences came into Africa, mainly through colonialism. Unfortunately, there is a dearth of information about pre-colonial conservation practices. Pre-colonial conservation practices have tended to be romanticized by most contemporary commentators. However, very little is known and has been written about pre-colonial conservation practices in Africa. The general belief is that low population densities, unsophisticated agricultural and hunting practices, and immobile populations meant that ecological conservation tended to be built into the routine economic, social and religious activities of the era. Consequently, pre-colonial societies did not need to develop sophisticated conservation mechanisms (Murombedzi, 2003). Images of these primitive societies who were intuitively in touch with nature have been abounding. However, available evidence indicates that as pre-colonial society became first regimented and then stratified, access to and use of natural resources also became stratified. Such recorded pre-colonial conservation practices such as the demarcation of sacred areas, the allocation of totems, the expropriation of

labour for conservation and so on, did not necessarily reflect egalitarian and consensual conservation. Rather, they reflected the exercise of power over people and resources by dominant clans or classes, as the case would have been (Murombedzi, 2003).

This leads us to debunk the concept of the 'Ecologically Noble-Savage' (Redford, 1990). Human groups did not always exist in peaceful harmony with nature, as the dehumanizing, condescending and romanticizing of British colonists maintained. The colonial notion of the "noble savage," of the "native and game alike... wandering happily and freely" (Lindsay, 1987) in the African "wilderness," disregarded the tensions between human groups and the difficulties of survival characterized by the pre-colonial experience in Africa. Although different cultural groups tended to coexist in a state of "symbiosis" in which "they agreed to exchange goods to their mutual advantage, considerable conflict" (Rodney, 1981), nonetheless, arose between different cultural groups over resource rights and means of subsistence. This is especially so when these rights and subsistence threatened the survival of social and ecological systems in certain areas.

Moreover, Murombedzi, (2003) adds that the assumption of stable pre-colonial populations is wrong. In very early times, evidence exists to suggest that when resources came under pressure from increased human populations, or economic activity, a typical response was for whole populations to move to new uncolonised and resource abundant areas. These political responses to ecological phenomena resulted in the several waves of migrations from central into southern Africa and back. As this response became restricted by widespread settlements, new political, religious and technological innovations were developed to deal with ecological concerns. These included such innovations as pastoralism, slash and burn agriculture, water harvesting, and the development of institutional regulation of resource use. In the area of wildlife, for instance, evidence exists to demonstrate that because of technological limitations, indigenous hunter-gatherers did not adversely affect the populations, especially of big game. Although meat constituted an important part of local diets, and wildlife products constituted important commodities, trading did not deplete existing wildlife populations (Murombedzi, 2003).

2.2.1 Sacredness of nature

The most comprehensive studies of pre-colonial conservation practices as they existed during the colonial era in central and southern Africa have occurred in the context of studies of religion. This is not surprising, since conservation would not have existed as a separate discipline *per se*, but as part of general social organization (Schoffeleers, 1979). Wild places became important foci of religious places if they are somehow prominent in the landscape. Hills, pools, imposing trees, caves, streams, falls and rapids became associated with invisible entities, and thus became objects of veneration (Binsbergen, 1979).

A great deal has been written about the notion of 'sacredness', and the role that sacredness plays in conservation (Murombedzi, 2003). Githitho (2003) explains how the concept of 'sacred' in most societies implies something set apart, holy or revered. It is often associated with the secret or forbidden. The main objective of the traditional management of sacred sites is to maintain their separateness or sanctity by controlling access to the resource. This is achieved largely through the strength of spiritual beliefs and social rules and norms. Active physical policing of sacred places by custodians has tended to be more of an exception than the rule. More commonly, taboos and other religious observations have been applied, regulating access and conduct at the sites, threatening dire punishment from the world for those who flouted the rules. These have proven to be fairly effective in reinforcing self-restraint among individual members of the group. If there is a breach, purposely or not, intervention or intercession by spiritual leaders would be required to ward off harm to the trespasser.

Adams (2003) points out that it is significant that pre-colonial conservation, based as it was on the unity of humanity and nature, did not create separate categories for conservation. Rather, it devised strategies for conserving nature while at the same time guaranteeing access to it. This access and use may have been mitigated by policy, religion, custom and practice to reflect existing stratification and other imbalances in pre-colonial society. Nevertheless, conservation was to guarantee human access to nature.

This directly contrasted the colonial model of conservation, which had led to the development of nature conservation areas as areas cleared of all human influence and settlement, with highly restricted access to resources (Adams, 2003). Colonial conservation in southern Africa was devised mainly by white people of European stock (Child, 2004). This model of conservation was based on a myth of nature, which emerged from the scientific processes of exploration, mapping, documentation, classification and analysis. Nature came to be defined as

the absence of human impact, especially European human impact. Nature thus came to define regions that were not dominated by Europeans (Adams, 2003).

2.3 The face of colonial conservation in southern Africa

In eastern and southern Africa, conservationists usually worked in isolation from the surrounding societies and dissociated themselves from local livelihood needs. The leading conservationists were foresters from the Imperial Institute of Forestry at Oxford as well as mammalogists, zoologists, biologists and animal traders from the United Kingdom. Their management philosophy emphasized that the ‘public good’ was best served through the protection of forests and water resources, even if this meant the displacement of local communities (McCracken, 1987).

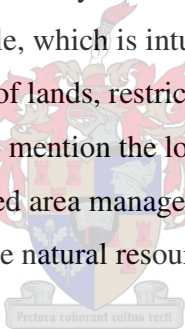
It is now generally agreed that European colonization colonised not only humans, but nature as well (Plumwood, 2003). In direct contrast to the African institution regarding the unity between nature and society, colonial ideas about nature were based on the European Enlightenment’s dualism between humans and nature. In this construction, nature is seen as a resource, for human use, and wildness as a challenge for the rationale mind to conquer (Adams, 2003). European colonization itself was based on the application of rationalist ideology to both humans and nature. In this ideology, indigenous peoples and their lands are portrayed as areas of rational deficit – unused, empty and underused. Thus, the imposition of European rationality on this irrational landscape is justified through a form of anthropocentrism, which sees indigenous cultures as primitive and less rational. The colonization of nature thus relied on a range of conceptual strategies that were employed within the human sphere to support supremacism of nation, gender (the white male) and race (Plumwood, 2003).

It is significant that the definition of places as wild played an equally important part in pre- and post-colonial conservation. Pre-colonial notions of ‘wild’ were applied to abandoned places or places untouched by human use. The same notion was used in colonial conservation through the suppression of knowledge of the extent and scope of human occupation in a process of creating ideologically significant landscapes (Adams 2003). In colonial conservation, ideology replaced religion as the basis of conservation practices. “The colonial period saw a distinctive pattern of engagement with nature: a destructive, utilitarian and cornucopian view of the feasibility of yoking nature to economic gain” (Adams, 2003).

It is evident that early colonial ideas about nature conservation grew partially out of a desire to tame the wild (Adams, 2003). This is exemplified by the collection, naming and deposition of specimens in museums and other attempts to master wildness (Griffiths, 1996), as well as by social reaction against technology and industrialization. However, environmental historians have noted that the major impetus for colonial conservation had its origins in the general opposition to the impacts of the excesses of utilitarian resource exploitation as well as perceptions of rapid environmental degradation in the colonies (Grove, 1995). Thus, colonial conservation has its origins in both a romantic tradition opposed to 'modernization', as well as a scientific rational tradition that sought to manage nature for human enjoyment and benefit (Adams, 2003).

2.3.1 Rationale for a change

However, conservation efforts over the last 30 years have sometimes increased hardship and poverty, particularly amongst rural people, which is intuitively counterproductive. Rural people have often been relocated, dispossessed of lands, restricted from water, wetlands, forests, wildlife and marine environments, not to mention the loss of traditional incomes (Webb, 2002). Consequently, conflicts between protected area managers and rural people abound across the world due to a clash in desired uses of the natural resources incorporated into these parks or reserves (Muller & Albers, 2004).



The creation of these national parks grew rapidly in the 1960s and reached a crescendo in the 1980s. Starting about 1980, however, a reaction set in that apparently put this phase of worldwide conservation on hold. The creation of national parks has dropped from about 260 per year in the mid-1980s to about 36 per year in the mid-1990s (Terborgh, 1999). The reason, according to Soulé (2000) for this dramatic decline in the popularity of parks, was a growing sense that strict nature protection was misanthropic and therefore politically incorrect.

2.4 The face of modern conservation

The popular view is now that for wildlife conservation in and around protected areas to be effective in the long-term, it actually requires the support of the people who experience the direct impacts of the establishment and management of those areas (Kiss, 1990). Local people can only be expected to provide this support if the benefits of doing so outweigh the costs, i.e., if the existence of the protected area and its wildlife does not have negative impacts on local

livelihoods (Murphree, 1996). Therefore, when designing and implementing conservation projects that promote development, it is crucial to investigate and understand the relationship between a protected area and the human communities that surround it and the costs and benefits associated with it for the communities (Newmark *et al.*, 1994).

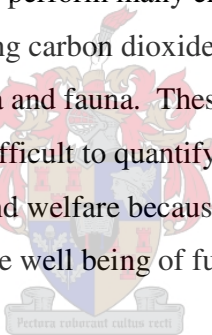
The value of strict reserves and the wisdom of involving local people in wildlife management are increasingly, and emotionally, being debated (e.g. Spinnage, 1996; 1998; Ghimere & Pimbert, 1997). While the view of local people living in harmony with the nature they exploit is often romantic (e.g., Infield, 1988; Norton-Griffiths, 1997), many conservation professionals would agree that local people should capture some of the benefits of biodiversity conservation. Arguments to support this range from the humanistic (ethical, human rights concerns) to those based on pragmatism and efficiency (Jeanrenaud, 1997). There is a growing consensus that protected areas should be a part of the solution to poor people's problems, and not create new ones like they have so often done in the past. The often quoted logic looks neat: to be sustainable, development needs conservation of natural resources and for conservation to succeed in low-income countries, development is required (Abbot *et al.*, 2001).

Governments, the United Nations, the World Conservation Union (IUCN) and other conservation organizations, encouraged by traditional economists and the development community, decided during the early 1980s that societies can develop their way out of environmental and biodiversity degradation. The idea is that economic prosperity outside parks will lead to responsible stewardship of nature (e.g. IUCN *et al.*, 1980, IUCN *et al.*, 1991) in the name of sustainable development. There were even suggestions that strict protection of nature be abandoned altogether in favour of various degrees of exploitation (e.g. Janzen, 1994, Ghimere & Pimbert, 1997). Proponents of this view convinced the major funders of foreign assistance programmes that nature protection is unrealistic unless coupled with material benefits for poor nations (Soulé, 2000).

In 1989, the World Conservation Union emphasized the necessity of economic development and the need to link parks with "human needs [to] support ecologically sound development" (Soulé, 2000). Reid (1996) suggested that we should no longer view conservation as an alternative to development, but as "a component of development". Thus, it has become fashionable within the international conservation and foreign aid communities to view parks as just another development tool. This has led to a range of strategies that combine elements of conservation with economic development projects (Brandon *et al.*, 1998).

In reality, we need these economic development programmes. For example, Silva (2003) points out that economic growth is necessary for political stability and higher standards of living. In developing countries, poverty alleviation is thought to have positive effects on the environment because the great strain that poor people put on natural resources, such as forests, by cutting down trees for food, shelter, and cash, will be reduced. Yet economic growth alone does not restore environmental quality or resolve poor people's concerns for their livelihood (Silva, 2003).

Therefore, since the 1980s, sustainable development, a complex multifaceted concept, seeking to balance economic growth, environmental protection, social equity, and citizen participation in decision-making (WCED, 1987; World Bank, 1992), has been developed. It is worth noting that biodiversity conservation and ecosystem management have become increasingly important components of sustainable development since the Rio Summit in 1992. Environmentalists stress that ecosystems perform many environmental services. Forests control greenhouse gases by capturing and storing carbon dioxide. They sustain watersheds, constrain soil erosion, and provide habitat for flora and fauna. These environmental functions also have economic value, although that may be difficult to quantify. Thoughtlessly destroying the environment may affect human health and welfare because natural systems protect human life. Maintaining biodiversity is crucial for the well being of future generations (Silva, 2003).



2.4.1 The need for community participation in biodiversity conservation

The state and its policies should not ignore people's interests, if they are genuinely interested in conservation (Sekhar, 2003). Soulé (2000) calls it the clear-cut solution or, "the common sense tactic" for saving nature in places where the survival of a protected natural area would be doubtful without the participation of local people. This is to ensure that the human communities share in both the management and benefits of the protected area. This view is also supported by McDonnell and Vacariu (2000).

Incorporating local communities into conservation activities has become an alternative to the more traditional exclusionary 'fines and fences' approach to protecting biological diversity due to international pressure. According to Silva (2003), awareness is growing, especially in developing countries, that parks isolated from people do not ensure biodiversity conservation. The livelihood needs of rural populations put pressure on parks. A growing number of

specialists in both conservation and development consider the inclusion of local communities in wildlife management indispensable for successful conservation (Gibson & Marks, 1995).

However, Brandon (1995) believes that national parks and reserves still represent the single most important method of conserving biological diversity worldwide. Notwithstanding, conservationists are calling for the protection and expansion of protected areas as only one of a series of steps to conserve biodiversity. The other steps are all related to improving land-uses outside protected areas, as well as *linking* protected areas and the species within them to adjacent areas through biophysical, social, economic and political means. Therefore, conservationists are beginning to emphasize land-use planning around protected areas in which mixed-use zones buffer core park areas from further encroachment (Silva, 2003).

The incorporation of local people into park management dovetails with the goals of meeting basic needs and community participation in sustainable development. Therefore, implementing such initiatives has become so commonplace in the last decade that they are now considered mainstream conservation practice and is touted as the impetus of ‘new conservation’ (Holmes, 2003). However, if local people perceive protected areas as interference in local matters or a burden, they can become uncooperative and make fulfilling protection objectives almost impossible. Conversely, locals can play a key role in implementing protected area objectives if they view them as beneficial in the short- and long-term (De Oliveira, 2002). It is especially the tangible short-term benefits, like financial benefits, that get the communities on board. However, Soulé (2000) warns that there must be sufficient long-term incentives (whether in the form of economic assistance, the use of resources from the park, or tourism) to sustain this community support of protected areas and their policies. Muller and Albers (2004) feel that it is exactly these policies that must be used to compensate rural people for lost access to resources within the protected areas.

Numerous social groups interact with protected areas. Some of the dominant groups are government officials, politicians, aid workers, environmentalists, commercial and tourist interests, rich merchants, large landowners, the urban population groups and so on. The main difference between local communities and some of the dominant groups mentioned above is that local communities, albeit numerically important, retain a weak power base and subsequently have little say in decision-making concerning resource use options and protected area management (Ghimere & Pimbert, 1997). These people often have few alternatives. As a result,

protected areas are islands, surrounded by a range of land-uses, including colonization, agriculture, plantation forestry and cattle grazing (Brandon, 1995).

However, biodiversity conservation is a human problem. Thus, social sciences have taught conservationists that developing a sense of ownership among, and providing incentives to, the human neighbours of protected areas, are very powerful conservation tools. This has to be kept in mind (Soulé, 2000). Accordingly, if local people receive tangible benefits (e.g. revenue sharing, education, employment) from protected areas, they will show their support towards conservation as long as the costs are not more than the benefits. The management of protected areas should keep this in mind when prioritizing management initiatives for the future (Sekhar, 2003). One of the approaches, which tries to combine biodiversity conservation with social and economic development, is called integrated conservation and development projects (ICDPs).

ICDPs are based on the premise that protected area management must reach beyond traditional conservation activities *inside* park and reserve boundaries to address the needs of local communities *outside*. ICDPs aim to achieve their conservation goals by promoting development and providing local people with alternative income sources, which do not threaten the flora and fauna of the protected areas. ICDPs thus represent a shift away from traditional approaches to park management. However, even though ICDPs incorporate local social and economic development, the primary objective of an ICDP is to ensure the conservation of the park or protected areas it serves. The ICDP approach is based on the assumption that the successful management of protected areas ultimately depends on the cooperation and support of local people in the design, establishment and management of protected areas. This management philosophy reflects the position, embraced at the 1992 World Parks Congress in Caracas, that it is neither politically feasible nor ethically justifiable to exclude people with limited resource access from parks and reserves without providing them with alternative means of livelihood (Brandon, 1995).

However, according to Chapin (2004), ICDPs, with a few exceptions, were a string of failures. They were generally paternalistic, lacking in expertise, and one sided, driven largely by the agendas of the conservationists, with little indigenous input on the ground. The jury is still out on the ICDP approach. Yet given the broad range of activities that can come under the umbrella of an ICDP, it is unlikely, and undesirable, that ICDPs can be categorized definitely as successful or failing. The different modes, scale and length of implementation, and the specific

geographical, ecological, cultural and socioeconomic contexts in which they are implemented, make generalizations about ICDPs problematic (Abbot *et al.*, 2001).

Not everybody even supports the assumptions underlying ICDPs. Abbot *et al.* (2001) question the assumption that by improving incomes and livelihoods around protected areas, pressure on the protected areas would decrease. There are also some conceptual problems. A lot of the support for integrated community conservation is based on the theoretical construct of communities as small, homogenous populations with shared social norms (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999). It is generally accepted that (1) these populations often rely on access to protected resources to meet subsistence needs; (2) poorer individuals have greater resources needs; and (3) that by receiving tangible benefits people will change their attitudes and resultant behaviours in support of resource conservation (Owen-Smith, 1993; Gibson & Marks; Hackel, 1999 & Newmark & Hough, 2000).

In general, it seems that local communities are in favour of resource conservation (Pennington, 1983; Harcourt *et al.*, 1986; Infield, 1988). The World Wildlife Fund (WWF) and IUCN's *Principles and Guidelines on Indigenous and Traditional Peoples and Protected Areas* were formally presented in October 1996. It begins with the observation that indigenous peoples have a long history with the natural world and "a deep understanding of it". "Often they have made significant contributions to the maintenance of many of the earth's most fragile ecosystems". Therefore, there is no inherent conflict between the objectives of conservationists and indigenous peoples (IUCN, 1996).

Some sceptics, however, argue that the economic aspirations of rural communities are incompatible with biodiversity conservation and that such cooperative projects are therefore unrealistic (Robinson, 1993; Sanderson & Redford, 1997; Barrett & Arcese, 1995; Barret & Arcese; 1998; Hackel, 1999). Others also point out a fundamental misconception about how to define a community (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999), and a general lack of knowledge as to which factors influence rural population's resource-use interests (Gibson & Marks, 1995; Songorwa, 1999; Newmark & Hough, 2000). Communities differ, not just within themselves, but they differ greatly from each other. Their resource needs and their attitudes towards resource conservation cannot be predicted according to some standard, international 'community model'. There have been cautions from various quarters of the conservation movement that indigenous peoples are not, contrary to what many of them have been advertising, suitable allies. This is

because they, like most other people, are not even good conservationists, sometimes choosing their economic well-being over preservation of natural resources (Chapin, 2004).

2.5 Concepts of community

There are numerous criticisms of the ability of local communities to sustainably manage natural resources in rural areas where protected areas exist. These criticisms have led to a growing interest in the nature of communities that surround protected areas. Researchers want to know what factors influence the resource-use interests of these communities, and how a better understanding of these interests will lead to more effective conservation efforts (Holmes, 2003).

Agrawal and Gibson (1999) note that despite its recent popularity, the concept of community rarely receives the attention or analyses it needs from those concerned with resource use and management. The vision of small, integrated communities using locally evolved norms and rules to manage resources sustainably and equitable is powerful. However, because it views community as a unified organic whole, this vision fails to attend to the differences within communities. It also ignores how these differences affect resource management outcomes, local politics and strategic interactions within communities, as well as the possibility of layered alliances that can span multiple levels of politics. Attentions to these details are critical if policy changes on behalf of community are to lead to outcomes that are sustainable and equitable.

Most studies in conservation refer to a bundle of concepts related to space, size, composition, interactions, interests and objectives, when referring to the concept of community. Much of this literature sees communities in three ways: as a spatial unit, as a social structure, and as a set of shared norms. It is on the basis of one or a combination of these three ideas that most of the advocacy for community rests. Nevertheless, these concepts fail to explain the cause of these features or articulate their effect on natural resources use. They offer, therefore, a weak foundation upon which to base policy (Agrawal & Gibson, 1999).

There is, nonetheless, an exception. Singleton and Taylor (1992) conceive community as implying a set of people with some shared beliefs, stable membership, who expect to interact in the future, and whose relations are direct (unmediated), and over multiple issues. They do not include shared space, size, or social composition, which are of great concern to many other writers.

2.5.1 Rural communities and sustainable development

Officials and civic leaders recognise that neither economic growth nor simply sustained yield use of natural resources adequately addresses the issues of combating poverty or social equity. That task requires the empowerment of local, usually poor communities (Redclift, 1992). Therefore, citizen participation has become a crucial component of sustainable development. Citizen participation in decision-making (democracy) is a key element in the process (Silva, 2003).

Nonetheless, Silva (2003) clarifies that participation in the policy process only is not a sufficient condition for improving people's livelihoods. Other factors needed to strengthen participation include institutions, organizations and funds that support social organization, community control over economic resources, and the generation of economic enterprise. Without such support, it is unlikely that local communities' efforts will succeed in improving the supply of employment, education, health, and other social services to the community. The asymmetries of knowledge and of economic and political power between communities and other sectors of society are simply too great to expect otherwise, even though the communities often carry the direct costs involved in sustainable development (Silva, 2003).

The economic activities of local communities must incorporate mechanisms to conserve local environmental resources. Some analysts believe that if properly planned, small scale use and less capital-intensive technology can allow economic development to be more sensitive to the nuances of local ecosystems. In the forestry sector, this approach is called community or social forestry (Silva, 2003).

2.6 The role of policy-making in biodiversity conservation and sustainable development

Many protected areas or reserves have in the past discouraged the extraction of natural resources by local people. The question today is whether the managers of protected areas have the desire to face the requirements to address the welfare losses imposed on local people through their policies (Muller & Albers, 2004). Proper legal framework should ensure that the locals get a share of the employment and revenue generated from tourism growth in a region (Sekhar, 2003). However, Silva (2003) notes that any country would be hard-pressed to address all the elements of sustainable development simultaneously, especially developing countries. Giving priority to some over others implies trade-offs; for example, emphasizing urban areas usually means neglecting rural regions. A preference for biodiversity protection often means that sustained

yield harvesting of natural renewable resources has been abandoned, either industrially or, especially by local people.

These trades-offs are not inevitable. It is possible to craft policy that is more inclusive of seemingly competing goals. Focussing on traditional policy analysis – description of the problem and prescriptions for corrections – may not suffice. Clarifying policy options and the technical rationale for them are important steps. However, the environment and sustainable development in particular, are new issue areas. They are, therefore, the subject of contentious politics, the politics of reform and change (Tarrow, 1996). Conflict and cooperation among major stakeholders deeply influence policy outcomes. Under these circumstances, reformers interested in a more inclusive approach to sustainable development would benefit from knowing the major stakeholders, their interests, and their sources of influence. This information would place reformers in a better position to cast policy prescriptions for incremental change in a way that brings diverse interests together (Silva, 2003). Often policy-makers include a ‘mythical community’s’ interests in their policies without taking into account the diversity within communities themselves and amongst different communities.

2.7 Conflicts between sustainable development and nature

Soulé (2000) states that the economic development bandwagon produced a rapid shift from modest programmes supporting protected areas to costlier economic development projects outside these protected areas, referred to as ‘sustainable development’. This is because they may include a conservation or environmental element. An untested premise of sustainable development is that people will not be motivated to maintain ecosystem services or protect the natural world until their standard of living approaches that of the wealthier nations. Soulé (2000) further queries whether the sustainable development strategy has succeeded given that the stated objective to harmonize human economic needs and ambition with long-term social and economic stability is commendable.

A growing chorus of critics now believes that the popular ‘sustainable development paradigm’ has done more harm to nature than good, having set back conservation by a decade or more, particularly in the rainforest areas of the tropics. By viewing economic development as an alternative to strict nature protection, conservation organizations have benefited from multi-million-dollar grants from the World Bank and other lenders, but it appears doubtful that nature has similarly profited. It is more likely that the good (for nature) has become the hostage of the

expedient. The ascendance of sustainable development, in combination with expensive, ineffective, and misguided aid programmes, has slowed efforts to protect existing nature reserves, particularly in the tropics (Soulé, 2000). Simultaneously, there has been a drastic decline in the creation of new parks, while many others have ceased to exist in practice (Terborgh, 1999; Oates, 1999). Several authors also believe that retrospective evaluations of sustainable development projects show that they have achieved neither sustainability nor conservation (Redford & Sanderson, 1992; Robinson, 1993; Kramer *et al.*, 1997; Sanjayan *et al.*, 1997; Wells *et al.*, 1999; Bowles *et al.*, 1998).

Ludwig *et al.* (1993) and French (1999) believe that this is partly because effective means of instituting large-scale sustainable exploitation and agriculture are incompatible with capitalism and market globalization in their current manifestations. Another reason for this is that any improvement in a region's social infrastructure and standard of living are likely to attract large numbers of people from surrounding areas – the 'demographic magnetic effect' (Soulé, 2000). Oates (1999) documented that massive injections of money for sustainable development projects are generally harmful to both human and biological communities. Soulé (2000) strongly feels that nature conservation loses when coupled to expensive regional economic development projects. While improved economic conditions may ultimately reduce the size of families, this benefit comes too late to save nature locally or regionally. It is more than offset by the increase in gross and per capita consumption of local resources such as bush meat, timber, and other natural resource products.

Soulé (2000) further believes that no compassionate person can be opposed to the idea of sustainable development, even if it is an oxymoron at this point in history; something like it is essential. Terborgh (1999) states that, "The alternative 'to sustainable development' is exhaustion of natural resources, crushing poverty, and social anarchy". Furthermore, he states that "Given the expanding human population, the competitive nature of the global economy and our collective obsession with maximizing economic growth, sustainable development is currently unattainable" (Terborgh, 1999).

Soulé (2000) believes that sustainable development cannot be achieved without a long and difficult struggle tantamount to a social and economic revolution. Daly and Cobb (1994) support this perspective. Soulé (2000) notes that economic sustainability is a vision for the middle or late 21st century. Hopefully, the demographic, economic, and ethical conditions for sustainability will be achieved. The time-scale for effective nature protection, however, is

shorter – less than two or three decades. This means that extraction of resources and food from the earth, and true protection of biodiversity and wildness are faces on two different coins, requiring different visions and different programmes. Soulé (2000) warns that there is no empirical justification for the idea that the achievement of sustainable and equitable economies at some time in the distant future can act as substitutes for strict protection of biodiversity today. Brandon (1995) asserted that we cannot abandon conservation in this form even though the way parks and reserves are managed has to change altogether.

2.8 Poverty alleviation, biodiversity conservation and sustainable development

The international community has declared war on poverty and they are determined to win it. Poverty alleviation in developing countries has emerged as an important Millennial Development Goal. Consequently, the United Nations General Assembly undertakes to half the number of people living in extreme poverty by 2015. Ambitious and hopeful targets have been set to rectify one of the biggest problems in the world today. With this declaration of a new global war on poverty, the United Nations is trying to get the bigger human community to get involved in changing the lives of the poor (Sanderson & Redford, 2003). However, would this mean the end of biodiversity or the beginning of true sustainability even with the best-intentioned policies? Anderson *et al.* (1991) believe that if poverty alleviation strategies are not changed it will be at the cost of biodiversity and the human ‘subsidy from nature’ will tax biodiversity to death.

Sanderson and Redford (2003) maintain that this far-reaching and laudable social goal for poverty reduction is being debated within the development community itself by development advocates. However, the implications of traditional poverty alleviation strategies for another millennial priority, the conservation of biodiversity, are missing in this dialogue. They stated that biodiversity has disappeared from the global dialogue on sustainable development. To them, it is strange that even the most eminent spokesman of development and freedom, Amartya Sen, scarcely mentions biodiversity in his otherwise compelling proposals for the poor (Sen, 1999).

According to Sanderson and Redford (2003), this renewed focus on poverty alleviation without biodiversity conservation is concomitant with a shift of interest and funding away from biodiversity conservation programmes and objectives. This becomes very clear when you compare the agenda and results of the 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg with the 1992 World Summit on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro. Prior to 1992, sustainable development married economic improvement to conservation practice,

however, imperfectly. Frustrated by the floundering of the Rio process during the 1990s, developmentalists shifted the sustainability argument to read that poverty alleviation will itself achieve many conservation goals. Accordingly, poverty alleviation does not abandon conservation, but finds different means to achieve the same ends (Bojo *et al.*, 2001). Naughton and Sanderson (1995) assert that this perspective mirrors an earlier equally flawed argument that clear property rights would produce conservation. In fact, it has been found that both poverty alleviation and property rights only yield conservation when tied to an explicit conservation strategy.

Meier (1984) maintains that current poverty alleviation perspectives resuscitate economic development strategies of the 1950s, in which the gains in development were explained by greater access to markets, infrastructure support and economies of scale. In a world far more rural than today's, development emphasized significant increases in productivity of labour, land and capital. This meant access to subsidized agricultural credit, water, improved seed and inputs, and rationalization of labour and capital in primary commodities. Sanderson and Redford (2003) indicate that, in an increasingly urban world, the bulk of the world's rural poor struggle to increase productivity, pushed by pressures from urban consumption. With the exception of the poorest rural countries of equatorial Africa and South-east Asia, poverty alleviation today means access to the means of consumption in urban communities. With a closed agricultural frontier in much of the world, minimal unclaimed freshwater, high levels of land degradation, and an increasingly skewed rural-urban income distribution, the world will demand that fewer and poorer agriculturalists produce more commodities with fewer inputs for a rapidly growing consumer population (Sanderson & Redford, 2003).

To call this model sustainable requires great feats of imagination. In fact, the global community risks repeating the experience of the post-war developmentalists (Sanderson & Redford, 2003). It is no less true now than 50 years ago that "there is a real danger of the macro-models of economic development 'running on their own steam' without any reference to the fundamental human problems of backwardness" (Myint, 1954).

The tremendous gains in human welfare in the post-war decades cannot be undervalued, but neither can the huge environmental costs of this economic development (Sanderson & Redford 2003). Accordingly, the sustainable development push of the 1980s and 1990s, with its explicit conservation objectives, had great potential to marry human possibilities to conservation needs (Lele, 1992; Redford & Sanderson, 1992). Sanderson and Redford (2003) also warn that

without changing the economic premises of development, the global community risks travelling back to the past, by recycling strategies from a bygone era. Some examples of where the relationship between biodiversity conservation and economic growth have gone sour are the tropical forests of equatorial Africa, Indonesia and Amazonia, where mining biodiversity means short-term gains in the forestry sector, but long-term detriment to the world's tropical biota.

In its new outfit, poverty alleviation has largely replaced biodiversity conservation. This trend has gone largely unnoticed, but it poses a significant threat to conservation objectives. Yet conservation organizations could actually help poverty alleviation through conservation by working with small-scale, low-output producers on the ecological frontier. This complements Millennium Development Goals and can be important to true long-term poverty alleviation. Human-oriented, small-scale conservation could be as important to poverty alleviation as micro-lending is to development finance: not readily scalable, not changing aggregate national income figures, but also not irresponsible in resource use, and extremely valuable to those who will not benefit from traditional development strategies (Sanderson & Redford 2003).

Redford and Padoch (1991) pointed out that one must think of conservation in the most remote and fragile ecosystems as partnership opportunities for poverty alleviation. Effective, long-term field conservation in small communities in fragile ecosystems can and does sustain biodiversity, as well as support vanishing folkways, languages and communities. Nevertheless, such complementarities can only be achieved if we respect the strengths and weaknesses of both conservation and poverty alleviation efforts and the trade-offs inherent in integrating them.

The millennial challenge is not to divert development and poverty alleviation from the needs of natural systems, nor to ratchet up the demand by human populations on primary commodity output. Even without bolder calls for changing income distribution to favour the poor, more creative and integrative poverty alleviation in the countryside could result from a more successful marriage of biodiversity conservation and rural development. The single requirement is a dedication to creating the kinds of partnerships between conservationists and developmentalists that eluded the Rio process and virtually vanished in the Johannesburg Summit in 2002 (Sanderson & Redford, 2003). That is why studies that look at the synergies between biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation are very important.

So where do we find the middle ground between biodiversity conservation and sustainable development? Sekhar (2003) argues that we should strive to: (1) generate financial support for conservation of protected areas, and (2) generate economic benefits for local people

living near protected areas. In so doing, we generate support for conservation among these local communities, partly due to the economic benefits. Both the proponents and opponents of sustainable development or the sustainable use approach to nature protection agree on one point: without the support of local people, protected areas cannot survive where the populations are dense, poor and hungry.

2.9 Creating nature stewardship in local people

The question is how to create and sustain an attitude of stewardship among people who struggle for survival. The issue, according to Soulé (2000), is not whether development is good or bad, sustainable or not sustainable. Rather, it is whether local communities (indigenous or not) will want to adhere to their pre-industrial, pre-globalization population density and their traditional ways of living, including the protection of natural areas from over-harvesting.

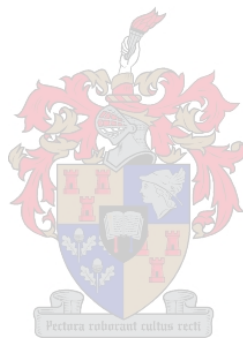
Sekhar (2003) found that there appears to be a correlation between benefits obtained by local people from wildlife tourism and other sources, and support for protected area existence. This suggests that benefits encourage people's attitudes towards conservation. Some of the main problems are unequal distribution of tourism benefits, lack of local people's involvement in tourism and development. There is a need to clearly address these issues, so that protected areas may get the support of local people, which may lead to sustainable development (Sekhar, 2003).

The solutions must be explored and tested through a process of continuous adaptive learning. This involves making political choices that affect everyone and require wide support and engagement. As there can be no permanent solutions in a world that is ecologically and culturally dynamic, these choices will have to be made again and again as circumstances evolve. Therefore, moving toward sustainability will require radically a broadened base of participants and a political process that continuously keeps them engaged. The process must encourage the perpetual hearing, testing, working through, and modification of competing visions *at the community level* (Prugh *et al.*, 2000).

When their decisions matter, people are more inclined to get involved and stay involved, and so a powerful social expectation of involvement is created. Once this process of involvement is established, sustainability becomes a moving beacon drawing people onward, not a predefined goal whose achievement marks the end of the journey (Fiallo & Jacobsen, 1995).

However, we should keep in mind the warnings given by several authors against the costs that sustainable development would place on biodiversity conservation. Therefore, a study of

this nature which examines synergies between biodiversity conservation and sustainable development is likely to contribute useful information to this debate. We constantly have to monitor the process of natural resources management and use to avoid partners dominating each other and to prevent the termination of relationships among stakeholders.



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Chapter 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

Summary

Local community responses to fishing and their socio-economic characteristics which influenced their attitudes towards conservation in the Tsitsikamma National Park were determined. The respondents' ethnic groups, area of birth and their language proved to be the best socio-economic indicators of their support to the park's conservation mandate. The respondents who are native to the area and coloured were the most negative towards the park's no-fishing policy. The majority of Afrikaans-speaking community members considered the park and its fisheries resources as a community resource and would like it to remain that way. The native, coloured Afrikaans-speaking respondents in Tsitsikamma indicated that they do not fish for subsistence purposes only, but mainly as a form of protest against the park administration that took away their fishing rights. There was an equal need amongst the genders for access to the fisheries resources. However, the men had the strongest urge to defend community rights by fishing illegally in the park. All the black respondents supported illegal fishing on the premise that it is the only source of food for many people in the area.

3.1 Introduction

South Africa had been guilty of environmental racism. Environmental racism took many extreme forms in apartheid South Africa. One dimension of this was the separation of black South Africans from their rights in national parks. This abrogation of rights involved the expulsion of black South Africans from land later used to create national parks. It further saw their exclusion from physical access to, and managerial control of national parks (Cock & Fig, 2000). Consequently, communities saw SANParks as usurpers of land, wildlife and medicinal resources. Some neighbouring communities resented parks for fencing access to water in times of drought, when their livestock came under risk (Cock & Fig, 2000). Or, as in the case of the Tsitsikamma National Park, restricting their access to fishing in the park, which has always been a recreational activity for the communities as well as a much needed source of protein.

The poor conservation outcomes that followed decades of intrusive resource management strategies and planned development have forced policy makers and scholars to reconsider the role of community in resource use and conservation. In a break from previous work on

development, which considered communities as a hindrance to progressive social change, current writings champion the role of communities in bringing about decentralization, meaningful participation, and conservation (Agrawal, 1999).

The purpose of this study is to determine how supportive the communities are of the Tsitsikamma National Park's conservation mandate. This objectives was met by asking certain members of the local communities that live in the vicinity of the national park to express opinions on (1) the current policy that prohibits fishing in the park; (2) opening the whole or some part of the park to fishing; (3) who should fish in the park; (4) the current practice of illegal fishing in the park; and (5) the rationale for fishing inside the protected marine area. The results of this survey are discussed with special reference to the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. It is noteworthy that these characteristics defined the local people's responses. Furthermore, the discussion was conducted in a manner that compares the responses of the communities in Tsitsikamma with community attitudes in other parks.

3.2 Results

The data were entered into Excel and analysed using Statistica 7.0. Chi-square tests were done to determine significance differences with a 95% confidence interval.

Table 3(i): Perceptions of the respondents who thought that the whole park should not be opened for fishing on 'why not'

Why should the whole park not be opened?	Proportion
Open only a piece	17% (n = 7)
Open a piece only for communities	10% (n = 4)
Communities cannot fish responsibly	19% (n = 8)
Fishermen will bother tourists	10% (n = 4)
The park is for conservation	57% (n = 24)
Makes no difference to me	7% (n = 3)

Table 3(ii): Perceptions of the respondents who thought that fishing should be allowed in the park on 'who should fish'

Who should fish in the park?	Proportion
The communities that live around the park	50% (n = 29)
People that fished in the area before it was declared a park	7% (n = 4)
People who do not have any other source of food	21% (n = 12)
Anyone who can get a permit	47% (n = 27)

Table 3(iii): Rationale for illegal fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

Why fish illegally in the park?	Proportion
Our parents and grandparents did it	52% (n = 13)
Lived here before there was a park	60% (n = 15)
The communities have a right to use these resources	60% (n = 15)
It is a hobby for many people	16% (n = 4)
Only source of food for a lot of people	76% (n = 19)
Also receive fish from them	40% (n = 10)

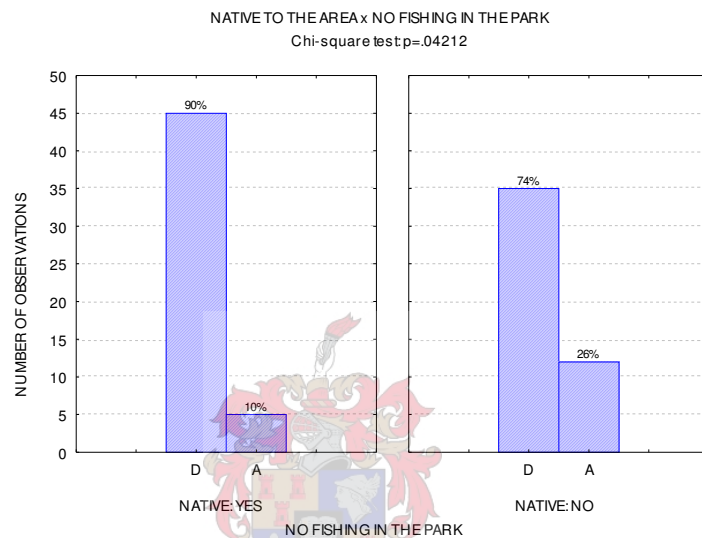


Figure 3a

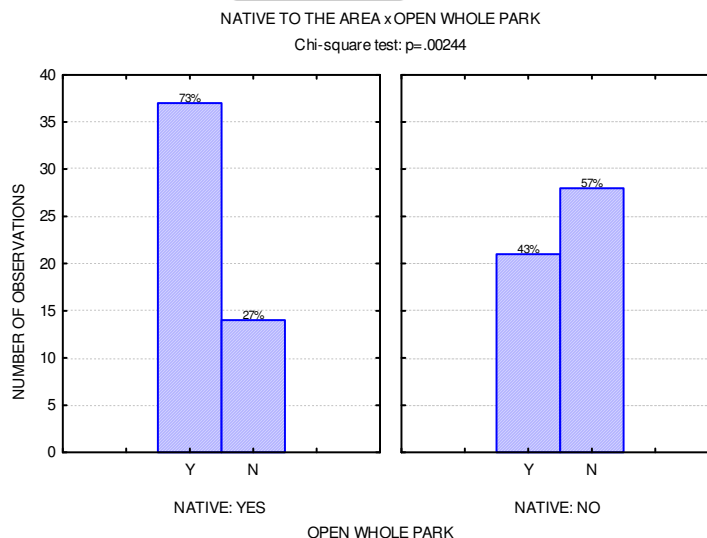


Figure 3b

Figure 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

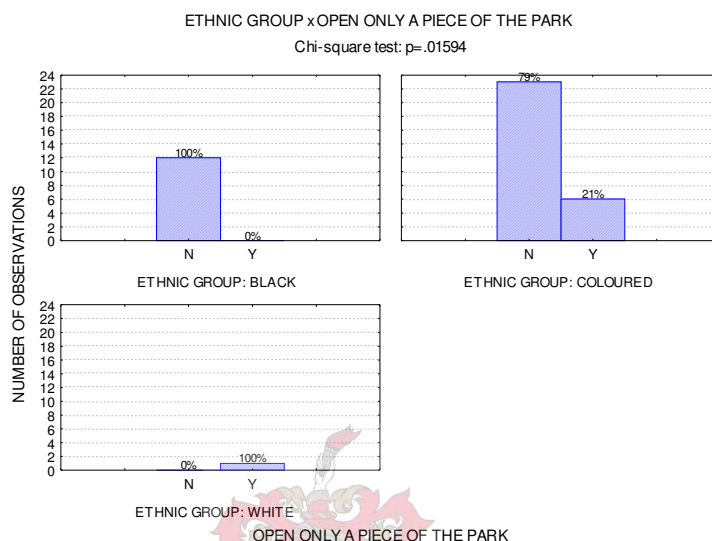


Figure 3c

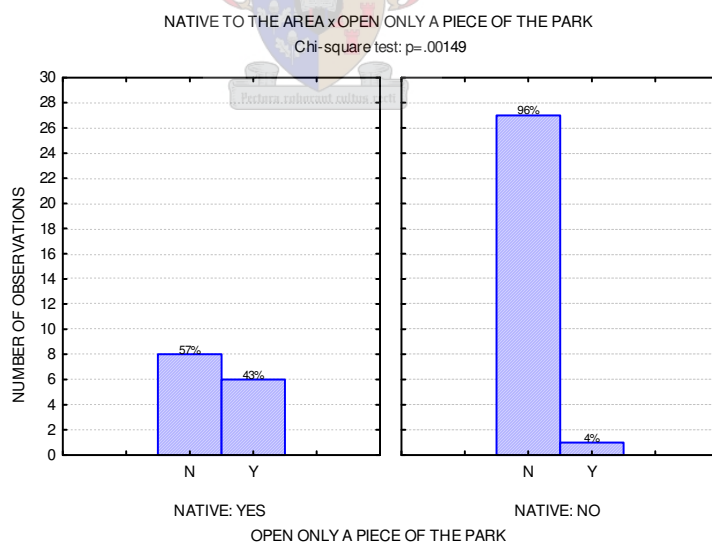


Figure 3d

Figure 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

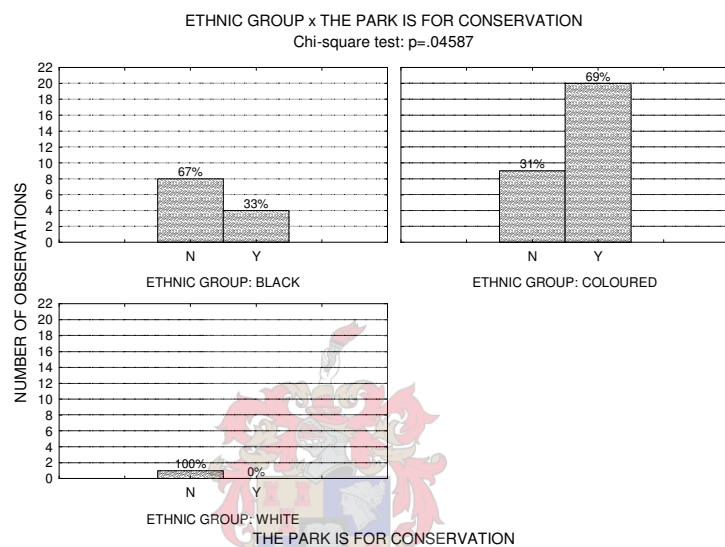


Figure 3e

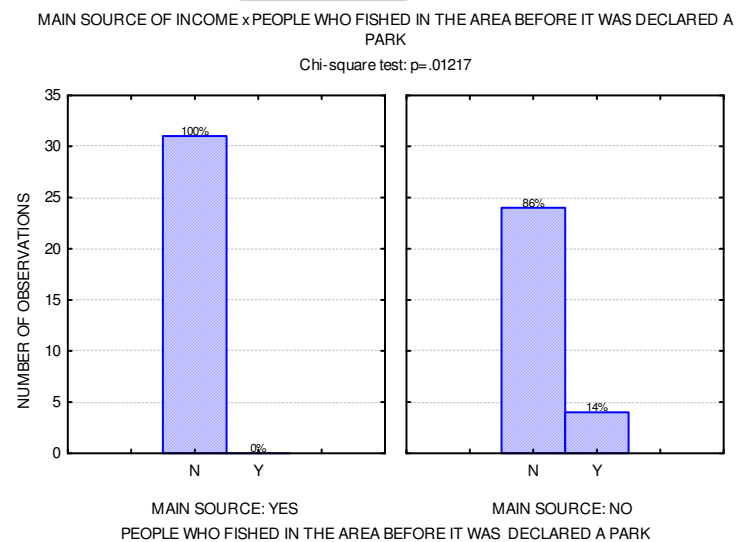


Figure 3f

Figure 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

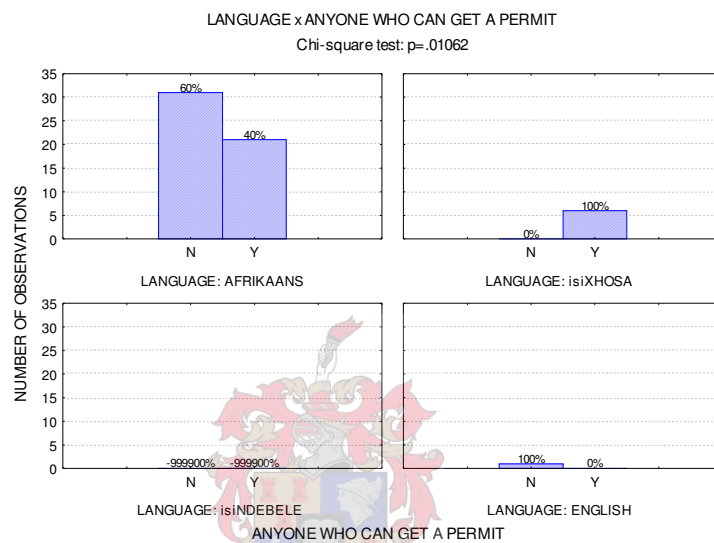


Figure 3g

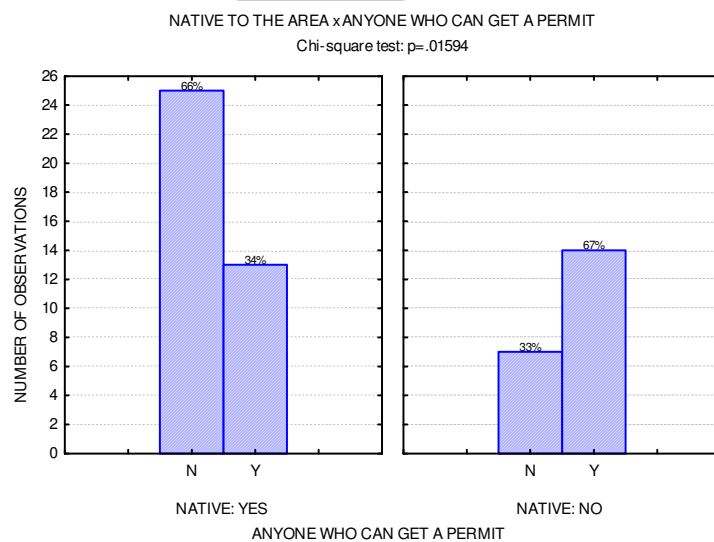


Figure 3h

Figure 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

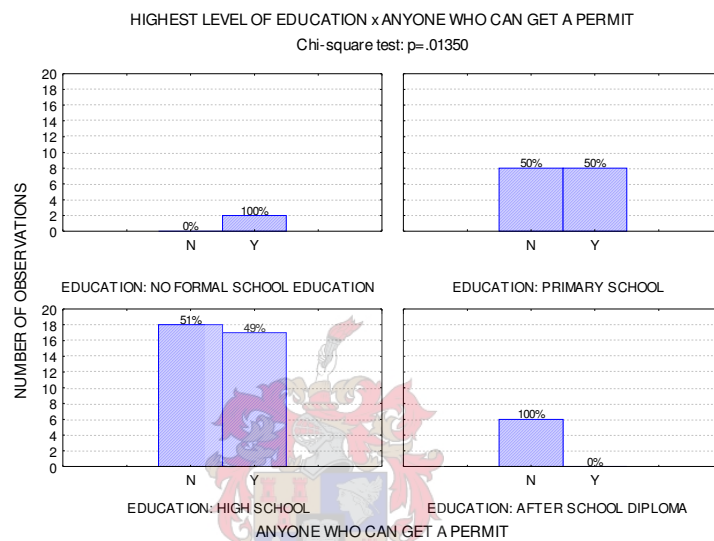


Figure 3i

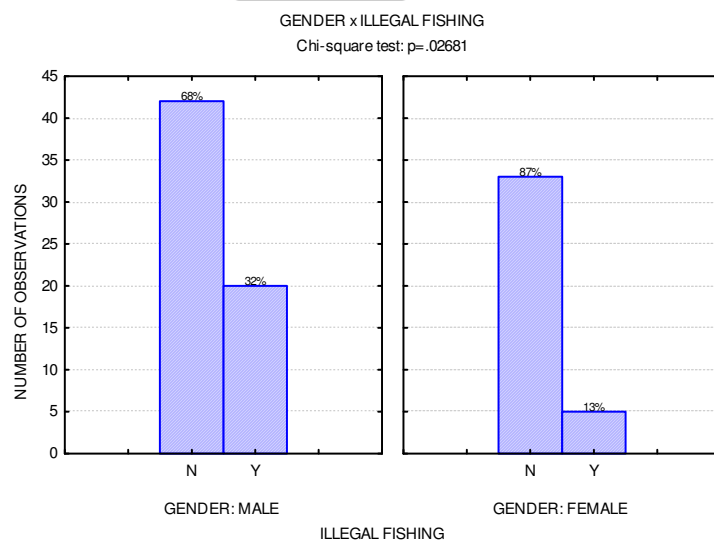


Figure 3j

Figure 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

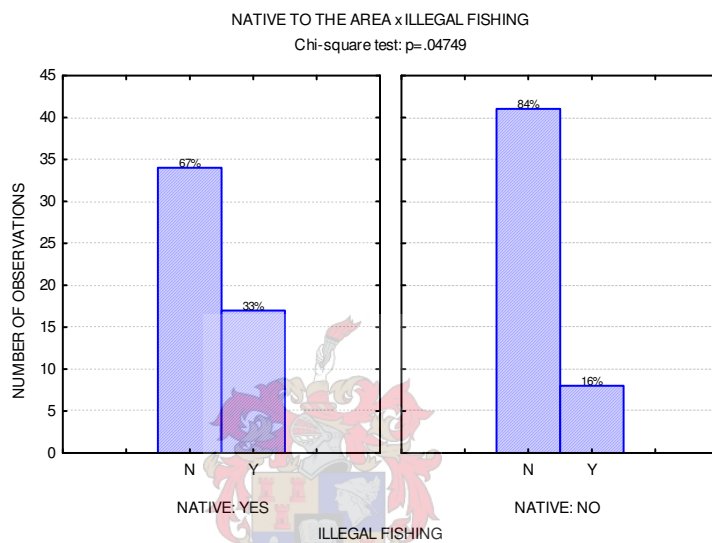


Figure 3k

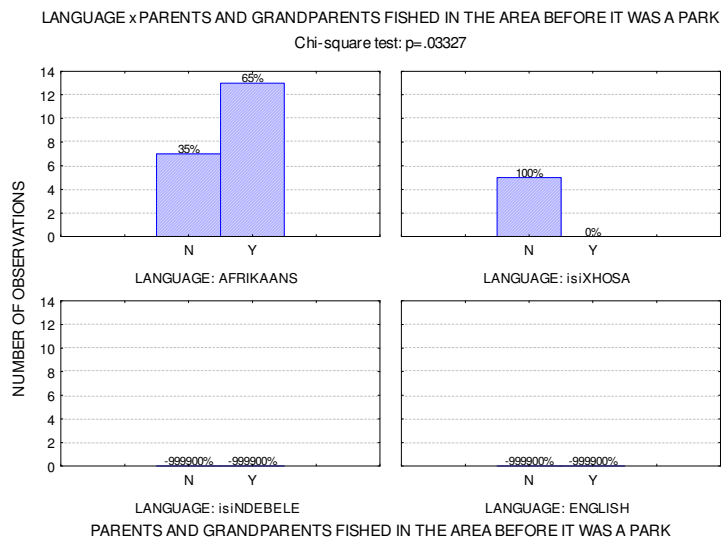


Figure 3l

Figure 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

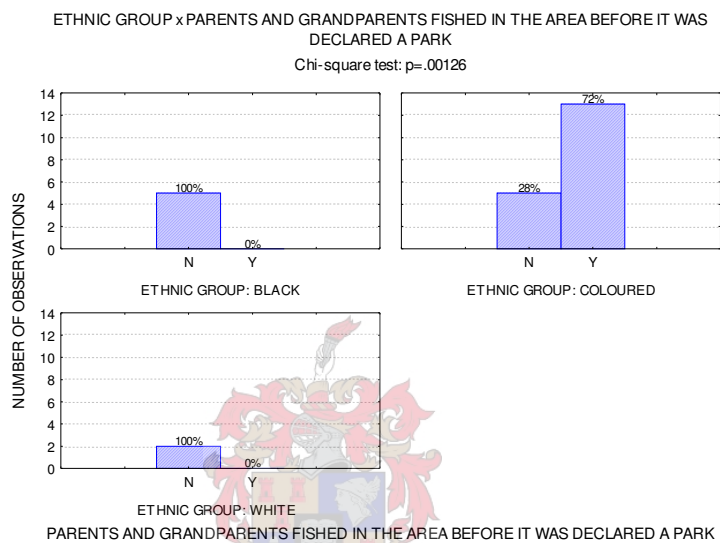


Figure 3m

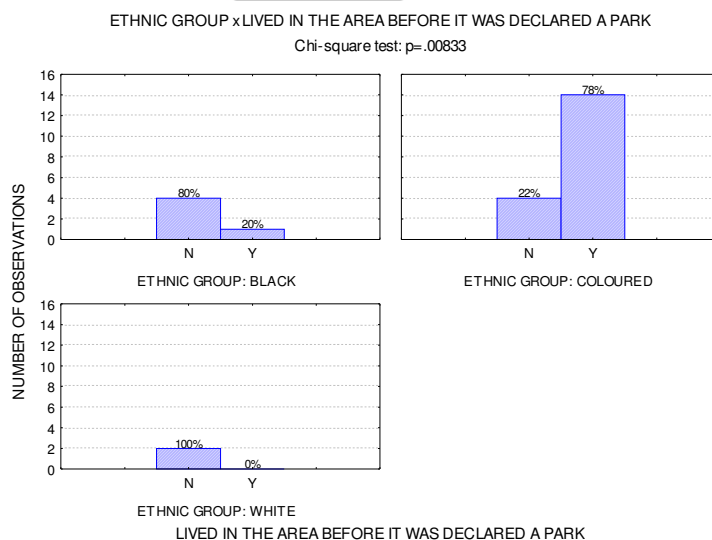


Figure 3n

Figure 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

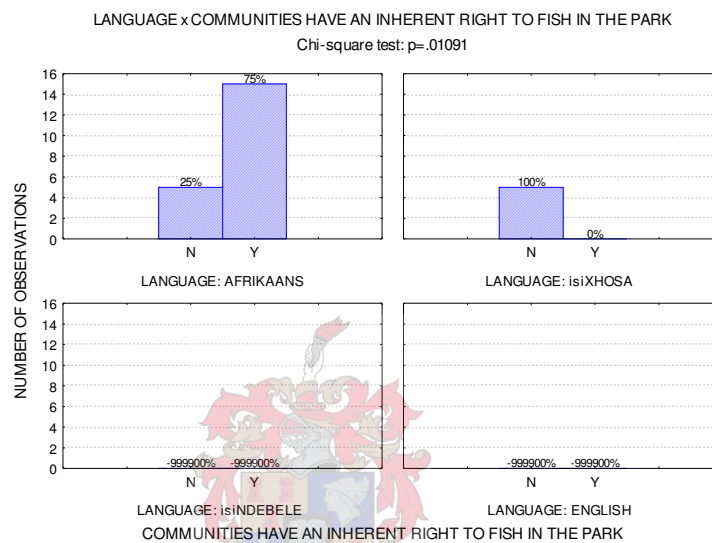


Figure 3o

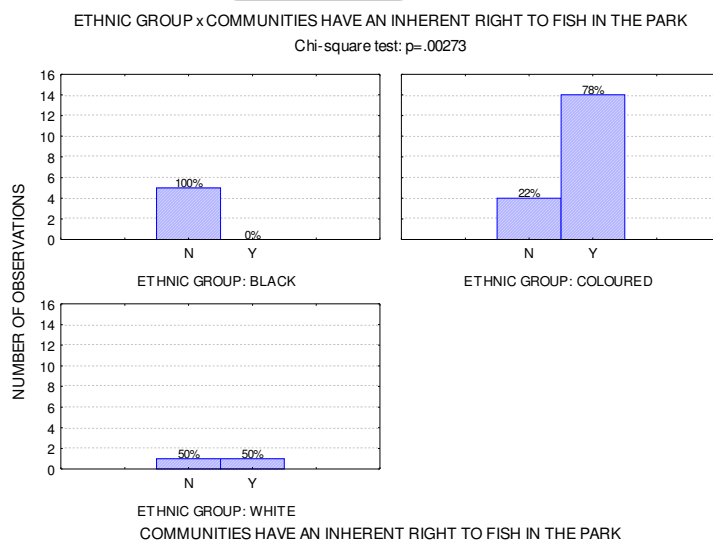


Figure 3p

Figure 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

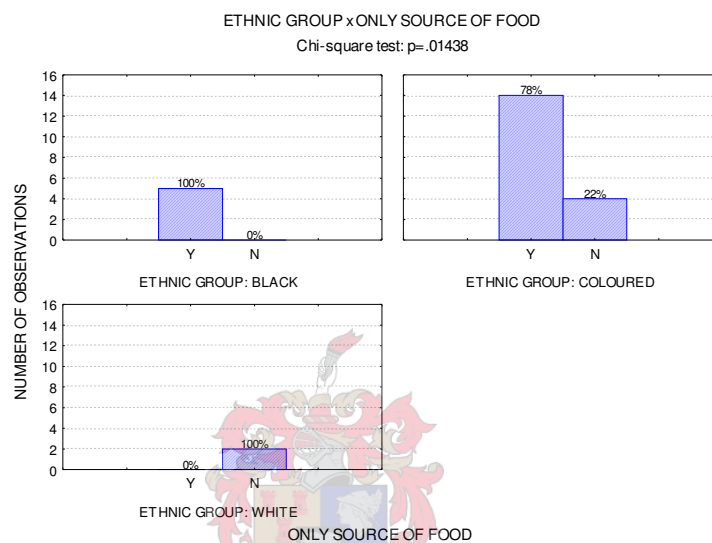


Figure 3q

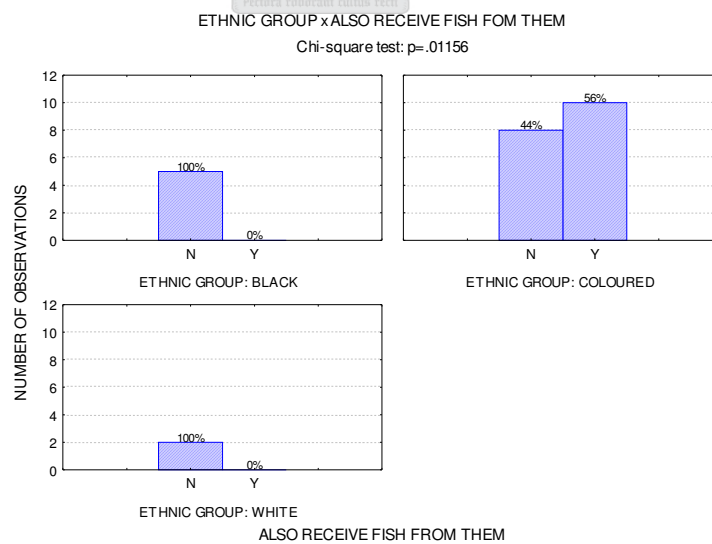


Figure 3r

Figure 3: Local community responses to fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park

All the respondents indicated that they believe that the communities should support the park in the conservation of nature. However, 80% (n=80) of the respondents disagreed with the 'no-take' policy that the park has on fishing in the park. Only 17% (n=17) of the respondents agreed with this policy and 3% (n=3) did not respond to this question. Ninety percent (n=45) of the surveyed native and 74% (n=35) of the non-native respondents disagreed with this policy. Thus, there is a significant difference ($p=0.04212$) between the respondents who disagreed with the 'no-take' policy on fishing and their area of birth (Fig 3a). Fifty-eight (n=58) percent of the respondents interviewed wanted the whole park to be opened for fishing. Seventy-three percent (n=37) of the native respondents wanted the park to be opened to fishing whereas only 43% (n=21) of the respondents who were born elsewhere wanted the whole park to be opened to fishing. Consequently, there is a significant difference ($p=0.00244$) between the respondents who think that the whole park should be opened to fishing and their area of birth (Fig 3b).

The respondents who did not want the whole park to be opened to fishing were asked to motivate their answers (Table 3(i)). Seventeen percent (n=7) wanted a piece of the park to be opened to fishing and 10% (n=4) wanted a piece to be opened exclusively for the communities. Nineteen percent (n=8) of the respondents believed that the communities cannot fish responsibly and therefore the whole park should not be opened. Ten percent (n=4) stated that fishermen would bother the tourists that visit the Tsitsikamma National Park. Fifty-seven percent (n=24) of the respondents maintained that the park is for conservation only. Seven percent (n=3) reported that the no-fishing policy in the park makes no difference to them.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.01594$) between the community members who wanted only a piece of the park (not the whole park) to be opened to fishing and their ethnicity. None of the black respondents agreed on opening only a piece of the park to fishing. However, 21% (n=5) of the coloured respondents suggested that only a piece of the park should be opened, while the white respondent (n=1) believed that only a piece should be opened to fishing (Fig 3c). Furthermore, 43% (n=6) and 4% (n=1) of the respondents who were born in the area and not born in the area, respectively, wanted only a piece of the park to be opened. Similarly, there is a significant difference ($p=0.00149$) between the respondents who wanted only a piece of the park to be opened to fishing and their area of birth (Fig 3d). There is also a significant difference ($p=0.04587$) between the community members who did not want the whole park to be opened to fishing and their ethnicity. Thirty-three percent (n=4) and 69% (n=20) of the black respondents and coloured respondents did not want the whole park to be opened to fishing, respectively.

They considered the park to be a sanctuary for conserving biodiversity. None of the white respondents expressed opinion on why the park should not be opened to fishing (Fig 3e).

On asking who should be permitted to fish in the park, 50% (n=29) of the respondents who thought that fishing should be allowed in the park agreed that the communities that live around the park should be allowed to fish. Seven percent (n=4) agreed that only people who fished before the sea was declared a national park should be permitted to fish, 21% (n=12) stated that only those who have no other source of income should be allowed, while 47% (n=27) indicated that any person who could get a permit should be allowed to fish (Table 3(ii)).

There is a significant difference ($p=0.01217$) between the respondents who indicated that people who fished in the area before it was declared a park should be allowed to fish and the sources of income in their households. None of the respondents who were the main sources of income in their households stated that people who fished in the area before it was declared a national park should be allowed to fish now. However, 14% (n=4) of the respondents who were not the main sources of income indicated that people who fished in the area before it was a park should be allowed to fish in the park now (Fig 3f).

There is also a significant difference ($p=0.01062$) between the respondents who wanted anyone who could get a permit to fish in the park and their language. Forty percent (n=21) of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents thought that anyone who could secure a permit should be allowed to fish, while all the IsiXhosa-speaking respondents (n=6) believed that any person who could obtain a permit should be allowed to fish. None of the English-speaking respondents supported this view (Fig 3g). Likewise, there is a significant difference ($p=0.01594$) between the respondents who wanted anyone who could get a permit to be allowed to fish in the park and their area of birth. Sixty-seven percent (n=14) of the respondents who were not born in the area thought that anyone should be allowed to fish in the park with a permit. Only 34% (n=13) of the respondents who were born in the area stated that anyone with a permit should be allowed to fish in the park (Fig 3h). There is a significant difference ($p=0.01350$) between the respondents who wanted anyone who could get a permit to fish and their levels of education. All the respondents without formal school education wanted anyone who could get a permit to fish in the park (n=2). None of the respondents with a tertiary education wanted anyone who could get a permit to fish. Community members who finished primary school were equally divided on this matter (n=8). However, 49% (n=17) of secondary school leavers wanted any person who has a permit to fish in the park (Fig 3i).

Twenty-five percent (n=25) of the respondents maintained that it is right that people fish illegally in the park. There is a significant difference ($p=0.02681$) between the community members who thought that illegal fishing is right and their gender. Thirty-two percent (n=20) of the male respondents and only 13% (n=5) of the female respondents considered illegal fishing to be right (Fig 3j). There is also a significant difference ($p=0.04749$) between the community members who supported illegal fishing and their area of birth. Thirty-three percent (n=17) and 16% (n=8) of the local people who are native and non-native to the area, respectively, supported illegal fishing (Fig 3k).

Table 3(iii) justifies illegal fishing, according to local community perceptions. Fifty-two percent (n=13) of the respondents rationalised illegal fishing on the grounds that their parents and grandparents used to fish in the area without restrictions. Sixty percent (n=15) of the respondents reported that it is right because had they lived in the area before it was designated as a park. Furthermore, 60% (n=15) stated that they have a right to use the resources. Sixteen percent (n=4) reported that it is a hobby for many people and therefore it is justified in an area where there is a lack of social activities. As much as 76% (n=19) of the respondents maintained that illegal fishing is justified because it is the only source of food source for many people. Forty percent (n=10) of the respondents receive fish from the people who fish illegally in the park and therefore reported that illegal fishing is justified for them.

Grouping respondents by language categories reveals a significant difference ($p=0.03327$) between the community members who thought that it is right to fish illegally in the park (because their ancestors did it) and their home language. None of the IsiXhosa-speaking community members indicated that one's heritage justifies illegal fishing in the park. The same applies to the English-speaking and Ndebele-speaking community members, while 65% (n=13) of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents believed that their heritage justifies illegal fishing (Fig 3l). In the same vein, categorising the respondents according to their ethnicity shows a significant difference ($p=0.00126$) between the community members who thought that it is right to fish illegally in the park (because their ancestors did it) and their ethnicity. Seventy-two percent (n=13) of the coloured respondents indicated that their cultural linkage to the sea justifies illegal fishing in the park, while none of the white or black respondents thought so (Fig 3m).

Similarly, there is a significant difference ($p=0.00833$) between the respondents who believed that they have a right to fish illegally in the park (because they have lived in the area before it was declared a park) and their ethnic groups. Seventy-eight (n=14) percent of the

coloured community members considered it appropriate to fish illegally in the park because they had lived in the area before it was declared a park. Only 20% (n=1) of the black respondents reported that this justifies illegal fishing in the park, while none of the white respondents supported this view (Fig 3n).

There is a significant difference ($p=0.01091$) between the community members who believed that the communities have inherent rights to fish illegally in the park and their language. Seventy-five percent (n=15) of the Afrikaans-speaking community members thought that 'inherent rights' to the area justifies illegal fishing. However, none of the IsiXhosa-speaking respondents thought so (Fig 3o). There is also a significant difference ($p=0.00273$) between the community members who believed that the communities have inherent rights to use the resources in the park and their ethnic group. Seventy-eight percent (n=14) of the coloured and 50 % (n=1) of the white respondents felt that it is their right, but none of the black community members said that the community members' inherent rights justifies illegal fishing in the park (Fig 3p).

There is a further significant difference ($p=0.01438$) between the respondents who believed that lack of any alternative source of food justifies illegal fishing and their ethnic groups. All the black respondents (n=5) and 78% (n=14) of the coloured respondents supported this view, although none of the white community members supported it (Fig 3q). Finally, there is a significant difference ($p=0.01156$) between the community members who supported illegal fishing because they derive fish from poachers and their ethnic groups. Fifty-six percent (n=10) of the coloured respondents stated that receiving fish from poachers justifies illegal fishing in the park. Conversely, none of the black and white respondents supported this view (Fig 3r).

3.3 Discussions

Graham-Kordich (2003) reported that residence time has an effect on a community's views of protected areas. This is due to the fact that native community members have been dealing with political problems for a long time. These residents have been more aware of and affected by conflicts with conservation authorities than residents who have not spent as much time in the community. This is true for the native community members in Tsitsikamma. The traditional people that lived in Tsitsikamma (referring especially to those that lived in the area before the proclamation of the park in 1964) are Afrikaans-speaking coloured people. These people are proud of being from Tsitsikamma. They have an emotional attachment to the area, which can be

seen in their responses. However, all the respondents considered it necessary to support the nature conservation mandate of the park. This is encouraging, but the communities' responses suggested that they would like this to happen on their terms.

3.3.1 The park's 'no-fishing' policy

The majority of respondents (80%) resented the fact that they are not allowed to fish in the park. However, people who were born in the area have a stronger affinity to fish in the park than those who came from elsewhere. The need to fish legally and illegally in the park was expressed by most of the key informants during the interviews. The same request also surfaced at the data gathering workshop. More native respondents than non-native respondents do not agree with the park's 'no-fishing' policy. Similarly, more people who were born in the area would like the park to be opened to fishing. This is due to the fact that some of these respondents still remember what it was like to fish in the area before it was a park and when sections of the park were still open to fishing. It is the author's opinion that these community members associate fishing with a time in Tsitsikamma when their lives were much happier and simpler. New housing developments in the area draw many immigrants from other parts of the country into Tsitsikamma without sufficient employment opportunities to sustain them. The key informants stated during the interviews and discussions that the native community members blame the increased crime rate in the area on this regular influx of people to the area. These socio-economic problems would, however, not simply disappear if the communities were suddenly allowed unrestricted access to fish in the park.

Forty-two percent of the respondents do not want the whole park to be opened to fishing. More than half of these respondents maintained that the park is for the conservation of biodiversity; allowing fishing is contradictory to this conservation mandate. There were, nevertheless, respondents who indicated that they do not want the whole park to be opened to fishing, but would want a piece of the park to be opened for this purpose. Most of these are coloured respondents and are native to the area. They clearly want to fish whether it is by having access to the whole park or just to a piece of the park. Most of the community members interviewed in February and June 2004 only want a designated area for fishing. However, such an area must be a safe place. The same request was repeated in September 2005. There is much need from people who were born in the area to fish even though not all of them would like the whole park to be opened to fishing.

It was unexpected that 69% of the coloured respondents, who thought that the whole park should not be opened to fishing, stated that it is because the park is for conservation. However, 65% of these coloured respondents are not native to the area and none of them have lived in Tsitsikamma for more than four years. Only 35% of the long-standing coloured residents maintained that the whole park should not be opened to fishing because of the park's conservation mandate. The same lack of support for protected areas from long-term residents was seen in the Machalilla National Park (Ecuador). The long-term residents showed less support for conservation than the community members who were not born in the area (Fiallo & Jacobsen, 1995). In the interviews, several coloured informants stated that they had always been conservationists who have had a close relationship with nature, but they have not supported the park's 'no-fishing' policy. Support for conservation from the communities while utilizing natural resource illegally is not unique to the Tsitsikamma National Park. The same finding was reported in the Koshi Tappu Wildlife Reserve, where 80% of the respondents who admitted to poaching, claimed to "like" conservation and were also aware of conservation (Lam, 2003). Therefore, simply expressing a positive attitude towards conservation is not enough.

3.3.2 Who should fish in the park?

The respondents were equally divided when they were asked about who should be allowed to fish. One half of the respondents believed that it should only be the communities who live around the park and the other half believed that it should be anyone who could get a permit. Surprisingly, fewer respondents indicated that it should only be the community members who fished in the area before it was declared a park. Seventy-five percent of these respondents are native to the area. This means that the native respondents would like to ensure that their fishing rights are transferred to their offspring.

Fourteen percent of the respondents, who are not the main sources of income in their households, wanted people who fished in the area before it was declared a park to be allowed to fish. All of these respondents were unemployed at the time. However, it is important to note that the community members who are not the main sources of income are not necessarily unemployed. The employed and mainly educated respondents seemed to realize that it would be impossible to reverse the SANParks' stance on fishing.

Even though 40% of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents stated that anyone who could get a permit should be allowed to fish, 53% of them wanted the communities that live around the

park to fish in the park. The majority of Afrikaans-speaking community members consider the park and its fisheries resources as a community resource and want it to remain that way. These respondents are all, save one black respondent, coloured community members. One English-speaking respondent noted that people who live around the park should be allowed to fish and this respondent is also a coloured person.

Significantly less respondents who were born in the area than respondents who came from elsewhere would like just anyone who could get a permit to fish in the park. Fifty-six percent of the respondents who are native to the area, and want the park to be opened to fishing, would like the communities who live around the park to be allowed to fish. Clearly, the native Afrikaans-speaking coloured Tsitsikamma residents felt that this is a community resource.

None of the respondents with tertiary education wanted just anyone who could get a recreational fishing permit to be allowed to fish in the park. This would increase unprecedented pressure on the resource. This appears to support the hypothesis that sustainable rural development (including increased and better education) leads to biodiversity conservation because respondents with tertiary education seemed to have a better understanding of the sustainable use of natural resources. However, it is the author's opinion that this merely shows how strongly the respondents felt about keeping it a community resource.

Ninety-eight percent of the respondents who wanted the whole park to be opened for fishing wanted it for subsistence purposes whereas 2% wanted fishing for commercial use. It became apparent in the interviews and the workshop that the communities have no need for turning fishing in the park into a business enterprise. Nonetheless, it was also clarified that the communities are open to other business opportunities in the park like selling their handicrafts.

3.3.3 Illegal fishing

It is encouraging for SANParks and conservation that 75% of the respondents surveyed oppose poaching in the park. This means that local people would be willing to facilitate law enforcement and report offenders, if their views and needs are taken into account. One way of controlling illegal fishing would be to heed the voices of the local communities to legalize fishing in specific areas as requested by the 58% of all the respondents interviewed.

In Africa, it has been found that generally women suffer the most when access is restricted to natural resources due to their greater reliance on the collection of resources on a day-to-day basis. Consequently, they are more negative towards conservation than men (Flintan,

2003). More male respondents than female respondents considered illegal fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park appropriate. However, the preliminary research, interviews with key informants and the workshop all indicate that there is an equal need among the genders for fishing to be allowed in the park. The female respondents appear to be less supportive of illegal fishing and therefore show greater support for the park's conservation mandate. However, in the Selous Game Reserve in Tanzania it was the men who actually showed a more positive attitude towards conservation (Gillingham & Lee, 1999). Thus, gender is not an attribute that can be used to make predictions about community responses to conservation as it is maintained by Flintan (2003).

The majority of the respondents who have no problem with illegal fishing in the park are native to the area. Comparing the proportion of this group with the 75% who opposed illegal fishing reveals a limited support for illegal fishing in the Tsitsikamma area. This is far more than was predicted based on the interviews and the workshop where it was stated that the communities see it as their right to fish illegally.

Seventy-six percent of the respondents legitimised illegal fishing on the basis that it is the only source of food for a lot of people. This statement is hard to prove or disprove because many of the key informants who were interviewed and felt strongly against the no-take policy on fishing do not depend on fishing as a livelihood strategy. Also, only 2% of the respondents indicated that they depend on wild foods as a livelihood strategy (Table 1). Conversely, people who actually depend on subsistence fishing might not be forthcoming about it or they were not directly included in the survey.

Many key informants repeatedly stated that the socio-economic problems in the area, especially the alcohol abuse is due to the lack of recreational activities in the area. Fishing as a hobby was not an option in the questionnaire. There might be more respondents who could choose it, if it was. Sixteen percent of the respondents gave this reason even though it was not an option. This was again confirmed in the interviews in September 2005 during which the communities blamed the loss of access to the fisheries resources in the park for the high alcohol abuse in the Tsitsikamma area.

It was expected that the Afrikaans-speaking respondents would like the communities to fish illegally in the park. This was confirmed by 65% of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents who believed that illegal fishing is right because their parents and grandparents fished in the area before it was declared a park. The traditional people in Tsitsikamma are concerned about their

ancestral rights to fish in the park. Nonetheless, not all of the Afrikaans-speaking coloured respondents are native to the area. However, the immigrants felt sympathy for people whose parents and grandparents fished in the area before it was declared a park. This is confirmed by the fact that 75% of the respondents, who maintained that only people who fished in the area before it was declared protected should be allowed to fish, are not native to Tsitsikamma. Consistent with this is the fact that 78% of the coloured respondents indicated that illegal fishing is justified because they had lived in the area before it was declared a park. The coloured people would like to fish in the park possibly as a restoration of their ancestral rights.

Seventy-five percent of the Afrikaans-speaking community members support illegal fishing on the basis that they have inherent rights to the resources in the park. Afrikaans is the dominant and native language of the vast majority of the coloured people in Tsitsikamma. Consequently, the majority of the Afrikaans-speaking respondents are coloured people. Thus, results obtained for Afrikaans-speaking respondents generally apply to coloured respondents. This is confirmed by the fact that 78% of the coloured community members felt that the communities have inherent rights to use the resources in the park. These intrinsic rights are related to the community's proximity to the resource. This view is supported by Ghimere and Pimbert (1997) who maintain that local social development is also crucial in its own right. They believe that rural people deserve to have access to the resources required to meet their basic needs, economic safety and, where possible, upward social mobility. Based on this, the Tsitsikamma National Park needs to consider the communities' intrinsic rights to the fisheries resources.

All the black respondents support illegal fishing on the premise that it is the only food source for many people. They do not have political and emotional interest in this matter, especially as they see fishing in the park only as an alternative food source in an area with a high unemployment rate. Many of the key informants stressed in the interviews that the black community members who were not born in the area are not fishermen. Sixty percent of the black respondents who support poaching were not born in Tsitsikamma. It seems that illegal fishing would benefit this section of the community who are the least employed in the area. There is a large unemployment problem among the black community members who mostly come from the northern part of the country and are not fluent in Afrikaans. Afrikaans could be seen as a barrier to job acquisition by the black people. They are the most unemployed and as a result they could benefit from a decision that permits fishing for the poorest inhabitants. It is worth noting that

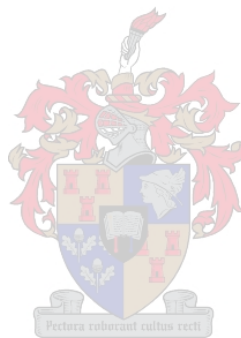
people were not asked about whether they fish illegally in the park. It was a general perceptions survey. Seventy-eight percent of the coloured respondents stated that lack of alternatives for poorer households justifies illegal fishing for them. This is, however, contradictory to the number of respondents who indicated that collecting wild foods is one of their livelihood strategies (Table 1). It could be that they misunderstood the concept of 'wild foods', which includes fishing. In fact, the local communities in Tsitsikamma might still be practising subsistence fishing more than the park realizes or it would like to admit. Unfortunately, a similar dependence on protected natural resources led to a more negative feeling towards the park and conservation (Nepal & Weber, 1995). Therefore, it is important that the Tsitsikamma National Park considers regulated subsistence fishing as a strategy to overturn negative community perceptions of the park.

The interviews revealed that the coloured people shared their catches among themselves when they used to fish freely before the sea was declared a protected area. Delius (2000) reports that in the Covie community, those that caught more fish than they needed, sold the surplus to their neighbours or travelled further afield to settlements at Coldstream, the Craggs and Nature's Valley to find a market. One key informant remembered how fish was also bartered for other produce. This sharing has been a tradition in the Tsitsikamma area, according to several key informants. This was a way of taking care of each other, especially of neighbours who were unemployed. Many noted with dismay that this has disappeared. This could be the underlying reason prompting the coloured community members to support illegal fishing in the park.

3.4 Conclusions

This study has revealed that a significant number of the community members still want to fish in the park. In fact, some community members have not ceased fishing in the park. First, this must be understood in the context that these people's culture evolved around a fishing economy both for subsistence and recreation. Second, the absence of alternative sites for fishing in the area has influenced local people's persistence to fish in the park. The responses could be different if the whole park coastline was not sealed off to fishing in 2001 under the recommendations of park researchers. It must also be noted that biodiversity conservation does not mean preservation and hence zero exploitation of the protected natural resources. The park's belated decision to unilaterally close off the sea to fishing by local communities is worrying and demonstrates the resurgence of a preservationist approach as opposed to biodiversity

conservation. The latter involves regulated use of natural resources. Clearly, the park has to re-evaluate its 'no-take' policy on fishing.



3.5 References

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Chapter 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing, communication and involvement in decision making

Summary

Community responses to the role of the Tsitsikamma National Park in the socio-economic development of the adjacent communities, their views on interactions with the park and their perceptions of community representation were assessed. The respondents' area of birth, main sources of income, levels of education, employers and their age proved to be the best predictors of their responses to benefit sharing with the park. The same socio-economic characteristics influenced their views of active involvement in the management of the park. All the respondents indicated that it is the park's job to interact with the communities and to contribute to their socio-economic development. Poorly qualified community members have interacted less frequently with the park since 2001 when the last section of the park was closed off to fishing. Few respondents reported having benefited from the park. The park's communication about park related projects sidelines small groups. There is no evidence of concerted effort from the park to inform local people about its activities in the area. The majority of respondents felt that they were inadequately represented on the park management

4.1 Introduction

The logic of conservation in Africa's national parks saw neighbouring communities as inimical to biodiversity conservation. Neighbours were regarded as potential poachers, competitors for land and water, and their poverty seen as an embarrassment to nature-based tourism. The park officials saw their relationship with neighbours as being predominantly one of policing and maintaining fences between them. SANParks had no social responsibility for neighbouring communities. Taking a narrow view of the National Parks Act of 1976, park officials saw their responsibilities as extending only on one side of the fence. "Why should we privilege the neighbours, when our mandate should be one of serving the entire nation?" was another typical refrain of the officials (Cock & Fig, 2000).

International and national approaches to conservation have striven to harmonise conservation with social needs and the development agenda since the 1972-UN Conference on the Human Environment and the more recent 1992-UN Conference on Environment and Development. Consequently, the very perception of a protected area has evolved. The aims of

protected areas now include the sustainable use of natural resources, the preservation of ecosystem services and integration with broader social development processes, along with the core role of biodiversity conservation. More attention is now given to respecting cultural values as essential associates of biodiversity and to the need to involve indigenous and local communities in management decisions affecting them (IUCN, 2004).

The purpose of this study is to determine how far along in this process the Tsitsikamma National Park is. Answering this question entailed asking respondents in the local communities that live adjacent to the national park to express opinions on (1) whether they have visited the park, and if so, for what reason; (2) reasons for not having visited the park; (3) benefit sharing by the park or lack thereof; (4) knowledge of and involvement in some park related community programmes; (5) the park's communication with the communities; and (6) community representation on the park management. The results of this survey are discussed with special reference to the socio-economic characteristics of the respondents that influenced their responses. Comparisons are drawn in the discussions between the observed responses in Tsitsikamma and community perceptions elsewhere. The author's observations and experiences in the area provided the basis for some useful interpretations in the discussions.

4.2 Results

The data were entered into Excel and analysed using Statistica 7.0. Chi-square tests were done to determine significance differences with a 95% confidence interval. Mann-Whitney tests, with a 95% confidence interval, were used to determine significance differences when age was used as the main variable.

Table 4(i): Why some respondents have never been inside the Tsitsikamma National Park

Reasons	Proportion
Too expensive	36% (n = 4)
Transport is a problem	64% (n = 7)
No time	11% (n = 1)
No specific reason	27% (n = 3)

Table 4(ii) Community responses to benefit sharing by the Tsitsikamma National Park

Benefits received from the park	Proportion
Employment	38% (n = 6)
Poverty relief (Working for Water & Coast Care)	6% (n = 1)

Table 4 (ii) (continued)

The park attracts tourists, which is good for the economy of the area	56% (n = 9)
Khoisan caves/shell middens are protected by the park	38% (n = 6)
The old people's stories are recorded by the park for the next generation	38% (n = 6)
Environmental Education	19% (n = 3)
Visit for free	19% (n = 3)

Table 4(iii) Perceptions of the respondents who felt that they do not benefit from the park

Reasons leading to lack of benefit	Proportion
Benefits go only to selected individuals	48% (n = 40)
'No-use' policy on resources	13% (n = 11)
Park is inaccessible	8% (n = 7)
Have no knowledge of the park	10% (n = 8)
There is no interaction between the park and the communities	25% (n = 21)

Table 4(iv): Respondents who are aware of park related projects

Park related projects	Proportion
Cultural Mapping Project	7% (n = 7)
Oral History Collection Project	7% (n = 7)
Imbewu camps	9% (n = 9)
Kahula Nam camps	7% (n = 7)
Coast Care	91% (n = 91)
Working for Water	84% (n = 84)
Participatory forest management (PFM) forum	34% (n = 34)
Khoisan Village	85% (n = 85)
Stormsrivier Adventures	94% (n = 94)



Table 4(v): Respondents who have been involved in park related projects

Park related projects	Proportion
Cultural Mapping Project	1% (n = 1)
Oral History Collection Project	1% (n = 1)
Imbewu camps	1% (n = 1)
Kahula Nam camps	1% (n = 1)
Coast Care	9% (n = 9)
Working for Water	22% (n = 22)
Participatory forest management (PFM) forum	10% (n = 10)
Khoisan Village	19% (n = 19)
Stormsrivier Adventures	16% (n = 16)

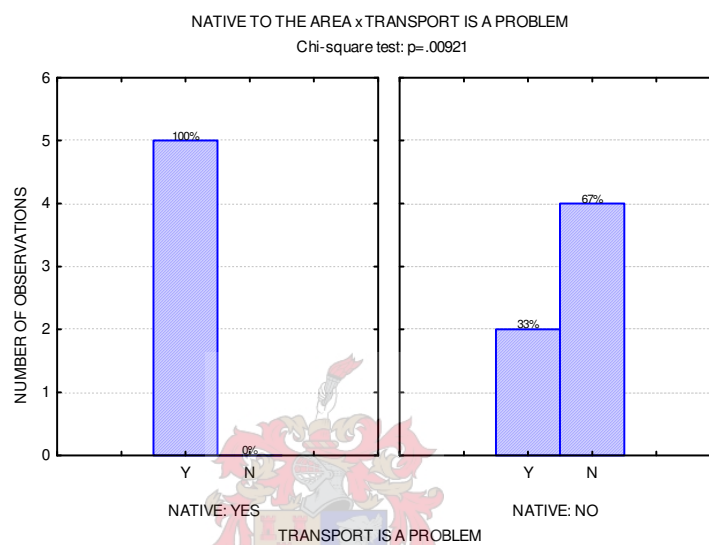


Figure 4a

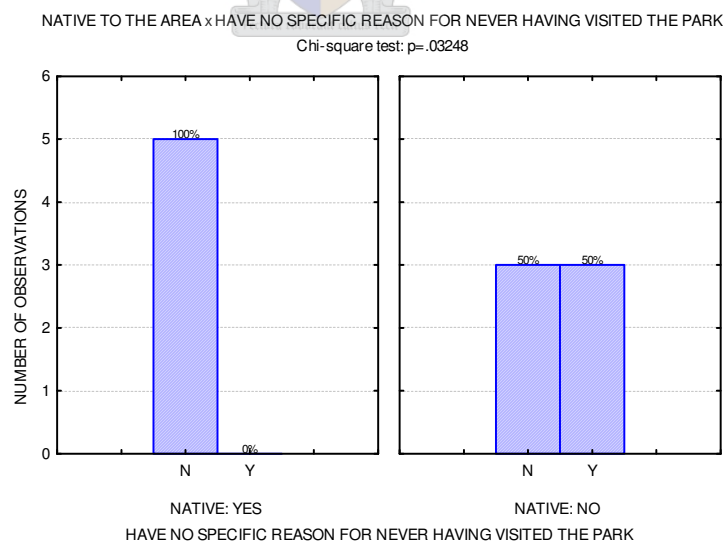


Figure 4b

Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

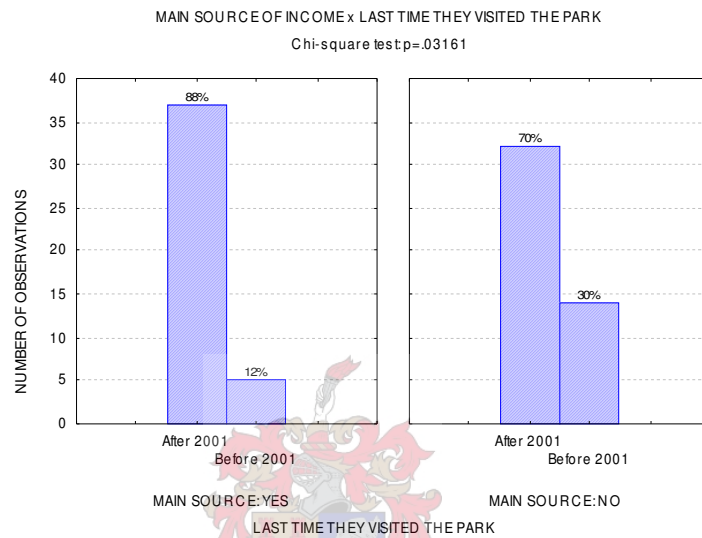


Figure 4c

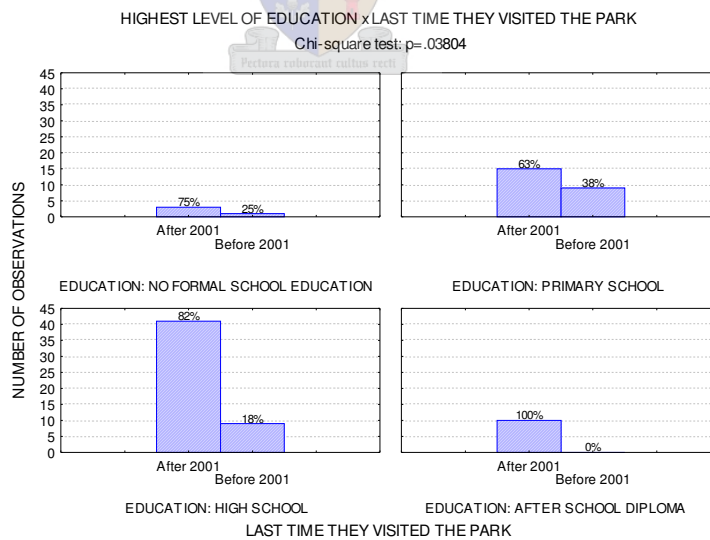


Figure 4d

Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

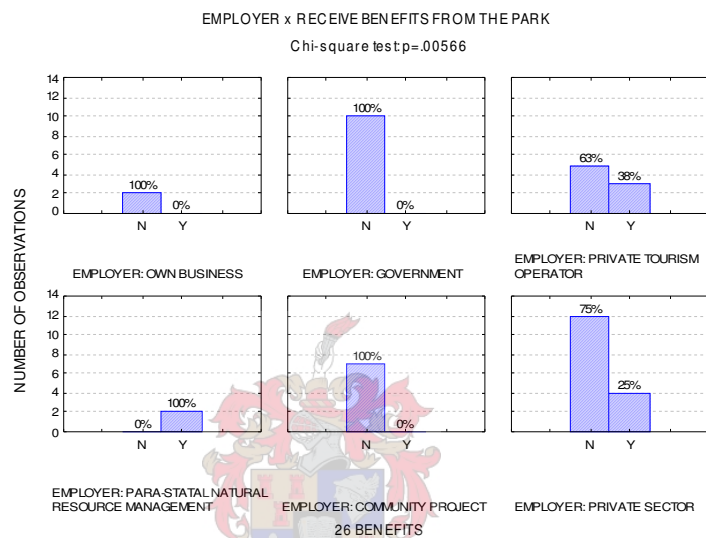


Figure 4e

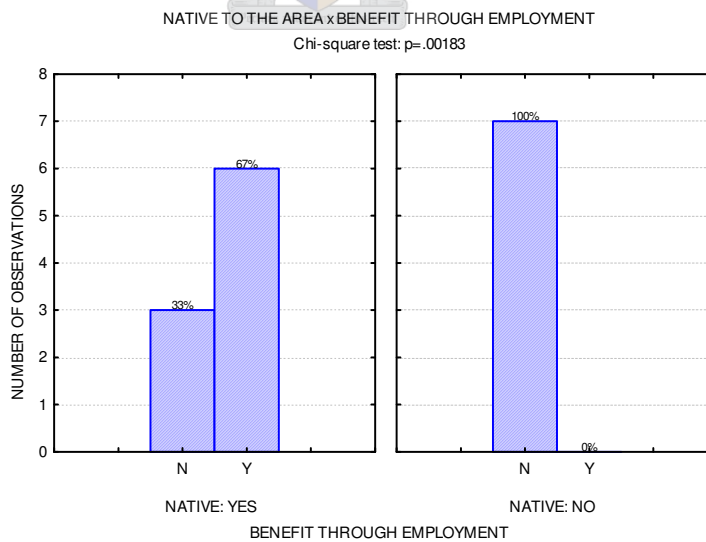


Figure 4f

Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

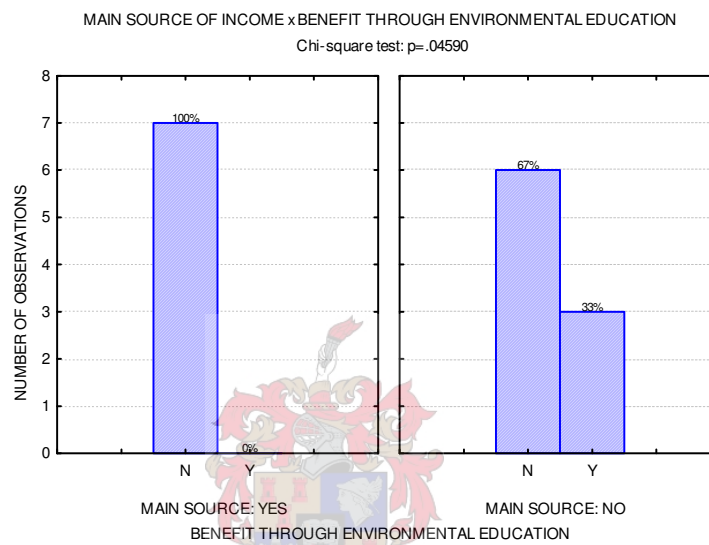


Figure 4g

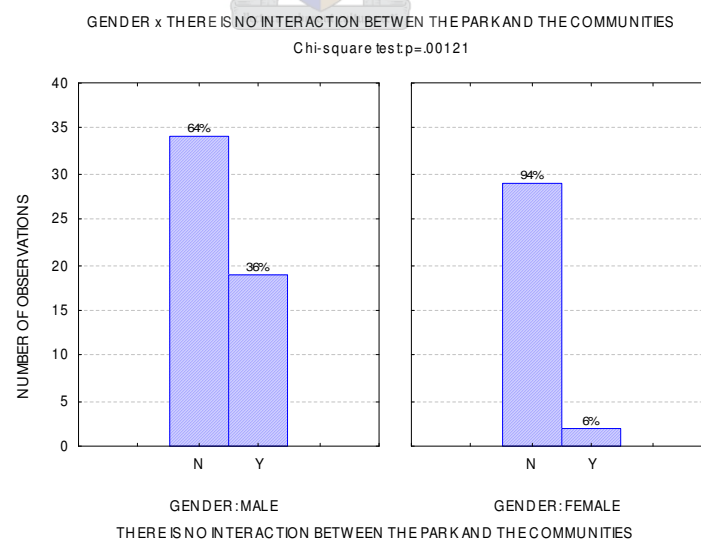


Figure 4h

Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

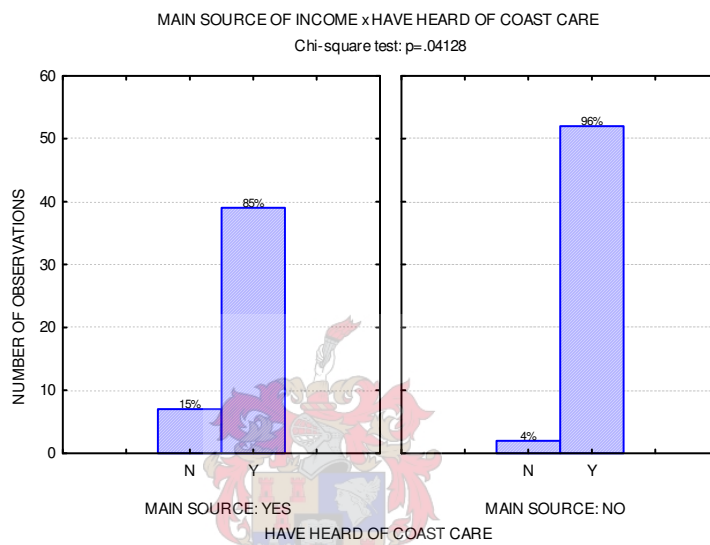


Figure 4i

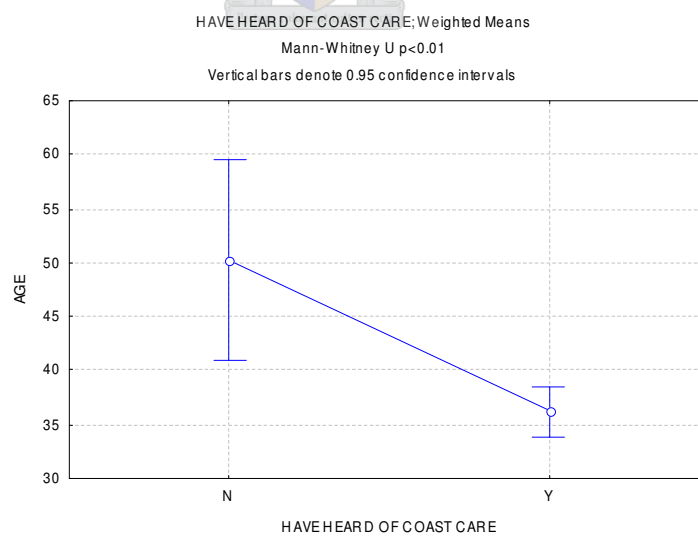


Figure 4j

Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

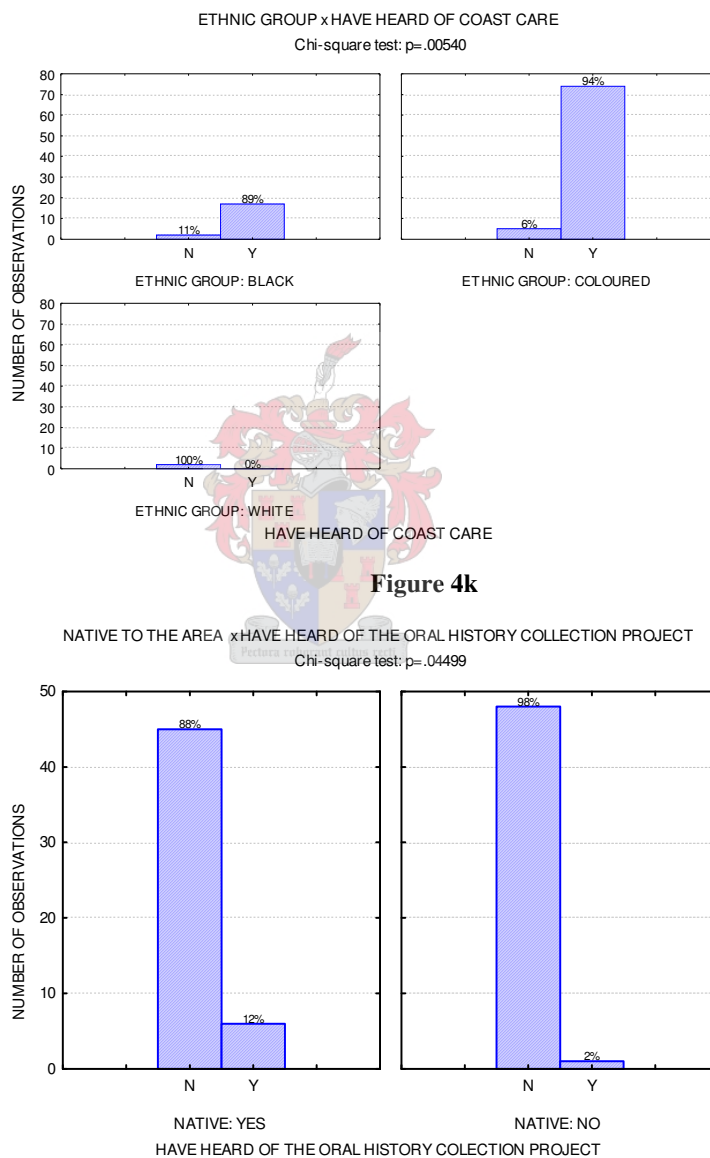


Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

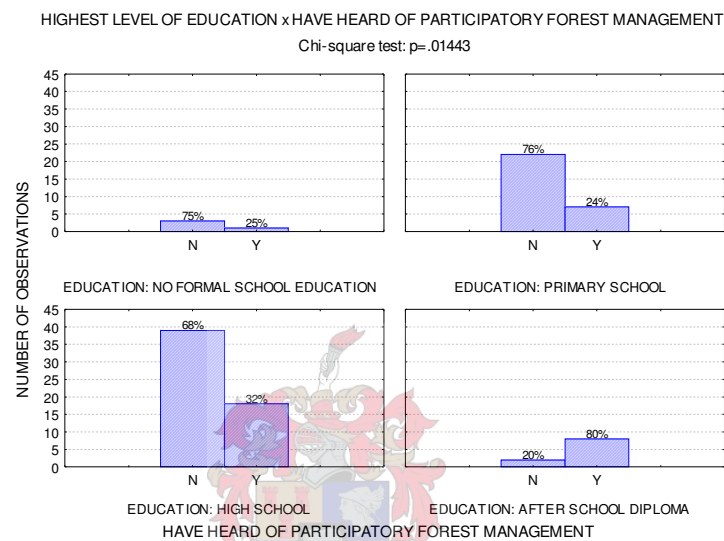


Figure 4m

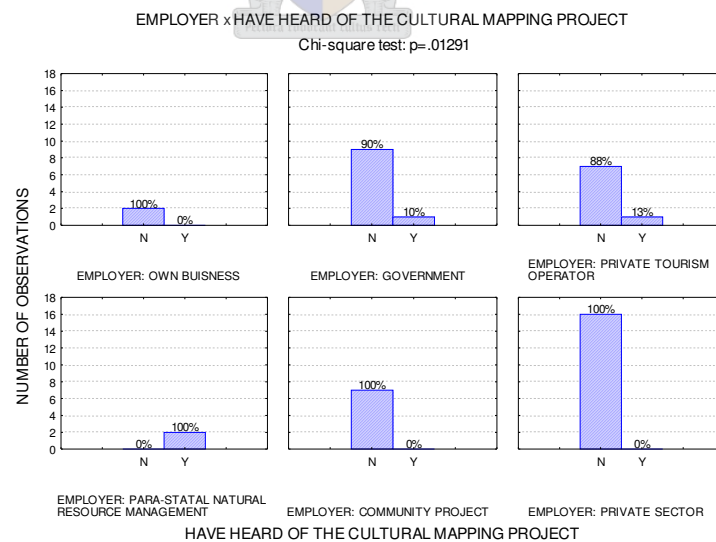


Figure 4n

Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

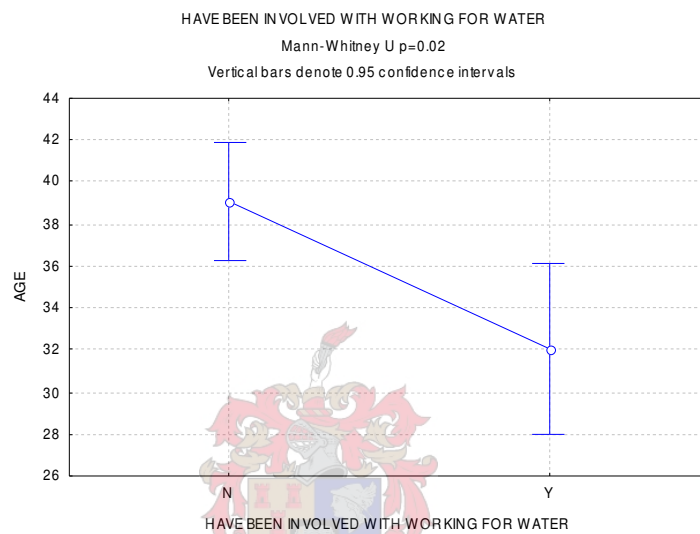


Figure 4o

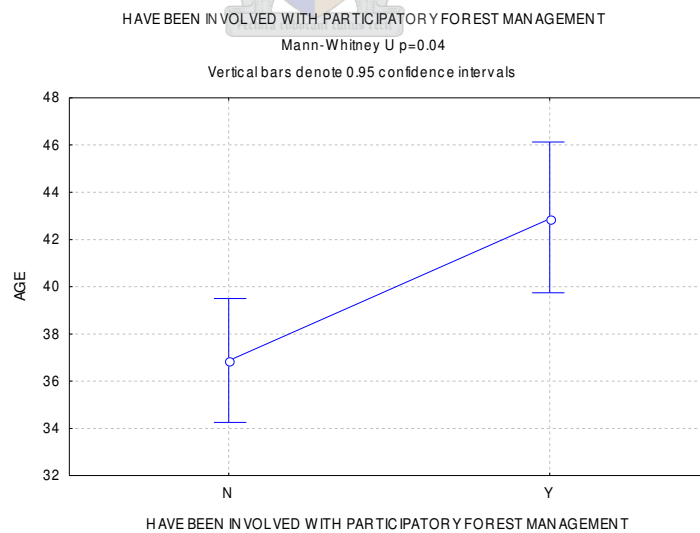


Figure 4p

Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

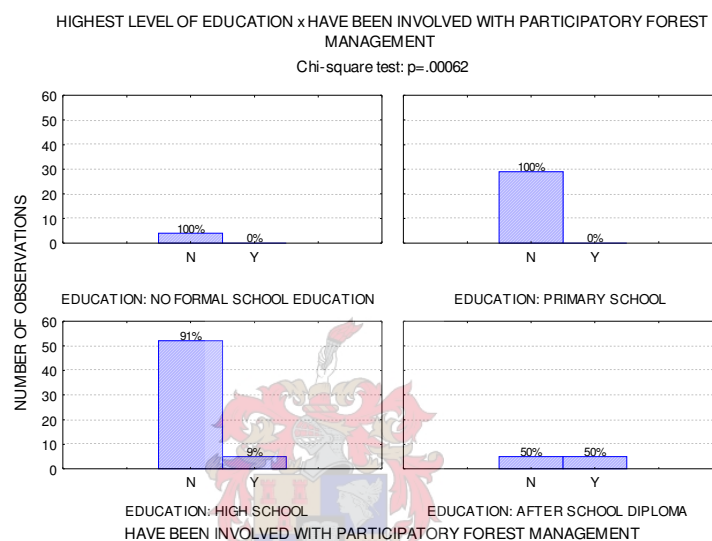


Figure 4q

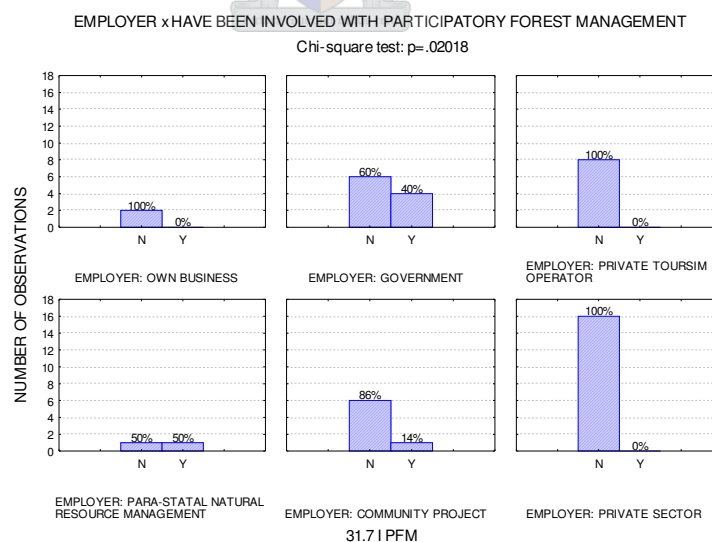


Figure 4r

Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

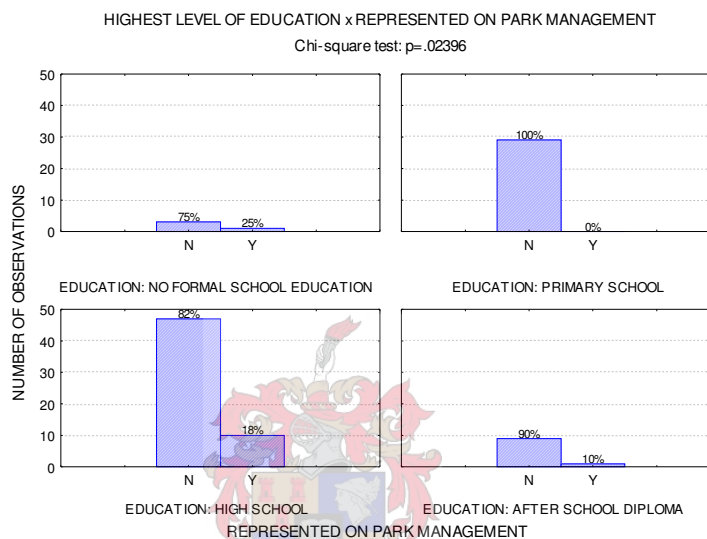


Figure 4s

Figure 4: Local community responses to benefit sharing and representation on the park management

All the respondents believed that it is the park's responsibility to involve local communities in the management of the park and to contribute to their socio-economic development. However, 11% (n=11) of the respondents have never been inside the park. Table 4(i) gives the reasons why some respondents have never been inside the park. For 36% (n=4) of the respondents, the gate fee was too high, 64% (n=7) stated that they do not have transport to and from the park. Eleven percent (n=1) claimed that they had no time and 27% (n=3) of the respondents did not have a specific reason for not having visited the park. All the respondents who were born in the area (n=5) have never been to the park and only 33% (n=2) of the respondents who are non-native to the Tsitsikamma area indicated that it is due to the lack of transport. Consequently, there is a significant difference ($p=0.00921$) between these respondents and their area of birth

(Fig 4a). There is a further significant difference ($p=0.03248$) between the respondents who maintained that there is no specific reason for not having been to the park and their area of birth (Fig 4b). Fifty percent ($n=3$) of the respondents who were born elsewhere could give no specific reason for this, whereas all the native respondents (who have not visited the park) ($n=5$) could give reasons for not doing so. Twenty-two percent ($n=22$) of the respondents had not been inside the park after 2001 and 78% ($n=78$) of the respondents had been there after 2001.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.03161$) between the last time the community members had been in the park and their main sources of income (Fig 4c). Eighty-eight percent ($n=37$) of the respondents who were the main sources of income in their households had been inside the park after 2001 as opposed to 70% ($n=32$) of the respondents who were not the main sources of income that had been inside the park after 2001. There is also a significant difference ($p=0.03804$) between the last time the respondents had been inside the park and their levels of education (Fig 4d). All the respondents ($n=10$) with tertiary qualifications had been to the park after 2001 and 82% ($n=41$) of the community members with high school qualifications had been to the park after 2001. Seventy-five percent ($n=3$) of the respondents who have no formal education and 63% ($n=15$) of the respondents who have some form of primary school education have visited the park after 2001, respectively.

On asking whether they benefited from the park, only 16% ($n=16$) of the respondents felt that they benefited from the Tsitsikamma National Park. There is a significant difference ($p=0.00566$) between the respondents who said that they benefited from the park and their employers (Fig 4e). All the respondents who worked for parastatals ($n=2$) that manage natural resources reported that they had benefited from the park. Only 37% ($n=3$) of the community members who worked for a private tourism venture and 25% ($n=3$) of respondents who were employed in the private sector noted that they benefited the park. None of the respondents who worked for the government, a community project or those that were self-employed reported having benefited from the park.

Table 4(ii) lists the benefits enjoyed by these respondents. Thirty-eight percent ($n=6$) of the respondents reported that they benefited through employment. Only 6% ($n=1$) said that they benefited through the poverty relief programmes that the park implements. Fifty-six percent ($n=9$) of the respondents confessed that they benefited because the park attracts tourists, which is good for the economy of the Southern Cape. The protection of the local communities' cultural heritage benefited 38% ($n=6$) of the respondents. Thirty-eight percent ($n=6$) also

believed that they benefited through the collection of their oral history by the park.

Environmental education benefited 19% (n=3) of the respondents. Free entrance to the park was enjoyed by 19% (n=3) of the respondents.

There is, however, a significant difference ($p=0.00183$) between the respondents who said that employment is one of the benefits that they received from the park and their area of birth (Fig 4f). Sixty-seven percent (n=6) of the respondents who are native to the area affirmed that they benefited through employment. None of the respondents who are not native to the area indicated that they benefited through employment from the park. There is also a significant difference ($p=0.04590$) between the respondents who acknowledged that they benefited through environmental education and their sources of income (Fig 4g). Thirty-three percent (n=3) of the respondents who were not the main sources of income in their households indicated that they benefited through the environmental education received from the park. None of the respondents who were the main sources of income stated that they benefited through environmental education.

The respondents who reported that they have not benefited from the park were asked to qualify their answers (Table 4(iii)). Forty-eight percent (n=40) of the respondents did not deny that the park shares benefits with the communities; they only conceded that selected individuals benefited from this, while 8% (n=7) percent stated that the park is inaccessible to the local communities. A further 13% (n=11) thought that without access to the natural resources in the park there is no benefit. Ten percent (n=8) of the respondents claimed that they had no knowledge of the park and their involvement in the communities. Thus, they considered it impossible to benefit from the park. Furthermore, 25% (n=21) of the respondents believed that the lack of interaction between the park and the communities accounts for the lack of benefits from the park. There is a significant difference ($p=0.00121$) between the respondents who reported the lack of interaction between the park and the communities and their gender (Fig 4h). Thirty-six percent (n=19) of the male respondents blamed their disbenefit on the lack of interaction between the park and the communities, whereas only 6% (n=2) of the female respondents considered this to be the case.

Table 4(iv) represents respondents' knowledge of certain park related projects and partnerships. Only 7% (n=7) of the respondents knew about the Cultural Mapping Project and the Oral History Collection Project, respectively. Only 9% (n=9) had heard of the Imbewu camps and 7% (n=7) of the Kahula Nam camps. Ninety-one percent (n=91) of the respondents

knew about Coast Care and slightly less (84%: n=84) knew about Working for Water Programme. Only 34% (n=34) of the respondents had heard of the participatory forestry management (PFM) forum. Eighty-four percent (n=84) of the respondents knew about the Khoisan Village. Stormsriver Adventures is well known in the Tsitsikamma area, and 94% (n=94) of the respondents knew about this adventure tourism operation. There is a significant difference ($p=0.04128$) between the respondents who are familiar with the Coast Care project and their main sources of income (Fig 4i). Ninety-six percent (n=52) of the respondents who were not the main sources of income knew about Coast Care, whereas only 85% (n=39) of the respondents who are the main sources of income had heard of Coast Care. There is also a significant difference ($p < 0.01$) between the respondents who had heard of Coast Care and their age (Fig 4j). The mean age (36.24176; n=91) of respondents who had heard of Coast Care is significantly lower than the mean age (50.22222; n=9) of respondents who had never heard of it. None of the white community members had heard of Coast Care. Therefore, there is also a significant difference ($p=0.00540$) between the community members who had heard of Coast Care and their ethnicity (Fig 4k). It is not unexpected that 94% (n=74) of the coloured community members and 89% (n=17) of the black community members had heard of Coast Care.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.04499$) between the respondents who had heard of the park's Oral History Collection Project and their area of birth (Fig 4l). Only 12% (n=6) of the native respondents had heard of the project and even less respondents who were not born in the area had heard of it. Only 2% (n=1) of the respondents who were born elsewhere had knowledge of this park project.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.01443$) between the community members who had heard of the PFM forum and their level of education (Fig 4m). Eighty percent (n=8) of the respondents with a tertiary education had heard of the forum. Thirty-two percent (n=18) of those with a high school level education and only 24% (n=7) of the community members with a primary school level education and 25% (n=1) of the respondents without a formal school education had heard of PFM.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.01291$) between the community members who had heard of the Cultural Mapping Project and their employers (Fig 4n). All the respondents (n=2) who worked for parastatals that manage natural resources had heard of the Cultural Mapping Project. Thirteen percent (n=1) of those who worked for a private tourism operator and 10%

(n=1) of the community members who worked for the government had heard of this park project. None of the community members who were self-employed, that worked for a community project or in the private sector had heard of the Cultural Mapping Project.

Table 4(v) depicts the respondents' involvement in these park related projects and partnerships. Involvement in these projects includes working for the project or dealing with these projects through their work. Only 1% (n=1) of the respondents had been involved in the Cultural Mapping Project, the Oral History Collection Project, Imbewu camps and the Kahula Nam camps, respectively. Furthermore, only 9% (n=9) had been employed by Coast Care and 22% (n=22) by Working for Water. Ten percent (n=10) had been involved in PFM. For park partnerships, 19% (n=19) had been involved in the Khoisan Village and 16% (n=16) in Stormsrivier Adventures. There is, however, a significant difference ($p=0.02$) between the community members who had been involved in Working for Water and their age (Fig 4o). The mean age (32.04545; n=22) of the respondents who had been involved in Working for Water is significantly lower than the mean age (39.03846; n=78) of the respondents who had not been involved.

There were distinct groups that had been involved in the PFM forum. Consequently, there are several significant differences between community members based on their age, levels of education and employers. For example, there is a significant difference ($p=0.14$) between community members who had been involved in the PFM forum and their age (Fig 4p). The mean age (42.90000; n=10) of people who were involved in the PFM forum is significantly higher than the mean age (36.90000; n=90) of respondents who were not involved in PFM. There is a significant difference ($p=0.00062$) between the community members who had been involved in the PFM forum and their levels of education (Fig 4q). Fifty percent (n=5) of the community members who have tertiary qualifications had been involved in the PFM forum. Only 9% (n=5) of the respondents with a high school level of education had been involved in the PFM forum. None of the respondents with a primary school level of education or those without any formal school education were involved in the forum. Finally, there is also a significant difference ($p=0.02018$) between the community members who had been involved in the PFM forum and their employers (Fig 4r). Fifty percent (n=1) of the community members who worked for parastatals that manage natural resources and 40% (n=4) of the community members who worked for the government were involved in the PFM forum. Only 14% (n=1) of the community members who worked for a community project were involved in the PFM forum. None of the

respondents who had their own business, worked for a private tourism operator or in the private sector were ever involved in the PFM forum.

Eighty-eight percent (n=88) of the respondents felt that the park does not communicate with the communities on park and community related issues. A similar number (80%: n=88) of the respondents also felt that they were not effectively represented on the management of the park. There is a significant difference ($p=0.02396$) between the community members who felt that they were sufficiently represented and that the park management knows their feelings and their levels of education (Fig 4s). None of the respondents with a primary school level of education felt that their needs are represented by someone on the park management. Only 10% (n=1) of the community members with tertiary education and 18% (n=10) of those with a high school level of education felt that somebody represents them on the park management. Twenty-five percent (n=1) of the respondents who never went to school felt that their needs are conveyed to the park management.

4.3 Discussions

One of the park's guiding principles that underpin its management policy is an approach to holism. By holism the management recognizes that the park is an integral part of a larger regional terrestrial and aquatic environment. This commits the park to work co-operatively with others to anticipate, avoid and resolve potential conflicts, protect park resources and values, provide for visitor enjoyment, and address mutual interests in the quality of life of the surrounding communities (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). This explicitly shows the park's commitment to address the socio-economic developmental issues of the surrounding communities. It seems that the local communities are aware of the park's responsibilities toward them. For example, all the respondents indicated that it is the park's job to interact with the communities and to contribute to their socio-economic development. This explains the community expectations of the park and many of their responses.

More than half of the respondents who have not been to the park were not born in the Tsitsikamma area. Sixty-four percent of the respondents who have not been to the park attributed it to a lack of transportation. All the native respondents who have never been inside the park reported this to be the reason. Half of the non-native respondents who have not been to the park, said that it was for no specific reason. None of the native respondents stated that it was for no specific reason. This supports the finding that community members who were born

elsewhere do not have that same emotional attachment to the area as those born in Tsitsikamma. Consequently, they do not have the same negative attitudes towards the park like the native community members who harbour grudges. Thus, the park does not need to focus on them as such when it attempts to overturn the negative community perceptions.

There are significantly more respondents who are the main sources of income in their households who have visited the park after 2001 than those who are not the main sources of income. The last three-km section of the park that was open to fishing was closed on 1st January 2001. This, as well as the increase in the gate fee, explains why people who are not the main sources of income have visited the park less frequently after 2001 than those who are the main sources of income. There is a strong correlation between the last time certain community members visited the park and their level of education. All the respondents who had tertiary training have visited the park after 2001 and this decreases with a decrease in qualifications. Those who have a higher level of education might have visited the park more frequently after 2001 because of the high gate fee. There is a link between higher levels of education and employability and hence the ability to emerge as the main source of income in a household. Poorly qualified individuals have lower employability than well qualified individuals. This could explain why poorly qualified community members have been to the park less frequently.

The park's no-fishing policy also left some community members with less to do in the park. Therefore, the park has to examine what they offer to all sectors of the community to encourage communities to come and visit the park and become ambassadors for the park in the neighbouring communities. The park has to target the community members who have not developed emotional affinity to the fisheries resources in the park and make them ambassadors for the park. This is because the park management has undertaken to manage visitor access on an equitable basis within the accepted carrying capacity of the park and its facilities by facilitating affordable access to South African visitors at pay-entry-points. Experience from a national park in the Virgin Islands indicated that the local residents expressed a desire for more informal and social interaction with the park officials to bridge the gap between them. They suggested that park authorities need to take the first step toward bringing people into their corner, starting at special gate fees for locals. They want to see that the park cares about them (Stern, 2003). The same need was expressed by key informants in the interviews as well as at the workshop.

4.3.1 Benefit sharing with the park

The park mentioned in its management policy that its vision for the Tsitsikamma National Park is a sustainable national park that builds and maintains a park community that works together for, and benefits equitably from, the conservation and enhancement of the unique marine, terrestrial and aquatic biodiversity, ecological processes and cultural, historical and scenic resources of the park (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). According to the respondents, the park is a long way from accomplishing this noble commitment. Only 16% of the respondents surveyed reported that they benefited from the park. This is alarming because perceived lack of benefit sharing by other parks elsewhere has led to great negativity towards conservation. Examples of this are the Machalilla National Park in Ecuador (Fiallo & Jacobsen, 1995), the Cross River National Park in Nigeria (Ite, 1996) and the Selous Game Reserve in Tanzania (Gillingham & Lee, 1999).

However, it is encouraging that all the community members who currently work or had worked for the Tsitsikamma National Park stated that they benefited from the park. It is not uncommon for individuals with more consistent interaction with park authorities to have a more positive attitude towards conservation authorities (Stern, 2003). It was unexpected that only 37% of the respondents who worked for a private tourism venture indicated that they benefited from the park. It should, nevertheless, be noted that private tourism operators and their employees in the Tsitsikamma area benefit from the park's attraction of local and foreign tourists. Such lack of understanding by employees of private tourism operators reveals that the park has not explained its usefulness to all the park constituencies in Tsitsikamma.

It is worth noting that none of the respondents who worked for the government or a community project, or who had their own businesses, stated that they benefited from the park. This could be due to the fact that they had less direct contact with the park than the other groups. However, 6% of the respondents who denied having benefited from the park had worked for Coast Care and 19% of these respondents had worked for the Working for Water project. This means that the respondents did not know that the park was the implementing agency of these projects or they simply did not see their employment as a benefit. These statements were made during the interviews with Working for Water officials as well as community leaders. This again reveals that there is no concerted effort by the SANParks' administration in the Tsitsikamma National Park to publicise the community development role of the park. Proper understanding of the value of the protected area by local communities may gain the park political and moral support. This hypothesis is supported by the findings of the Haribon Foundation for the

Conservation of Natural Resources in the Philippines. The Foundation noted that diverse communication and education means can help build crucial support throughout protected area projects (Lavides *et al*, 2003).

The majority of respondents who indicated that they have had benefited from the park stated that the economy of the area benefits because of the tourists that are attracted to the area by the park. This agrees with what the park states in its management policy that it should strive to promote an appreciation among stakeholders and users of the ecological and cultural heritage significance of the park and of the contribution of these assets to the economy of the Southern Cape (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). It is good for the park that 19% of the respondents reported that they had benefited from environmental education. However, they were all not the main sources of income in their households. In the interviews and the workshop, some community members noted that they do not see jobs in the park as a benefit because as they put it “the park needs people to work there and they are not doing the communities any favours”. Therefore, it was not expected that 67% of the native respondents would admit to having benefited through employment.

None of the non-native respondents indicated that they benefited through employment. Even though the park did not directly employ them, 16% of the non-native respondents had worked for the Working for Water project and 8% for Coast Care. They might not again be aware of the fact that the park was the implementing agency of these two poverty relief programmes or they simply did not see this short-term employment as a benefit from the park. Alternatively, they might not have considered what they worked for or earned as a benefit. To them a benefit could only be something that has been given for free. This was also stressed in the interviews with Working for Water project leaders that the communities were not aware of the link between Working for Water, Coast Care and the park. There were also some problems in the beginning of 2004 with the logistics of the Working for Water project where some employees were told that there was no more money for the project to continue. The project was resumed later on, but this still led to a great deal of negativity in the communities about this project. A similar situation occurred in the Podocarpus National Park, where Stern (2003) found that even when similar projects were carried out with high levels of participation, many have failed to have lasting effects.

It is of great concern that half of the respondents who felt that they do not benefit from the park stated that benefits from the park accrue to a few selected individuals. These selected

individuals included white people in the area who, as it was reported in the workshop are rich and are becoming richer through their partnerships with the park. Reference was also made to some coloured and black community members. These community members have had a longstanding relationship with the park and are easily involved when opportunities for benefits arise. In fact, this was confirmed by the author's personal observations. This has also led to a great deal of negativity in the communities adjacent to the Tsitsikamma National Park. This perceived inequitable distribution of benefits was also reported in the Selous Game Reserve. This led to a negative attitude towards conservation in the communities adjacent to the park (Gillingham & Lee, 1999). When local perceptions of a conservation project in Costa Rica, were surveyed, 33% of the respondents had negative perceptions and felt that only a few families involved benefited (Graham-Kordich, 2003). It is clear that perceived inequitable benefit sharing by park authorities leads to negative attitudes towards conservation in the communities adjacent to protected areas. This is where the provision of regular information could play a big role in overturning negative community perceptions.

It is worth noting that 13% of the respondents considered restrictions on the use of natural resources as a lack of benefits. Not surprisingly, all of these respondents were coloured respondents. This is supported by a comment made by one key informant "if the communities are not allowed to fish, nothing the park does will ever be good enough". The ability of perceived lack of benefits to promote negative attitudes towards the park due to restrictions on resource use was also observed in the Machalilla National Park (Fiallo & Jacobsen, 1995). It was found that only when communities had access to the natural resources did they express positive attitudes towards conservation (Mkanda & Munthali, 1994). Even though 13% of the respondents are not much, and even less than expected, many of these respondents are responsible for the ongoing poaching in the park. Therefore, the park cannot ignore these respondents, their views and consequent behaviour.

Thirty-six percent of the male respondents maintained that they have not benefited from the park due to the lack of interaction with the park. Only six percent of the female respondents felt the same way. However, it is of great concern that a quarter of the respondents, who felt that they did not benefit from the park, attributed it to the lack of interaction. Accordingly, there is no interaction and not just insufficient interaction. The park needs to seriously take note of this. Park staff's 'noble' works would pass largely unnoticed if they do not constructively engage with and enlighten the local communities.

4.3.2 Park related projects and partnerships

Although many respondents have heard of the Working for Water and Coast Care programmes, these are government's poverty relief programmes for which the park is only an implementing agency. Ninety-four percent of the respondents have heard of Stormsrivier Adventures. This is, nonetheless, a private tourism venture and not a park initiative. The same is true for the Khoisan Village, which has received help in securing funds from the park. It is not a park community project like the Oral History Collection Project and the Cultural Mapping Project. The latter are park initiatives and are completely run by the park staff. It is of much concern that only 10% of the surveyed community members have heard of these two projects. It is also surprising that only 10% of the adult respondents have heard of the Imbewu camps or the Kahula Nam camps, respectively, although they are aimed at children. If the park had publicised these environmental education programmes more, more respondents would feel that they have benefited through environmental education programmes, even if it is indirectly through their children. Moreover, it is the adults who are the custodians of the children who should participate in these initiatives. Naturally, no parent would be unaware of their children's activities. Coast Care is a poverty relief programme that provides short-term employment to unemployed people. Therefore, it was expected that more people who were not the main sources of income in their households would hear of Coast Care than people who were the main sources of income in their households. It is encouraging that only 9% of the respondents never heard of Coast Care. Those who have heard of Coast Care are significantly older than those that had not. This should be a warning sign to the park that it is excluding this sector of the community when it comes to poverty alleviation programmes. Even if they are not directly employed by the project, the whole community should be aware of programmes like Coast Care if the park wants the support of the whole community.

It is also apparent that the park's communications with the white community members have also been poor. None of them have heard of Coast Care. This could be due to the fact that Coast Care is a poverty alleviation programme aimed at recruiting poor coloured and black community members. However, the fact that the park is involved in poverty alleviation programmes that none of the white community members had heard of shows how the park's communication about certain things sidelines small groups. This applies to the white, black and coloured communities and the different age groups. For example, up until the existence of the

Park Forum, its communication about tourism has been largely with the white tourism operators in the area through the Tsitsikamma Conservation Forum. According to some key informants, the coloured and black community members had been invited to join these forums, but they did not regularly attend meetings. One official from the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry complained that they only attend meetings when they want permission for a community project that involves forest resources. This is confirmed by the attendance registers of these meetings.

The park used the PFM forum meetings as a platform to communicate with the communities before the existence of the Park Forum. The community representatives are supposed to report the matters discussed in these meetings to their respective communities. However, it is clear that the structures in the communities for feedback are not in place because only 34% of the respondents had heard of the PFM forum. Eighty percent of these respondents have tertiary education. The community members with lower levels of education need to be included in these forums by ensuring that the necessary feedback structures in the communities are in place and that information reaches all the different spheres of the communities. This is valid for forums like the PFM community forum, one of whose aims is the provision of alternative sustainable livelihood strategies. Much effort needs to go into this less-learned sector of the community. This can be applied to the Park Forum as well.

The park's ineffective communication with the surrounding communities is reflected by the fact that only 2% and 12% of the respondents who are non-native and native to Tsitsikamma, respectively, have heard of the Oral History Collection project. The project mostly involves people who were born and have lived in the Tsitsikamma area all their lives. It seems that there is no concerted effort by the park to inform local people about its activities in the area. Informing them, irrespective of whether they are key participants or not would convey to them a message that the park cares about the communities and their heritage. This is likely to change some community perceptions of the park. This is also necessary for cultivating the sense of park stakeholdership in this young and future generation. The Cultural Mapping Project also involves people who were born and have lived in the Tsitsikamma area all their lives. It is good that all the respondents who work for parastatals that manage natural resources knew about this project. It is inadequate that only 7% of the surveyed respondents knew about the Cultural Mapping project. Nevertheless, the SANParks' transformation mission aims to establish an organisation that manages the natural environment and cultural resources in a participatory manner by engaging all sections of the community (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

It has been found that cultural heritage preservation and interpretation is closely related to levels of trust of the park authorities in the communities. The preservation of cultural heritage sites, as well as access to them, is important elements for creating common ground between park entities and local residents. Varying levels of effort in different areas around the park in protecting this heritage are linked to how well the park seems to relate to local populations (Stern, 2003). The Tsitsikamma National Park could use both the Cultural Mapping Project and the Cultural Heritage Project as a means to create trust and to establish bonds between the park and the adjacent communities. Even though these projects exclude certain sectors of the community due to the nature of the projects, the respondents resented the park's unilateral role in determining the criteria for participation in these projects. Unfortunately, only 1% of the respondents have been involved in the respective projects. However, there is a room for improvement.

The project that has had the most involvement of the respondents is Working for Water. Nonetheless, it is only 22% of the respondents, who are also significantly younger than those that had not been involved in Working for Water. This project involves manual labour, which explains the involvement of the younger people.

There is a distinct sector in the community that has been involved in the PFM forum. The respondents who have been involved in the PFM forum are significantly older than those that have not. Sitting on the PFM forum involves attending meetings without getting financial compensation. This discourages the participation of younger community members. Older community members might be more interested in doing something for their community without reaping direct financial benefits. It could also mean that these younger community members were simply not asked to join the PFM forum. The respondents who attend PFM forum meetings also either had tertiary education or a high school level of education. The less-learned members of the community appear to be sidelined. Nevertheless, it would be expected that a programme like PFM whose aim is to provide sustainable livelihood strategies from natural resources, would be responsive to the needs of communities with lower levels of education. In fact, they should be deliberately targeted. Only respondents who work for parastatals that manage natural resources, the government or a community project have been involved in PFM. Even though the park was not responsible for PFM at the time when the questionnaires were administered in the communities, it used the PFM forum as a platform for its announcements to the communities. The distinct group of people who have been involved in the PFM forum or

have heard of the PFM forum are the older community members who have higher levels of education and who work for parastatals, the government or community projects. It could be because they are the only ones who were willing to get involved or because DWAF deliberately targeted them.

In fact, it was found that communication means, such as assemblies, meetings and house to house visits, help to gain the acceptance of protected area projects by the community. Involving the community, eliciting reactions to proposals, and using these contributions to modify and refine implementation plans established a sense of project ownership and wins approval (Lavides *et al.*, 2003). The Tsitsikamma National Park can use its existing projects to win this approval if it communicates more regularly and efficiently with the local communities. However, when new projects are considered they have to get the communities earlier onboard in the planning phases of the projects.

4.3.3 Communication with the local communities

It is noteworthy that the questionnaires were administered before the Park Forum existed. The results are, however, still important because the community perceptions of the park appears to change slowly. When the respondents were asked whether the park communicates well with the communities, 88% of them were not satisfied. The problem in Tsitsikamma is that there are no formal or permanent feedback structures that community representatives could use to reach the rest of the community members. This was confirmed in the final interviews in September 2005 even after the creation of the Park Forum. The park can play a significant role in setting up these structures and by providing logistical support in the form of training of community leaders.

The Tsitsikamma National Park's management policy is categorised into six key results areas of action. In these key results areas, there is inevitable and intentional repetition of the responsibilities of the park management. For example, the park sees communication with the public as essential to the management of park resources as it is to planning and development. The intention behind the cross-linkage and repetition, according to the park, is to facilitate integration of policy implementation by making, for example, effective communication with the public the responsibility not only of the park manager, but also that of the Social Ecology Department, Environmental Management and other functions of the park management (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). It is the author's personal observation that the park management is a long way from this cross-linkage intention. There has to be more

communication and interdepartmental integration if it is not only the Social Ecology Department that should interact with the local communities.

4.3.4 Involvement in decision-making

On asking the respondents on the adequacy of community representation on park management, only 12% acknowledged that they were satisfied and that they were aware that somebody represents their feelings on the park management. Most of these respondents have a low level of education. Marsh *et al.* (2000) found that higher levels of education delay the acceptance of conservation authorities. Higher levels of education allow the limitations of a practice by a conservation authority to be recognised. In Tsitsikamma, it was found that the respondents with tertiary education or a high school level of education have higher expectations of the park. However, this was not unexpected; education encourages objective and critical thinking. Moreover, well qualified individuals know their rights and privileges better than the less-learned individuals of any society. It would be interesting to gauge community views of the Park Forum and on who represents them on this forum as well as their levels of satisfaction.

4.4 Conclusions

In Tsitsikamma, attempts at sustainable rural development have not largely been perceived by the local communities to result in biodiversity conservation. This is attributed to the fact that sustainable rural development is a broad issue that needs multilateral approaches to appropriately tackle it. It requires all agencies with responsibilities for the rural people in the Tsitsikamma area to pool their resources, rather than operate individually. Individual attempts at poverty alleviation in Tsitsikamma are unlikely to have discernable impact in the eyes of resident communities. Worse for the Tsitsikamma National Park, is the inappropriate perception among the local communities that it is responsible for the socio-economic development of the area. The park needs to effectively inform the local communities that it is just an organ within a system of multiple role-players. It needs to point the local communities to the relevant agencies, including local municipalities, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, provincial departments of agriculture, health and transport, *inter alia*.

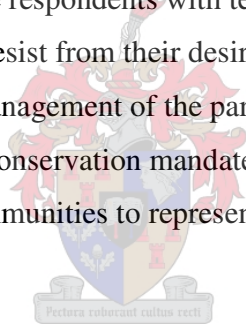
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Chapter 5: Local community perceptions for overturning negative attitudes towards the Tsitsikamma National Park

Summary

The respondents' main sources of income, area of birth, ethnicity and gender are the most significant predictors of the solutions that they suggested for improving relationships between the local communities and the park. Only a half of the respondents had a generally positive attitude towards the park due to its 'no-fishing' policy. The respondents who were the main sources of income in their households were more inclined to fish in the park than other stakeholders. There was a stronger urge for restoration of fishing rights in the older community members than the younger generation. The black community members were more willing to forsake fishing on provision of alternatives, while the coloured community members would need more than alternative benefits. All the respondents with tertiary educational qualifications maintained that communities would desist from their desires to fish if the communities were involved in decision-making in the management of the park. The male respondents were less supportive of the park's biodiversity conservation mandate. More native respondents than non-native respondents would like the communities to represent themselves on the park management.



5.1 Introduction

Cock and Fig (2000) believe that SANParks is now informed by a new concept of conservation that is radically different from that generated during the country's colonial and apartheid past. This new vision is centred on the inclusion, rather than on the exclusion of people, on linking conservation to human needs. This contrasts with the previous conservation perspective that focussed exclusively on the preservation of biodiversity and wilderness areas, particularly species of plants and animals. Cock and Fig (2000) note that this new policy has made a dramatic shift in the way people look at conservation. SANParks and the Tsitsikamma National Park have come a long way, but not all is running smooth, especially in terms of social needs of local communities. They need to consider community views to translate lofty goals and aspirations into practical, everyday terms. They need to figure out what is important, what is priority, what can be done, and how it can be done (IUCN, 2004) to meet the two facets of protected area management: biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development.

The purpose of this study is to determine community perceptions for improving park-and-community interactions in Tsitsikamma to optimise biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development of the communities adjacent to the Tsitsikamma National Park. This objective has been accomplished by asking certain community members from the local communities that live in the vicinity of the park to express their views on (1) what would create support for the park's current conservation policy; (2) what format the communities see benefit sharing from the park take on in the future; (3) how to better communication between the park and the communities; and (4) the form community representation on the park management should take. The results of this research are discussed with special reference to the socio-economic characteristics of the surveyed communities. The socio-economic properties of the sampled subjects influenced the solutions that they proposed for minimising negative interactions between the communities and the park. It is noteworthy that the discussions compared the observed responses in Tsitsikamma with local community responses in other protected areas.

5.2 Results

The data were entered into Excel and analysed using Statistica 7.0. Chi-square tests were done to determine significance differences with a 95% confidence interval. Mann-Whitney tests, with a 95% confidence interval, were used to determine significance differences when age was used as the main variable.

Table 5(i): Community perceptions of “what will stop the communities from wanting to fish?”

What will stop the poaching	Proportion
The park has to provide more jobs	63% (n = 63)
Local people's crafts should be sold in the park	43% (n = 43)
The park has to talk to the communities about it	54% (n = 54)
The communities should be included in decision-making	64% (n = 64)
Don't know what will stop it	4% (n = 4)
Nothing will stop it	16% (n = 16)

Table 5(ii): Community responses to “what benefits do the communities want from the park?”

Benefits the communities want	Proportion
Need for job opportunities in the park	31% (n = 31)
Use of resources in the park	33% (n = 33)
Equitable financial benefit sharing	20% (n = 20)
Conservation education	4% (n = 4)
Skills development for young people in the communities	4% (n = 4)
More access to the communities	43% (n = 43)
More involvement in social work in the community	6% (n = 6)
Take better care of current and ex-employees	6% (n = 6)
Communities part of decision-making	3% (n = 3)

Table 5(iii): Community responses to “what form of communication should the park pursue?”

Communication by the park	Proportion
More meetings with the broader community	43% (n = 38)
More information provided in a more direct manner	38% (n = 33)
Don't involve only certain individuals	7% (n = 6)
Choose community representative/s	2% (n = 2)
Feedback both ways	5% (n = 4)
Make communities part of decision-making	5% (n = 4)
Conservation awareness workshops	3% (n = 3)
Conservation forum	2% (n = 2)

Table 5(iv): Community perceptions of “how would they like to be represented on the park management?”

Community representation	Proportion
Community leaders offer sufficient representation	3% (n = 3)
Democratically elected community representatives	31% (n = 27)
Community representative/s on park management	8% (n = 7)
Public relations official	22% (n = 19)
Conservation forum	10% (n = 9)
Workshops to learn more about community needs	10% (n = 9)
Want to communicate needs by own self	2% (n = 2)

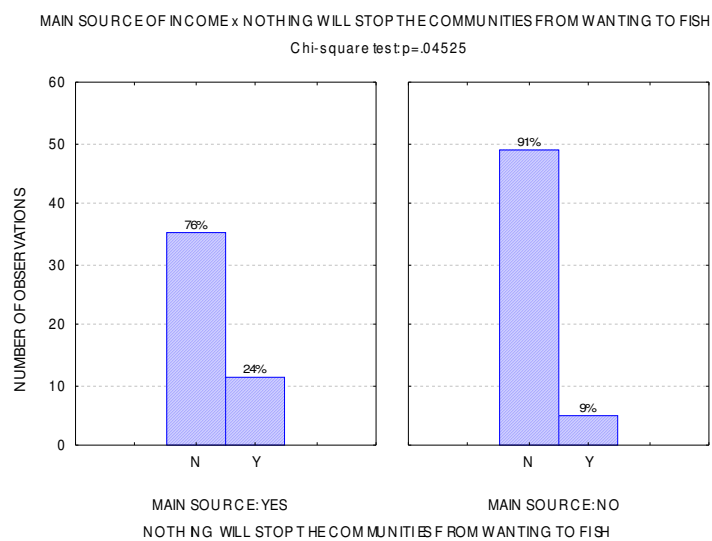


Figure 5a

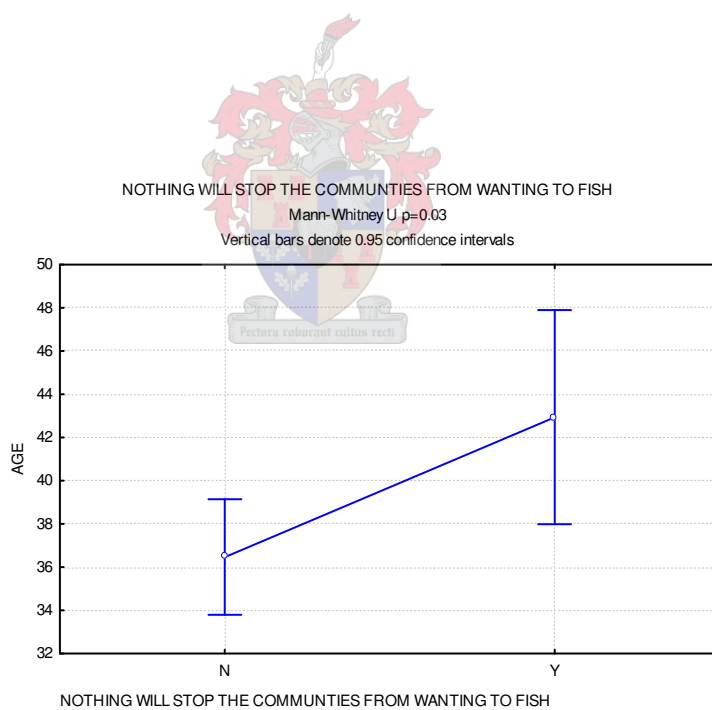


Figure 5b

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions

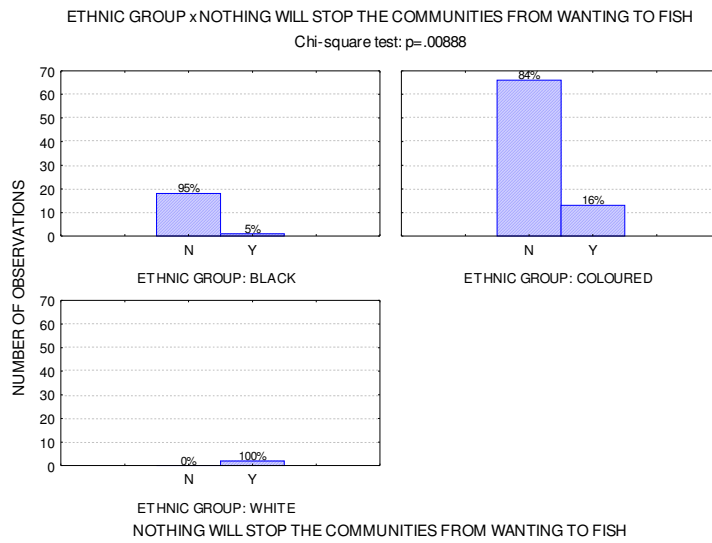


Figure 5c

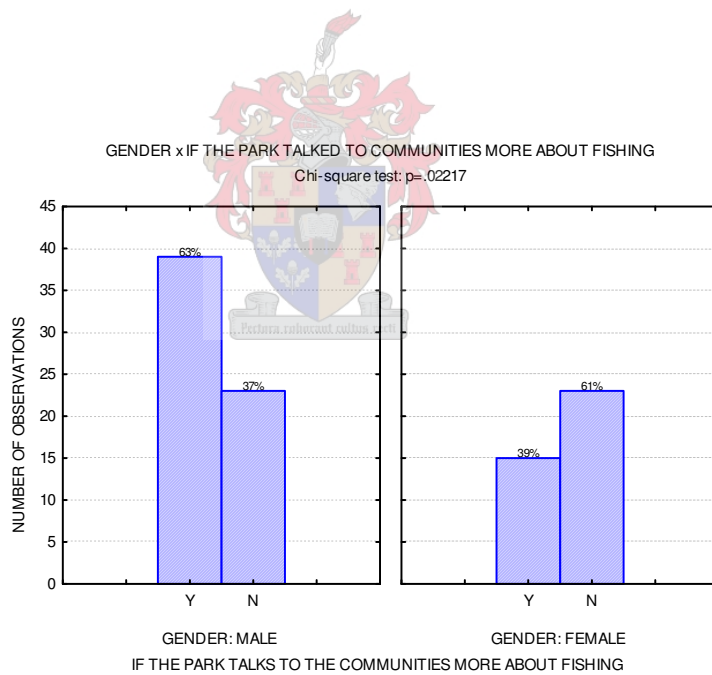


Figure 5d

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions

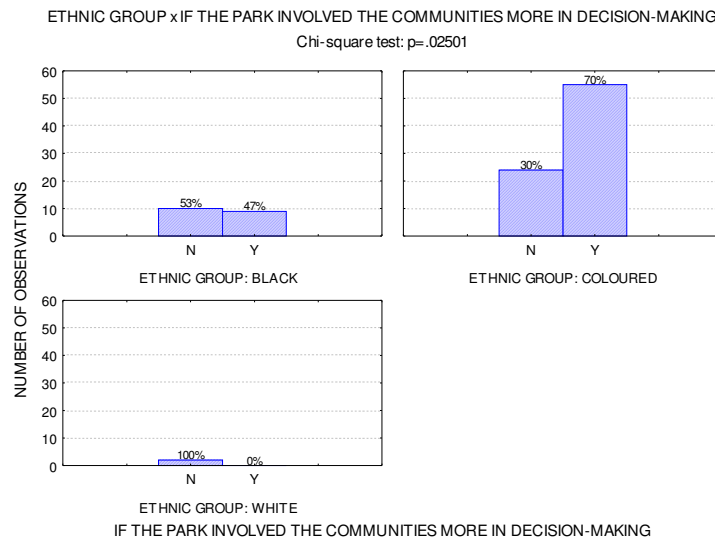


Figure 5e

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions



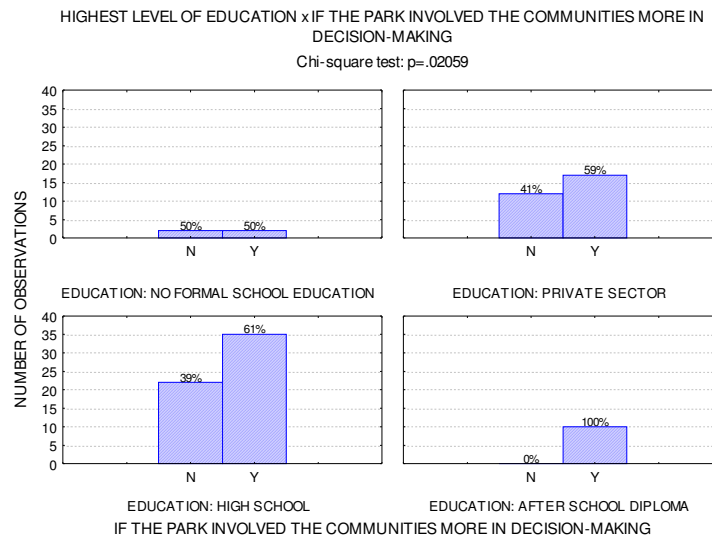


Figure 5f

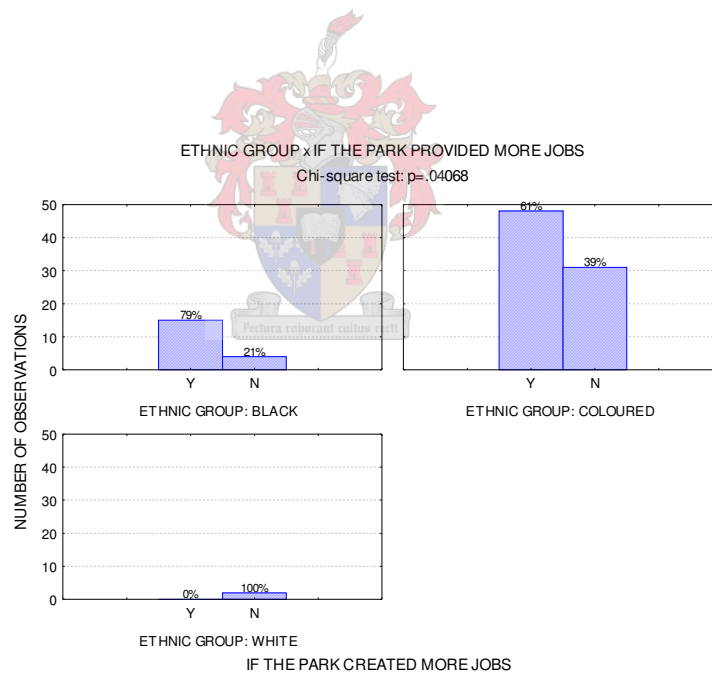


Figure 5g

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions

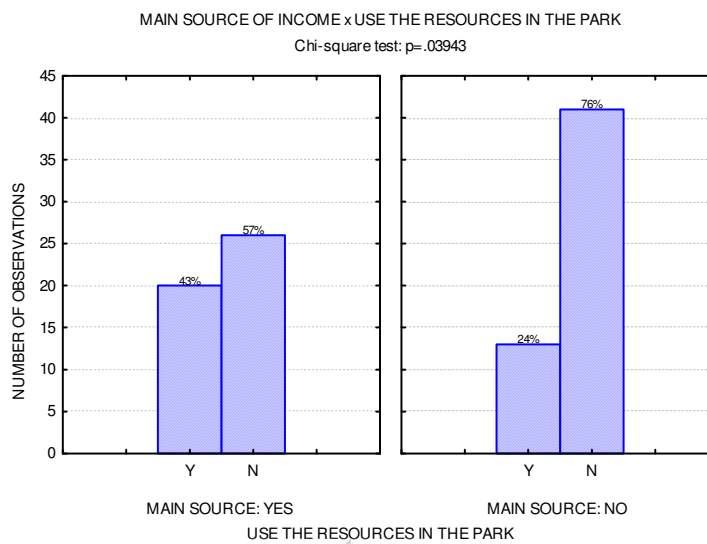


Figure 5h

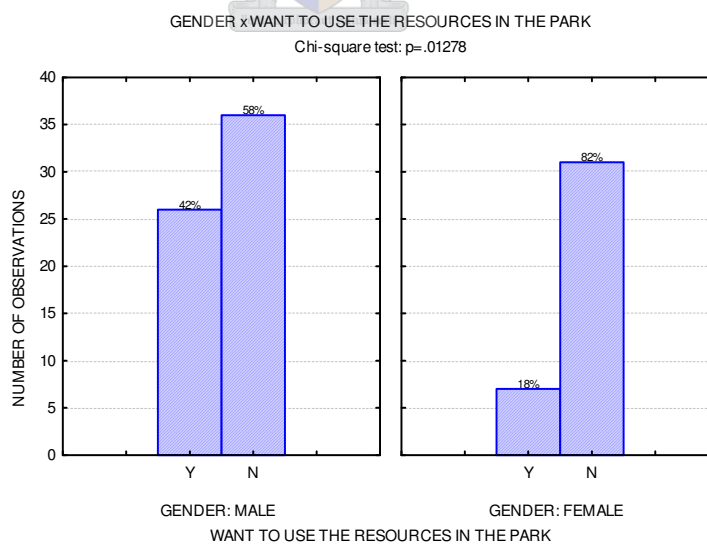


Figure 5i

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions

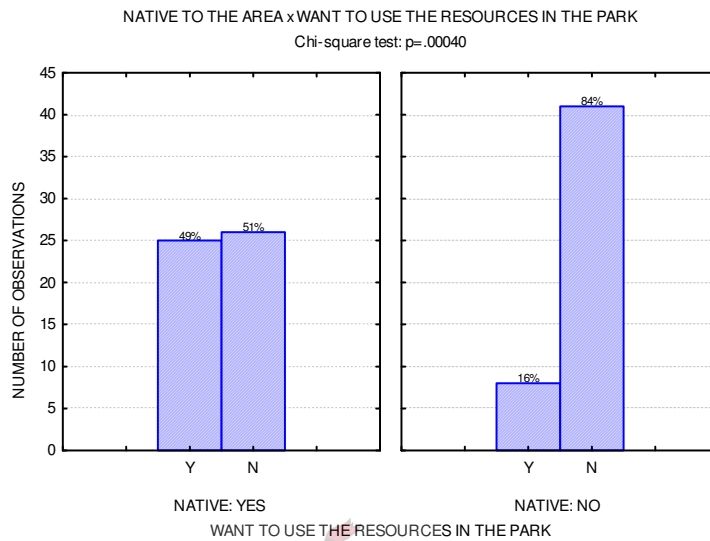


Figure 5j

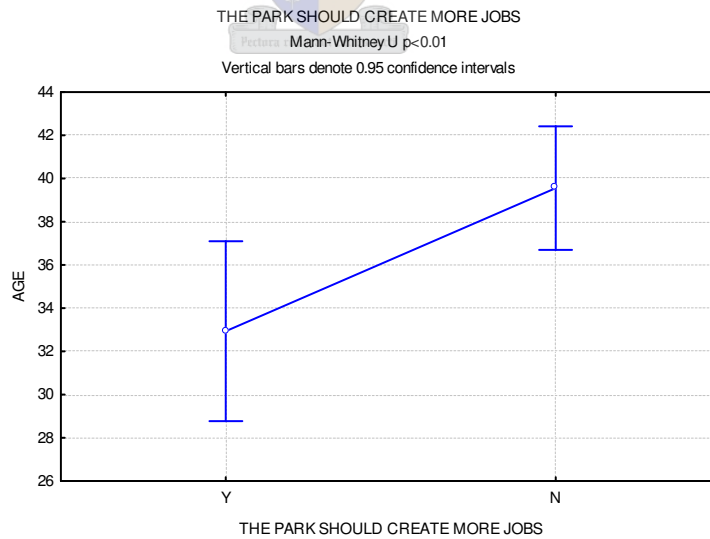


Figure 5k

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions

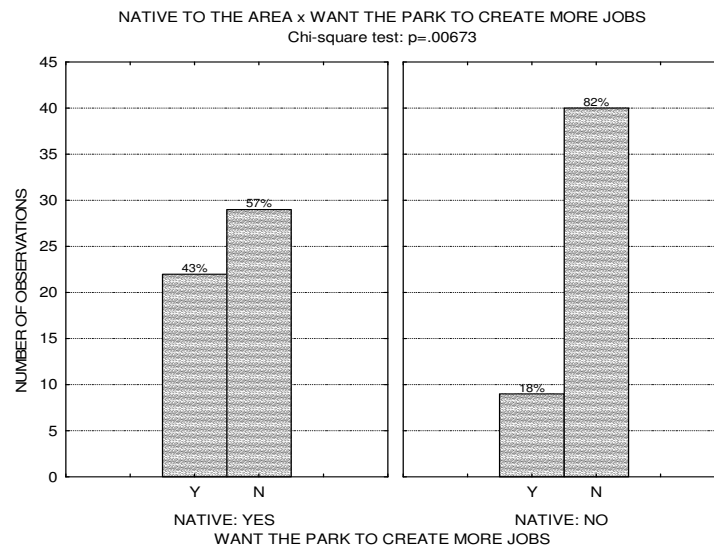


Figure 5l

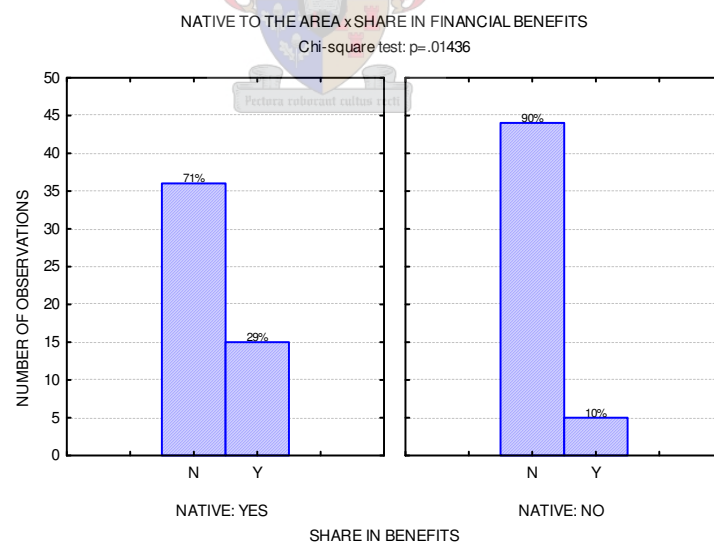


Figure 5m

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions

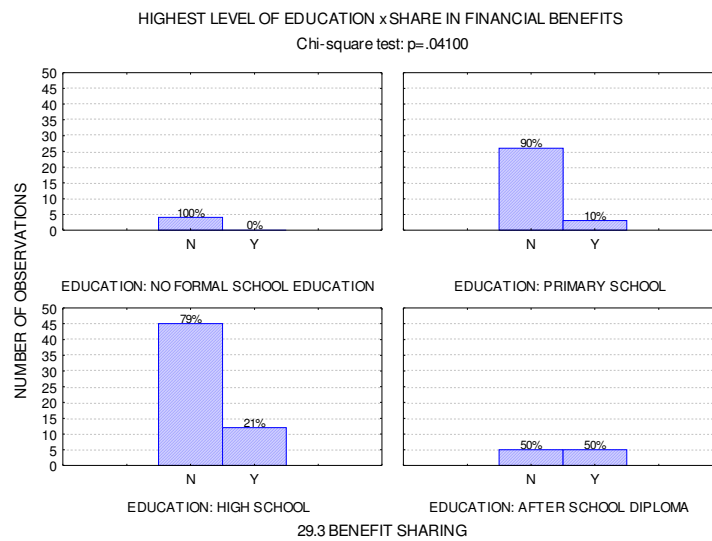


Figure 5n

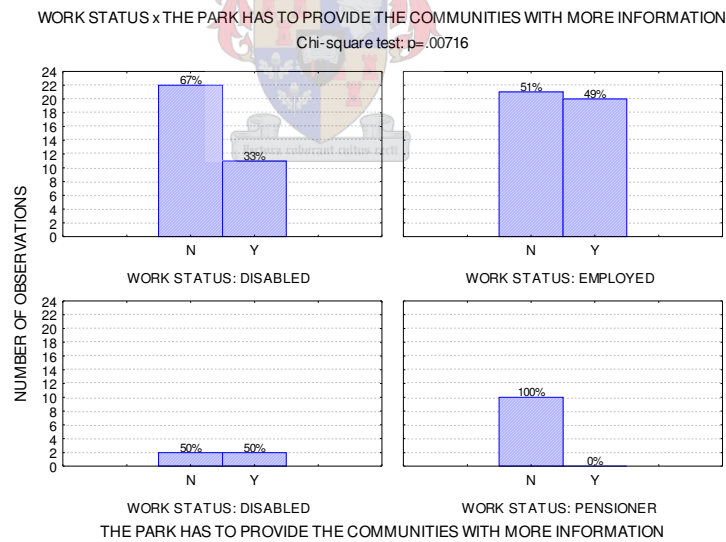


Figure 5o

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions

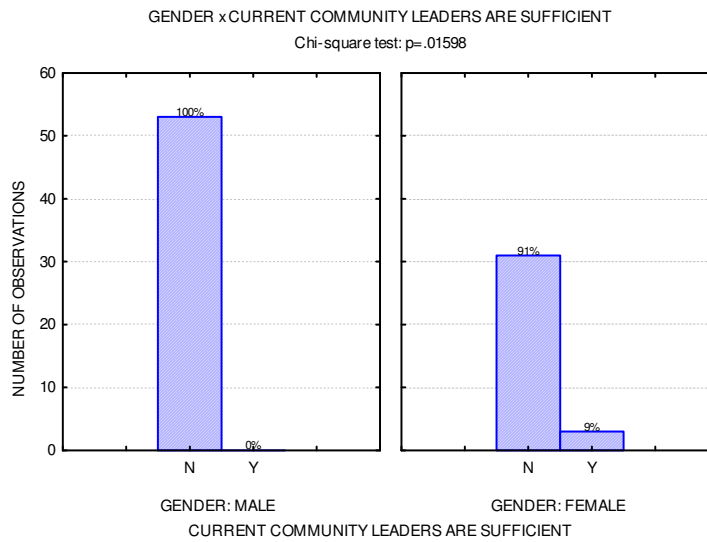


Figure 5p

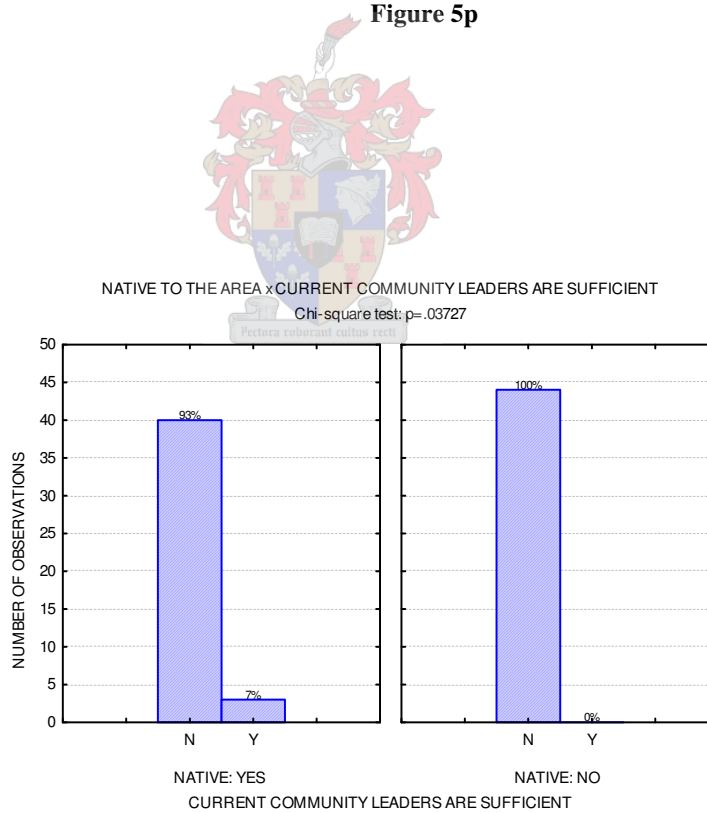


Figure 5q

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions

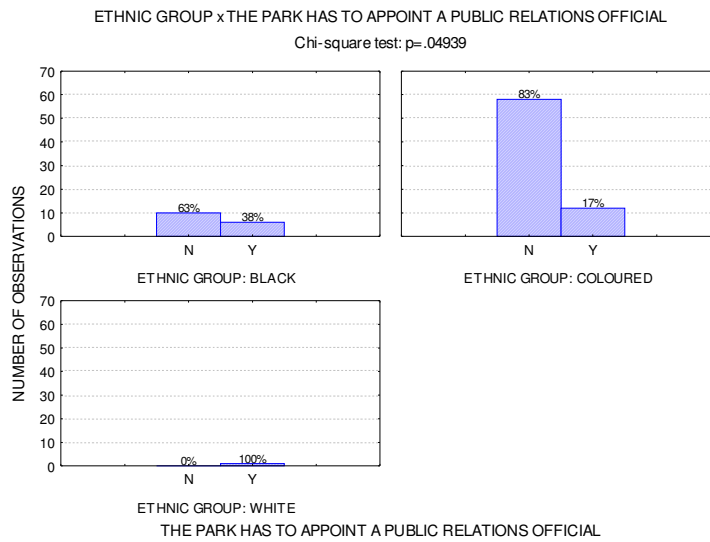


Figure 5r

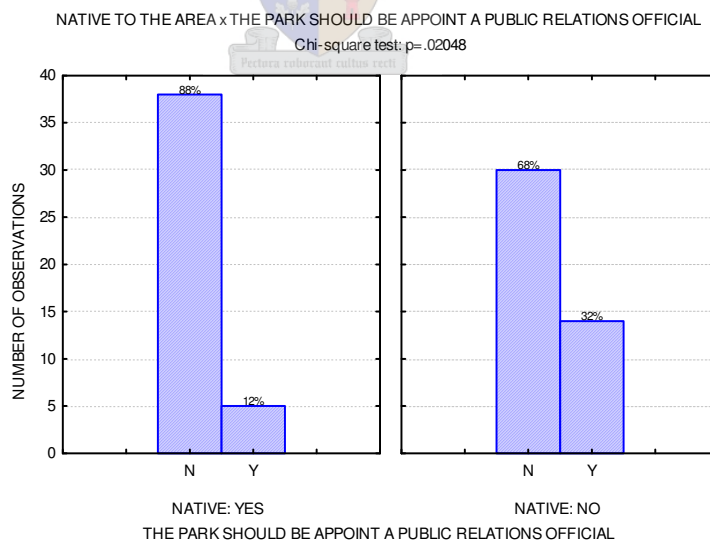


Figure 5s

Figure 5: Local community responses to what would overturn negative community perceptions

The burning issue is the park's 'no-fishing' policy. Table 5(i) contains the results of a survey that was conducted among the local communities to determine what would stop illegal fishing in the park. Sixty-three percent (n=63) of the respondents maintained that poaching would stop if the park provided more employment. Closely linked to this is the communities' need for opportunities to sell their crafts in the park. Forty-three percent (n=43) of the respondents noted that this would stop the communities from fishing. Fifty-four percent (n=54) suggested that the park should discuss its 'no-fishing' policy with the communities. However, 64% (n=64) stated that it would require the park to involve the communities in decision-making. Four percent (n=4) of the respondents maintained that they had no idea of what would stop the communities from desiring to fish in the park. Ironically, 16% (n=16) of the respondents indicated that nothing would ever stop the communities from fishing.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.04525$) between respondents who said that nothing would stop the communities from desiring to fish and their main sources of income (Fig 5a). Twenty-four percent (n=11) of the respondents who were the main sources of income in their households pointed out that nothing would stop people from fishing. Only 9% (n=5) of the respondents who were not the main sources of income reported that nothing would stop people from wanting to fish. There is also a significant difference ($p=0.03$) between the community members who stated that nothing would stop the local people from fishing and their age (Fig 5b). The mean age of the people who thought that nothing would stop the local communities from fishing (42.93750; n=16) is significantly higher than the mean age (36.46429; n=84) of respondents who indicated that there is a solution to the problem. When the respondents are grouped according to their ethnicity, there is a significant difference ($p=0.00888$) between the respondents who reported that nothing would stop people from wanting to fish and their ethnicity (Fig 5c). All the white respondents (n=2) argued that nothing would change it. Sixteen percent (n=13) and 5% (n=1) of the coloured and black respondents believed that nothing would stop the communities from desiring to fish. Finally, there is a significant difference ($p=0.02217$) between the community members who thought that people would stop fishing if the park talked to the communities more about it and their gender (Fig 5d). Sixty-three percent (n=39) of the male respondents said this could put an end to people's desire to fish, whereas only 39% (n=15) of the female respondents believed that this is the solution.

When the respondents are again grouped according to their ethnicity, there is a significant difference ($p=0.02501$) between the respondents who held that people would desist from the urge

to fish if the park involved the communities more in decision-making and their ethnicity (Fig 5e). Seventy percent (n=55) of the coloured respondents indicated that this would stop the urge to fish. Only 47% (n=9) of the black community members and none of the white respondents indicated this. There is also a significant difference ($p=0.02059$) between the community members who maintained that community involvement in decision-making would stop people from wanting to fish and their levels of education (Fig 5f). All the respondents with tertiary education (n=10) stressed that this would stop it. Fifty percent (n=2) of the respondents who never went to school, 61% (n=17) of those who have a primary school level of education and 61% (n=35) of those community members who have a high school level of education emphasised that community involvement in decision-making would stop people from desiring to fish.

The different ethnic groups felt differently about the solution to the fishing problem. There is a significant difference ($p=0.04068$) between the community members who thought that people would stop fishing in the park if the park created more employment and their ethnicity (Fig 5g). Seventy-nine percent (n=15) of the black respondents and 61% (n=48) of the coloured community members surveyed believed that this would stop people from wanting to fish. None of the white respondents considered this as the solution to the problem.

Another opportunity for overturning negative community perceptions is in the form of benefit sharing. There are differences between what the park offers and what the communities need (Table 5(ii)), especially when it comes to job creation and access to the fisheries resources. Thirty-one percent (n=31) of the respondents would like the park to create more employment opportunities. Thirty-three percent (n=33) wanted to have access to the resources in the park. Twenty percent (n=20) wanted financial benefits that arise from the park to be shared with the communities. Only four percent (n=4) suggested environmental education or the development of skills for the young people. Forty-three percent (n=43) noted that the park should be more accessible to the communities. Six percent (n=6) wanted the park to be more involved in the social development of the communities. A further 6% (n=6) stated that the park should take better care of their current employees as well as people who used to work for the park. Only 3% (n=3) saw participation in decision-making in the park as a desired benefit.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.03943$) between respondents who wanted to use the resources in the park and their sources of income (Fig 5h). Forty-three percent (n=20) of the respondents who were the main sources of income in their households wanted to use the resources in the park. Only 24% (n=13) of the respondents who were not the main sources of

income in their households wanted to use the resources. There is also a significant difference ($p=0.01278$) between the community members who wanted to use the resources in the park and their gender (Fig 5i). Forty-two percent ($n=26$) of the male respondents expressed their desire to use the resources in the park whereas only 18% ($n=7$) of the female respondents wanted to do so. Finally, there is also a significant difference ($p=0.00040$) between the community members who wanted to use the resources in the park and their area of birth (Fig 5j). Forty-nine percent ($n=25$) of the respondents who were born in the area wanted access to these resources, whereas only 16% ($n=8$) of the non-native respondents expressed the need for access.

There is a significant difference ($p < 0.01$) between the communities who maintained that the park should create more employment and their age (Fig 5k). The mean age (32.93548; $n=31$) of the respondents who wanted the park to provide more jobs as a benefit is significantly lower than the mean age (39.55072; $n=69$) of respondents who did not think that it is the park's responsibility to create more employment in the area. There is also a significant difference ($p=0.00673$) between the respondents who wanted the park to provide them with jobs and their area of birth (Fig 5l). Forty-three percent ($n=22$) of the respondents who were native to the area wanted jobs as a benefit from the park, whereas only 18% ($n=9$) of non-natives desired jobs.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.01436$) between the community members who wanted to share revenues with the park and their area of birth (Fig 5m). Twenty-nine percent ($n=15$) of the community members who were born in the area wanted equitable financial benefit sharing. Only 10% ($n=5$) of the non-native respondents would like to share revenues with the park. There is also a significant difference ($p=0.04100$) between the community members who stated that the park should share financial benefits equitably with them and their levels of education (Fig 5n). Half of the respondents ($n=5$) with tertiary education wanted to share the financial benefits that arise from biodiversity conservation in the park. Similarly, 21% ($n=12$) of the community members with a high school level of education indicated the same benefit. Only 10% ($n=3$) of the community members with a primary school education level wanted the park to equitably share financial benefits with them. None of the community members that did not attend school desired revenue sharing with the park.

The respondents had several suggestions for effectively managing the communication between the park and the communities (Table 5(iii)). Forty-three percent ($n=38$) urged that the park should broaden the spectrum of community members with whom it communicates. They also proposed more regular meetings. Information should be provided more often and in a

manner that reaches the communities better, according to 38% (n=33) of the respondents. Seven percent (n=6) pleaded with the park not to focus only on certain community members in its communication with the communities. Two percent (n=2) of the respondents wanted the park to appoint specific community representatives. Five percent (n=4) wanted the park to ensure feedbacks. Five percent (n=4) of the respondents had a stronger request than the others; they would like to be involved in the actual decision-making processes in the park. Three percent (n=3) of the respondents believed that the communication between the park and the communities could be improved by holding conservation awareness workshops. Two percent (n=2) suggested conservation forum to be the answer. However, there is a significant difference ($p=0.00716$) between the community members who would like the park to provide more and direct information and their work status (Fig 5o). Fifty percent (n=2) of the disabled respondents and 49% (n=20) of the employed respondents acknowledged that this could improve communication between the park and the local communities. Thirty-three percent (n=11) of the unemployed respondents believed this to be the solution. None of the respondents on pension indicated that this would solve the communication problem.

The respondents had clear ideas of community representation on the park management (Table 5(iv)). Only 3% (n=3) of the respondents were satisfied with the current mode of representation, i.e. unilateral selection of representatives by the park. Thirty-one percent (n=27) wanted a new system of democratically elected community representatives. Eight percent (n=7) wanted community representatives to sit on the park management. Some respondents thought that representation should be initiated by the park. Twenty-two percent (n=19) desired the park to appoint a public relations official that deals only with the communities and gives feedback to the park. Ten percent (n=9) said that community representation should be in the form of a conservation forum. Similarly, 10% (n=9) of the respondents suggested workshops as the forum for optimal interactions between the park and the local communities. Finally, 2% (n=2) would like to represent themselves.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.01598$) between the community members who affirmed that community leaders sufficiently represent them and their gender (Fig 5p). Nine percent (n=3) of the female respondents stated that the community leaders were sufficient, while none of the male respondents indicated their satisfaction with this arrangement. There is also a significant difference ($p=0.03727$) between the community members who felt that the community leaders offered sufficient representation and their area of birth (Fig 5q). Only 7%

(n=3) of the native community members felt that the community leaders sufficiently represented them, but none of the non-native community members supported this.

There is a significant difference ($p=0.04939$) between the respondents who suggested a public relations official and their ethnicity (Fig 5r). The white respondents who felt insufficiently represented would like to be represented in this way. Thirty-eight percent (n=6) of the black respondents desired a public relations official from the park to be responsible for community representation. Only 17% (n=12) of the coloured community members wanted the park to do this. Furthermore, there is a significant difference ($p=0.02048$) between the community members who desired a public relations official to convey their needs to the park and their area of birth (Fig 5s). Only 12% (n=5) of the community members who were born in the area expressed the need for a public relations official. Thirty-two percent (n=14) of the non-native community members wanted the park to appoint people to represent the communities on the park management.

5.3 Discussions

Fifty-three percent of the respondents had a generally positive attitude towards the park. Communities cannot be good ambassadors for the park if they do not have a positive image of the protected area administration. It was apparent during the interviews and the workshop that many respondents believed that certain sectors of the community would never have a positive attitude to conservation if the park's no-fishing policy was not reversed. This was confirmed by 13% (n=11) of the respondents who experienced a complete lack of benefit sharing with the park due to its 'no-take' policy on fishing (see Chapter 4). The majority of the respondents believed that creation of more jobs, involvement of communities in decision-making and engagement in more discussions on fishing by the park would encourage the communities to forsake their intense desire to fish in the park. However, the issue is not just about changing people's attitudes towards conservation, but also about changing their behaviours.

5.3.1 Fishing in the park

A history of respectful relationships between rural people and conservation authorities is positively related to the adoption of conservation initiatives through the enhanced trust in the conservation authorities (Marshall, 2004a, 2004b; Anderson, 1981). Unfortunately, the lack of this respectful relationship in Tsitsikamma led local people to affirm that nothing would ever

stop them from wanting to fish. It was expected that people who were not the main sources of income would be more likely to state this like in other parks. Affluence is believed to be a good indicator of people's attitudes because the rich may have the capacity to afford the loss of resources, which the poor, who are dependent on natural resources would lack (Infield, 1988). For example, in the Selous Game Reserve, wealthier respondents had a more positive attitude to conservation (Gillingham & Lee, 1999). Ironically, in Tsitsikamma, the respondents who are the main sources of income in their households are more concerned about fishing in the park than the other stakeholders. This supports the argument that the communities do not necessarily fish to provide food, but they do so in defiance of the park management. This is supported by the fact that 75% of the Afrikaans-speaking and 78% of the coloured respondents reiterated that illegal fishing is merely exercising their intrinsic rights to the fisheries resources in the park (chapter 3). It is worth noting that this does not support the hypothesis that sustainable rural development leads to biodiversity conservation. However, this conclusion could have been different if the last three-km stretch of the park that was opened to fishing was not unilaterally closed off in 2001.

There is a stronger urge for fishing rights amongst the older respondents than the younger generation. This is because the elderly community members could remember the utility of fishing in the area before it was declared a park. The park celebrated its 40th birthday in 2004, meaning that only those community members over 40 years of age could recall the memory of unrestricted access to the sea to fish. Age also appeared to be of particular relevance to adoption of conservation in Costa Rica. Older people appeared to have less incentive to invest in conservation practices that will only be of benefit to the subsequent generation (Gasson & Errington, 1993).

Even though all the white respondents believed that nothing would stop the communities from wanting to fish, they are the minority ethnic group. After all, only 16% of the coloured respondents and only 5% of the black respondents thought that nothing would change the need to fish. Fishing has seldom been a livelihood strategy for the white community members. They want to fish purely for recreational purposes and might therefore not appreciate decisions that seek provision of alternative livelihood strategies. Conversely, the high rate of unemployment in the area and the influx of people to Tsitsikamma might have convinced the white respondents that the coloured and black community members would not stop to fish in the park. It is worth noting that poaching in the park has been carried out by white people too.

More than a half (63%) of the male respondents believed that solutions to the fishing problem simply require discussions with the local people. Paradoxically, only 39% of female respondents thought that including the communities in discussions about fishing would stop the urge to fish. This could mean that the female respondents lack self-confidence to get involved in actual discussions with the park regarding its 'no-take' policy on fishing. This lack of self-esteem and confidence which makes women to feel generally incompetent has been reported in other parts of Africa (Flintan, 2003). However, the author came across various instances of women taking the lead in the community. Therefore, it would seem that their lack of support for discussions about fishing has more to do with the lack of belief in this option as a solution than to their lack of ability to participate in political processes of this nature.

It was expected that the coloured community members would indicate that nothing less than adequate involvement in decision-making in the park would convince people to stop from fishing. This was stated by most of the coloured respondents. The black community members do not consider fishing as a community right. To them, it is just an alternative livelihood source, while to the coloured community members it is a historical right that has been taken away from them. Therefore, the black people would be more easily convinced by some other tangible benefits or alternatives to desist from fishing in the park. Nonetheless, the coloured community members would need more than an alternative benefit; they would need to be involved in decision-making.

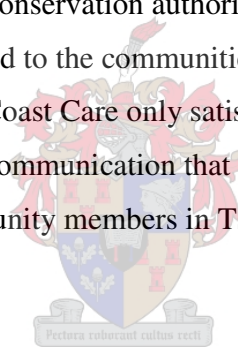
It appears as if the community members with a higher level of education agree with this preceding statement. All the respondents with tertiary education stated that if the communities were involved in decision-making in the park they would stop from wanting to fish. The need to involve communities in decision-making in the park was stressed in the workshop as well as in the interviews with community leaders. In one particular interview with two community leaders, they explicitly stated that they had done enough talking with people who are not entitled to make policy decisions. They would like to meet with representatives from the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism as well as SANParks head office officials in subsequent meetings between the park and the local people. Similar comments were made in other protected areas, although public involvement processes had been very thorough. For example, Stern (2003) found that there were feelings of futility amongst those who participated in these community meetings. Although many are appreciative of the opportunities to voice their opinion, the fact that those running these processes are not those who will make the final

decisions regarding their outcomes has created considerable mistrust and doubt. This lack of accountability and the distrust associated with it has instigated passionate protests against protected areas in some cases. The same lack of accountability has created a sense of futility in the communities adjacent to the Tsitsikamma National Park. In their last meeting with the park about fishing rights in July 2005, they were told that the park is only an implementing agency of the Marine and Coastal Management. It has no authority over policy making in a marine protected area. Therefore, there is a greater need to monitor and assess the success or failure of the Park Forum to see whether active community participation is accomplished. This forum, which represents, among others, the interests of local communities, states in its terms of reference that the communities can only serve in an advisory capacity. It would be interesting to see how satisfied the communities are with this advisory role.

Many respondents indicated that the communities would stop to fish if the park created more jobs and hence improved socio-economic conditions and standard of living. However, it is not the park's sole responsibility to solve the unemployment problem in the Tsitsikamma area. In the workshop, it also became apparent that the communities hold the park responsible for job creation in the area or at least in providing training and skills development to enable them to find employment elsewhere. Whether this would stop the coloured community members from wanting to fish in the park is unclear. Lam (2003) reported that even though respondents from communities adjacent to a protected area stated positive attitudes towards conservation, this was seldom reflected in their day-by-day interactions with the park. This is because the park was still threatened by human exploitation. Indeed, the extent of the impact on the park was closely related to the dependency-level of local people on natural resources, not their attitudes. This should act as a warning sign to the Tsitsikamma National Park. The management needs to change not only people's attitudes, but also provide alternatives to people who fish as a livelihood strategy. Lam (2003) also reported that 80% of the respondents who admitted to utilizing natural resources in an illegal way, claimed to have an awareness of conservation as well as a positive attitude towards conservation. However, it has to be borne in mind that the communities do not necessarily fish to provide food, but also in defiance of the park's policy and strategy.

Therefore, it is clear that there are two distinct groups practising illegal fishing in the National Tsitsikamma Park. On interrogating the attitudes of the local people living in and around protected areas, Badola (1998) found that it is not always the poorest of the poor who has

a need for access to natural resources. The study revealed that the concept of conservation is well supported in the area. Nevertheless, people are extracting biomass from protected areas for their sustenance. The dependence of people on protected natural resources is due to a lack of alternatives, inability of people to produce alternatives from the market, and in some cases it is 'habitual' or traditional'. This 'habitual' or 'traditional' dependence on protected natural resources is also the case in the Tsitsikamma National Park. In a situation where natural resources will not be available, people without any alternatives to these resources are ready to undermine rules. However, people who oppose such decisions are not always dependent on the natural resources *per se*, but are antagonistic towards the conservation authorities and want to use this opportunity to retaliate by illegally using the resources (Badola, 1998). The former category of people are the ones for whom income generating activities would be important while the latter category should be the targets of extension programmes designed to establish permanent lines of dialogue with the conservation authorities (Badola, 1998). The same management approach could be applied to the communities in Tsitsikamma. Poverty alleviation projects like Working for Water and Coast Care only satisfy the needs of a certain sector of the community. The permanent lines of communication that Badola (1998) refers to, needs to be established with the well-to-do community members in Tsitsikamma to completely halt illegal fishing in the park.



5.3.2 Benefits the communities desire from the park

Training or skills development was clearly identified in the workshop by the female participants as a benefit needed from the park. It was unusual that not many of the community members desired this benefit, although it was included in the questionnaire.

Forty-three percent of the respondents would like the park to be more accessible. To them, accessibility includes free entry, transport to and from the park, discount on accommodation for communities and ensuring the comfort of community members once they are inside the park. This is easily achievable for the park, as its management has already started working on this; it is also well institutionalised in the park's management policy. There is a commitment from the park for stakeholders to have equitable, sustainable and managed access to the park as well as to the benefits that are derived from the park. More specifically, under the key results area of action, park visitor facilities and services, the park undertakes to facilitate

affordable access to South African visitors at pay-entry-points and facilities of the park (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). This should start with the local communities adjacent to the park to create ambassadors for the park and to transmit the park's conservation philosophy to the local communities. In fact, some of the community leaders admitted that the park arranged free entry for them when they approached the office in the Tsitsikamma National Park.

5.3.2.1 Access to the resources in the park

It was expected that more respondents would like to have access to the resources in the park. However, it is surprising that only a third of the respondents wanted access to the fisheries resources in the park. More respondents who are the main sources of income in their households wanted to use the resources in the park than the respondents who are not the main sources of income in their households. Thus, affluence is not the best predictor for positive attitude to conservation as it was predicted by Infield (1988). It was expected that respondents without any income and those who are not the main sources of income would have much demand for using the resources in the park. This strengthens the observation that the communities in the area want access to the fisheries resources for more than just a livelihood strategy. The relationship the coloured, Afrikaans-speaking community members had with the resources in the area, defined them culturally. The loss of access to this resource has not only been a loss of food source and a recreational activity, but a loss of cultural identity. It was explicit during the interviews and the workshop that the communities blamed the high alcohol abuse and the ensuing socio-economic problems on the loss of their cultural identity. A community member emphasised that fishing has been their legacy and that the people of Tsitsikamma's legacy has now been taken away from them. This supports the 16% of coloured respondents' response that nothing would stop the communities from wanting to fish. This makes the solution to poaching more complicated than only replacing a livelihood strategy. Focussing on poverty eradication and conservation education is simply not enough. This viewpoint is supported by Lam (2003) who noted that successful cases are rare where the focus has been solely on education and poverty relief. The reality in the Tsitsikamma National Park is that poverty relief has not been enough and environmental education has mostly focussed on school children. The park has not targeted the sector of the community that has consistently fished illegally with appropriate incentives; the focus has been on law enforcement.

There appears to be an equal need amongst the two genders to use the resources in the park. However, there are significantly more male respondents who desired this benefit from the park than female respondents. It is clear that the male respondents are less supportive of the park's biodiversity conservation mandate. This is confirmed by the fact that more male respondents than females considered illegal fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park appropriate (see Chapter 3). A difference in attitude towards conservation between the genders was also reported in a wildlife refuge in Costa Rica. Although there were mostly positive attitudes from both genders, female respondents had a higher proportion of positive attitudes (Graham-Kordich, 2003). According to Flintan (2004), women tend to be more easily mobilized and have a greater entrepreneurial spirit than men. Women tend to support micro-credit and savings schemes. Such schemes are seen as an entry point to other activities. The Tsitsikamma National Park should capitalize on this because this can also bring social cohesion, build up mobilisation, and open up other opportunities.

The native respondents felt a stronger urge for access to the resources in the Tsitsikamma National Park than the non-native respondents. An analysis of protected areas by Fiallo and Jacobson (1995) found that older residents (which can be associated with longer residence times) were less likely to support protected area activities. They felt adversely affected by new restrictions (i.e. lost use of resources that were previously accessible). Research in Tanzania had similar results with long-term residents more likely to support the abolition of protected areas (Fiallo & Jacobson 1995). There was some opposition to Gandoca-Manzanillo Wildlife Refuge from residents who had lived in Gandoca for a long time. This is because the community in question has been dealing with political problems of conservation for a considerable time. These residents may have been more aware and affected by these issues than residents who had not spent as much time in the community (Graham-Kordich, 2003).

5.3.2.2 Free entrance

In Tsitsikamma, 45% of the community members who are not native to the region would like the park to allow the communities easy access to the park. This does not include use of the resources in the park. It is interesting to notice that there is a sector of the community that considers mere access to the park as an important benefit. A considerable time was spent on the need amongst the younger community members for job opportunities in the park or skills development by the park during the workshop. The age of respondents who indicated that they wanted this as a benefit from the park is significantly lower than those who did not. It is worth noting that the

younger community members do not have the same emotional reaction to the park's no-fishing policy. They would like to benefit from the park in one way or the other, most likely through job opportunities. In fact, the younger respondents appeared to be less negative about protected areas when age was used as a demographic attribute in other parks. For example, Graham-Kordich (2003) found the younger respondents to have more positive perceptions of conservation.

5.3.2.3 Job provision

There are significantly more native respondents than non-native respondents who wanted job as a benefit from the park. Community members who are non-natives to Tsitsikamma might have realized that it is the responsibility of the local municipalities (Kou-Kamma and Bitou) to create employment opportunities in the area. The experiences of these immigrants elsewhere could have prepared them to draw this conclusion. Moreover, it is explicitly stated in the Integrated Development Plans of local municipalities that local economic development is a priority. This includes provision of employment. Community members who were born in the area generally seem to blame the park for most of their socioeconomic miseries. They attribute all their problems to the proclamation of the park. They believe that they would not be where they are socio-economically if the park was not established in Tsitsikamma.

It ought to be mentioned that the communities need to direct their complaints and grievances to the relevant authorities. Conversely, the current poor communication between the park and the local communities appears to entrench this perception that the park management is responsible for the overall socio-economic development of the Tsitsikamma area. Logically, it is imperative to point an ignorant person to the right direction if that person inappropriately accuses you for what you should not be blamed for. Therefore, the burden of the proof is on SANParks. Ironically, the park's management policy states that it would ensure that commercial opportunities associated with the development of tourist facilities are released in an equitable manner that enables economic empowerment and the involvement of small, micro and medium enterprises (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). This means that the park has a responsibility for economic empowerment of the adjacent communities. Therefore, the park management needs to clarify its role in job creation and the associated constraints on it to the local communities for them to appreciate its role in relation to other service providers at the grassroots.

5.3.2.4 Economic benefits

In two of its key results areas of actions in the management policy, the park emphasises equitable sharing of the economic benefits that arise from the park. Under the key results area of action, park planning and development, the park management promises to develop a strategy that ensures that economic opportunities are accessed equitably, with specific attention to all disadvantaged people. Also, under the key results area of action, park partnerships, the park aims at realizing opportunities for, and equitable distribution of, benefits to surrounding communities (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). However, when the communities talk about sharing economic benefits, they would like shares in the park, a piece of land in the park or to be permitted to trade in the park. This was strongly emphasised at the workshop as a community request, especially amongst the native people. The community members who are non-native to Tsitsikamma would like to enjoy the park or if possible to be provided with alternative livelihood strategies. They are not particularly concerned about involvement in decision-making in the park. Losing the right to fish in the area has not affected them much. They are less inclined to feel that the park owes them.

The Tsitsikamma communities are entitled to equitable benefit sharing with the park. This is well institutionalised in South African conservation laws and policies as well as in the Tsitsikamma National Park's management policy. It is not surprising that the respondents with tertiary education have the strongest urge for benefit sharing. However, the communities' concept of equitable benefit sharing differs from the park's concept of equitable benefit sharing. It is highly unlikely that the park management will give shares to the communities in the park. Moreover, it is merely an implementing agency of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism. It is also unlikely that the park will disburse a proportion of the gate fee to the local communities like in the Amboseli National Park in Kenya (Watts, 2002). Nevertheless, discussions about these economic benefits between the park and the communities are necessary.

5.3.3 Better communications with the communities

Forty-three percent of the respondents would like the park to have meetings with the broader community and 38% requested the provision of more and direct information. The need for more information to the communities also surfaced in many of the interviews with key informants as

well as in interviews with business owners. Even though most of the business owners have access to most of the conventional ways for disseminating information, they would like information to be more easily directed at them. Most of the business owners complained that the park operates in isolation. Thus, the park needs to ensure that it reaches all the sectors of the communities. Although the community members on pension were pessimistic about improved communication, the communities have a right to adequate information on park management. The communities felt that only a small group of individuals currently have access to information about the park. Therefore, the park needs to reach out more and provide this information in a readily accessible manner by all. The same need for regular and clear communication through culturally appropriate media was also identified by the people living around national parks in other places. Many residents suggested regular newspaper columns or more gatherings where the park would explain its current activities (Stern, 2003). One of the objectives in the Tsitsikamma National Park's management policy is for the management to strive to ensure that data which are used to inform management decisions are effectively integrated and made accessible to the local communities (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). The park should consider handing out flyers, using local radio stations and putting up posters in the communities. According to Vanclay (2004), using multiple methods increases the chances of reaching more relevant groups. This strategy should be relevant to the Tsitsikamma National Park as it has undertaken in its management policy to develop a communication strategy that encourages effective communication with stakeholders (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003).

5.3.4 Representation on the park management

Most respondents would like democratically elected community representatives or appointed public relations officials to represent them. It is noteworthy that only 3% of the respondents are satisfied with the current form of representation by the community leaders. However, there is a significant difference between the two genders. Nine percent of the female respondents stated that the current community leaders are sufficient, but none of the male respondents thought so. Generally, the respondents do not find the current system of appointing community leaders to represent them appropriate. They are in need of more formal structures. This is where the lack of feedback from the community leaders also surfaced in the responses of the communities. It is the author's personal observation that the park contacts only certain community members in all its interactions with the communities. There is a small group of community members who are

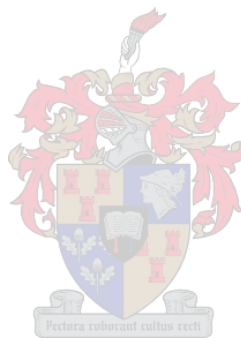
involved in park projects and when new projects arise, they are often the only ones who are contacted. This explains the response that benefits go only to certain individuals. The respondents are clearly not satisfied with this interaction.

A small proportion (7%) of native respondents felt that the community leaders offer sufficient representation, whereas none of the non-native respondents were satisfied with this form of representation. However, the fact that only three respondents felt that they were sufficiently represented is of great concern. Thirty-one percent of the respondents indicated that they would like community leaders to represent them, but they must be democratically elected. They are opposed to the current practise where the park deals only with people that offered themselves up to represent the communities, or the park picks them to represent their respective communities. The coloured respondents were concerned that nothing materialised from the several meetings that they had with the park officials. They would like the communities to have more power through officially recognised community structures. This explains their resentment to the idea of community representation by park officials. The same lack of support is seen when the respondents are divided into native and non-native respondents. More native respondents would like the communities to represent themselves on the park management than non-natives. It is therefore imperative to assess the manner in which the local communities view the Park Forum.

Lavides *et al.* (2003) encouraged that a 'people's organization' be formed, which facilitates identification of community issues and provides an organ through which the community contributes. With enough training (e.g. in basic ecology, leadership, organizational management), a core group of community-based campaigners from the people's organization could work with park staff. Reliable, credible and well-trained community-based campaigners are crucial in gaining community support. Using the word 'people' in the name of such an organization might create more trust from the communities than the Park Forum. Such an organization could be the feedback organ to the Park Forum. The 'people's organization' could also meet more regularly than the current quarterly meetings of the Park Forum.

5.4 Conclusions

Community involvement in the management of the park, including equitable distribution of benefits, is for the most part well institutionalised in the Tsitsikamma National Park. This is evident in the policies and strategies of the park. Thus, it is possible for the synergies between socio-economic development and biodiversity conservation to come to the attention of all community members in the near future. However, this would require a paradigm shift in the implementation of laws, policies and strategies. It is one thing to have a clearly thought-through policy and strategy, but it is another to translate them into tangible outputs. SANParks needs to implement its statements of intent faithfully to transform perceptions and improve its public image in the eyes of local communities who by definition are the primary stakeholders in the area.



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Chapter 6: Conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

This study set out to determine the existence of synergies between biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development in the Tsitsikamma area. The research was carried out in the four communities of Coldstream, Covie, Storms River and Thornham. These communities were selected to participate in this query by virtue of their proximity to the Tsitsikamma National Park. Furthermore, park officials and businesspeople that have settled in Tsitsikamma were also surveyed. The author's personal observations and experiences of the area contributed useful information to the data which were derived from other sources. The overall objective of this research was addressed by examining five specific research objectives, i.e., (1) determination of the contribution of these four communities to biodiversity conservation in the Tsitsikamma National Park; (2) determination of the existing contribution of the Tsitsikamma National Park to socio-economic development of the four adjacent communities; (3) assessment of the views of local communities on interactions between the park management and the communities; (4) evaluation of community views on decision-making in the management of the park; and (5) identification of opportunities for overturning negative community perceptions of the park.

6.2 Synergies between biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development

Do synergies exist between biodiversity conservation and sustainable rural development in the communities adjacent to the Tsitsikamma National Park? Synergies between conservation and development should form an integral part of protected area management through a community-based conservation model, which focuses on human benefits and sustainable utilisation. They should not be a mere add-on to the traditional preservationist approach to conservation. This study concludes that these synergies exist on the surface in Tsitsikamma. However, they are not readily visible as an integral part of the management of the Tsitsikamma National Park as they should be. For example, it appears as if there are indeed synergies between biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development of the communities included in this study. Programmes run by the park's People and Conservation Department involving communities have replaced fishing in the park as a tangible benefit. It could be logically assumed that biodiversity conservation through these poverty relief programmes, cultural heritage conservation and

environmental education has led to sustainable rural development where the communities are responsive to their environment. Although the communities do not regard employment as a benefit *per se*, jobs have provided certain community members with incomes. This relieves pressure on the natural resources of the park, especially fisheries resources. In fact, the opportunity costs of retrenching those who are currently employed by the Tsitsikamma National Park are likely to be high on biodiversity.

However, this study has revealed that a significant number of the community members still want to fish in the park. In fact, some community members have not ceased to fish in the park. First, this must be understood in the context that these people's culture evolved around a fishing economy both for subsistence and recreation. Second, the absence of alternative sites for fishing in the area has made the local people more determined than ever to fish in the park. The responses could be different if the whole park coastline was not sealed off to fishing in 2001 under the recommendations of park researchers. It must also be noted that biodiversity conservation does not mean preservation and hence zero exploitation of the protected natural resources. The park's belated decision to unilaterally close off the sea to fishing by local communities is worrying and demonstrates the resurgence of a preservationist approach as opposed to biodiversity conservation. The latter involves regulated use of natural resources.

In Tsitsikamma, attempts at sustainable rural development have not largely been perceived by the local communities to result in biodiversity conservation. This is attributed to the fact that sustainable rural development is a broad issue that needs multilateral approach to appropriately tackle it. It requires all agencies with responsibilities for the rural people in the Tsitsikamma area to pool their resources, rather than operate individually. Individual attempts at poverty alleviation in Tsitsikamma are unlikely to have discernable impact in the eyes of resident communities. Worse for the Tsitsikamma National Park is the inappropriate perception among the local communities that the park is responsible for the socio-economic development of the area on its own. The park needs to effectively inform the local communities that it is just an organ within a system of multiple role-players. It needs to point the local communities to the relevant agencies, including local municipalities, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, provincial departments of agriculture, health and transport, *inter alia*.

6.2.1 Should fishing be allowed in the park?

The World Conservation Union (IUCN) stresses that any given body of natural resources needs to be perceived and dealt with as a natural heritage *per se* and for the benefits of all generations. Nevertheless, a body of resources may not always be able to meet all the present local needs, and resources may need to be restricted to reach particular conservation objectives. Thus, matching of rights and responsibilities is crucial for conservation (IUCN, 2004). Interestingly, many of the respondents surveyed stated that without fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park, nothing that the park does would ever be sufficient.

This leads one to ask “Should fishing be allowed in the Tsitsikamma National Park if it leads to a more positive attitude towards conservation?” This is because local communities’ intrinsic rights to access to the natural resources in protected areas (Ghimere & Pimbert, 1997) should also be considered. The National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) states that equitable access to environmental resources, benefits and services to meet basic human needs and ensure human wellbeing must be pursued. It further affirms that special measures may be taken to ensure access to natural resources by categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination. This equitable access to environmental resources is clearly not the case in the Tsitsikamma National Park. NEMA also states that the social, economic and environmental impacts of activities, including disadvantages and benefits, must be considered, assessed and evaluated, and decisions must be appropriate in the light of such consideration and assessment (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1998).

Ironically, the recommendation of Hanekom *et al.* (1997) to close the park to all recreational fishing did not consider the social and economic impact of this recommendation and resulted in the alienation of the local communities. It is noteworthy that Hanekom and others’ recommendation was made at a time when there were no NEMA, Marine Living Resources Act of 1998 and other conservation instruments. Their study was not founded on the real world impact of regulated community use on the marine resources in the park. Therefore, there is need to reconsider this decision in the light of current legislation and knowledge. Furthermore, the Protected Areas Act of 2003 promotes sustainable utilisation of protected areas for the benefit of people (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 2003). Allowing regulated fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park would constitute this sustainable use of the protected area for the benefit of the local people. There is an anomaly in the management of the Tsitsikamma National Park: first limited fishing was allowed in specific sites when there were no laws favouring

community participation and second, no fishing is allowed, when there are laws encouraging sustainable use. The Marine Living Resources Act of 1998 provides that fishing may be undertaken where such an activity is required for the proper management of the marine protected area (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1998). Clearly, under the laws requiring equitable access to natural resources, fishing in the Tsitsikamma National Park can be considered an activity required for the proper management of the marine protected area. Limited fishing by the communities adjacent to the park would have a better conservation outcome than the illegal fishing that is currently happening in the park.

6.2.2 Biodiversity conservation

Until sustainable use of the fisheries resources is allowed, the key question is how to assign responsibilities fairly and effectively, including restrictions on resource access and use, while maintaining an overall rights-based approach. The answer seems to lie in moving away from imposed restrictions to the participatory definition of and agreement on, shared rules (IUCN, 2004). Infield (2001) notes that strategies encouraging rural people to become integrally involved in conservation have often focussed on the economic links between local communities and protected areas. He suggests a new approach to this participatory definition and asserts that even though the role of cultural values in building support for conservation has been noted, it has largely been ignored in practice. Cultural identity or cultural values could be great assets in creating support in communities for biodiversity conservation.

The Tsitsikamma National Park has realised the importance of conserving the cultural identities of the communities in Tsitsikamma through its Cultural Mapping Project, its Oral History Collection Project and the involvement of wise elders in the communities through the Imbewu camps. The park also sees the practice of fishing in the area before the proclamation of the park as a strong tie between the park and the communities. Unfortunately, the park's contact with the communities through these projects has been limited. These projects are necessary and the park's efforts have to be applauded, but they have mainly focussed on capturing information on a lifestyle that only lives in the minds of a few in Tsitsikamma.

The role of cultural values in building support for conservation has been noted (McNeely & Miller, 1984), but has been largely ignored in practice. In poor countries, economic approaches can appear especially attractive, and their presentation as humanitarian in interest (Holdgate & Munro, 1995) has guaranteed them almost universal acceptance. However, it is not

only through economic contributions that wildlife and protected areas can have value (Infield, 2001). Work in Namibia (Jones, 1999) and Tanzania (Kangwana & Ole Mako, 1998) suggests that cultures can provide incentives for communities to conserve wildlife. According to Infield (2001), promoting cultural values would also provide a counterbalance to economic pressures on protected areas. However, Adams (1996) reminds that this does not mean that culture is static, but if conservation is about managing change in dynamic systems, then evolving cultures can also find reflection in protected area management.

It is proposed that the Tsitsikamma National Park assist the communities in evolving a new cultural identity and consequently new cultural values. Fishing is the legacy of the communities in the Tsitsikamma area and formed an integral part of their cultural identity. They were the fishermen and fisherwomen of Tsitsikamma. The communities who fish illegally do not just fish as a livelihood strategy, but they believe that they are exercising a right that has been taken away from them. Therefore, a simple sharing of benefits from the park will not satisfy the needs of certain sections of the communities. This is true for the coloured Afrikaans-speaking community members who grew up in the area.

However, the Tsitsikamma communities have always seen themselves as conservationists. It is, therefore, proposed that the park focuses on allowing communities to develop this cultural identity as conservationists of the Tsitsikamma National Park. One possibility for creating this conservation stewardship is by involving communities in large-scale research projects in the park. Another approach could be to use community members in awareness and education campaigns using the flagship species approach, which would increase support from fishermen and coastal residents (Mortimer *et. al.*, 2000).

By focussing on this and making the communities true role-players in the park and its conservation mandate, the communities might be more supportive of biodiversity conservation in the park. They can become true ambassadors for the park. Or, as the park states in its management policy, become a greater park community which contributes to the sustainability of the park and where a conscious approach to natural resources becomes a part of their daily lives (Tsitsikamma National Park, 2003). This would require the park and SANParks to make a paradigm shift. Such a shift would entail making the communities true role-players and ambassadors for the park by giving them actual decision-making powers. This requires a policy change by SANParks, which currently only makes provision for communities to play advisory roles through Park Forums.

6.2.3 Socio-economic development of the communities

The park has a role to play in the socio-economic welfare of the communities, but only in projects that also promote biodiversity conservation. Paradoxically, any project that relieves pressure on biodiversity has significant positive influences on conservation, depending on the aspect of the nature to be conserved. It is therefore appropriate for the park to advertise itself as a conservation agency with a limited socio-economic responsibility (among other developmental agencies) through the pursuance of its conservation mandate. This should prevent communities from placing unrealistic expectations on the park. It must be stressed that the park cannot ignore its socio-economic responsibility for the communities; it is a necessary factor in sustainable rural development in Tsitsikamma. Moreover, contemporary conservation involves diversification of local people's survival strategies and provision of alternatives. Provision of alternative livelihoods may entail facilitation of communities to access funds to establish small-, micro- and medium enterprises. Conservation-specific interventions can no longer resolve the pressures on protected areas on their own. Conservation officials need to tackle wider socio-economic problems with other developmental agencies in rural areas to encourage biodiversity conservation. In fact, the communities would like the park to get involved in community projects that do not necessarily have measurable direct conservation outcomes. This could improve relationships and hence create support for conservation in the long-term.

6.2.4 Decision-making

The current system of including communities in the management of the park through the Park Forum where the communities play advisory roles is inadequate. Making the communities true role-players in the management of the park will help communities develop intimate knowledge of the day-to-day management of the park. The budget constraints imposed by SANParks and the legal framework within which the Tsitsikamma National Park operates requires active community involvement to share the burden of the day-to-day management of the park. There should be no hesitation from the park's side to include the communities in actual decision-making.

However, the communities would need enlightenment and training in South Africa's environmental laws and policies as well as SANParks' policies and strategies. Knowledge of the constraints placed on SANParks by the current conservation policies and legislations would help

the communities to appreciate SANParks' stance on the use of natural resources in the Tsitsikamma National Park. They would recognise that the conservation officials follow national policies and laws that cannot haphazardly be reversed without proper motivation. The National Environmental Management Act of 1998 supports this kind of intervention. This act clearly states that the participation of all interested and affected parties in environmental governance must be promoted, and all people must have the opportunity to develop the understanding, skills and capacity necessary for achieving equitable and effective participation. The act ensures the participation of vulnerable and disadvantaged persons (Government of the Republic of South Africa, 1998). This is where the park should focus its attention for the next few years.

It is noteworthy that the park has to broaden the spectrum of people in the communities that it interacts with because it does not reach all the different sectors of the community. One of the ways identified by the communities themselves is by assisting them to set up sufficient feedback structures. It is difficult for the existing community representatives to distribute information that they acquire from the park due to lack of resources and feedback mechanisms. This is where the park could play a significant role.

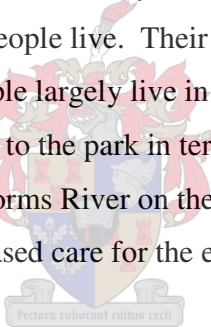
6.3 Recommendations

The bottom-up model for conservation under the rubric of community-based conservation has more recently been overshadowed by a resurgence of protectionist approaches to conservation (Brosius & Russel, 2003). Though recognizing that there are compelling reasons for these shifts, there are many possible paths to implementation and that it is necessary to maintain the concepts of *community* and *participation* as central precepts of conservation. This approach, however, sees community involvement merely as a means to a more successful conservation end. Local social development is crucial in its own right. Rural people deserve to have access to the resources required to meet their basic needs, economic safety and, where possible, upward social mobility (Brosius & Russel, 2003). In other words, conservation programmes are only valid and sustainable when they have the dual objective of protecting and improving local livelihoods and ecological conditions (Ghimere & Pimbert, 1997). We can make decisions regarding the abandonment of community-based conservation efforts only when we are sure that communities have been empowered and have truly become role-players in conservation management without successful results ensuing from these implementation strategies.

Community involvement in the management of the park, including equitable distribution of benefits from the park, is for the most part well institutionalised in the Tsitsikamma National Park. This is evident in the policies and strategies of the park. It is possible for these synergies to come to the attention of all community members in the near future and for the communities to become true role-players in conservation management. This would, however, require a paradigm shift in the implementation of laws, policies and strategies. It is one thing to have a clearly thought-out policy and strategy, but it is another to translate them into tangible outputs. SANParks needs to implement its statements of intent faithfully to transform perceptions and improve its public image in the eyes of local communities.

6.3.1 Approaching the communities differently

The park should remember that the communities differ greatly both from each other and within themselves. For example, the Thornham community is a highly educated community, which owns the land on which the Thornham people live. Their needs from the park differ greatly from the Storms River community where people largely live in a low cost informal settlement. The Thornham community has much to offer to the park in terms of involvement in designing projects and actual decision-making. Storms River on the other hand needs help in terms of food gardens for the school and their home-based care for the elderly and HIV/AIDS patients.



6.3.2 Paradigm shifts for the communities

Many of the complaints that the communities expressed about the park are justified. However, the communities also need to embrace paradigm shifts to gain as much as possible from the park under the current management. Thus, it would be appropriate for the communities to accept that the whole nature of the Tsitsikamma area has changed, although the way the park was proclaimed was inappropriate. Similarly, the lack of communication and interaction has had a negative effect on the park-and-people relationships, but the park cannot be blamed for all the socio-economic problems in the area. The support that the park gave to this research shows its commitment to understanding community needs and views. However, by virtue of being the major employer and developmental agency in the area, it needs to facilitate local communities to appreciate the need for these paradigm shifts.

The communities should learn to direct their complaints to relevant authorities. For example, their complaints about the lack of basic services delivery and their grievances about the

high unemployment rate in the area need to be directed to the local municipalities in Kareedouw and Jeffreys Bay. Their request for permission to fish in the park has to be directed to the Marine and Coastal Management, the custodian of the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998. The park has already assisted in this by inviting a representative of Marine and Coastal Management to participate in the Fishing Task Team that was formed in 2005. This representative addressed the communities at the meeting of the Tsitsikamma Angling Forum in July 2005. This should steer the communities to the right direction, rather than fruitlessly trying to negotiate fishing rights with the park management. In the past, these negotiations had left the communities frustrated and the park officials irritated.

6.3.3 Areas for future research

The author proposes that a similar study be repeated in the near future, where the results of this study are used as baseline data. Future studies should also look at the feasibility of permitting communities to fish in the park. It would be appropriate for future studies to assess the impact of limited and well-regulated fishing on the current practice of illegal fishing in the park. Involving the communities in this proposed research could create valuable support for the park.

Future studies should look at park forums in all national parks to determine whether they ensure sufficient representation of the communities. The definition of sustainable rural development in the first chapter of this report is that it should not just entail poverty alleviation and should not just make the communities more comfortable in their poverty. The communities should also have access to the resources of the area to keep the strategy going. Although the implementation of the government's poverty alleviation programmes by the park should be applauded, the very nature of these programmes should be investigated. These programmes include skills development and trainings of various kinds. Nevertheless, the short duration of employment in these projects might make it difficult for the communities to keep the strategy running in the Tsitsikamma area.

6.4 Achievement of the research

The first and most important finding in this study is that the park's 'no-fishing' policy throughout its entire history from the proclamation of the park in 1964 to date has had a negative effect on the way the communities perceive the park. This has harmfully influenced the local people's perceptions of the contribution of the Tsitsikamma National Park to the socio-economic

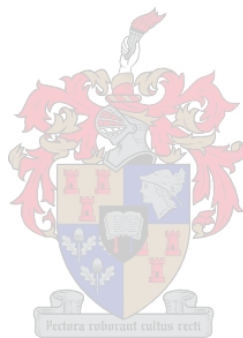
development of the adjacent communities. Improving the image of the park in the eyes of the park constituents in Tsitsikamma is the greatest challenge in strengthening synergies between sustainable rural development and biodiversity conservation in the area. Second, the study provides baseline data for future studies on community perceptions of the protected area. This should provide SANParks and particularly the Tsitsikamma National Park with better insight into the communities in Tsitsikamma, their views and their needs to assist these conservation agencies in future policy development. Third, the research provides evidence to support the notion that community-based conservation cannot be abandoned now. This is because conservation authorities have not done everything in their power to include communities in ways that might make them true participants and beneficiaries of conservation.

6.5 Limitations of the study

There were unfortunately no baseline data on community perceptions of the Tsitsikamma National Park. However, there was recorded evidence of community antagonism towards the park's no-fishing policy. In the absence of previous data dealing with changes in community perceptions about the park, it is difficult to assess the same phenomenon. Nevertheless, it is apparent that community perceptions in Tsitsikamma change slowly due to the rural nature of the area. This is evident in the four communities' consistent requests for fishing in the park. Understanding the timeframe in which community perceptions change could have greatly aided the park in formulating its own strategy. The park should try to reach as many community members as it can with the available resources and manpower if this slow transformation in perceptions is a trait inherent to the communities in Tsitsikamma. However, if this is a factor directly attributable to the park's approach to the communities, it needs to seriously consider the aggressiveness of its approach to the communities.

Another limiting factor of this study was the initial lack of trust the communities had in the author. The communities had participated in several research projects before. The absence of feedbacks from these studies had negated the communities to share information freely with outsiders. However, this obstacle was resolved in the end by establishing close relationships with certain key community members by informally visiting them in their homes. Giving

constant feedback to these community members on the status of the project also helped to develop trust between the communities and the author. They increasingly became supportive of the project.



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