Biodiversity Conservation of South Africa's Wild Coast through the Years: Exploring the Tensions between Western-style and Local Traditional Conservation Practices

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DECLARATION

I declare that:

'Biodiversity Conservation of South Africa's Wild Coast through the Years: Exploring the Tensions between Western-style and Local Traditional Conservation Practices'

Is my own work, that it has not been submitted for any degree or examination in any other university and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

Signed

Supervisor: Professor Thembela Kepe (University of Toronto/Rhodes University)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Before acknowledging all the people who have helped me with this study, I must firstly thank my wife, Annette, for having put up with me as I travelled from home and spent many early mornings two-finger-typing at the keyboard while putting together another manuscript. On more than one occasion she would ask, 'Why embark on a PhD study after a life-long career in conservation?' My answer was that it is a record of discoveries that I made during the journey – of successes and failures and lessons learnt, not only by me, but by many people who I met along the way.

When I wrote my first book about the Wild Coast in the early 2000s it was an effort to record the history of Mkambati Nature Reserve from loose documents that I found lying in boxes. I interviewed former managers and employees to obtain information about the origins of the reserve. The old photographs that I gathered were as important as the new images taken by John Costello that made the 'coffee table' book so popular. Those themselves are now historically important, but the book, despite its comprehensive species lists and contributory text from renowned conservationists, can only be regarded as grey literature at best.

One realises as one gets older that there is importance in providing hard facts that can be debated and referred to. My old friend, Jim Feely, wrote research papers until the week before he passed away. He encouraged me to embark on my PhD, and numerous emails from him and discussions that we had, have contributed to this thesis. I am indebted to him for his inspiration and to his partner Sheila Bell Cross for sharing books, documents and literature that Jim had left on his passing. Similarly, Bill Dutton, a renowned Transkeian forester, left copious notes and reports documenting his work. Being fluent in isiXhosa, he communicated freely with the local people and their leadership. This enabled him to formulate opinions about their sentiments towards forest management. His wife, Dorothy, provided me with boxes full of his comprehensive notes. These were invaluable, as were the discussions I had with him when I was a manager in the Umtiza Forest and during my early working escapades in Dwesa Forest in 1992. It was my association with old-time conservators and foresters like Jim and Bill that

enabled me to record their thoughts about conservation along the Wild Coast, and I am indebted to them for much of what is written in my thesis.

I have an African ancestry dating back more than 350 years. I am a White African, but cannot claim to be a political activist as many researchers on Transkei and the Wild Coast are proud to have been. I believe that not being an activist with firm political affiliations offers me the advantage of seeing beyond pre-conceived ideas about the influence of politics upon on-the-ground environmental management. However, it is clear that politics has a profound effect on people and how they are allowed to manage their natural resources. I must thank Thembela Kepe, my supervisor, for guiding me through the journey of discovery as I embarked on this PhD, which largely deals with political ecology. Before we started out, Thembela told me that I am well-known for more than 35 years' work in conservation, my radio and television appearances, and the numerous articles and books that I have written. However, he said that it is not enough and that I owe it to the scientific community to record my experiences and opinions in scientific literature. But Thembela went beyond encouraging me to write about the natural world, which is my expertise. He challenged me to explore how politics has shaped the conservation and management of the Wild Coast. It has been a fascinating, eye-opening experience.

John Costello has lived his entire life in Transkei, and more than 50 years of it on the Wild Coast. He speaks isiXhosa fluently as it was the first language that he learnt, and is regarded as an expert on most matters relating to the region. John accompanied me on many interviews for this study and interpreted when traditional leaders struggled to communicate in English. I thank him for this, as well as for the photographs that he took and shared with me. Other interpreters whose help I appreciate are Thembekile Given Ndabambi, who sadly passed away from COVID-19 shortly after my submission of the thesis, and Bheki Gumede.

I would like to thank all the participants from the case study areas, but there are a few who really stand out in the manner that they assisted me. Chief Patrick Fudumele from Hobeni went beyond what I expected in voluntarily finding literature for me to use, and encouraging local people to share their thoughts with me. I really appreciate his regular WhatsApp and Facebook

messages and the friendship that has developed since we met. He called me ‘Doc’ from the first day that we spoke – how encouraging was that in pushing me to complete my thesis? The chief introduced me to Kirsto Gorata from the Donald Woods Centre at Hobeni and I wish to thank him and Barbara Bryceland for allowing me to spend a day in the J.H. Soga Library, browsing through Donald Woods’ book collection and archival material. Thanks also to Glyn and Sue Rayment for accommodating me at The Haven on a few of the occasions when I worked at Hobeni and Cwebe. Similarly, Kevin and Leigh-Ann Schroeder kindly allowed me to use their cottage at Nqabarha while I met with Chief Ndlumbini and the headmen of Dwesa. Professor Eugene Moll kindly sent me documents that he still had about his early Dwesa Nature Reserve recommendations. Herb Bourn went out of his way to post me articles and reports that he found in his files from the time that he was a conservator in Transkei in the 1980s.

Chief Gwadiso and Headman Gwadiso were both extremely accommodating during my visits to Hluleka. I wish to thank them for their time and hospitality and for arranging the meetings with the traditional leadership. Trevor and Graham Strachan were very helpful in providing information about Hluleka’s history. I appreciate the time spent with Graham at his home in Port Alfred where he showed me the cleft stick that Chief Gwadiso used to call uBili Strachan with when they needed to meet.

Joggie Ackerman and Val Schmid worked at Mkambati during the 1980s and 1990s. They have a wealth of knowledge about the history of the nature reserve and I thank them for having willingly shared their experiences with me. Similarly, Ken Tinley and Willem van Riet, who drafted the original management proposals for the Mkambati and Dwesa Nature Reserves, provided me with copies of their documents. I regularly communicated with both Ken and Willem, who responded to my emails with valuable comments.

Keith Cooper sadly passed away in June 2020. I value the time spent with him at his home in Pietermaritzburg where we discussed Mkambati and the Wild Coast in general. Our regular telephonic chats were always insightful and his passion for the Wild Coast was contagious. Keith often stayed with Pat Goss at Grosvenor and Mkweni. It was he who introduced me to Pat many years ago. I wish to thank Pat for his time while I interviewed him at the Wild Coast

Sun. Pat singled out Paul Dutton as one of the finest conservators with whom he worked on the Wild Coast. My day spent at Salt Rock with Paul proved very rewarding - not only the great lunch and red wine, but the informative interview about the Nguni and Thonga people and their utilisation of marine resources. I must thank Paul for posting me a copy of his MSc thesis that focuses on this topic.

Several researchers went the extra mile in providing me with copies of their papers that proved useful for my studies. To this end I appreciate the help provided by Bruce Mann, Pete Fielding, Alan Boyd, Carl Vernon, Jan Venter, Gerry Pienaar, Kevin Cole, Derek Berliner, Michelle Cocks and Tony Dold. Jeff Peires spent most of one morning with me, explaining the history of the Cape Nguni along the Wild Coast. With his help, I hope that I have done justice to those sections dealing with the different people who settled in the area. Mike Coleman, a former Director of the Department of Land Affairs, meticulously corrected my interpretation of land ownership and allocation. He even drafted a detailed report to assist me in understanding the complexities of land tenure for which I am most thankful. Johan Jonas kindly provided me with the latest documents relating to population dynamics along the Wild Coast which he had neatly summarised for some consultancy work. John Costello once again allowed me to use his personal library of Africana, and I thank him for this as I do Aiden Dreyer who allowed me access to his entire collection of Blue Books, maps, photographs, and reports about the early Transkei.

I would not have been able to complete this study without the support of my Department (Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism), and my colleagues, especially Albert Mfenyana and Rob Stegmann. Rob not only encouraged me to complete the research but, together with my daughter Lauren, also rectified the formatting and layout of the manuscript, a substantial effort considering the mess that I made. I am grateful for the study bursary that I received from my Department and the time I was allowed off to work on my thesis. I also wish to thank our parastatal, the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency, for granting me ethical approval to access their protected areas and to interview their staff. Dean Peinke and Sherwyn Mack were particularly helpful in providing management plans and maps of the nature reserves. My thanks to Deanne Collins for undertaking the final edit.

Finally, I wish to thank all the participants who willingly sat with me and shared their views about natural resource management along the Wild Coast and the conservation of this unique and beautiful coastline. I hope that I have captured their thoughts correctly and that they will be proud of having contributed to this work.

Jim Feely (left) was a mentor to me (right) during the early part of my career as a conservationist in Transkei. This thesis is dedicated to him (Game Rangers Association of Africa Archives, 2002).

TERMINOLOGY

There are many ways of spelling the isiXhosa names of places in Transkei. Spelling has changed since the first written records and I have opted for the contemporary, and others would argue, decolonised spelling: Mbhashe, Mthatha, Mpondo – rather than Bashe, Umtata and Pondo, unless I am quoting from a source document or referring to a declared forest or protected area. Mkambati is a case in point. Contemporary spelling is either Mkambathi or Mkhambathi; however, the government gazette proclaims it as Mkambati Nature Reserve. To remain consistent and avoid confusion, I have elected to spell it as Mkambati throughout the thesis. When referencing clan names or lineages, I have used the prefix; for example, amaMpondo and amaDiba.

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AA	Administrative Area
ACC	Amadiba Crisis Committee
ACCODA	Amadiba Coastal Community Development Trust
ANC	African National Congress
BOA	Biodiversity Offset Agreement
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resource Management
CMC	Co-management Committee
CPA	Community Property Association
DAFF	Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries
DCLT	Dwesa Cwebe Land Trust
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs
DEAT	Department of Environment and Tourism
DEAET	Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism
DEDEAT	Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DEFF	Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DRDLR	Department of Rural Development and Land Reform
ECNC	Eastern Cape Nature Conservation
ECPB	Eastern Cape Parks Board
ECPTA	Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
GEF	Global Environment Facility

ICMA	Integrated Coastal Management Act
IPILRA	Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act 31 of 1996
JMC	Joint Management Committee
MDTP	Maloti Drakensberg Transfrontier Project
METT	Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool
MLRA	Marine Living Resources Act
MLT	Mkambati Land Trust
MNR	Mkambati Nature Reserve
MPA	Marine Protected Area
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act
NEMPAA	National Environmental Management Protected Areas Act
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
PAMP	Protected Area Management Plan
PFM	Participatory Forest Management
PondoCROP	Pondo Community Resource Optimisation Programme
ROD	Record of Decision
SADF	South African Defence Force
SANParks	South African National Parks
SAPPI	South African Pulp and Paper Industries Ltd.
SAPS	South African Police Services
SPLUMA	Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act 16 of 2013
SWAPO	South West African People's Organisation
TFCA	Trans-frontier Conservation Area
TRACOR	Transkei Agricultural Corporation

TRALSO	Transkei Land Service Organisation
TTGC	Transkei Territorial General Council
WCICTG	Wild Coast Illegal Cottages Task Group
WESSA	Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa
WWF	World Wide Fund for Nature

ABSTRACT

The Transkei Wild Coast is a unique and diverse biophysical environment stretching some 280 kilometres between the Great Kei and Mtamvuna Rivers along South Africa's eastern coastline. Its extensive indigenous forests were recognised for their biological and economic importance by the colonial government and granted protection from the late 1800s, with forced removal of indigenous people who resided within them. The state restricted and controlled the utilisation of the forest resources, particularly by Black people, through promulgation and enforcement of legislation. Similar conservation methods were employed for protection of the Wild Coast's soils, grasslands and marine resources, usually without any consultation with local Black leadership or communities who relied upon these resources. Previous studies have focussed on the impacts of Western-style conservation legislation and the promulgation of protected areas on local people. These have suggested that local communities have been denied access to natural resources through a fences and fines approach, often accompanied by heavy-handed, strict law enforcement measures. Very little research has been conducted to document the actual reasons for and the history of conservation efforts along the Wild Coast. The aim of this study was to explore the history of natural resource management and conservation along the Wild Coast from a Western and African perspective, and to examine the conflicts that have arisen as a result thereof. The importance of utilisation of natural resources to sustain livelihoods and the conservation methods applied to protect these resources were examined, mainly by means of a literature review and face-to-face interviews with local traditional leaders and environmental managers. The successes, challenges and conflicts that resulted from conservation efforts were examined through detailed analysis of the conservation history of three case study areas: Dwesa-Cwebe, Hluleka and Mkambati nature reserves. The study concludes that traditional leaders, foresters and conservation managers have largely been ignored during previous research on management and conservation of the Wild Coast; however, they were very eager to express their views on this subject. The interviews revealed that traditional leaders and conservationists from each case study area want to protect the Wild Coast and its natural resources, albeit for different reasons. Conservationists recognise the importance of the region's biodiversity and the need for protected areas, particularly where there is rich endemism such as at Mkambati and Dwesa-Cwebe. Traditional leaders recognise the potential for jobs for their people where protected areas preserve the aesthetic beauty of the coast and attract tourists. For them, employment opportunities are a priority, as is access to

utilisation of natural resources to sustain livelihoods. The traditional customs and culture of the people living along the Wild Coast are also seen as being of critical importance. This has not been adequately considered by past conservation planners and managers, but traditional leaders express value in conserving the amaXhosa and amaMpondo way of life. Nowhere is this more evident than in relation to grazing land for cattle. Another significant finding is that the support shown by traditional leaders for conservation of the terrestrial environment is not necessarily mirrored when it comes to protection of marine resources. The Wild Coast has a rich variety of marine flora and fauna and a high percentage of endemic species. Local people have relied upon marine resources for sustenance, but conservationists acknowledge that access to these resources has historically been restricted without consultation with traditional leaders or local communities. It is concluded that these restrictions can be linked to many land claims on protected areas on the Wild Coast since 1994. While this study suggests that both traditional leaders and conservationists want to protect the Wild Coast and its natural resources, there is still mistrust based on a history of unjust forced removals from forests, restrictions on the use of natural resources through the manifestation of colonial and apartheid power, and broken promises relating to benefit sharing from proceeds of wildlife and tourism ventures, as well as those benefits linked to land claim settlement agreements in the post-apartheid era. The study concludes that, despite past conflicts relating to conservation management, the Wild Coast's protected areas have widespread support amongst traditional leaders. There is agreement that co-management is the preferred option but the state has to assist in curbing lawlessness that threatens over-exploitation of natural resources. It is largely acknowledged by conservationists that local people should be permitted to sustainably use certain natural resources and that there have to be increased economic benefits from tourism. Although protected area managers cannot be expected to carry the responsibility of failed tourism models and economic ventures on nature reserves, this study found that they are often the only government officials available on the ground for traditional leaders and local communities to consult with. For co-management to be successful on the protected areas, regular communication about all matters pertaining to management is considered important. While it is accepted that traditional leaders no longer have the administrative powers that they historically possessed, the study found that they are still widely respected along the Wild Coast. It is therefore concluded that regular consultation between environmental managers and traditional leaders is essential for the future conservation of the Wild Coast.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This thesis is about the relationship between humans and nature. In South Africa this topic has been fiercely debated, with differing opinions regarding the sustainability of resource use and the impacts thereof on the conservation of biodiversity (Henkel, 1903; Sim, 1906; Hendricks, 1989; Carruthers, 1995; Kepe, 2001a; Fabricius et al., 2004). People have always made use of natural resources as part of their livelihoods (Lasiak, 1992; Fay, 1998; Kepe, 2002; Emdon, 2013) but the extent to which they value nature and biodiversity has not been fully explored (Cocks and Wiersum, 2003; Cocks et al., 2012; Mogano, 2012; Queiros and Mearns, 2019). On the other hand, it is widely recognised that there is a global crisis in terms of biodiversity loss (Dressler et al., 2010) and natural resources are being depleted due to various factors, including over-utilisation (Oates, 1999; Gannon et al., 2017). This makes conservation increasingly important (Brandon et al., 1998), but there are differing ideas relating to what conservation means, and what methods are most effective in implementing it.

Protected areas are currently the most popular strategy for conserving biodiversity (Büscher and Whande, 2007; Agrawal and Redford, 2009; Sink, 2016), but their effectiveness depends on how well they are managed (Agrawal and Redford, 2009). Many of South Africa's protected areas are surrounded by impoverished communities, some of which were forcibly removed from within the very protected areas that used to provide their livelihoods (Carruthers, 1995; Brooks, 2000; Fabricius and de Wet, 2002; Kepe, 2002; Timmermans, 2004; Sunde, 2014). These communities may still be utilising and relying on natural resources for their livelihoods. As a result, they are often unsupportive of established protected areas or the management measures implemented within them (Fabricius and de Wet, 2002; Kepe, 2002; Fabricius et al., 2007).

This present study investigates the history of management of some of the protected areas along the Wild Coast (Figure 1.1), one of the most impoverished areas in South Africa (Kepe, 2002). In particular, it explores how the differences between Western-style and local indigenous

conservation practices have resulted in conflicts that have created difficulties for effective management of natural resources. The study seeks to reconcile the different views about conservation and natural resource management, with the hope of providing lessons for present and future conservation of the Wild Coast of South Africa.

Following this introduction, this chapter's first section presents a problem statement that motivates why the study was necessary. It discusses the aim and objectives of the study, and reflects on the significance of the findings. The structure of the thesis is outlined and each chapter is briefly summarised before a conclusion draws the chapter to a close.

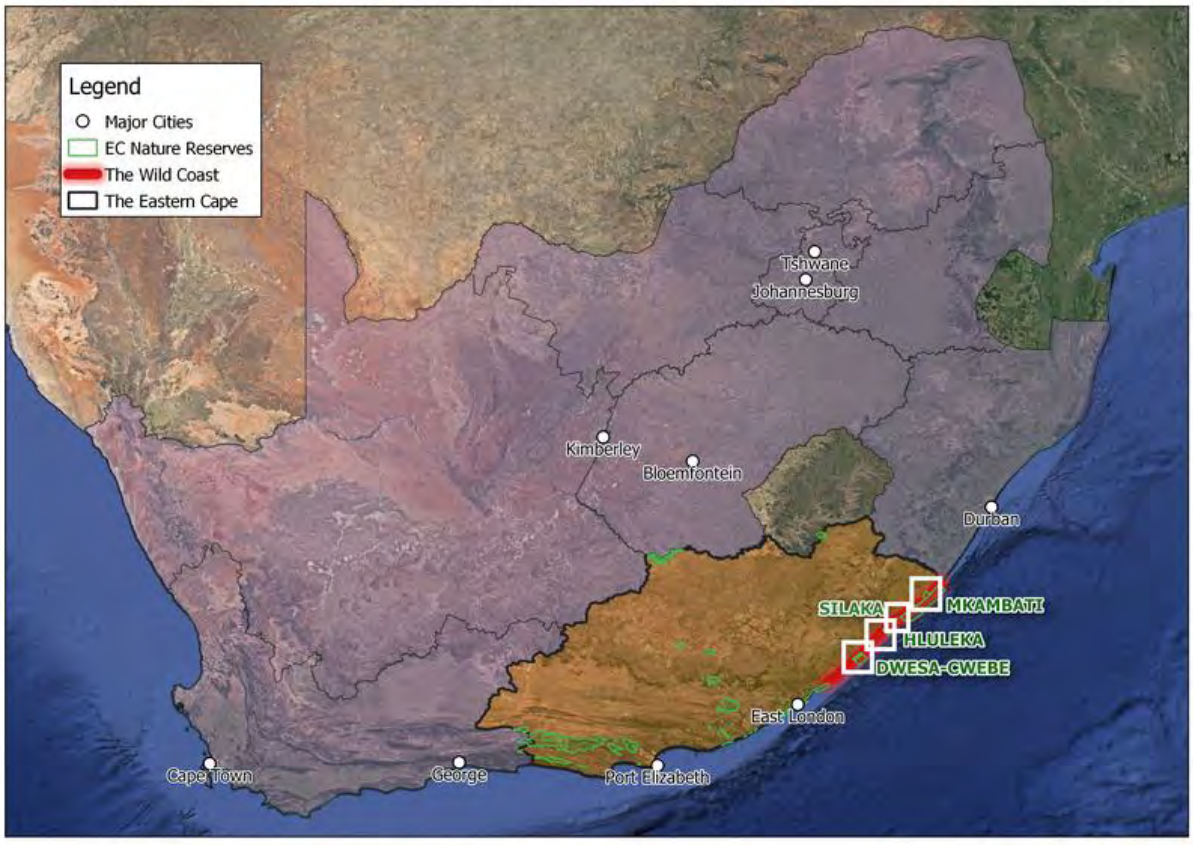

Figure 1.1: Map of South Africa showing the Eastern Cape Province and Wild Coast (ECPTA, 2020)

1.2 Problem Statement

The Wild Coast area of the former Transkei, a stretch of about 280 kilometres along the eastern coast of South Africa, is a unique and diverse biophysical environment that is internationally recognised as an important biodiversity hotspot (van Wyk, 1990; 1994; De Villiers and White, 2000; White, 2000; Abbott, 2002; Reyers and Ginsburg, 2005; De Villiers and Costello, 2013). As with many such biodiverse areas globally, the Wild Coast is facing challenges in terms of biodiversity loss and exploitation by an increasing human population (Cawe et al., 1983; Cooper and Swart, 1992; Castley et al., 2000; De Villiers, 2002a; Berliner, 2011). The pressure to conserve the biodiversity, and to retain the beauty of the landscape, is challenged by the simultaneous necessity to meet the livelihood needs of surrounding impoverished communities (Simelane and Kerley, 1998; Noble et al., 2014). The Eastern Cape is considered to be South Africa's second poorest province, with people living in rural areas such as in the former Transkei harder hit by poverty than those living in urban areas (Statistics South Africa, 2012a). The Eastern Cape has the highest proportion of households not using electricity for cooking, heating and lighting; meaning that these people rely on natural resources such as fuel wood (Statistics South Africa, 2012a). Extensive utilisation of indigenous forests (Cooper and Swart, 1992; White, 2000; Fearon, 2010; Quvile, 2011; Cocks et al., 2012), and harvesting of grasslands (C. Shackleton, 1989a; b; S. Shackleton, 1989; Kepe, 2005a) and marine resources (Lasiak, 1992; Fielding et al., 1994; Mann et al., 2003; Sunde, 2014), provides some indication of the importance of natural resource use to meet local people's livelihood needs.

The Wild Coast has been occupied by humans for centuries, but at low population densities (Mc Kenzie, 1984a; b; Feely, 1987; McCracken, 2004). This resulted in limited utilisation of natural resources for much of its history, thereby retaining the biodiverse richness of the area (Skead, 1987; Cooper and Swart, 1992; De Villiers and White, 2000; De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Since the turn of the 19th century, there have been attempts to maintain this low level of utilisation of natural resources through the implementation of Western-style conservation actions (Henkel, 1903; King, 1941; Barrow and Fabricius, 2002; Kepe, 2008). The first officially proclaimed conservation areas during the 19th century were indigenous forests that were gazetted under the Cape Forest Act of 1888 (Sim, 1906; von Maltitz and Flemming, 2000; Feely, 2001; De Villiers, 2002a). However, these European conservation measures have not

always been successful, as it became apparent that local people may not have fully accepted the model, which partly excluded them from managing their land, as well as from benefiting fully from local natural resources (De Villiers and White, 2002; Fabricius et al., 2007; Shackleton et al., 2013.) Clearly, local people's cultural values and knowledge were not taken into consideration in conservation planning and the establishment of protected areas (Queiros, 2000; Timmermans, 2000; Kepe, 2008; Cocks and Dold, 2012; Kepe, 2014).

European attitudes of superiority at the time of colonial occupation of the Transkeian Territories (Hunter, 1936; Holt, 1975), and blatant disregard for local knowledge and land-use practices, resulted in the establishment of protected forest areas solely based on Western ideals and values (Fay, 2007; Kepe, 2014; Ntsholo, 2014). This continued into the 20th century with the gazetting of coastal marine protected areas (MPAs) during the establishment of the 'independent' amaXhosa homeland, Transkei, which was created by the government in 1976 (Mann et al., 2006; Dennison, 2010; Sunde, 2014; A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020). The reaction to the proclamation of these protected areas without adequate consultation with local people and their traditional leaders, and with little or no consideration for the cultural or historical uses of the natural resources, resulted in local people demonstrating their discontent through various means of protest actions, including violent ones (Kepe, 2005a; Thondhlana et al., 2016). At Dwesa Nature Reserve, for example, the local people invaded the seashore in 1994, plundering marine resources (Palmer et al., 2000; Fay, 2007; Ntshona et al., 2010), while at Mkambati the nature reserve management team was held hostage by neighbouring villagers in 1992 and fires were set to grasslands in acts of defiance (Spotsi, 1995; Kepe, 2005a; De Villiers and Costello, 2013). After the release of Nelson Mandela from decades in prison in 1990, local people in the Hluleka area 'illegally' cleared forest as an act to celebrate 'freedom' after having been prohibited from felling protected trees during the apartheid government's 'independent homeland' scheme (Phuhlisani Solutions, 2005a; Emdon, 2013). These protest actions are not unique to the Wild Coast or South Africa. Through protests, and acts of civil disobedience, local people have motivated a rethink away from fortress conservation, towards more inclusive models (Cock and Fig, 2000; Hutton et al., 2005; Büscher and Whande, 2007). Therefore, it is important to gain a better understanding of local livelihoods, and political dynamics that may impact on natural resource use and conservation.

Since the abolition of apartheid, and the subsequent amalgamation of the conservation agencies of the former Transkei and Ciskei Bantustans with the former provincial Cape Nature Conservation Department to create a provincial Eastern Cape Environmental Affairs Department, the government has made efforts to manage the Wild Coast and its protected areas in a participatory manner (Palmer et al., 2000). This has not been entirely successful, as evidenced by protests by communities in various protected areas, including Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves (Fabricius et al., 2007), Mkambati Nature Reserve (Kepe, 2008) and Silaka Nature Reserve (Thondhlana et al., 2016). Even after the finalisation of some of South Africa's first land claims, the local communities and their traditional leadership still dispute that joint management of the protected areas is being practiced in accordance with signed settlement agreements (Fabricius et al., 2007; Emdon, 2013; Sunde, 2014). Promised benefits are not being provided, resulting in conflict between the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA), the parastatal established under the provincial Environmental Affairs Department in 2004 to manage the protected areas, and local communities (Snijman and Feris, 2010; Sunde, 2014).

From a protected area management point of view, the uncontrolled utilisation of forest products is particularly problematic in the Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves, where local people have removed the boundary fence and gain access at will (M. Gxashi, pers comm., 06/07/2018; personal knowledge). Large-scale use of indigenous forests is evident all along the Wild Coast where the Department of Agriculture, Fisheries and Forestry (DAFF) (renamed Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries in 2019[1]), which is the management authority for indigenous forests, has become severely under-resourced (Quvile, 2011; van der Merwe, 2018). Despite the Department of Forestry's commitment to Participatory Forest Management (DWAF, 1995; 1997), it does not have the resources to effectively manage the process (Berliner, 2011; Quvile, 2011; R. Stegmann, pers comm., 27/07/2020).

[1] South African government departments regularly change names, creating immense confusion. The Department of Forestry was previously named the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF), and Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF), and in June 2019 it was renamed the Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries (DEFF). For the purposes of this study, the researcher has remained with the Department of Forestry for consistency and to prevent confusion.

Management of the Wild Coast's marine resources does not appear to be faring any better. Since the 1970s, a series of Marine Protected Areas (MPAs) was created along the Wild Coast, with limited or no consultation with local communities. This resulted in the invasion of the Dwesa Nature Reserve in 1994 (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997; Fay, 1998; Palmer et al., 2000; Fabricius and de Wet, 2002; Timmermans, 2004). In December 2000 a new MPA was gazetted for the entire Dwesa and Cwebe coastline under the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998, prohibiting all fishing and shellfish collection (Fielding, 2018). There was very little consultation with local communities, and their historical practice of harvesting marine resources was not taken into consideration (Boyd, 2012). Several local fishers ignored the legislation and were apprehended and charged by park rangers. They were initially found guilty in the Mthatha High Court and given suspended sentences (Snijman and Feris, 2013), but appealed to the Supreme Court of Appeal (SCA). In 2018 the SCA ruled in favour of the appellants (SCA, 2018). This judgment brought customary law to the fore by ruling that local fishers could fish in the protected area. According to Snijman and Feris (2013), legal challenges are fertile ground for protected areas that have been restored to landowner communities, because impoverished communities need natural resources as a last resort to survive, while the parks authorities have the task of managing the same resources. It can therefore be expected that similar legal challenges will be instituted in the future unless power is equitably shared, and unless communities perceive that justice has been provided for them having been dispossessed of their land that is now under conservation.

Unlike the harvesting of marine resources, the mining of sand has not been problematic in the declared nature reserves, although it has historically been a resource used by local people for building purposes (Mngeni et al., 2016). The problem manifests itself in the Coastal Conservation Area, a restricted development zone declared in terms of the Transkei Environmental Military Decree that extends along the entire Wild Coast for one kilometre inland of the high-water mark (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). The Department of Mineral Resources is responsible for issuing mining permits but has not done so for any sand mines along the Wild Coast because there is no title owner, as the land is held in trust by the Department of Land Affairs. Despite this, there are approximately 200 unauthorised mines along the Wild Coast where hundreds of truckloads of river and beach sand are carted away each day (Mngeni et al., 2016). This has not only led to environmental degradation, but also to sand wars amongst community leaders and local people (Stone and Fuzile, 2014a; b).

Similar to the sand mines, the proposed Xolobeni heavy mineral mining for titanium, ilmenite, rutile and zircon by an Australian mining company, has divided communities on the Wild Coast (Clarke, 2014). Clarke (2014) cites Richard Spoor, a South African human rights lawyer who has argued that, 'mining the Pondoland Wild Coast is the moral, cultural and aesthetic equivalent of quarrying Ayers Rock for granite, or the Great Barrier Reef for calcium carbonate[2].'

The eventual commencement of construction by the South African National Roads Agency (SANRAL) of the highly controversial Wild Coast N2 through Pondoland has been linked with the proposed heavy mineral mining (Clarke, 2014). As expressed by Margie Pretorius at SANRAL Environmental Monitoring Committee meetings (SANRAL, 2018; 2019), the amaDiba community, through the Amadiba Crisis Committee, is still fighting to prevent the road from being built across their land. This is another example of local people fighting to retain their culture, traditions and natural resources where a state department entrusted to protect the environment has authorised a development that will have lasting consequences on a community's way of life and livelihood entitlements. Thus, on the Wild Coast there is clearly a tension between natural resource use by local people, land-based development projects (e.g., the N2 Toll Road and mining), and the protection of biodiversity. This study seeks to reflect on this tension, particularly an understanding of different conceptions of conservation.

1.3 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study is to understand how local people have historically managed and used local natural resources along the Wild Coast, and document the history of conflict brought about by Western-style conservation of the area. By understanding this, and establishing whether or not conservation ideas have changed, the aim is also to provide lessons for current protected area management and conservation planning for the region.

[2] Ayers Rock (Uluru) is a sandstone monolith in Australia that is sacred to indigenous Australians. The Great Barrier Reef is a large, biodiverse-rich coral reef system located off Queensland. Besides being of cultural and spiritual importance, Ayers Rock and the Great Barrier Reef are iconic tourist attractions in Australia.

The **first objective** of this study is to review conservation practices on the Wild Coast from a historical perspective. The **second objective** is to investigate the historical use and management of natural resources by local indigenous peoples. A wealth of research has been conducted with local community users in Transkei (White, 2000; Grundy, 2000; Shackleton et al., 2004; 2007) and along the Wild Coast (Kepe, 2002; Fearon, 2010). These studies formed an integral part of the comprehensive literature review conducted to achieve this objective. The focus of this present research is, however, on leaders and decision makers who have the power to govern people and manage the use and conservation of natural resources in rural South Africa, as empowered by the local cultures and South Africa's Constitution (Ainslie and Kepe, 2016). Detailed semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with traditional leaders who have administrative authority over these areas and with every past and current protected area manager that the researcher was able to trace. Traditional leaders still play an important role in granting permission to people who reside in their administrative areas to undertake activities such as harvesting of natural resources (LiPuma and Koelble, 2009). Foresters and protected area managers have been, and are, at the coalface of resource management in the areas under their control. It is therefore important to record their knowledge and experiences about resource utilisation, management and conservation. The **third objective** is to analyse the past and current tensions that may exist as a result of differences between natural resource utilisation by local people and Western-style conservation practices. Three areas were selected as case studies: Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, Hluleka Nature Reserve and Mkambati Nature Reserve. These declared protected areas are situated within different administrative areas and protect diverse floristic types from the southern Wild Coast to northern Pondoland. They have all been subjected to land claims and literature is available documenting the processes leading to settlement agreements between local communities and the ECPTA, which is the management authority.

1.4 Significance

It is hoped that the findings of this study might assist policy makers and managers from various environment and planning departments entrusted to protect the Wild Coast, including the National Department of Environment, Forestry and Fisheries; Department of Mineral

Resources; Department of Rural Development and Land Reform; Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism; and the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency, to improve decision making and planning in relation to managing the resources under their mandate. Secondly, the findings may offer insights to protected area and forest estate managers on the roles of traditional leaders and local communities in biodiversity conservation and their thoughts about nature reserves, natural resource utilisation and the importance thereof. This may assist in improved community relations and joint management which could ultimately improve environmental management within the protected areas. Thirdly, traditional leaders could find it useful to understand the thinking of protected area managers and leaders and their reasons for managing the nature reserves in the manner that they do. Finally, the study may be useful to researchers and scholars who wish to understand the history of conservation along the Wild Coast and the roles of traditional leaders and protected area managers in allocating and looking after natural resources.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

Chapter one presents the introduction to the thesis. In particular, it discusses the problem statement, which outlines the rationale for conducting the study. This is done through reviewing some of the challenging cases in the Wild Coast areas that pit conservation of biodiversity against natural resource utilisation by local poor people. The chapter then discusses the main aim and objectives of the study. This is followed by suggesting a few areas in which the study has significance.

Chapter Two examines the history and political ecology of conservation from a global and South African perspective. It discusses the relationship between justice and power in environmental decision-making and the role of knowledge, discourse, and race in shaping human-environment relationships. The chapter delves into the history of conservation, taking an in-depth look at the shift from fortress conservation to contemporary social integration approaches.

Chapter Three outlines the methods used in the study with detailed explanations of the gaps in knowledge that will be addressed.

Chapter Four examines the history of natural resource use and the management of these resources on the Wild Coast from the pre-colonial era to the present day. It draws on the wealth of information gathered from the literature on the Wild Coast, and discusses the challenges associated with sustainable utilisation of the region's natural resources.

Chapter Five provides an overview of historical conservation practices along the Wild Coast. It reflects on King Sarhili's early attempts to protect the Dwesa and Manubi forests and the Cape Colony's attempts to demarcate and conserve indigenous forests along the Wild Coast. The chapter discusses the establishment of terrestrial and marine protected areas during the Transkei Bantustan era and in the democratic 'New South Africa', and examines the repercussions for local people's livelihoods.

Chapter Six discusses the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve as a specific case study where conservation management and access to natural resources by local people has had a turbulent history since the late 1800s. The finalisation of one of South Africa's first land claims in post-apartheid South Africa to restore the land rights to Dwesa-Cwebe to local people should have improved benefits, and the chapter explores whether this is indeed the case.

Chapter Seven examines the history and challenges of the Hluleka Nature Reserve that was proclaimed from state forests and a cattle farm. The fencing of the reserve during the 1970s restricted local people's access to the forests and grasslands where they had previously grazed their cattle. This created tensions which increased when the state's promised jobs never materialised to meet community expectations. When access to the sea and marine resources was denied through the proclamation of a marine protected area, relations deteriorated further and a land claim was instituted by the community to regain access to the natural resources. The claimants were successful and this chapter discusses whether it has made any significant difference to their livelihoods.

Chapter Eight discusses the history of land use and conservation on Mkambati Nature Reserve which is situated within an internationally recognised biodiversity hot spot, the Pondoland Centre of Endemism. The chapter shows how the Mkambati land was initially set aside as a leper institution before being divided into areas for agricultural projects, game ranching and a nature reserve, without consultation with the local people. It explores the conflicts that arose and discusses the resultant land claim. The chapter concludes by debating whether or not the settlement of the land claim has been beneficial to conservation and local livelihoods.

Chapter Nine presents a discussion and conclusions, and highlights the study's key findings, while reflecting on what these mean for biodiversity conservation challenges in South Africa. The chapter also reflects on the study's implications for policy and speaks to a future alternative conception of natural resource use by local people, and the conservation models that could or could not work.

1.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented an introduction to the thesis, explaining the relationship between natural resource use and biodiversity conservation along the Wild Coast of South Africa. It showed that, while there has been a long history of conservation in the region, it has been marked by conflict between Western-style conservation methods and natural resource management by local people. This highlighted the need to establish the roles and opinions of traditional leaders and protected area managers who are decision makers with respect to natural resource use and biodiversity conservation. The chapter explained the importance of previously unknown archival literature in documenting the history of conservation of the Wild Coast. It noted that the face-to-face semi-structured interviews with traditional leaders and past and present protected area managers, many of whose insights have never been recorded, were important to gain an understanding of their views with respect to managing natural resources. Finally, the chapter discussed the significance of the study's findings for policy and decision makers to enable them to understand the importance of traditional leadership and protected area managers in conserving biodiversity and managing natural resources along the Wild Coast.

CHAPTER TWO: THE HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF CONSERVATION FROM A GLOBAL TO A SOUTH AFRICAN PERSPECTIVE

2.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented the problem statement of the thesis, which reflects that the biodiverse-rich Wild Coast of South Africa is largely populated by poor communities who have relied on the region's bountiful natural resources for hundreds of years to sustain their livelihoods. However, since the 19th century, various governments have attempted to restrict their access to these resources, often using Western-style conservation methods without consulting these local communities. It was noted that these conservation methods have not always been successful, and have often created tensions between the state authorities and local communities. Through protests and acts of civil disobedience local people have forced a rethink from fortress conservation, to participatory and joint management approaches.

This chapter focusses on the history and political ecology of conservation, with special reference to South Africa. In particular, it discusses the conceptual framework that partly draws from political ecology, especially how issues such as justice and power, which are central to political ecology, are necessary for understanding, and perhaps mitigating tensions between Western-style conservation and local notions and practices of natural resource use on the Wild Coast and in South Africa. As a starting point, it should be acknowledged that conservation is a complex subject that requires broad understanding. There are multiple stakeholders, multiple issues and multiple outcomes.

It is important to consider not only where conservation has come from, but also how local factors have been influenced by broader and external factors, including power dynamics at different scales. It is for this reason that a political ecology lens is essential for understanding conservation in South Africa, specifically along the Wild Coast area of the former Transkei Bantustan.

The chapter first discusses the early history of conservation globally, including a brief examination of the different and historical foci on preservation and conservation, particularly

the changing approaches to looking after landscapes and biological diversity. The effectiveness of the establishment of protected areas in the United States of America and the roll-out of the model in South Africa is debated. The impacts of a 'fences and fines' approach on nationalism and Afrikanerdom[3] and the consequent marginalisation and exclusion of Black Africans[4] is discussed. The chapter emphasises the importance of political ecology in the Global South (also known as the Third World), illustrating how socio-economic and human influences shape natural processes. Most importantly in regard to political ecology, this section reflects on justice and power dynamics as central features that determine what type of conservation is implemented, based on how its costs and benefits are experienced by different stakeholders. In terms of the case of the Wild Coast, political ecology centred on the links between race and human displacement through protected area establishment which in turn led to poverty and loss of local livelihoods and other rights. The chapter questions the ethics of certain conservation methods, and examines the merits of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) as a strategy to pursue social justice and to ensure community participation in biodiversity conservation. It questions the role of CBNRM and its future, considering its failures. The chapter then discusses neoliberal conservation's dependence on finance with the resultant rise and importance of environmental non-governmental organisations (NGOs). It concludes by exploring globalisation and its influence on South African conservation methods.

2.2 Historical Conservation Approaches

2.2.1 Preservation Versus Conservation and Ethical Land Use

The approach to conservation has changed greatly over the past century. Modern conservation developed during the industrial revolution, with the main focus on resource management (Elliott, 1996; Mason, 2019). John Evelyn made one of the earliest calls for conservation when he presented a paper to the Royal Society in 1662, calling for the preservation of forests in

[3] Afrikaners are descendants of European settlers (predominantly Dutch and French) that arrived in South Africa from 1652 and developed a language based on Dutch which they called Afrikaans. Afrikaners were staunch Christians, but had an air of superiority over the local inhabitants. Afrikaner nationalism and its ideals is sometimes referred to as Afrikanerdom.

[4] South Africa has a history of racial classification that distinguishes individuals according to 'colour'. While everyone residing in the country should be considered as South African, people were classified into four groups under the apartheid government: White, Native (Black), Coloured (mixed race) or Asian (Chinese/Indian). In post-apartheid South Africa, reference to 'Blacks' has sometimes included 'Coloured' and Asian people. In this thesis 'Black African' refers specifically to Black people of African descent.

England that were being depleted for industry. He published this in a book, 'Sylva or a discourse on forest trees and propagation of timber in His Majesty's dominions' in 1664 (Young, 1978; Elliott, 1996). This marked the beginning of the focus on caring for natural forests and the resources that they provide for livelihoods.

John Muir and Gifford Pinchot were considered pioneers of modern resource conservation when, in the 1890s, they advocated for the establishment of national forests in the United States of America (Elliott, 1996). However, they proposed different approaches that are debated to this day. Muir led the movement to preserve forests and landscapes as wilderness, while Pinchot promoted 'rational use' of natural resources for the greatest good of the greatest number, which he termed 'conservation' (Meyer, 1997). This phrase epitomised his staunchly utilitarian environmental ethic (Elliott, 1996; Robbins et al., 2010). The 19th century saw the establishment of the Yellowstone and Yosemite National Parks in the United States, as well as a number of other national parks across the world, largely based on Muir's concept of preservation. The aim was for these 'unspoilt', scenic tracts of 'wilderness' to not be subjected to human use and abuse (Meyer, 1997; Robbins et al., 2010). The USA's parks reflect a unique natural history and culture, and a level of affluence different from many other countries, which in hindsight may not have been the ideal model for the rest of the world to rigidly follow (Schelhas, 2001).

Aldo Leopold was one of the earliest ecologists in North America. He articulated an ecologically informed environmental ethic in an essay titled, 'The Land Ethic'. Leopold advocated for active management for a mutually beneficial human-nature symbiosis, in addition to the preservation of biodiversity-important areas for wilderness (Elliott, 1996). The Land Ethic parts ways with the simpler ethics of conservation or preservation, where human use is either more or less right (*a la* Pinchot) or wrong (*a la* Muir) (Robbins et al., 2010). Leopold (1949) believed that land must be used, but such use must be guided by our knowledge of ecosystems. The Land Ethic was one of the first published arguments for moral extensionism, whereby humans extend moral consideration beyond the human realm to include soils, waters, plants and animals (Robbins et al., 2010). Leopold argued as a scientific ecologist with animal species in mind. This differs from the animal rights or animal liberation movements that emerged in the 1970s, which argue that individual animals are worthy of our

moral consideration (Robbins et al., 2010). Animal rightists consider any use of animals for human purpose to be unethical, which goes against the principles of conservation (Thomson, 1992).

In the early 1980s conservation became a hard science with conservation biology drawing on genetics, parasitology, community ecology, biogeography, ecology and wildlife management to dictate environmental decision making (Huntley et al., 1989; Preston et al., 1995). Conservation is generally defined as the wise utilisation of a resource, so that use is tempered by protection to enhance the resource's continued availability (Danckwerts, 1989; Cutter et al., 1999). Modern conservation theory differs from the past emphasis on strictly policed protected areas, primarily for large mammals, to emphasise sustainable use, maintenance of ecological processes and genetic diversity (Cunningham and Zondi, 1991; Thomson, 1992; Rebelo, 1997).

The United Nations Conference on Environment and Development or 'Earth Summit' held in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 offered an opportunity to undertake a major shift towards sustainable development (Quarrie, 1992). One of the key agreements adopted at the Earth Summit was the World Conservation Strategy, which the South African government adopted when it signed the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD) on the 4th of June 1993 (Lombard, 1995a; Hawksworth, 1996; Alberts, 2012). The CBD set three main goals: conservation of biological diversity, the sustainable use of its components, and the fair and equitable sharing of the benefits from the use of genetic resources (Primack, 1993; Preston et al., 1995; Hawksworth, 1996; Lindenmeyer et al., 1999). It recognised the value of biodiversity at genetic, species and ecosystem levels (Noss, 1990; Hawksworth, 1996).

Another agreement adopted by the countries present at the Rio Convention in June 1992 was the statement on Forest Principles (Primack, 1993). This was formulated in line with growing international acknowledgement of the vital role that forests and woodlands play in human existence and concern over the rate of their destruction (Geldenhuys, 1997). The statement on Forest Principles promoted a holistic and balanced examination of forestry issues and opportunities within the overall context of environment and development, taking into consideration the multiple functions and uses of forests, including traditional uses, and the likely economic and social stresses when these are restricted. Current thoughts on biodiversity

conservation, therefore, advocate for sustainable management of forest resources to meet the social, economic, ecological, cultural and spiritual needs of present and future generations. However, these broad Forest Principles proved difficult to negotiate at the Rio Convention due to strong differences of opinion among countries. It was acknowledged that a lack of financial resources and capacity for management, conservation and development of forest resources in developing countries and a dearth of resource substitutes or economic benefits to local communities would hinder efforts to attain conservation and sustainable use of forest resources. The final treaty was therefore non-binding and merely called for sustainable management of forests (Primack, 1993).

Sustainable utilisation has become accepted in southern Africa as the most pragmatic approach to conserving the region's biodiversity (Crowe et al., 1994; Cunningham, 1996; du Toit, 1996) although sustainable use has been variously interpreted (Taylor and Dunstone, 1996). It has been proposed that conservation management should be applied to 'safe' species populations that are not threatened or vulnerable to extinction, with the implication that such populations can be wisely ('sustainably') used by humankind. This has formed the basis for the game farming industry, where harvesting animals on a sustainable basis has created an economic incentive to conserve wild areas in Africa (Caro, 1999; Caspary, 1999, Cutter et al., 1999, Degeorges and Reilly, 2008).

According to Thomson (1992), preservation management should only be applied to unsafe or endangered species populations because these populations should be protected from any negative forces that might retard their recovery to a stage where they can eventually be re-classified as safe and therefore be managed according to the principles of conservation. The opposite action to preservation – exploitation – refers to the maximum use of a resource for individual profit or social gain. Given the endangered status of many species and others' lack of economic value, sustainable use should be regarded as only one conservation tool of many and can only be applied under specific circumstances (Taylor and Dunstone, 1996; Redford and Sanderson, 2000; Chapin, 2004).

At the Rio + 20 United Nations Conference in June 2012 the world's governments agreed to produce a set of sustainable goals, but there were arguments that the focus had shifted from

conservation to development, and that science had been short-changed at this Conference (Glaser, 2012). There is a strong school of thought that cautions against sustainable use being regarded as the saving grace for conservation. Chapin (2004) argues that not all things can be 'preserved' through use; neither should all places be open to use. It is argued that, without understanding the broader ecosystem dynamics at specific sites, strategies promoting sustainable use will lead to substantial loss of biodiversity (Redford and Sanderson, 2000; Chapin, 2004). Salafsky (2011) warns that integrating conservation and development is a thorny issue because it conflates two potentially irreconcilable and opposing truths. Redford and Sanderson (2000) caution that conservation with use should not crowd out conservation without use, because sometimes sustainable use is just not possible without causing irreparable environmental destruction.

2.2.2 The Creation of Protected Areas and Forest Reserves in South Africa

The first written 'conservation decree' recorded in South Africa was issued by Governor Jan van Riebeeck in 1654, a mere two years after the Dutch East India Company colonised the Cape. This decree aimed to reduce the consumption of penguins from Robben Island because it was clear that they were being exterminated through over-exploitation (Carruthers, 1995). Considering the scarcity of forests in the Cape, it was predictable that a forest restriction was passed soon afterwards in 1658, prohibiting the cutting of timber (Watts, 2006). Other conservation measures followed, especially after the British occupied the Cape in the 19th century, bringing with them Britain's strict wildlife legislation. However, the state struggled to enforce the laws because of the size of the Cape Colony. Despite the futility of legislation, hunting restrictions were imposed on certain species of wildlife that were being overutilised (Carruthers, 1995).

The concept of conservation and restriction of hunting was not new in South Africa (Van Damme and Merkell, 2009). Sarhili (Kreli), the last independent king of the amaXhosa (Cawe, 1992), protected the forests of Manubi and Dwesa (Sim, 1906; Cawe, 1992) and the Zulu leader, Shaka, was said to have set aside parts of what is now Hluhluwe-Imfolozi Game Reserve as his hunting grounds (Van Damme and Merkell, 2009). Hunting was an important part of the livelihoods of Africans living in southern Africa (Hook, 1905; Hunter, 1936). As the Whites moved from the Cape Colony north towards the former Transvaal, they encountered

vast herds of wildlife (Pringle, 1982; Carruthers, 1995). The trekking Boers realised that Africans were formidable hunters. They recognised that by making use of their knowledge of the veld[5] and hunting skills, they could develop equitable partnerships to exploit wildlife for commercial gain (Carruthers, 1995). While the Boer settlers hunted for trade and used wildlife as an economic resource, British sportsmen with the financial means to do so, travelled north to hunt in the 'true English manner' associated with the upper class of the time (Carruthers, 1995).

By 1858 the first hunting legislation was passed in the Transvaal after it became apparent that wildlife numbers were diminishing rapidly. According to Carruthers (1995) the first law was entitled 'Wet tot het beter regelen van de jagt op olifanten en ander wild in de Zuid-Afrikaansche Republiek' (Law for the improved regulation of the hunting of elephant and other wild animals in the South African Republic). There followed further laws based on conservation principles, but the larger focus was on restricting African access to wildlife (Carruthers, 1995; Duffy, 2014). Colonial authorities outlawed hunting with snares and traps, citing these methods as cruel and barbaric. This effectively criminalised subsistence hunting that had traditionally been practiced by Black people for centuries (Duffy, 2014). By contrast, European sport hunters were portrayed as ethical, and caring about conservation. This created a racial stereotype of hunters versus poachers (Duffy, 2014).

By the 1900s protectionist issues had become important in matters of government almost everywhere in the Western world. Protected areas became a prominent means of preservation. They were based on the 18th and 19th-century English 'enclosure' movement, early German forest conservation and the American protected area system (Hutton et al., 2005; Büscher and Whande, 2007). Brett (2006) argues that there was a marked difference between the American and African colonial practice in that the American concept focussed on preserving landscapes, while the African model gave prominence to wildlife protection.

In South Africa, hunting control through legislation had not been effective (Carruthers, 1995; Duffy, 2014); therefore, English sport hunters convinced the government to establish game

[5] Veld is a broader term than 'bush' and includes grassland and savannah, but excludes forests

reserves in the late 1800s, mainly to preserve game for sport (Brett, 2006; Jones, 2006). In order to preserve the romantic ideals of the African Eden and to maintain elite hunting traditions, large tracts of land were set aside for protection. Local people were often moved and excluded from protected areas, with enforcement of exclusion often carried out through 'fences and fines', creating 'fortress conservation' (Carruthers, 1995; Brooks, 2000; 2005; Cock and Fig, 2000; Hutton et al., 2005; Büscher and Whande, 2007; Kepe, 2007a; Agrawal and Redford, 2009; Bersaglio, 2017). This was the conservation practice for much of the 20th century, surviving decolonisation and remaining influential in current times (Hutton et al., 2005; Büscher and Whande, 2007). Dahlberg et al. (2010) argue that protected area management strategies mainly dealt with bio-physical variables and processes until the recent past, when proponents of environmental justice have sought to incorporate environmental issues into the broader intellectual and institutional framework of human rights and democratic accountability. Many state conservation organisations have revised their policies regarding protected area management to reconcile conservation and development, and promote environmental justice.

The political economic system under which fortress conservation was developed and able to thrive in Africa was suppressive colonialism (Büscher and Whande, 2007; Alberts, 2010) that excluded rural African people from the protected areas (Alberts, 2010; Bersaglio, 2017). The early British sport hunters frowned upon Afrikaner and Black subsistence hunters (Carruthers, 1995; Brett, 2006). Carruthers (1995) reflects on how the National Parks Act of 1926 eventually took wildlife management out of the hands of sportsmen and old-style game wardens and projected it into the mainstream of South African politics. Those politics were distinctly White, and the socio-political culture of South Africa's national parks was consequently shaped by White interests (Carruthers, 1995). Dahlberg et al. (2010) argue that conservation of protected areas is primarily about how the values of different landscapes are perceived, and who gets to decide on these values. Thus, conservation is very much about issues of power and environmental justice. Dominant cultural, political and scientific ideologies have given rise to historical precedents and institutional structures that affect the promotion of environmental justice in and around national parks (Dahlberg et al. 2010).

The Kruger National Park was declared in 1926, making it the first South African protected area with national park status (Carruthers, 1995; Joubert, 2007; Van Damme and Meskell, 2009). National parks were closely aligned with the rise in Afrikaner nationalism (Carruthers, 1995; Cock and Fig, 2000; Joubert, 2007), although it is debatable what role Afrikaners, and indeed Paul Kruger, the President of the South African Republic between 1883 and 1900, played in early conservation, and in the establishing of the Kruger National Park (Carruthers, 1995; 2001). This alignment to pride and nationalism was similar to the establishment of Yellowstone National Park which emerged out of America's search for a distinct identity (Schelhas, 2001). The value of national parks to Whites was linked to sentimentality and nostalgia for a romantic and rural past which was lost to urbanisation and industrialisation. For Black Africans who were not experiencing this, they did not share these values (Carruthers, 1995).

Carruthers (1995, p. 80) speculates that the 'Afrikanerisation' of national parks generally went unchallenged by other White South Africans, probably because of the notion of moral goodness associated with nature conservation. According to Shaw and Rademeyer (2016), Afrikaners have a mythical connection to the land and a fondness for nature. Carruthers (1995, p. 80) writes of 'an almost religious belief among Whites in the 'goodness' of conservation and the inherent 'evil' in any other point of view.' By focussing on Kruger and emphasising the role that Afrikaners played in establishing national parks, South Africa's National Parks Board was encouraging the perception that national parks were a manifestation of apartheid (Carruthers, 1995).

The establishment of the Hluhluwe and Umfolozi game reserves in Zululand in 1895 predated the Sabi Game Reserve, which was to become the Kruger National Park (Cromsigt et al., 2017). These were among the first formally proclaimed protected areas in Africa (Brookes, 2005, Cromsigt et al., 2017). At the time, and shortly after the Anglo Boer War when British colonial leaders imposed laws against hunting of 'Royal Game' in Natal, there was general support for the protection of wildlife by Africans because they had been living amongst the wildlife (Cromsigt et al., 2017). The situation was to change, according to Brooks (2005), when the Hluhluwe Game Reserve was (re)created during the 1930s to market a 'wild' unspoilt Zululand. This was done by the Natal Administration, in the hope that it would mirror the

Kruger National Park in its importance for nation building, scientific research and tourism. To increase its size and link it to the Umfolozi (later renamed Imfolozi) resident Africans had to be forcefully removed from the corridor between the two parks in 1944. It is important to note that this 'sickened' the conservators in charge, most notably Captain Harold Potter, who advocated for retaining the African people to work in the park (Brooks, 2005). However, the colonial government's policy and decisions had to be abided by. Ian Player was similarly sickened when African residents were forcefully removed to expand the Ndumo Nature Reserve in the 1960s (I. Player, pers comm., 14/03/1998).

Thondhlana et al. (2016) argue that until the mid-1990s, conservation strategies in South Africa were dominated by such forced removals of local communities from their ancestral lands, in order to create places for nature. Fourie (1994) asserts that South Africa's Eurocentric approach to conservation before 1994 ignored the opinions, perceptions, values and interests of the people most affected by the proclamation of protected areas. It displayed a paternalism and elitism and an attitude of supremacy that simply regarded local people as ignorant and therefore of little or no importance. Dahlberg et al. (2010) argue that the impacts on livelihoods, culture and identity were often overlooked in the name of biological conservation.

Despite the desire by White colonists to create 'wild' and 'unspoilt' African parks, many protected areas are far from being pristine wilderness, unaffected by past human activities (Carruthers, 1995; Thondhlana and Cundill, 2017). Often they are the consequence of fortress conservation and the people who were removed in the interests of wildlife conservation harbour grievances that play out in the political arena (Thondhlana and Cundill, 2017). Because of the human dimension involved in land use and current management, protected areas are not neutral spaces or landscapes without history, but are definitively shaped by their past (Brooks, 2005; Carruthers, 2011; Mollett and Kepe, 2018).

2.2.3 Protected Areas in Bantustans (African reserves): Conserving the African Way

In the African version of wildlife conservation, the experience has been that game reserves are White inventions, which elevate wildlife above humanity and which have served as instruments

of dispossession and subjugation (Carruthers, 1995). Therefore, while parks symbolise the good that government has done in countries such as the USA (Schelhas, 2001) the same cannot always be said of those created in South Africa. Failure to bring rural indigenous people on board the conservation bus is due to the Western design of not incorporating the uniqueness of the African context (Fourie, 1994). Ironically, the 'independent' apartheid-created 'homeland' states, provided the opportunity for forward-thinking conservationists to implement wildlife management in an African way (Thomas, 2008). Approximately 13% of South Africa was assigned to Blacks as 'homelands' by the Nationalist government (Sparks, 1990; Hendriks, 1989). The formation of this homeland, or Bantustan, system was government designed for manipulative control in which the ruling National Party 'pulled all the puppet strings' while other major political organisations were banned (Sparks, 1990). In establishing the Bantustans, the Afrikaner never sought the opinions of Black people, but saw it as their duty to show the way the native must be led in their interest with a view to their development (Sparks, 1990; Fourie, 1994).

The establishment of several parks in the Bantustans was innovative in many ways in attempts to create areas of national pride (Thomas, 2008; Carruthers, 2011). Fourie (1994) argues that it is a myth that Africans are not conservation conscious. He is of the opinion that they generally have a more holistic attitude to conservation than most Westernised South Africans. Carruthers (2011) refers to the Pilanesberg National Park (PNP) as an example of a protected area developed in consideration of the African way. The park was created in the former Bophuthatswana Bantustan (now North West Province) through a partnership between a range of stakeholders from ecologists and landscape designers to leaders and representatives of affected local communities. Commercial farmers were compensated for their land and no Black African people were forcibly removed. The rationale for establishing the PNP was to make it an engine for regional economic development (Carruthers, 2011). According to Thomas (2008), the Tsolwana Game Reserve in the former Ciskei Bantustan was founded on similar principles.

Carruthers (2011) attributes the establishment of PNP to the ecologist Ken Tinley, who based the model on sustainable utilisation of wildlife through tourism and selective harvesting of resources. It was possible for ecologists like Tinley and Willem van Riet to implement new

ideas because these areas were not under the control of South Africa's provincial authorities or the National Parks Board. They changed the strict preservation philosophy of protected areas to an idea of sustainable wildlife utilisation and proposed this concept for a number of nature reserves in the homelands (Carruthers, 2011). The ideas were implemented at Tsolwana in Ciskei (Tinley, 1981; Thomas, 2008) and proposed for Dwesa and Mkambati in Transkei (Tinley, 1978; Timmermans, 2004). Later chapters of this study explore whether these ideas were applied to the Wild Coast protected areas and the consequences thereof.

Tinley and van Riet were part of a new generation of wildlife ecologists that emerged in South Africa in the 1970s, working on the premise that any conservation measure would ultimately be futile unless wildlife and nature could deliver tangible, visible benefits to humans (Carruthers, 2011). They argued that the survival of wildlife in Africa was dependent on rural African people and that protected areas should not be viewed in isolation, but in their regional ecological and economic contexts as productive landscapes. Wildlife should be a source of protein, and other natural products like medicinal plants should be sustainably harvested by local people. Tinley (1978; 2019) argued that this, together with wildlife tourism, should be a source of employment and income. According to Carruthers (2011), these principles were in sharp contrast to traditional views on protected areas that focussed on Western values emphasising White middle-class tourist recreation and creating tidy, tranquil places away from the tensions of city life.

Carruthers (2011) argues that nation building was one of the aims of establishing the PNP. Interestingly, after 1994, the North West Province retained the protected area and still refers to it as Pilanesberg National Park. Tourist numbers have grown to exceed 300 000 annually. The Pilanesberg Ecotourism Visitor Statistics (2019), reflect that the PNP had 391 473 visitors during the 2018/2019 financial year. In contrast to PNP, Transkei never implemented Tinley's proposals for Dwesa, but instead strictly protected the forests in line with the historic fortress conservation model (Timmermans, 2004; Sunde 2014). Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was invaded by local people demanding access to resources in 1994 (Timmermans, 2004). Dwesa's tourist numbers for 2018 were only 4 345 (Canniford, 2019).

2.2.4 Protected Areas in Post-1994 South Africa

The number and total area of protected areas has grown enormously worldwide since the postcolonial period with more than 105 000 listed (Agrawal and Redford, 2009). These follow the six IUCN categories which range from strictly protected wilderness reserves to managed resource use areas. Rands et al. (2010) state that 12% of the earth's land surface has protected area status, together with 0.5% of oceans and 5.9% of territorial seas. Symes et al. (2015) found that this percentage has increased to approximately 15,4% with more than 150 000 sites. The number and sizes fluctuate though because of downgrading, downsizing and degazetting (Symes et al., 2015). Site selection has been opportunistic with inefficient cover in key areas; therefore, it is argued that there is a need to increase protected areas in critical biodiversity sites.

South Africa is the third most biodiverse rich country in the world (Lombard, 1995a; Rebelo, 2002). As biodiversity has become increasingly threatened, the response has been to create more protected areas. It is widely acknowledged that protected areas may be the most effective means of conserving biodiversity, but it is crucial to identify the correct areas to expand the reserve network (Lombard, 1995b; Rands et al., 2010; Symes et al., 2015). Key biodiversity areas are sites that make a substantial contribution to the persistence of biodiversity globally, at the level of genes, species or ecosystems. They are identified nationally using global criteria and are useful for targeting strategic expansion of protected areas (Gannon et al., 2017). South Africa's protected area network has not always been based on such careful selection, but often on *ad hoc* allocation of vacant land in marginal agricultural areas (Lombard, 1995b). For example, during the 1960s the Department of Water Affairs purchased properties for the construction of dams and, as a gesture to protect the environment, the excess land surrounding the dams was given to nature conservation departments to manage (Degeorges and Reilly, 2009).

The Strategic Plan for Biodiversity 2011 – 2020 and the 20 Aichi Biodiversity Targets that were adopted at the tenth meeting of the Conference of the Parties (COP) to the Convention on Biological Diversity in 2010 included Target 11: 'By 2020 at least 17 per cent of terrestrial and inland water and 10 per cent of coastal and marine areas, especially areas of particular

importance for biodiversity and ecosystem services, are conserved through effectively and equitably managed, ecologically representative and well connected systems of protected areas and other effective area based conservation measures' (Gannon et al., 2017).

Since South Africa achieved democracy in 1994 there has been greater expansion of protected areas in the country than in any comparable period in its history (Wynberg, 2002; NPAES, 2016). Between 4% (Cock and Fig, 2000) and 6% (West et al., 2006) of the country's land surface is devoted to protected areas. This excludes approximately 13% of private game farms and community conservation areas (West et al., 2006). Approximately 10% of the Eastern Cape's 168 966 km² is under some form of conservation (DEDEAT, 2017). However, Adams et al. (2004a) argue that the problem with the strategy of expanding protected areas, is that it often exacerbates poverty because future land-use options are foreclosed, with potentially significant economic opportunity costs. Furthermore, protected areas do not always work in conserving biodiversity because of corruption and greed within government and the desperate survival needs of the poor (Pimm et al., 2001). Muchapondwa et al. (2009) assert that even with adequate management within protected area borders, many are not successful in conserving biodiversity because they are usually parts of a larger ecosystem.

The MPAs in South Africa have received considerably less attention than the terrestrial network of nature reserves with only 0.4% of South Africa's mainland ocean territory protected (Sink, 2016) until the Phakisa initiative boosted the MPA network with 20 additional marine reserves being declared in 2019, effectively conserving 5% of the coast (Mtshali and Kock, 2019).

It is argued that protected areas are still the most effective means of conserving biodiversity (Lombard, 1995a; b; Brandon et al., 1998; Sink et al., 2012; Symes et al., 2015; Sink, 2016). However, where conservation programmes tie up natural resources sought after by resource-dependent communities, locally driven processes may become the greatest threat to protected areas, especially if local people gain political power (Hutton et al., 2005). Under such circumstances, science-led solutions will not be enough to safeguard biodiversity (Fabricius et al., 2001). Neither will authoritarian approaches (Hutton et al., 2005). Establishing legitimate processes by working constructively with people will, according to Hutton et al. (2005), be the

most feasible and morally just way to achieve long-term nature protection. In addition, Muchapondwa et al. (2009) argue that effectively conserving biodiversity within protected areas requires mainstreaming with individuals, communities, and organisations outside of the boundaries of protected areas. This calls for effective communication and an investigation of economic incentives and opportunities to support local livelihoods.

2.3 Environmental Management and Political Ecology

The questions may be posed: 'Is protecting the environment right?' 'Is over-utilising the natural resources wrong?' Critics of the Land Ethic and of a subsequent deeper ecology philosophy, such as that developed by Arne Naess (Jickling, 2000), question the causes of ecological problems. The most sustained of these critiques comes from proponents of social ecology. Informed by radical political economy, rather than natural science or philosophical ethics, social ecologists argue that society's root problems are not matters of misguided ethics or ecological naiveté. Rather, our ecological ills are social in nature (Robbins et al., 2010; Carpenter, 2020). MacDonald (2010) argues that biodiversity conservation has never really driven environmental agendas. Rather, it has been an instrument in much larger political projects such as nationalism, colonialism and capitalism. Conservation's success is biological, but the process is socio-political (Mills, 2019).

Political ecology became prominent in the 1980s and 1990s and arose from the need for an analytical approach to integrating environmental and political understanding in a context of intensifying environmental problems in the Third World (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). It is a combination of the concerns of ecology and a broadly defined political economy (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987) that sees land management and environmental degradation in terms of how political economy shapes the ability to manage resources through forms of access and control of exploitation (Gregory et al., 2009). Interpretations are drawn from across the ideological spectrum – from the political right (neo-classical thought) to the political left (neo-Marxism) (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). Political ecologists deal with human-environmental relations (Kepe et al., 2008). For geographers, the strength of political ecology lies in its attempts to explain the complex processes of environmental change by drawing on diverse theories and practices that bridge the social and natural sciences, relying heavily on case studies (Brown, 1998; Kepe et al., 2008). The case studies that are presented in later chapters of this research, clearly

demonstrate the linkages between conservation, natural resource management, politics and human geography.

The notion of environmentalists prior to the 1980s was to disregard socio economic or human influences from natural processes. Wilderness, for example, was seen as untouched by humans (Carruthers, 1995; Brooks, 2000). However, Bryant and Bailey (1997) argue that one cannot treat the Third World's environmental crisis in isolation from the much wider development crisis to which it is inextricably linked. Environmental problems cannot be understood in isolation of political and economic contexts within which they are created (Kepe et al., 2008; Carpenter, 2020).

Political ecology focusses on three essential premises: (i) society and land-based resources are mutually causal in such a way that poverty caused by poor management can cause environmental degradation that can deepen poverty. Land degradation is social in origin. The land manager is the central point of any nature-society study. The land manager's relationship must be considered in a historical, political and economic context. (ii) Spatial accounts of degradation that provide explanations for the environmental destruction. (iii) Land management is formed by external structures including the role of the state and core periphery models which reflect the uneven distribution of power within and between societies (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987). The focus of political ecology is on the ways the environmental actions of the land managers (usually the rural land user in the Third World) are shaped by economic, ecological and political marginalisation (Walker, 2005).

While environmental concerns have been politicised since the wave of environmentalism of the 1970s, in the 1990s the core concerns of political ecology – rural, agrarian and third worlds – were expanded and added to the original concerns of resource management (Gregory et al, 2016). Vayda and Walters (1999) were critical of political ecology, stating that the focus was often almost entirely on politics, with ecology becoming increasingly marginalised. They argued that some political ecologists focussed solely on political events and claimed that these caused environmental changes. They proposed an alternative to political ecology in the form of event ecology which would require a more accurate appraisal of actual environmental changes and the events causing such changes. Walker (2005) agrees that some political ecology

has branched out in directions that do not engage biophysical ecology or environmental change directly, but he argues that the tradition of examining environmental change still remains in political ecology. Illustrating this view, Margulies and Bersaglio (2018), through researching tiger conservation in India, explore post-human political ecology and myths that may be perpetuated to justify authoritarian governance. They argue that post-human political ecologies, which represent a turn away from human/nature dualisms prevalent in Anglo-European political philosophy, are well-equipped to show that the broader post-human turn in geographical thought engages critically in the role that humans and non-humans play in enactments of injustice. Post-humanism strives to unseat the human as the dominant subject of social inquiry, rejecting that humans are separate from the worlds that they co-inhabit with other forms of life ranging from megafauna to microbacteria. In India's tiger conservation programme, the myth of the 'immutable tiger' is perpetuated. Essential to this myth is the notion that tigers and humans cannot co-inhabit overlapping areas. The myth is used to justify the displacement of indigenous communities from tiger reserves. If political ecology is concerned with social justice, then how animals are constituted as subjects of justice (or not) is an important analytical question (Margulies and Bersaglio, 2018).

Political ecology has long been the subject of very lively debate on both its usefulness, as well as challenges when it comes to the clarity of its framework of analysis. However, many of the scholars who interrogate political ecology's usefulness, or subject it to in-depth critique, are people who label themselves political ecologists, and who defend it as an important lens to analyse people-environment interactions. This is the case for Bryant and Jarosz (2004), Walker (2005; 2006; 2007), Kepe et al (2008), Jones (2008), and Robbins (2020), to mention but a few. Among the many defining aspects of political ecology that these scholars appreciate and that are summarised in Robbins (2020) are political ecology's deep and abiding scepticism about formal institutions governing nature, the desire to establish community-based solutions, while understanding that communities have internal conflicts and differential power dynamics, and interrogation of how power dynamics impact the environment and marginalised people, and how it pays particular attention to justice.

Given that the histories of many conservation areas in developing communities are entangled with colonialism, Mollett and Kepe (2018) argue that the colonial legacy of dispossession and ongoing subjugation of local peoples by the state and elites in the name of global biodiversity

conservation, has meant that for many marginalised people procedural justice is elusive; meaning that land and natural resources were allocated in an unfair manner without transparency. Loss of land during colonialism had dehumanising effects on victims and there has been reluctance on the part of the state to address injustices, even in land reform processes (Mollett and Kepe, 2018). It is for this reason that scholars such as Ramutsindela and Shabangu (2018), among others, believe that political ecology could extend its reach and incorporate environmental justice. This would involve extending this concept further from its original conception as dealing with how environmental costs (e.g. pollution) were unequally felt by racialised people (Castree et al, 2009), to encompass the historical-geographical dynamics of colonialism and injustice, and the suggestion that it should prioritise distribution, participation and recognition of marginalised people in the people-nature nexus. With biodiversity conservation being one of the global priorities to mitigate climate change and species extinction, political ecology that centres around environmental justice appears non-negotiable as one of the lenses through which new challenges and hopes in this area of work are analysed.

In recognition of the much-emphasised importance of power as a tool to analyse situations via the political ecology lens (Robbins, 2020), Ahlborg and Nightingale (2018) highlight uncertainties about the meaning of, as well as the ways in which power becomes useful within political ecology. They note that within political ecology, power has been seen as one of several things, including as (i) a personal attribute, (ii) individuals' ability to impose their will, or (iii) as the 'power to shape environments for human action and interaction' (Ahlborg and Nightingale, 2018, p 383). Despite those contested notions of power, these authors encourage a thinking about power that sees it as relational and productive, and having contradictory and ambiguous effects, in ways that lead us to explore the tension between human agency and constitutive power. This, they argue, can illustrate why intentional choices and actions matter in how resource governance projects play out in everyday life. For this study, this is important thinking for how conservation unfolds in South Africa's marginalised areas. What kinds of power circulate in what spaces? Who are the winners and losers, as in the midst of power, there are imbalances?

2.3.1 Political Ecology of Conservation in a South African Context

Because political ecology considers environmental history, gender, race and discourse analysis (Gregory et al., 2016), it is an important consideration for biodiversity conservation in South Africa. Different social actors with asymmetrical political power compete for access to and control of natural resources (Vaccaro et al., 2013). In pre-democratic South Africa, this was manifested through the establishment of state forests and protected areas to restrict natural resource use by Black Africans (Sim, 1906; Fourie, 1994; Carruthers, 1995; Sunde, 2014). It was also prominent outside the boundaries of formally proclaimed forests and nature reserves, as demonstrated in the example used by Blaikie (1985) relating to the political economy of soil erosion, which was relevant during the 'betterment' schemes imposed on the rural communities of Transkei by the colonial and apartheid governments.

Blaikie (1985) rejected the colonial model of soil erosion that considered the problem to be environmental constraints, mismanagement and overpopulation. Blaikie and Brookfield (1987) argued that poverty could cause environmental destruction. The poor could be forced to destroy their own environment in an attempt to delay their own destruction. Poverty was, according to Hendricks (1989) a key factor causing soil erosion in Bantustans in South Africa. While forest preservation, protected area establishment and marine conservation are the obvious focal areas for a historical view of conservation in South Africa, it could be argued that politics actually shaped conservation in the country with race, poverty, population dynamics and soil conservation measures playing critically important roles.

2.3.1.1 The Ethics of Human Displacement for Biodiversity Conservation

A core argument for biodiversity conservation is its ethical necessity and critical importance for future sustainable survival, but the extent to which these arguments justify human displacement is unclear (Agrawal and Redford, 2009). In South Africa, for example, the apartheid government saw no role for rural, forest-dependent people in forest conservation and in many cases adopted a deliberate policy of marginalisation and social engineering involving forced removals of Black people to make way for conservation or White settlements (Watts, 2006).

Agrawal and Redford (2009) argue that growing consumption pressures are contributing to ever faster declines in species and the systems they depend on. Economic expansion, population growth, urbanisation and development lead to greater consumption. The response has historically been that conservationists occupy the higher ground by arguing, amongst other things, that biological diversity conservation is ethically necessary. Conservation has subsequently led to the displacement of tens of millions of people who formerly lived, hunted, fished and farmed in areas that are now protected. In South Africa, many protected areas were established in the poorest parts of the country, with the state often removing people from where they lived and denying them access to the land and resources that they historically depended upon, thus contributing to their impoverishment (Sunde, 2014; Thondhlana et al., 2016). Watts (2006) argues that there are no guidelines to address such conservation-induced displacements. If conservation strategies distress human populations, especially those who are less powerful, politically marginalised and poor, little that conservationists argue on behalf of biodiversity makes sense. This drives a wedge between conservation authorities and local communities (Watts, 2006).

Critiques of displacement are often anecdotal (Sanderson and Redford, 2004; West et al., 2006) but displacement from protected areas has undoubtedly occurred and is one of the most controversial and contested aspects of nature reserve establishment (West et al., 2006). Displacement is a consequence of conservation projects because conservation, like development, is inherently spatial. Arguments in favour of displacement are built on the assumption that human's presence and their use of natural resources invariably impact negatively upon wildlife and biodiversity (Agrawal and Redford, 2009).

While the number of protected areas has grown enormously, our knowledge of the magnitude of conservation-induced displacement and its impacts on local communities is sparse and mainly based on speculation and a few case studies (Agrawal and Redford, 2009). The most important critique of displacement is the injustice involved in the involuntary removal of disadvantaged people from their homes and land. Few rich or elite households have been displaced for the creation of protected areas (Agrawal and Redford, 2009). The costs and benefits of biodiversity conservation have often been shown to be skewed in favour of the rich

in developed countries, and against the poor in developing countries (Brown, 1998). If conservationists do not address this, they strengthen the perception that conservation is the concern of the wealthy and powerful (Agrawal and Redford, 2009).

Conservation projects that lead to displacement are likely to cause anger and bitterness that lead to conservation failure (Agrawal and Redford, 2009; Vaccaro et al., 2013). Displaced peoples usually have a strong incentive to destroy wildlife and resources within protected areas (Pimm et al., 2001; Vaccaro et al., 2013). Considering the limited capacity that developing countries' governments have to enforce legislation, especially in peripheral areas where protected areas are located, conservation success is likely dependent on local acceptance or resistance. A combination of local resentment caused by displacement or restrictions, feeble law enforcement capacity, and organised poaching poses major obstacles to conservation (Pimm et al., 2001; Agrawal and Redford, 2009).

It is important to not only address future displacement, but to retroactively cover and compensate for past conservation-induced displacements (Agrawal and Redford, 2009; Fabricius et al., 2004). Post-1994 South Africa has recognised the displacement of communities through colonialism and apartheid measures to create many of the country's protected areas and embarked on a process of land restitution (Timmermans, 2004; Fabricius et al., 2004; Ramutsidela and Shabangu, 2018). However, Agrawal and Redford, (2009) caution that even if conservation organisations create compensation mechanisms that appear satisfactory to them, their plans will always be open to criticism if they are not formulated in consultation with displaced communities. The bitterness that exists among displaced people cannot be overemphasised and it takes time to gain trust from affected communities (Vaccaro et al., 2013). Ramutsidela and Shabangu (2018) argue that environmental justice is crucial to narrow the gap between the goals of nature conservation and land reform. They contend that land reform and biodiversity conservation should be given equal weight, whereas currently conservation is prioritised, especially as it has global backing.

Displacement and evictions of people from protected areas continue in present times, and are increasingly justified on the grounds of security (Lunstrum and Ybarra, 2018). Built on a long

history of conservation's ties to military personnel and organisational structure, there is a growing trend to treat conservation issues as security risks and respond accordingly. Bersaglio (2017) uses the example of the 'war' against rhino poaching and organised crime syndicates in Kenya and southern Africa as green militarisation. Displacement of people from areas where they reside may therefore increasingly be justified by governments in the name of conservation and security.

2.3.1.2 The Links between Race and Conservation

Conservationists are sometimes reluctant to speak about race and its impacts on biodiversity conservation management, preferring to skirt around the sensitive matter in the hope that it will disappear (Bornman and van Aswegen, 1989; Kepe, 2009). Frank discussions about race in relation to issues such as development and conservation are still rare (Kepe, 2009). However, it cannot be denied that the legacy of racial ordering and discrimination under apartheid has resulted in a South Africa that is racialised in cultural and social terms, as well as livelihood opportunities (Kepe, 2009; Van Damme and Meskell, 2009). There are still strong links between current conservation practices and racially charged colonialism in Africa (Cocks and Fig, 2000; Kepe, 2009; Torgerson, 2017).

When protected areas were established in South Africa, Black Africans were never invited to enjoy them as visitors, but were often hounded from their boundaries (Carruthers, 1995; 2001). Bornman and van Aswegen's (1989) study on the perceptions of Black South Africans from the former Cape Province of nature conservation found that a mere 6% of the respondents expressed an interest in nature conservation activities, including visits to nature reserves. Even today, protected areas attract mainly foreign, White visitors, although there has been an increase in Black tourists to South African National Parks (Cocks and Fig, 2000; Kepe, 2009).

When the first protected areas were established in South Africa, Black people were generally regarded as poachers who trespassed on land, killed in a cruel manner and destroyed large numbers of wildlife (Fourie, 1994; Carruthers, 1995; Brooks, 2005). Black hunters were considered to be different from European sportsmen who were perceived to hunt ethically

(Carruthers, 1995; Brett, 2006). Stevenson Hamilton (Game Warden of the Sabi Game Reserve and later Kruger National Park), in his 1907 notes on the Sabi Game Reserve, stated that this perception was not true, but an easy and comfortable way for sportsmen to shirk responsibility and disrespect game laws (Carruthers, 2001). There was another romanticised idea of Black Africans in the eyes of some Europeans being 'noble savages' (Van Damme and Maskell, 2009). The well-respected statesman, Jan Smuts wrote of them as being children of nature (Dawson and Robertson, 1940). Fourie (1994) argues that it is a myth that Black people are not conservation conscious and believes that they generally have a more holistic attitude to conservation than westernised South Africans who often confuse conservation with preservation. Doerr (1988) is of the opinion that the result of Whites using 'aesthetics' and 'beauty' to justify conservation was that Blacks saw conservation as a White man's concept. He suggests that a more practical approach to conservation, including wise utilisation of resources on protected areas, would be supported by the majority of Black people, especially those living in rural areas.

Pre-1994, South Africa's National Parks Board (SANPB) mainly comprised White Afrikaner males aligned to the Nationalist government (Cocks and Fig, 2000; Joubert, 2007). Consequently, the policies of the Board reflected the culture and practices of apartheid. Black employees of SANPB were prohibited from occupying managerial positions and Black visitors were restricted in terms of where they could visit and be accommodated (Carruthers, 1995). In 1967, the government established a 'special African reserve', Manyaleti, adjoining Kruger National Park (Pringle, 1982). In Natal, a largely English-speaking province with colonial ties and a strong anti-Afrikaner attitude, the Zululand Game Reserves like Hluhluwe, were managed by Englishmen, often with military credentials (Brooks, 2005). Management policies initially reflected the English model of game keeping and tidy parks until policies changed after the Second World War and the formation of the Zululand Game Reserves and Parks Board.

Linking conservation to social justice, the post-1994 South African National Parks Board (SANParks) is radically different from that of the colonial and apartheid past (Cock and Fig, 2000). The focus is now on conservation linked to development and meeting human needs. SANParks is building on the traditional concepts of wilderness and wildlife in African indigenous cultures. The SANParks transformation policy proposed specific steps since

October 1995 to transfer power from the White minority that had been appointed as National Parks Board members and managers, to reflect the demographics of the newly democratised country (Cocks and Fig, 2000). According to Swemmer and Mmethi (2017, p. 66) this has been achieved as 'massive racial transformation has taken place in the employment sector, with most medium to high level KNP management staff representing previously disadvantaged ethnic groups'. Once again, race appears to be playing a role in the conservation management of South Africa's protected areas.

While numerous studies reflect on the generally strong resentment of White park administrators and managers of Black Africans in the protected areas and national parks of the Transvaal during the pre-1994 era, the situation in the province of Natal appears somewhat different. Brooks (2000) writes of White game rangers like Ian Player learning about the African bush and African culture from Black African rangers during the mid-1900s whilst working together in Natal parks such as Hluhluwe and Umfolozi. Player himself writes of friendships with his game guards, particularly Magqubu Ntombela, who mentored him (Player, 1997; 2001). Numerous other young White rangers wrote books recounting their admiration of their fellow Zulu game guards which Brooks (2000) says grew out of the interaction of White men and Black men *in place.* Brooks (2005) also reflects on the mostly positive reminiscences of retired Black game guards about their white supervisor at Hluhluwe during the 1930s, Captain Potter.

Douglas Hey, the first Director of Cape Nature Conservation, does not mention race as an issue for conservation in his memoirs (Hey, 1995). The Cape Department of Nature Conservation was not a Parks Board, but was run by the Provincial Administration and therefore subject to government policies of the time. When the Transkei and Ciskei homelands were established, these areas were excised from the Cape Province and separate conservation departments were established for these Batustans. Post-1994, while National Parks and most provinces were faced with radical transformation of management staff to reflect the demographics of the country (Cocks and Fig, 2000), the Eastern Cape simply amalgamated the two Bantustan conservation departments with the eastern portion of the former Cape Province (De Villiers, 2010). Very few racial tensions were reported in the Eastern Cape Department of Environmental Affairs. In fact, during the apartheid years the Cape led the way by appointing Black professional nature conservation officials (D. De Villiers, 1999a, p. 248). Mike Fryer, a

progressive senior nature conservator employed by Cape Nature Conservation in the Eastern Cape, reported in the 1970s that the greatest need for the future of conservation was to educate all sectors of the population, not only Whites (Viljoen, 1981). By 1978, Fryer had established South Africa's only environmental education wilderness trail exclusively for Black children on the Black Eagle Private Nature Reserve in the Stormberg Mountains near Queenstown (Viljoen, 1981; Bryan, 1992).

Colonel Jack Vincent, Director of the Natal Parks Board, had raised the importance of educating Blacks in wildlife conservation, at a meeting with the South African Nature Union in July 1961 (Pringle, 1982). He said that there could be no hope for wildlife conservation without the education of Black people, who often lived amidst the wildlife and protected areas, and emphasised that he was 'more than a little disturbed' by the reluctance to discuss the matter. The Natal Parks Board, which was one of the more progressive conservation organisations in South Africa, announced plans in 1963 to build a special rest camp for Blacks in the Corridor outside Hluhluwe Game Reserve. It took until 1979 for this to materialise (Pringle, 1982). Ian Player had conceived the idea in 1957 for the creation of a Wilderness Leadership School in the Hluhluwe and Umfolozi Game Reserves (Player, 1997). He intended bringing future leaders of all races together in the wilderness but faced restrictions as a result of the apartheid laws. The Wildlife Society encountered similar hurdles and was prohibited from accommodating Black children on state game reserves when they initiated environmental education courses for Black children in 1971. They therefore used the private farms, *Nyala Game Ranch* and *Twinstreams* as alternative areas to conduct environmental education (Pringle, 1982).

While protected areas were historically established in South Africa to preserve wildlife from being hunted (Carruthers, 1995; Cocks and Fig, 2000) and for aesthetic reasons (Doerr, 1988) to create an African Eden (Carruthers, 1995; Bersaglio, 2017), the post-apartheid dispensation has seen an effort to establish protected areas that reflect the culture of Black Africans (Cock and Fig, 2000). Western ideas separate nature from culture (West et al., 2006) but culture is an important aspect amongst Africans that can be used to improve protected areas (Cocks et al., 2012). In the Eastern Cape, the cultural association of the amaXhosa people with their landscapes is reflected in their worldviews, the role of the village environment for spiritual and

group well-being, the significance of nature in providing a sense of identity and place, as well as the importance of nature for providing cultural artefacts and household needs (Cocks et al., 2018). Society has come to value protected areas for numerous reasons, but the traditions and cultures of some people like the amaXhosa, have largely been ignored (De Villiers and Tyali, 2012). By considering race and the importance of different cultures in establishing new protected areas, this can assist with nation building (Cock and Fig, 2000).

Despite efforts by the state to incorporate Black African people into protected area management, and to reflect African culture in modern protected areas, Mollett and Kepe (2018) argue that biodiversity conservation in post-apartheid South Africa has not sufficiently broken ties with its historical and racist policies of the colonial and apartheid dispensations. They argue that there is continued mistrust by the state and conservation activists of poor Black people's interests and abilities in biodiversity conservation. The goals of conservation, sustainable development and environmental justice are clearly stated in the aims enshrined in the South African Constitution and in the National Environmental Management Act of 1998 (Dahlberg et al. 2010); however, the gap between policy and practice remains large with few tangible results of environmental justice in practice (Mollett and Kepe, 2018). Carpenter (2020) argues that conservationists often have positive intentions to improve people's welfare, but they have to manage and plan in order to achieve their conservation goals, as this is simply the way things are done in modern government. Attempting to manage people means governing them and having power over them. When we consider protected areas, we refer to territorial units that were generally established to exclude certain people and restrict the use of resources; therefore, these areas are like sovereign governed states. In these situations, conservationists have a tendency towards disciplinary governance because it is based on the degradation discourse which sees people as a threat to the environment that must be stopped (Carpenter, 2020). Considering the history of protected area establishment in South Africa, and the racial connotations where these were for the exclusive benefit of White people, continued efforts need to be made to address the racial inequality associated herewith, and to ensure that all people have access to the multiple benefits that protected areas provide.

2.3.1.3 The State as an Actor

The state's role as an actor, from a political ecology point of view, is primarily to pursue economic development, even at the expense of the environment (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). The construction of the national road along South Africa's Wild Coast through an area of internationally acclaimed biodiversity, for example, illustrates how the state will support economic development irrespective of the cost to the environment (Clark, 2014). The state is supposed to be the key actor in solving environmental problems, but it has a primary role as a developer. There is thus a paradox in the state's function. Environmental conservation is a low priority.

Maximising resource extraction began under colonial rule. Industrial development created air, water and land pollution. This illustrates the recurring theme of political ecology about the role of global capitalism in the development of the Third World's environmental crisis. The state is such a powerful actor that it is able to exert control over use or destruction of the environment, thereby affecting the livelihoods and health of grassroots actors (Bryant and Bailey, 1997).

It is not only First World demands for natural resources that create environmental problems for the Third World. The reluctance of the Third World to implement environmental conservation may also be due to the resistance of bureaucracies within the state and corruption of political leaders. Leitao (2016) argues that developing countries may be more open to beaurocrats and politicians taking bribes because there is a need for economic development and reliance upon natural resource exploitation. In these countries there is a history of politicians calculating their personal economic gain before deciding on approving developments. They do not see environmental stewardship as being in their political or economic interests (Bryant and Bailey, 1997).

2.3.1.4 Poverty Matters

It is clear, then, that the Third World environmental crisis is largely the outcome of political interests and struggles. Extreme poverty is a way of life for the majority of people. This ensures that environmental conflicts in the Third World are predominantly livelihoods based – whereas in the First World aesthetics concerns prevail. Survival is the short-term priority for many poor

Third World communities. For this they rely on their surrounding resources (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). People who are less dependent on direct use of natural resources often have more positive views towards protected areas and nature conservation, whereas conflicting relationships often occur between densely populated, poor communities and conservation managers tasked with protecting the areas around which these communities live (Thondhlana and Cundill, 2017).

The poor may try to conserve their environment in the way that Leopold described 'Land Ethics', but it is often difficult because of their survival strategies. Poverty, via poor management, can induce environmental degradation (Blaikie, 1985). Policy that fails to take into account the diverse relationships between conservation needs and the demands of poverty reduction risk failure (Adams et al., 2004a).

Peasants can destroy their own environment in an attempt to delay their own destruction (Blaikie, 1985). Fourie (1994) refers to the overcrowded homelands in apartheid South Africa, where some communities were forced to chop down trees, hunt wildlife and overstock grazing lands in an effort to survive. The shortage of available land in the Transkei Bantustan offered no other option but for the over utilisation of natural resources by local people, resulting in environmental degradation. The rhetoric applied to environments destroyed by the poor, is that the state has to intervene and 'control' peasants in the name of development (Blaikie, 1985). While this argument may support Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' theory, Briant and Bailey (1997) argue that Hardin's theory will only apply if there is a free for all approach to common resources. Where traditional structures have been broken down and there are no longer communal rules and practices, overutilisation of natural resources may occur (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). An example that illustrates this is the soil erosion and land degradation that occurred in Transkei and other Bantustans in apartheid South Africa (Mbana, 1991; Tropp, 2006). The common opinion was that the soil erosion was caused by poor farming practices (Mbana, 1991). Blaikie (1985) agreed that small-scale land-users often directly cause soil erosion, but states that they are often forced to do so by poverty and the social relationships involving surplus extraction. Blaikie argues that soil erosion will not be substantially reduced unless it threatens the accumulations of the dominant classes, like national and international agricultural capitalists, industrial capitalists and government agents. This is unlikely because they have the means to adjust to economic issues created by soil erosion, unlike the poor, who

depend on the land for their livelihood. Adams et al. (2004a) therefore recommend that conservation organisations should identify and monitor the social impacts of their work and operate in a socially accountable manner.

2.3.1.5 Does Human Population Drive Biodiversity Loss?

Pimm et al. (2001) raise concerns and express pessimism about the increasing human population numbers (and natural resource consumption) which is contributing to a major loss of biodiversity. Neo-Malthusians argue that population growth should be checked because it is the single biggest driver of environmental degradation and crisis (Robbins et al., 2010). For ecoscarcity proponents, nowhere is this a more serious problem than in the underdeveloped world, where growth rates and absolute numbers of people remain the highest in the world (Robbins, 2004). However, Robbins (2004) argues that the demographic explanation is not an accurate predictor of environmental crisis because mitigating factors like technology and affluence overwhelm the force of crude numbers. Population increase is an effect of other processes, including development and women's rights and education. It is a universal phenomenon that where women's rights are observed the fertility rate declines and population growth is reduced (Robbins et al., 2010).

According to Pimm et al. (2001), the human population has realised the need to conserve biodiversity and there is optimism about increasing protected areas across the world. Moran and Ostrom (2005) argue that the scientific community assigns high priority to understanding the regulatory and functional consequences of biological diversity, and how best to sustain this diversity. However, they state that we face the greatest mass extinction in Earth's geological history. They ask the questions: how much biodiversity is necessary to sustain the ecosystems on which we depend? How much alteration can take place before there is irreparable damage to the services provided by ecosystems? It remains to be seen how, and to what extent, the human population can begin to prioritise ensuring the sustainability of Earth's natural systems by realising how vulnerable we are by not conserving them. It is ultimately the human population that decides when and where to transform the landscape or conserve it for its benefit (Moran and Ostrom, 2005).

2.3.1.6 Conservation Ethics Require Regular Analysis

The relationship between human population and resources that projects future misery if human population remains unchecked is rooted in Malthusian ideas that advocate for human population planning and birth control to prevent the outstripping of natural resources (Neumann, 2004). Neo-Malthusianism was a prominent trend in the environmental thinking of the 1970s and 1980s with regard to the reasons for the Third World crisis. 'Life boat' ethics reasoned that it is ethical to let some people die in situations of scarcity rather than risk destruction of a resource base that supports all of humanity (Neumann, 2004). Humans are forced to choose between two moral rights – the protection of biodiversity or human lives and livelihoods.

Conservationists have been criticised in some quarters for ignoring human rights in their efforts to protect wildlife and biodiversity (Sunde, 2014; Wicomb, 2015). Through the ages, African hunters have been represented as barbaric and cruel poachers (Carruthers, 1995). This image is compared to the compassionate and conservation-minded European hunter (Carruthers, 1995; Brett, 2006). According to Thomson (1992), people have also humanised animals and assigned them rights. Neumann (2004) argues that these depictions serve to normalise deadly violence against humans in defence of wildlife and biodiversity. Political ecology explores ethics such as the ethical dimensions of the shoot-on-sight protocols in some African protected areas. The moral justification for a war on people in defence of wild animals requires closer examination (Neumann, 2004).

According to Eckersley (1992), environmentalists of the 1990s were wrongly characterised as new incarnations of conservationists. There are commonalities like the desire to conserve existing things such as old buildings and nature reserves and landscapes. There is a desire to maintain continuity with the past. Yet, environmentalism also contains strong elements of radicalism in its call for an equitable transition towards an ecologically sustainable society. Environmentalists are often the most vociferous critics of neoconservative ideologies (Eckersley, 1992), but the passion to protect and conserve the planet may lead some to overstep the boundaries and ignore human rights in their desire to achieve their goals (Neumann, 2004).

2.3.1.7 The Changing Face of Environmental Management through Political Ecology

Political changes from colonial to post-independence governments led to the erosion of political acceptability of and support for exclusionary discourses of fortress conservation methods (Büscher and Whande, 2007). Therefore, in line with the rise of social movements and ideas around a fairer international and economic order in the 1970s, conservation institutions drew on participatory engagement, indigenous knowledge and community needs in pursuit of social justice, poverty reduction and biodiversity conservation (Dressler et al*.,* 2010).

While it is recognised that protected areas that were historically established to conserve scenery and biodiversity have had limited success (Lombard, 1995b; Rands et al., 2010; Gannon et al., 2017), human-environmental relations have become critically important for the future of conserving natural resources (Fabricius et al., 2001; Kepe et al; 2008). The political economy determines land management and influences environmental degradation by shaping the ability to manage resources through access and control of exploitation (Gregory et al*.,* 2009). Conservationists came to recognise the difficulties in environmental management in the face of objections by local people and new political leaders in new democracies to the Westernised methods of protecting natural resources (Hutton et al., 2005). Thus the concept of community conservation was born (Büscher and Whande, 2007).

2.4 The Community Based Conservation Model

By the late 1990s conservationists in the developing world began to realise that the centralised approach to protected area management of the colonial era had to be replaced by a more viable and effective option that could simultaneously benefit biodiversity and rural development (Fabricius et al., 2001). It was recognised that conservation of biodiversity should ultimately be for the benefit of human welfare. Fortress conservation had focused on protecting the interests of various power blocs within the colonial state but also, in the long-term, on ensuring the survival of pockets of biodiversity for the benefit of future generations (Fabricius et al., 2001). Unfortunately, fortress conservation had enormous human costs. However, according

to Hutton et al. (2005), one cannot simply return to the historical situation where poor communities are repatriated to protected areas, but a compromise could take the form of joint or co-management.

Globally, co-management of protected areas has emerged as a desired conservation approach because of its potential to balance ecological goals and livelihood needs. It is based on power sharing between the state and local communities through joint decision making and varying degrees of application (Thondhlana et al., 2016). Following its development, the concept of CBNRM was accepted internationally because it tied in with the concept of sustainable development that was adopted in Rio in 1992 (Hutton et al., 2005). Child and Barnes (2010) suggest that wildlife ranching on commercial farms in southern Africa was the precursor to CBNRM. Wildlife was assigned a value and landowners were granted ownership of a resource once controlled by the state. This economic model was adapted for communal land in Zimbabwe where the CAMPFIRE (Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) initiative became a success.

Section 24 of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996) enshrines the right to an environment that is protected and commits government to promoting biodiversity conservation, but also commits government to promoting economic and social development. Therefore, the South African government vigorously supported CBNRM in an attempt to reconcile biodiversity conservation and poverty alleviation (Kepe et al., 2004). Since 1994 the conservation sector in South Africa has attempted to incorporate rural livelihoods into protected area management through a land restitution programme where land claims have been instituted. Communities become land owners and agree to maintain their land as conservation areas in perpetuity. The state enters into a co-management agreement with the new landowner community where power sharing, resource access and benefit sharing arrangements are laid out (Dahlberg and Burlando, 2009; Thondhlana et al., 2016). The emphasis is on allowing communities to use and benefit from the natural resources on their land (Fabricius et al., 2004). Kepe et al. (2004) warn, however, that the programmes put in place to provide jobs, including poverty relief projects such as Land Care and Working for Water are unlikely to make a major contribution to eliminating poverty. Fabricius et al. (2001) argue that, more importantly, CBNRM should allow communities access to resources from which they were previously barred; facilitate sharing of revenue from the use of natural resources with communities; ensure

the involvement of communities in decision-making, and recognise communities' historical rights of tenure to resources and land.

2.4.1 Participatory Management of Conservation Areas

Participatory Forest Management (PFM) is a form of co-management developed in response to the growing view that traditional forestry methods and conservation approaches failed to halt the steep decline in the extent and quality of forests and woodlands (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Songorwa, 1999; Grundy, 2000), largely due to a lack of funds and resources (Obiri and Lawes, 2000). The weakness of the State-centric policy means that few options other than community based conservation exist (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999).

Contrary to the traditional view of forestry as the science of managing forested land, the Forestry Department of South Africa shifted its management focus towards the relationship between people and the resources provided by the forest (DWAF, 1996; Matose and Watts, 2010). It is accepted that governance of protected areas, including state forests, must serve both human and environmental needs (Grundy, 2000; Quvile, 2011). The basic premise underlying the National Forest Act (No. 84 of 1998) of South Africa is the sustainable management of forests (Neil, 2000) and this Act encourages community participation in forest management and allows communities that wish to engage in community forestry activities to enter into an agreement with the Minister (Neil, 2000). This type of co management has had varying degrees of success (Grundy et al., 2000). In the context of this study, PFM is particularly important because it has been the acknowledged method of management for all former Transkei indigenous forests and along most of the Wild Coast since the concept was adopted by the Forestry Department in the mid-1990s (DWAF, 1996).

The terms PFM, Collaborative Management, Co Management, and Joint or Shared Forest Management all encompass the concept of sharing decision making about, and the rewards from, natural resource management for the benefit of a wider group of stakeholders (Songorwa, 1999; Grundy, 2000). Wild and Mutebi (1996) highlight that they refer to the process of collaboration between local communities and State agencies over the use and management of

natural resources through negotiation which includes all stakeholders, recognises the contribution of each, and results in a mutually acceptable agreement.

Many local people living in rural Africa incur the costs of living with wildlife without receiving any benefit from the relationship (Schulz and Skonhoft, 1996; O'Connell-Rodwell et al., 2000) and anti-poaching laws have turned their subsistence hunting into a crime. Local people need incentives to protect their resources (Fitzgibbon et al., 1996; Schulz and Skonhoft, 1996; Bannon, 2000; Muchapondwa et al., 2009) and often only join community wildlife management programmes in return for the promise of socio-economic benefits (Songorwa, 1999).

In the past, local communities in South Africa were allowed to harvest certain forest products or graze their stock under permit as long as it did not interfere with overall timber production and conservation objectives. In general, however, local communities were not involved in management planning for forests (Seydack, 1997; Grundy, 2000). Most of the early ideas about communities' role in conservation changed radically (Agrawal and Gibson, 1999; Kepe, 2001) and the involvement of local communities alongside the state in forest management was considered a viable venture in Transkei (Obiri and Lawes, 2000). Redford and Sanderson (2000) caution that we cannot deny the effects of rural people living within forests on the forest, but we need to recognise their historical rights and work with them. Poor people are no more likely to be conservationists than rich people (Redford and Sanderson, 2000). Sustainable utilisation is not always compatible with biodiversity conservation (Brandon et al., 1998).

2.5 A Return to Fortress Conservation?

Since the 1980s decentralised community-based approaches to biodiversity conservation and nature reserve management spread quickly, especially in South Africa (Hutton et al., 2005). However, since the 1990s there has been a growing divide between the proponents of CBNRM and those advocating for a return to more traditional preservationist approaches (Brandon et al., 1998; Oates, 1999; Hutton et al., 2005). According to Dressler et al. (2010), changes from 'fortress' to 'community conservation' have often remained semantic with community

conservation regularly failing to bring about either conservation or development. This has resulted in calls for a return to fortress conservation (Büscher and Whande, 2007).

Oates (1999) argues that CBNRM ideas are romantic and unrealistic. Redford and Sanderson (2000) believe that it is based on catchy phrases rather than sound science. Oates (1999) cites examples in Ghana and West Africa where tropical forests subjected to the PFM model have become paper parks devoid of management and invaded by poachers and settlers. This has resulted in the extinction of several primate species. In South Africa the indigenous forests of the former Transkei are suffering a similar fate despite the PFM 'implementation' (De Villiers, 2002a). However, it may be argued that this is to be expected since there is extremely limited funding, resources, or appointment of foresters and forest guards to undertake any form of forest management in the region, a situation that has prevailed since 1994 (De Villiers, 2002a; Quvile, 2011). Local people are often poorly informed about PFM and therefore may not participate in the processes (Watts, 2006). Foresters pursue PFM without the necessary consultational training, knowledge or experience (Chapin, 2004; Watts, 2006). The process generally lacks real government support in the form of funding and resources (Rodriguez-Izquiendo et al., 2010). There is poor leadership from the higher authorities and a lack of institutional capacity within the Forestry Department (Matose and Watts, 2010) A common reason for PFM and CBNRM efforts failing is the poor quality of project design (Chapin, 2004; Hutton et al., 2005). Alberts (2010) suggests that the failure of CBNRM is due to confusion arising from the fact that no concrete approach with regard to the harmonisation of legislative and policy measures has been adopted. Chapin (2004) and Hutton et al. (2005) agree that there has been major policy failure, particularly with regard to devolution of power and authority. Asymmetrical power relations with the state and chiefs (leadership) at the top and local people at the bottom, may result in locals lacking 'voice' (Metcalfe and Kepe, 2008). Dressler et al. (2010) argue that CBNRM failed as a result of the debilitating forces of bureaucratic interventions and donor-driven ideologies. Oates (1999) considered the donor funding to CBNRM a waste of money that could have been better utilised for protected area management and biodiversity conservation. Carpenter (2020) argues that the failure of PFM is driven by four themes: power is rarely voluntarily shared, governments pay lip service to the concept and allocate an insufficient budget for it to work, there are insufficient short-term benefits like cash for communities to benefit from, and tenure insecurity prevents success.

While there is widespread acknowledgment that there have been problems, and mainly failures with the implementation of CBNRM (Oates, 1999; Redford and Sanderson, 2000; Chapin 2004; Hutton et al., 2005; Watts, 2006; Child and Barnes, 2010; Dressler et al., 2010; Matose and Watts, 2010), there is still the belief that conservationists need to balance the desire for rapid action to conserve and the need for social, just, transparent and legitimate processes of implementing conservation measures (Rodriguez-Izquiendo et al., 2010; Carpenter, 2020). Fabricius et al. (2007) argue that CBNRM requires visionaries and champions to build trust between different actors and organise them towards a common goal. Successful CBNRM initiatives are associated with groups of dedicated individuals with a vision beyond normal responsibilities (Childs and Barnes, 2000). CBNRM needs external assistance (Dressler et al., 2000) and long-term partnerships between professionals with vision and drive (Fabricius et al., 2007; Dahlberg and Burlando, 2009) as well as communities who are adequately informed about these programmes (Watts, 2010).

Trends in biodiversity conservation are largely determined by global political and economic developments (Brandon et al., 1998; Büscher and Whande, 2007). The conservation debate has to continually be re-operationalised in order to remain politically acceptable (Büscher and Whande, 2007). As CBNRM became weaker, leading to a loss of confidence among governments and NGOs (Child and Barnes, 2010; Dressler et al., 2010), practitioners searched for a new paradigm and found it in Trans Boundary Natural Resource Management (Jones, 2006). Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) or Peace Parks became the new preferred model. Donor funders, during the 1990s, shifted their focus to TFCAs which had a greater focus on biodiversity conservation and protected area expansion (Hutton et al., 2005). The payment for environmental services further eroded the CBNRM concept by providing direct payments to communities for conserving resources on their land for the benefit of greater society, such as water catchments or land for wildlife and biodiversity preservation (Hutton et al., 2005). The importance of ecosystem services has been underappreciated in benefiting local communities economically, but this has begun changing in countries like Australia and Costa Rica (Daily et al., 2000).

Büscher and Whande (2007) acknowledge that dealing with local people living adjacent to protected areas is one of the most heated debates around biodiversity and protected area management. On the one hand there is the protectionist 'fortress' conservationist approach with people separated from protected areas because they are inherently incompatible. On the other hand, there is the community-based conservation system which asserts that it is possible to balance the needs of people and the conservation of nature. But Büscher and Whande (2007) argue that not one of the narratives has been implemented completely. There has never been an ultimately overriding or dominant approach in both theory and practice (Carruthers, 2011). Applying any over-arching model in Africa is impossible (Büscher and Whande, 2007; Carruthers, 2011) The two main narratives are unable to meet all expectations of biodiversity conservation, protected area management and economic growth. This leads to continual conservation hybrids. But if trends in biodiversity management and protected area management are influenced by political economic developments, it should be possible to identify key effects. Consider the argument made by Büscher and Whande (2007) that some of the main forces of recent global political change have been the fall of communism and subsequent hegemony of neoliberalism; globalisation and the information and communication technology revolution, and the international emphasis on security particularly following the 9/11 attacks on the World Trade Centres in the United States. These have shaped biodiversity conservation and protected area management in identifiable and distinctive ways. The international emphasis on security resulted in a world-wide increase of state control, not only in relation to immigration and tighter security measures, but also the economy, health, culture and the environment. This predominantly played out in the form of international aid for poor countries and support for projects such as Transfrontier Conservation Areas. However, the actual emphasis behind this may have been to secure borders, restrict immigration and increase state control over areas rather than concerns about the environment, which may be little more than an addendum to the politico-military security agenda (Büscher and Whande, 2007).

2.6 Neoliberalism - The Argument that Biodiversity must have an Economic Value to Exist

With a few exceptions, protected areas normally do not generate enough income to sustain their management. It was thus predictable that at some point managers, researchers and stakeholders

alike would begin thinking about economic sustainability (Vaccaro et al., 2013). Neoliberal conservation is one of the latest stages in the relationship between capitalism and conservation (Brockington and Duffy, 2010; Collingwood, 2011).

The neoliberal thinking that emanated after the fall of communism resulted in society becoming more subject to market logic or commercialisation. Neoliberalism has turned land, fauna and flora into natural resources whereby their principle value is their exchange value and their right to exist based on what the market is willing to pay for them in monetary terms (Büscher and Whande, 2007). It is based on this concept that certain species of wildlife became economically desirable on commercial farms in southern Africa and game farming became a viable form of agriculture. The principle of "if it pays it stays" applied (Stretton, 1999). A major effect of neoliberal thinking is that all segments of society become subject to market logic or commercialisation. Payment for environmental services owes its existence to neoliberal thinking (Büscher and Whande, 2007).

Current human consumption of natural supplies far exceeds the earth's resources and this is not sustainable (Sanderson and Redford, 2004); hence, regulatory management to balance demand and supply is essential (Büscher and Whande, 2007). Neoliberal thinking allows for trade in natural products such as carbon trading between developed and developing countries to mitigate for their carbon emissions (Daily et al., 2000; Büscher and Whande, 2007). Neoliberal conservation promises to promote green business practices (Igoe and Brockington, 2007).

Neoliberal thinking accepts the need for private sector involvement in biodiversity conservation. Protected areas are run as businesses. Eco-tourism development and provision of conference facilities are examples of how parks make money to supplement running costs and provide employment opportunities (Büscher and Whande, 2007; Brockington and Duffy, 2010). Collingwood (2011) is of the opinion that 'political liberalism', often cited as a founding capitalist principle, is nothing more than an unholy alliance of State, private and religious interests in the plunder of natural resources. As if to support this opinion, Daily et al. (2000) suggest that the world's ecosystems are capital assets. They believe that ecosystem services

should be valued and payments should be made to landowners to look after them. Brockington and Duffy (2010) argue that conservation is proving instrumental in capitalism's growth. Vaccaro et al. (2013) state that a price has now been put on nature to justify its preservation. Ecological services have become tradable goods (Fletcher, 2010). These may include offsets for environmentally destructive commercial activities by designating new protected areas (Igoe and Brockington, 2007).

Neoliberalism is fundamentally about finance (Brockington and Duffy, 2010). The consequences are not unremittingly negative as the measures of neoliberal conservation have often been implemented by sincere and caring people who are primarily motivated to make the world a better place, some even working voluntarily for conservation NGOs (Chapin, 2004).

2.7 The Rising Importance of the NGOs

Government funding for conservation declined by approximately 50% between the mid-1990s and early 2000s while at the same time funding for conservation NGOs increased substantially (Chapin, 2004, de Koning, 2010; MacDonald, 2010). The big conservation NGOs, WWF, Conservation International (CI) and The Nature Conservancy (TNC), in particular are funded to work in developing countries (Chapin, 2004; Fletcher, 2010) with about $490 million having been allocated for this in 2002 (Chapin, 2004). The researcher, in his professional capacity as a senior manager in a state conservation organisation, has noticed the same trend in South Africa as that reported internationally. NGOs have become more important in the South African conservation field since the mid-1990s, while government funding for environmental departments has not kept up with inflation and has either marginally increased, or declined during this time.

As conservation NGOs expand, they depend on greater funding and therefore compete for donor funds with one another (Chapin, 2004). They do not always appear to consider the sources of their donations, sometimes partnering with multi-national companies or governments that may be directly involved in the pillaging and destroying of land and resources owned by indigenous people (Chapin, 2004). The formation of new alliances between unlikely

bedfellows, often to greenwash capitalist projects, is known as “Green Grabbing” (Fairhead et al., 2012). The Green Economy sees nature becoming increasingly valuable for generating profit (Fairhead et al., 2012). NGOs that work closely with governments are no longer able to openly oppose government corruption or inaction (Chapin, 2004). The Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa (WESSA), a leading conservation NGO in South Africa since 1926 (Pringle, 1982) has changed its focus from a very active watchdog of government and strong proponent for conservation of the Wild Coast, to being largely reliant on state funding to implement projects, especially in environmental education (M. Dennison, pers comm., 26/02/2019) This resulted in its officials being recalled from attending environmental monitoring meetings that monitor and comment on the development of the very contentious Wild Coast National Road that cuts through community lands and internationally acclaimed biodiversity hotspots (K. Cooper, pers comm., 17/07/2019). Chapin (2004) states that conservationists are often reluctant to support indigenous local people in battles for land tenure and resource use as they are ‘too political’. They are even reluctant to support struggles against oil, mining and logging companies. This is evident along South Africa’s Wild Coast where the Amadiba Crisis Committee (ACC) accuses state environmental departments of remaining silent while the construction of a national road and proposed titanium mining developments threaten traditional livelihoods in the Mdatya and Sigidi communities. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight of this study.

MacDonald (2010) argues that since the emergence of the concept of sustainable development and its adoption at the WCS, there has been a rapid expansion of conservation organisations into international project-based conservation programming. These NGOs were able to leverage donor funding, especially from the USAID and Global Environmental Fund (GEF). Most major conservation NGOs have specific units to manage private sector relations and fund raising, Private sector actors even adopt leadership positions within conservation organisations. According to MacDonald (2010) WWF International’s website states, ‘The panda means business.’ The researcher could not find reference to this on the WWF website in 2019, but there is substantial posting about ‘sustainable business news and opportunities’. At one stage, not long ago, the iconic black and white WWF panda symbolised the protection of wildlife species (MacDonald, 2010).

De Koning (2010) warns that government funding for protected area management in developing countries only accounts for about a third of what is required to effectively achieve conservation objectives. NGOs are increasingly important to generate income and de Koning (2010) lists the biggest potential revenue sources as tourism; resource utilisation, including bioprospecting; ecological services and existence values such as media rights and international donations.

2.8 Globalisation, Peace Parks and Future Protected Area Management

Globalisation has created space and time to regard the natural environment in a more globally holistic way. Global environmental change is defined as the processes that alter the Earth's land, oceans and atmosphere at a planetary scale. This not only refers to 'climate change' but to the transformation of the planet's ecosystems through human actions, including alien species invasions, urbanisation and land conversion (van Wilgen and Herbst, 2017). There has been realisation that nature conservation transcends international boundaries (B. De Villiers, 1999; Sinthumule, 2016). Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCA) were conceptualised to promote sound environmental management across international borders (Büscher and Whande, 2007). TFCAs, or Peace Parks, are huge areas that span country borders and comprise a range of conservation locations from community lands to wildlife management areas (Wynberg, 2002).

Büscher and Whande (2007) are of the opinion that actors from around the world meddle in Africa's biodiversity conservation affairs, often feeling compelled to do so. However, African interpretations of biodiversity conservation differ from global views (Dutton, 1988; Fourie, 1994; Brett, 2006). Büscher and Whande (2007) cite the Maloti-Drakensberg Transfrontier Conservation and Development Programme (MDTP) to illustrate the difference. This Peace Park was initiated in the early 1980s between Lesotho and South Africa. A Memorandum of Understanding was signed between the two countries on 11th June, 2001 to recognise the importance of cooperative management and development of the area (Zunkel, 2003).

The MDTP is one of seven TFCAs implemented in South Africa (Wynberg, 2002). Its objectives are to secure the conservation integrity of the bioregion and to retain the area in its

natural state for the benefit of biological diversity, conservation research, ecotourism and the community at large, with particular focus on those communities who live there and depend on the resources (Zunkel, 2003). As one of the South African members on the Bilateral Steering Committee and Programme Coordinating Committee during the planning and initial implementation phase, the researcher was party to discussions between the two countries. As Büscher and Whande (2007) reflect, the South African contingent embarked upon a comprehensive bioregional planning approach. South Africa focussed primarily on the identification of conservation priority areas and integrated protected area management strategies. The emphasis was on effective protected area management, consolidation and expansion into key biodiversity areas. The Lesotho contingent was considered to be lagging behind. This was raised in a discreet manner at several PCC meetings. The South African Project Coordination Unit (PCU) offered assistance to the Lesotho PCU. However, the Lesotho PCU remained adamant that they were on track. It appeared that Lesotho was prioritising extensive community consultation and involvement of people in the project area in an attempt to gain support and socio-economic benefits for local people (personal observations).

The South African PCU used a predominantly 'globalistic' approach while the Lesotho approach could be termed 'Africanist' (Büscher and Whande, 2007). The South African approach was rational and based on scientific data, while the Lesotho approach was more relational and emphasised culture and commonage. Lesotho, being communal land like the Transkei Wild Coast, could seem chaotic and unorganised to neoliberal globalist thinkers.

Metcalfe and Kepe (2008) emphasise the importance of community engagement in establishing TFCAs. They refer to the Kavango-Zambezi TFCA, where there are large concentrations of wildlife including dangerous game such as elephant. Here communities could suffer the costs of human-wildlife conflict. Without commensurate benefits, these rural people could have legitimate belief that their cost of sharing their space with wildlife is for someone else's gain – the state or the private sector (Metcalfe and Kepe, 2008). Sinthumule (2014; 2016) raises similar arguments relating to Mapungubwe TFCA. He believes that promised socio-economic benefits are overstated. The Mapungubwe TFCA provides fewer jobs than the former commercial irrigation farms (Sinthumule, 2014). The main beneficiaries of TFCAs are conservation agencies because more land is conserved for wildlife (Sinthumule, 2016).

While it is recognised that conservation must transcend international boundaries (B. De Villiers, 1999; Büscher and Whande, 2007) and protected areas need to be increased in key biodiversity areas globally (Gannon et al., 2017), effective protected area management requires an understanding of the social context at varying scales of analysis – historical and social factors, economics and politics. It is important to understand these to develop lasting management approaches (Brandon et al., 1998).

As the global human population increases and demands escalate for natural resources and economic opportunities, Sanderson and Redford (2004) argue that conservationists cannot be the scapegoats for failed models of economic development. The most effective way to conserve biodiversity and protect natural areas will usually be through building partnerships. Participatory conservation approaches have greater potential for generating legitimate conservation processes that are regarded as right and just by people most affected and can increase compliance and reduce conflicts caused by resource use restrictions (Rodrigueez-Izquierdo et al., 2009). In the words of Kepe (2004), there are no straightforward answers.

2.9 Conclusion

This chapter reflected on how the global approach to conservation has changed over the past century from the early ideas of strict preservation and fortress-type protected areas to sustainable utilisation and community based natural resource management. It showed how, in South Africa, colonial and apartheid philosophies often ignored the ideas of indigenous African people in promulgating laws to control utilisation of natural resources. The early establishment of protected areas in South Africa focussed on the ideals and needs of Whites, neglecting the culture and traditions of Black people. In creating protected areas, local communities were often displaced from their land and dehumanised in the process. It was ironically in the apartheid-created ‘homelands’ where some protected areas were established in the 1970s in consultation with Black Africans. Here, sustainable utilisation of natural resources was promoted to ensure that local people derived direct and indirect benefits from the nature

reserves. The model was unfortunately not implemented in Transkei where it had been proposed for Dwesa and Mkambati.

The chapter highlighted the importance of political ecology in human-environmental relations, with the state being a disproportionally powerful actor in controlling the use of the environment and thereby affecting the livelihoods of local communities. Survival strategies of poor communities confined to overcrowded areas like Transkei created an environmental crisis, threatening their own survival. The colonial and apartheid legacy of dispossessing people of their land has persisted, despite land restitution attempts in a post-apartheid South Africa, and this has meant that for many marginalised people, procedural justice is elusive.

The chapter reflected on resistance to fortress conservation methods and discussed the resultant move towards a community based approach. This has had limited success as a result of a lack of funding and government support, and the chapter explored the consequent calls for a return to fortress conservation. The chapter discussed the rising costs of protected area upkeep and environmental management and how natural resources have been assigned economic value in an attempt to justify conservation. In their ever-increasing efforts to obtain funding, it examined the alliances that some environmental NGOs formed with large businesses and governments that were often the very culprits involved in pillaging resources, destroying the environment and affecting the lives of indigenous people.

Finally, the chapter noted that conservation transcends international boundaries and discussed Transfrontier Conservation initiatives. It argued that global views of conservation have often ignored the African interpretation thereof in light of the importance of community, culture and sustainable utilisation. The history of conservation in Africa appears to continually repeat itself with a perpetual focus on the Western way.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODS

3.1 Introduction

This study has its origins in 2003, when the researcher discussed the need to document the history of conservation in the former Transkei, particularly the Wild Coast, with well-known conservation advocates, Jim Feely and Ian Player. Feely and Player were early pioneers of Western-style conservation in South Africa, and have published widely about their experiences, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal. The researcher was employed as a Regional Manager for the Eastern Cape Province's Environmental Affairs Department at the time, and East Griqualand's protected areas, including Mkambati, were under his management. He had completed a Master of Science degree at the University of Transkei in 2002, and was under the impression that very little had been published about conservation and natural resource use in the former Transkei. With Feely's encouragement, the researcher began gathering available literature and published a book with John Costello, entitled *Mkambati and the Wild Coast*, in 2006. Player wrote the foreword, but insisted that the researcher had a duty to society to publish more, given his experiences in conservation, particularly in Transkei and along the Wild Coast. The researcher subsequently published several more articles and books, but all in popular literature formats, none as academic, research-based publications.

The researcher approached Thembela Kepe in 2016, with the idea of this study as a potential doctoral degree. Knowing the researcher from the days of his own PhD research at Mkambati, Kepe was excited by the concept and, like Player had before, said that it is the researcher's duty to publish about his experiences in conservation. Kepe, however, insisted that it was important to publish the work from a research perspective and not in grey literature. The researcher, therefore, registered for a PhD in geography at Rhodes University in 2017, with Kepe as his supervisor. While fieldwork for this study began in earnest after the researcher registered at Rhodes, and received ethics protocol approval, there was already a wealth of secondary literature on the Wild Coast that served as a good starting point for the PhD, including the researcher's own articles, books and MSc study.

The Wild Coast is a long coastline extending more than 280 kilometres, with numerous different communities residing on its shores. To gain insights into the complex interactions among communities, conservationists and the natural resources that they utilise and protect, the researcher chose the case study approach, which allows multiple sources of evidence (Guba and Lincoln, 1983; Denscombe, 2007; Scheyvens, 2014). Qualitative rather than quantitative research was selected in order to understand the feelings and perceptions of individuals and groups towards conservation and natural resource management. In accordance with Denzin and Lincoln (2011), a variety of techniques were used to collect the data including interviews, direct observations, personal experiences, secondary literature and visual reviews of maps and photographs.

Following this introduction, the next section discusses the rationale for selecting the three case study sites to analyse tensions and conflicts that may exist, or have existed, between local people and Western-style conservationists. This is followed by a section that explains the research methods used for this study and sets out the questions that formed the basis of the semi-structured interviews.

3.2 Rationale for Selection of the Case Study Sites

To analyse the past and current tensions that may exist as a result of differences between natural resource utilisation by local people, and Western-style conservation practices, three Wild Coast protected areas were selected as case studies (Figure 3.1). Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, Hluleka Nature Reserve and Mkambati Nature Reserve are all formally declared protected areas, and are situated within different administrative areas to protect diverse biodiversity from the southern Wild Coast to Eastern Pondoland. Each of these protected areas has been the subject of local community land claims, and literature is available documenting the processes leading to settlement agreements between local communities and the ECPTA, which is the management authority. In the respective chapters dealing with each case study, the researcher justifies why a particular protected area was suited to this research. Semi-structured face-to-face interviews were conducted with traditional leaders who have administrative authority over

these areas. Similar interviews were also conducted with every past and present reserve manager of the selected nature reserves that the researcher was able to trace.

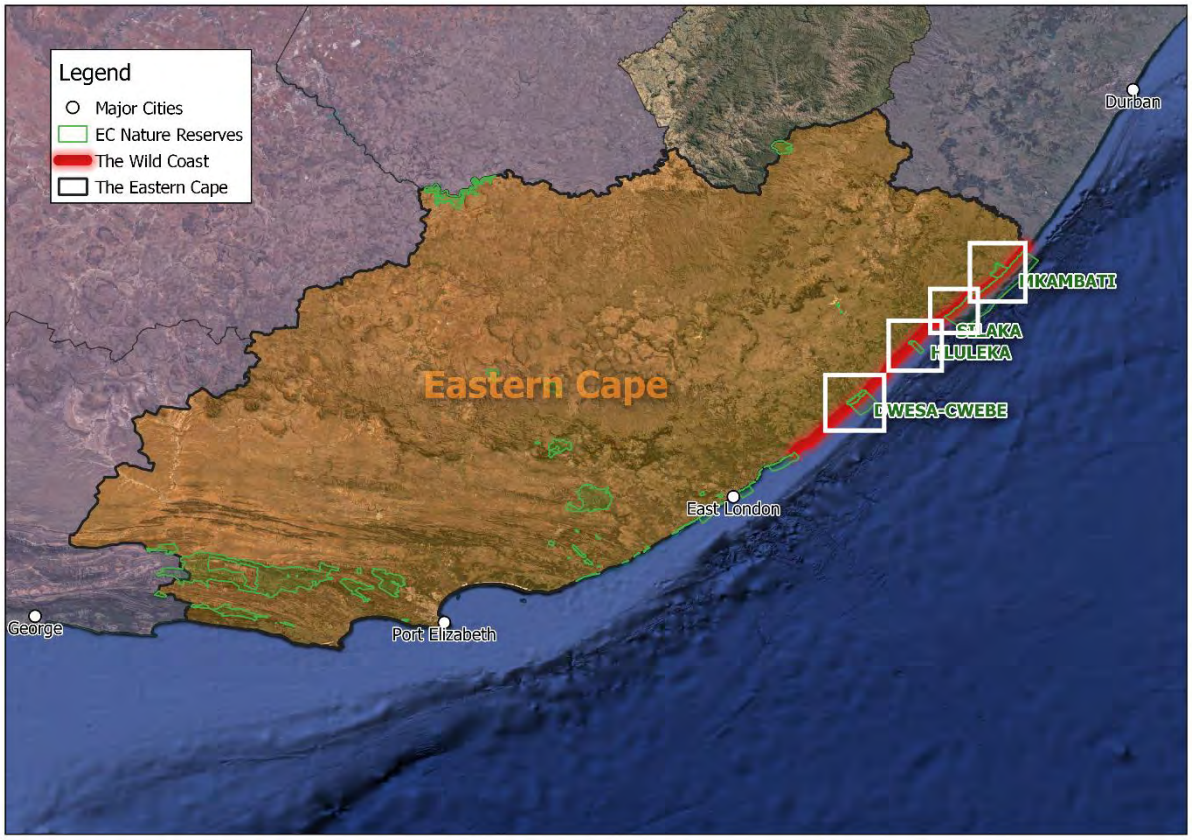

Figure 3.1: Map of the Eastern Cape Province showing ECPTA protected areas and highlighting the Wild Coast nature reserves (ECPTA, 2020)

3.3 Research Methods

In order to review conservation practices on the Wild Coast from a historical perspective, a detailed study of available literature, including published and unpublished archival material, was undertaken. Cory Library at Rhodes University was particularly helpful for this research. Private collections of Africana books, especially John Costello, Aiden Dreyer, and Jim Feely's personal libraries, were extremely useful. Data from government archives and records such as Transkei Forest Conservators' Reports, Blue Books, Cape Colony Annexures, maps and

photographs, were used to obtain historical information about livelihoods. This included provincial and national employment trends, rural Transkei livelihood surveys, and historical conservation patterns. Past foresters, scientists and protected area managers made documents available that they had access to, including internal departmental reports and photographs that have never before been referenced in research work. The literature review included secondary material and previous research conducted along the Wild Coast, in particular research on local communities' perceptions of conservation and natural resource management. The wealth of research conducted with local community users in Transkei and along the Wild Coast was used to investigate the historical use and management of natural resources by local indigenous peoples.

The key to the research was the face-to-face, semi-structured interviews with traditional leaders, conservationists, foresters and reserve managers who have lived and/or worked along the Wild Coast. The use of interviews as a source of history is long-standing and perfectly compatible with scholarly standards (Thompson, 2017). There are arguments that memory, unlike documented facts, may be distorted by physical deterioration and nostalgia in old age, and by bias by interviewer and interviewee (Thomson, 2007), but documented history may also be distorted and biased to the author's ideas. Oral history does not record facts, but elaborates on them, giving meaning through memory and language (Portelli, 2005; Thompson, 2017). People's life experiences give new meaning to history (Thompson, 2017). There may be discrepancies as a result of different memories, but often discrepancies tell more than facts. Polishuk (1998) believes that discrepancies can be windows into values and attitudes, but she acknowledges that there may be simple mistakes, misinformation, or even deliberate lies to keep secrets. It is incumbent on the interviewer, as the expert in their field, to use their knowledge to best interpret the information obtained from the interviewee. In order to come closest to the truth, the interviewer sometimes has to be judge and jury. To illustrate this, the researcher refers to the accounts of the Mkambati protests of 1992, as discussed in Chapter Seven. One interviewee spoke of 100 protestors, another recollected hundreds, and yet another recalled thousands. The interviewee that remembered thousands had been held hostage for several days. Her interpretation of events was probably distorted by her fear and discomfort at the time, 28 years prior to her interview for this present research. To her, there appeared to be thousands of protestors and the event is etched in her memory. The truth is that there were probably not many more than a hundred protestors, but the interviewees' recollections are not

deliberate untruths. They show that there was real tension and fear at the time of the protests. The oral accounts reflect the frustration of the protestors and their intent to obtain answers to their demands.

Thompson (2017, p. 41) writes that, in 19th century South Africa, 'countless missionaries and colonial officials gathered information about the people over which they exercised authority, partly to understand them and partly to control them'. The researcher has read much of these works and referred to these where relevant. James Stuart was one of the early pioneers of South Africa's oral history, basing his books on African people, partly from undocumented information gathered in interviews about their history, social customs, and literature. In this study, Stuart's work, where he edited the diary of Henry Francis Fynn – also a largely oral history of the Zulu and amaMpondo with whom he lived in the early 1800s - is used, as are other oral histories compiled by the hunters, explorers, missionaries and colonial officials who passed through or lived in Transkei.

Oral history forms a large part of this study. In order to have participants buy-in to the research and willingly take part in interviews and discuss their thoughts, it was critical to facilitate maximum trust and co-operation from them. The researcher initially thought that this may be a challenge when it came to interviewing some traditional leaders as a result of his long association with conservation in Transkei. These concerns were put at ease by comments from Professor Jeff Peires, a renowned historian and researcher of Transkei's leaders and peoples. When Professor Peires heard about this study, he said that he could think of nobody more qualified to undertake such research and offered all the assistance that the researcher desired. He may have been biased in that view because, whether he remembered or not, he was twice a member of an interview panel that appointed the researcher to managerial posts in Transkei, once in 1996 as the regional manager for Environmental Affairs to East Griqualand Kei, and later to a Deputy Director post to manage Environmental Affairs in the Alfred Nzo Region. What is incontestable is that the researcher is probably the White man who has spent the longest time working in the Transkei as a professional environmental officer. This has advantages and disadvantages in the outcome of this study. Firstly, the researcher is well-known across the length and breadth of Transkei, especially along the Wild Coast. He has sat in numerous *iimbizo* (community meetings), has served on community committees such as the Mbizana *Impilo*

Yendalo (traditional healer) Association, has been invited as a guest to attend the inauguration of chiefs, and has spoken with the kings, queens, chiefs and headmen throughout Transkei about environmental matters (Figure 3.2). The researcher believes that he has built a reputation of being honest and true to his word. As head of the Eastern Cape Province's Environmental Law Enforcement unit since 2007, he has also inevitably clashed with some traditional leaders. This is especially true as a result of his being appointed as the leader of the Wild Coast Illegal Development Task Team, which former MEC Enoch Godongwana established in 2000 following a provincial cabinet resolution. Here, the researcher led law enforcement teams to demolish unlawfully built holiday cottages and homesteads in the declared coastal conservation area of the Wild Coast. Obviously, this was not a task that endeared him to all the traditional leaders (they being the allocators of land), but this is where the hope was that the manner in which the researcher conducted himself yielded respect. Respect cannot be achieved through a position or title, but has to be earned, and traditional leaders in Transkei place great value on whether they can trust and respect someone.

Figure 3.2: The researcher meeting King Sigcawu about conservation along the Wild Coast: Nqadu Great Place (R. Stegmann 16/11/2015)

In 2018, when Chief Jama of Khanyayo (Mkambati) told a gathering of more than 100 angry sand miners and community members that accused the researcher of being the person responsible for chasing them from the coastline that he agreed with them, he also added that the researcher was one of very few government officials that continually honours meetings and year after year returns to consult with the community about problems (Figure 3.3). This, the researcher believes, acknowledges that he is respected by the chief for the manner in which he

conducts his work amongst communities. Working on the Wild Coast is often difficult and volatile – even dangerous at times – but the researcher's commitment to the people of Transkei has been to assist them in conserving their environment, even if it means ensuring compliance with legislation. In 2019, Vuyani Mapiya told the researcher that Headman Malindi addressed a community meeting and, in the absence of the researcher, stated that the Wild Coast marine life and forests around Mbotyi would not be there had it not been for 'de Villiers'. This is obviously an exaggeration but the researcher was pleased to hear it. These anecdotal insertions are only two recent accounts that are not included here to boost the researcher's image, but to hopefully indicate that traditional leaders have learned to trust him. It is with that mutual trust and respect that the researcher explained the intentions of the research work to the traditional leaders surrounding the case study areas. The researcher whole-heartedly agrees with Portelli (2005) that relationships between interviewer and interviewees are important in determining oral history. Portelli's advice to oral historians is to listen to dialogue and respect the narrator. In considering this, the researcher pleaded with traditional leaders to forget his position as a professional conservationist and to see him as a researcher wanting to tell their stories.

Figure. 3.3: Chief Jama and the researcher at Khanyayo (A. de Villiers 29/03/2018)

The question has been asked as to why this research focussed on traditional leaders, rather than elected local government leaders. The researcher's response has been that elected councillors come and go, often with no affiliation to the people or to the land that they have been chosen to administer. On the other hand, traditional leaders have a long history of living in their communal areas with the responsibility of caring for their people and their land. The answer is better explained through a quote from the Crown Princess of the amaMpondo, Princess

Wezizwe Sigcawu: ‘The role of traditional leaders is to become custodians of the Bill of Rights on behalf of rural residents whose land rights are held under communal land tenure, especially Section 24 of the Bill of Rights which refers to their “Right to an environment that is not harmful to their health and well-being, and to have the environment protected for the benefit of present and future generations”. That mandate does not only arise from the Bill of Rights. It is a duty that is implicit in our sense of accountability to our ancestors, who are identified within the Earth. The strong attachment to the land which traditional communities have is a source of indigenous knowledge and, properly understood, it is a progressive, inclusive cosmology. As the planet is increasingly compromised by a development logic that places life at the service of the economy, traditional leaders and customary law works from the inverse assumption. The economy must be at the service of Life’ (Clarke, 2016b, p. 29). Traditional leaders still play an important role in granting permission to people who reside in their administrative areas to undertake activities such as harvesting of natural resources (Koelble and LiPuma, 2008).

It was for the above reasons that a large focus of this study was to conduct detailed semi-structured interviews with traditional leaders. The majority of these interviewees acknowledged that they had never before been asked about their opinions on conservation and natural resource management, even though they have historically been the custodians of the land along the Wild Coast. The questions included the following:

- Have you ever had researchers approach you about your opinions of conservation and natural resource management before?
- What are the historical conservation methods that traditional leaders put in place along the Wild Coast, and how were these enforced?
- Are there any specific local people who you think were /are important conservationists in the area here you live?
- How were the natural areas utilised prior to the protected area/s being established in your community?
- What specific natural resources were used? Are they still being used for the same purpose? Has there been an increase or decline in cultural knowledge or reliance thereon?
- Why do you think the protected area was proclaimed?

- Did local leaders/people raise concerns when the protected area was established? Why/why not?
- How far were local people living from the protected area/forest boundaries when they were established?
- Was there any human habitation in the protected area prior to its proclamation?
- What benefits are provided by the protected area to outsiders?
- How have local people benefited from the protected area? Explain direct and indirect benefits, if any. Were local people employed on the reserve? Did they have access to resources? Was there a need for resources in the protected area, or was there sufficient outside? What resources did they require from within the reserve? Were local people allowed access for cultural/traditional purposes?
- How do local people use the protected area now?
- What are the negative impacts of the protected area on local people's lives?
- Have traditional leaders been involved in managing the protected area/forest? If so, to what extent?
- Has there been conflict about the existence of the protected area? If so, what are the issues? Was there ever racism associated with the establishment or management of the protected area? What are examples of the conflicts and how did they unfold? Have they been resolved? If not, what do you think is the problem preventing resolution? What do you think needs to be done to resolve the conflict?
- How would you like to see the protected area managed?
- What natural resources would you like to see utilised and how?
- Is there a conservation model that would work to manage the protected areas on the Wild Coast?
- Is local government involved in the protected area management at all?
- What is your prognosis for the future management of protected areas on the Wild Coast and why do you think this way?

Between 2017 and 2020, the researcher visited the chiefs surrounding all three of the case study sites at their homes or Great Places. He interviewed 82 traditional leaders during this time. Thompson (2017) writes of oral history filling the gaps in public perceptions of history. He refers to the long silences. Traditional leaders admitted that they had been largely left out of research about conservation on the Wild Coast. The researcher wanted them to break their

silence and provide him with their truthful answers and opinions about matters relating to natural resource use and conservation management along the Wild Coast. While this may have been difficult for some, and some may have subconsciously tried to impress him with their answers, he believes that the majority of responses were honest and sincere. The fact that he is a middle-aged man with a big salt-and-pepper beard also helped in getting an audience with the traditional leadership. It is well-known that the amaXhosa admire big beards and respect the elders in communities (Kidd, 1904). It is highly unlikely that a young man, Black or White, would have been granted several hours of one-on-one discussion time with a traditional leader. This would have been even more difficult for a young woman, given that the historical role of women in traditional Xhosa society has not been one of leadership (Brownlee, 1916; Mostert, 1992; Emdon, 2013). The researcher was, however, honoured with a meeting on each occasion that he requested it, and he was welcomed into the homes of the chiefs and headmen. What followed was the first research interviews with many of the traditional leaders about Wild Coast environmental matters and every one of them expressed gratitude for the opportunity to share their opinions. In turn, the researcher promised to record their points of view as accurately as he could.

As the researcher's isiXhosa is not fluent, he used an interpreter at every interview where it was necessary. After nearly 38 years of work amidst amaXhosa people, the researcher has sufficient knowledge and understanding of their language to recognise whether the interpretation is reasonably accurate. Furthermore, most of the chiefs are well-educated and speak English fluently. On occasion they therefore felt free to correct the interpretation of their answers to the research questions. Several interviews were recorded, but the researcher found that discussions flowed far more freely without a recording device or cell phone on the table. In such instances the researcher read back his notes to obtain confirmation that he had captured the essence of what was said, and the context in which it was stated, correctly.

In an effort to promote meaningful engagement with the interviewees, the researcher tried to meet with everyone in person on a one-on-one basis. The interviews therefore ranged from two-hour sessions to some that lasted six hours. The semi-structured questions provided the basis for the information required, but the researcher allowed the interviews to flow and encouraged the interviewees to elaborate on their thoughts and experiences. Following the

interviews with the chiefs, they gave their consent for the researcher to speak with their headmen and sub-headmen to interview them along similar lines. In subsequent months they arranged for these meetings, usually coinciding with days on which they held their own traditional leader *imbizo*. The interviews with headmen and sub-headmen, some of whom are nowadays women, were mainly in group format. These group interviews were less personal than the one-on-one meetings that the researcher had with the chiefs and sometimes began slowly. The Hluleka meeting that Headman Gwadiso organised in November 2019 began with Mr Vela doing most of the talking, but as the members grew more comfortable with the researcher's presence and the relaxed nature of the discussion, they opened up into interesting debate about answers to the questions. Similarly, at Khanyayo in 2020, Victor (Vitamin) Mkiwane dominated discussions and the researcher had to try and draw other leaders into the debates so that the results would not merely be an acknowledgment of one person's views through a collective nod of the head, or murmur of agreement. The group discussions at Dwesa, Cwebe and Hobeni on the other hand, were vigorously debated with very vocal participation by the majority of those in attendance (Figure 3.4).

Figure 3.4: Group interview with headmen and sub-headmen at Hobeni (J. Costello, 22/03/2019)

The researcher's interviews with past and present nature conservationists, environmental officers, and foresters who worked along the Wild Coast, were as well received as those with the traditional leaders. The researcher would like to believe that he has an excellent relationship with people in the environmental field. He is incredibly proud of several prestigious awards that he has received, based entirely on motivations from his colleagues and peers. The mutual respect that they have for one another made it easy to set up one-on-one meetings. Many of the interviewees had never been asked about their views of conservation along the Wild Coast,

despite the plethora of research that has been conducted in the area. The focus of research has largely been on the impoverished local communities living outside of the protected areas. When the researcher explained the aim of his research, respondents were very pleased that another view would be presented from that which is presently published. The overwhelming majority of past conservationists believe that only one side of the Wild Coast conservation story has been told. In many cases they had been barred by their department from talking to researchers and media (Proctor-Simms, 2015). Since many of the interviewees had either now left the service or retired, they were free to speak to the researcher openly and without fear of victimisation. The researcher interviewed 21 former reserve managers of the three case study protected areas, which comprises more than 80% of all previous managers. Unfortunately, one has passed away and three could not be traced.

It is extremely unfortunate that the very people who have been in charge of management of protected areas of which so much has been written by researchers, have been neglected in so many studies. As was the case with the traditional leaders, the interviews provided them with an opportunity to break their silence and fill the gaps in history. The challenge may have been that some respondents wanted to please the researcher with their answers to his questions. He appealed to them to guard against this. Portelli (2005) states that oral sources are not found but co-created and require the active role of the historian. The researcher therefore guided some of the discussions along the lines of his predetermined questions, but often let the agenda flow to where the narrator took it. He wanted *their* opinions and *their* thoughts and ideas, not his own. Sometimes he got more than what he initially bargained for. He believes that he was provided with honest responses in most of the interviews. On at least two occasions the researcher asked a respondent if he was really sure that he could print his answer, which in the researcher's opinion was quite contentious – both times the answer was affirmative. Clearly the conservation managers want to have their stories told in a research paper. The questions that guided the interviews included the following:

- What has your involvement been in conservation along the Wild Coast?
- Why do you think the protected area was proclaimed?
- What was the state of conservation of the protected area/state forest and surrounds during the time that you were involved in the area? (The word 'state' will be explained

to get an understanding of what their conservation ethic is/was. Were there management plans for the area? Were laws/legislation and policies developed? Were these implemented?)

- How were the protected areas/forests being managed? Discuss the authority/s in charge and effectiveness in your opinion. (The question will require explanations of which wildlife occurred in the protected area. Was there game management import/export? How was law enforcement conducted? Was there tourism development? How well supported was the reserve in visitor numbers? What were visitor comments? Were local people living on or encroaching into the reserve?)
- What were the benefits of the protected areas/forests to outsiders/tourists? (Was formal hunting allowed? Was fishing permitted?)
- How were the local people benefiting from the protected area/forest (Direct and indirect)? Were local people employed on the reserve? Did they demand access to resources? Was there a need for resources in the protected area or was there enough outside the protected area? What resources were they using? Were local people permitted to collect natural resources? Were local people allowed access for cultural/traditional purposes?
- How close were people living next to the protected area?
- Were there concerns raised about the declaration of the protected area?
- Were the local people involved in management of the protected area/forest? If so in what manner?
- Has there been conflict about the existence of the protected area and if so what were the issues? Are you aware of incidents of racism regarding the establishment of the reserve or management thereof? What are examples of conflicts and how did they unfold? Have they been resolved? If not, what do you think is the problem? What do you think needs to be done?
- Were there local indigenous people who stood out to you as important conservationists of the area where you worked?
- Was there any sign of human habitation in the protected area prior to its proclamation?
- Is local government involved in the protected area management at all?
- What is your prognosis of future management of protected areas on the Wild Coast and why do you think this way?

In addition to the traditional leaders and past and present foresters and conservation managers who worked and resided in the selected case study areas, interviews were conducted with a number of key informants with specialised knowledge of the Wild Coast. The full list of interviewees and their respective skills is attached in Annexure 1. The researcher is fortunate to have worked with all of these people over the years and it was therefore possible to meet with them for several hours to obtain their views on Wild Coast conservation and resource management, with his semi-structured interview questions used as the basis for the discussions. In this manner the researcher was able to meet with Keith Cooper; Paul Dutton, Alan Boyd, Pat Goss; Jeff Peires; Gerry Pienaar; Albert Mfenyana; Sizakele Gabula; Phumla Mzazi-Geja; Robert Stegmann and Colin Bell. He was also able to verify facts through contacting experts in various fields including, amongst others, Eugene Moll, Sizwe Cawe, Willem van Riet, Ken Tinley, Bruce Mann, Peter Fielding, Mike Coleman, Izak van der Merwe, Derek Berliner, Tony Dold and Christian Martin (The 42 key informants are listed in Annexure 1).

Thompson (2017) writes that interviews provide a means of discovering written documents and photographs which would otherwise never have been traced. The researcher experienced this on several occasions. While interviewing Chief Fudumele of Hobeni at his Great Place outside Dwesa, the chief produced his treasured copy of a rough manuscript about the Dwesa-Cwebe land claim which he had been keeping in a drawer. The content proved immensely useful. When the researcher interviewed Dorothy (Dot) Dutton about her late husband, Bill's career as a forester in Transkei, she fetched a shoebox containing some of his documents which she had on several occasion considered throwing away. Inside were typed and hand-written notes that Bill Dutton had penned about his time as a forester in Transkei from the 1960s to 1993, including his personal opinions of management and managers of the time. The researcher's interview with Graham Strachan resulted in him digging in a storeroom and producing the original cleft stick[6] that Chief Gwadiso and 'uBili' Strachan used to communicate with. These examples show that the oral interviews that the researcher conducted provided a 'fuller' history, as Thompson (2017) puts it, of the Wild Coast conservation story.

Interviews are generally referenced as pers comm. in the text of this study, However, where more than two interviewees shared an opinion, particularly during discussions in group

[6] Cleft sticks are split at one end and were used by runners to carry written messages

sessions, the researcher refers to them through an allocated letter e.g. D1 for Chief Ndlumbini of Dwesa. The list of interviewees and corresponding letters is attached as an addendum following the References. The researcher has used the names of interviewees as they are public figures and gave consent to being interviewed and quoted. Where the interviewer was requested not to attribute an answer to an interviewee for fear of repercussions, the name of such respondent has not been disclosed.

Although every attempt was made to meet each interviewee in person, where the researcher was unable to do so, he conducted telephonic interviews. He also had some correspondence via email and on social media. The final sources of information were from his own library, files, reports, diaries, records, papers, articles and direct observations. As a professional environmental officer with almost 38 years' experience in the Eastern Cape and along the Wild Coast, these records are substantial. Furthermore, recollections of his personal experiences and memories were occasionally referred to. This has particular importance to this study. The researcher began his career in a 'District Services' post in Cape Nature Conservation in 1983. The post was advertised as a law enforcement position in Grahamstown (now Makhanda), in the eastern part of what was then the Cape Province. His career was shaped by partnering with Black nature conservation officers in the field in what was arguably the height of the apartheid years. This, together with a year as a commanding officer in the South African Defence Force's 31 Bushman Batallion (during national service conscription), tortuously exposed him to the struggles faced by Black peoples in southern Africa. He draws on his experiences of living and working with Bushmen and amaXhosa people, and on the wealth of grey literature that he has published about his transition from a military officer to a conservationist and early proponent of community conservation in South Africa. The realisation of the need for ecological and social understanding for conservation to work, dawned on him when he was reserve manager of the Umtiza Nature Reserve and coastal forests from the Great Kei to the Tyolomngqa River between 1992 and 1996. Since the early 1990s he has advocated for CBNRM, co-management, benefit-sharing and sustainable resource use in protected areas where communities have been displaced or denied access to resources. There are few people with the hands-on experience of law enforcement as well as community conservation work, let alone 38 years of it. This knowledge is drawn on to add value to this study.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter described the context for the study by setting out the reasons for the researcher having embarked upon it. It went on to state the reasons for the selection of the case study areas and the importance of interviewing traditional leaders and conservation managers of these areas. The chapter discussed the research methods that were used and provided the questions which formed the basis of the semi-structured interviews. Finally, the chapter indicated the importance of one-on-one interviews with key informants in producing a more complete history of natural resource use and conservation of the Wild Coast. The following chapter discusses the history of natural resource use of the Wild Coast in greater detail.

CHAPTER FOUR: AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL NATURAL RESOURCE USE AND MANAGEMENT ON THE WILD COAST

4.1 Introduction.

Chapter Two discussed the history and political ecology of global conservation, with a particular focus on South Africa. It showed that colonial and apartheid philosophies on environmental management and conservation often ignored indigenous knowledge and values when establishing policy and legislation in regard to natural resource use, and in proclaiming national parks and nature reserves. The chapter discussed the establishment and development of Bantustans and examined the different attitudes towards conservation and the creation of protected areas across the South African landscape.

This chapter focusses on the former Transkei Bantustan, with a specific focus on the Wild Coast. It begins by discussing the geographical features that make up this unique environment. It then discusses the settlement of the region by various peoples over time. The chapter reviews how these people, and the nature of their settlements, affected the use and management of natural resources. It discusses how subsistence use gave way to commercial utilisation of natural resources during the colonial period, and how the value of the indigenous forests to the colonial government resulted in the removal of local people from areas where they lived and farmed. The chapter goes on to show how once the forests and their fauna were exploited, the colonists discovered other abundant natural resources elsewhere along the Wild Coast. Finally, the chapter discusses subsistence and commercial exploitation of the different natural resources that occur in the region and the impacts that historical utilisation has had on their ecology, abundance and distribution.

4.2 Biogeography of the Wild Coast

The Wild Coast stretches along the east coast of South Africa, from the mouth of the Great Kei River (32°41′S, 28°23′E) in the south, to the mouth of the Mtamvuna River near Port Edward (31°04′S, 30°11′E) in the north (Mann et al., 2003). It is often referred to as the coastal region of Transkei[7]. The rugged coastline is approximately 280 km in extent (Cooper, 1977; Adams et. al., 2004b; Ntshona et al., 2010). The major oceanographic feature along this coastline is the Agulhas current, which tends to flow just offshore of the shelf break. The relatively narrow continental shelf is exposed to exceptionally high wave energy; hence, the region's common name of 'Wild Coast' (Mann et al., 2003; De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

The Wild Coast region is biologically significant, both on land and in the marine environment (Reyers and Ginsburg, 2005). It forms two of the WWF International Global 200 Ecoregions of global significance, namely the terrestrial ecoregion of the Drakensberg Montane Shrublands and Woodlands, described as endangered, and the marine ecoregion of the Agulhas current (Olsen and Dinerstein, 1997). This global significance is attributed to the diversity and endemism of the forests, grasslands, marine environment and mangroves as well as the fact that a significant portion of the Maputaland-Pondoland Region (MPR) falls within the region (van Wyk, 1990; 1994; Abbott, 2002; 2006). The sandstone outcrops of the Msikaba Formation harbour unique plant species which are absent from surrounding soils. Most of the endemics are associated with this sandstone that extends in a narrow band through Pondoland. This sandstone island is recognised as one of Conservation International's global plant hotspots, and is known as the Pondoland Centre of Endemism (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). As with the sandstone outcrops, the diversity of vegetation and rich endemism along the rest of the Wild Coast are the result of the geological formation of the region, its soils, and its climate, which are discussed in this following section.

[7] Post-1994 the name Transkei is no longer officially recognised; however, for the purposes of this study it is used to describe the geographical area between the Great Kei and Mtamvuna Rivers, and inland to the Drakensberg mountains.

The terrestrial environment of the Wild Coast can be divided into two broad areas. South of Port St Johns the coastline is gently undulating and interspersed with rocky outcrops. It is more densely populated, with holiday resorts and settlements. Vegetation is predominantly Transkei Coastal belt grasslands and Scarp forests. North of Port St Johns is a rugged plateau, including the Msikaba Formation, which is deeply incised by narrow river gorges (Reyers and Ginsburg, 2005).

Transkei is divided into three main structural units, namely, the steep mountainous area of the Drakensberg, the gently undulating inland region and the structurally complicated coastal strip, which has been interrupted by a number of faults lined in an east-west direction (McKenzie, 1982). The outstanding feature is the great escarpment of the volcanically formed Drakensberg which rises from 1220 to 1520 metres above the ground at its foot, with river basins draining to the Indian Ocean (Feely, 1987). The Molteno Formation forms a characteristically terraced and lower country that stretches parallel to the Drakensberg. This formation consists of coarse pebbly felspathic sandstones, separated by fine-grained sandstone, mudstone and shale. The Coastal Plateau extends from the rugged escarpment to within some 24 kilometres of the Indian Ocean (Figure 4.1).

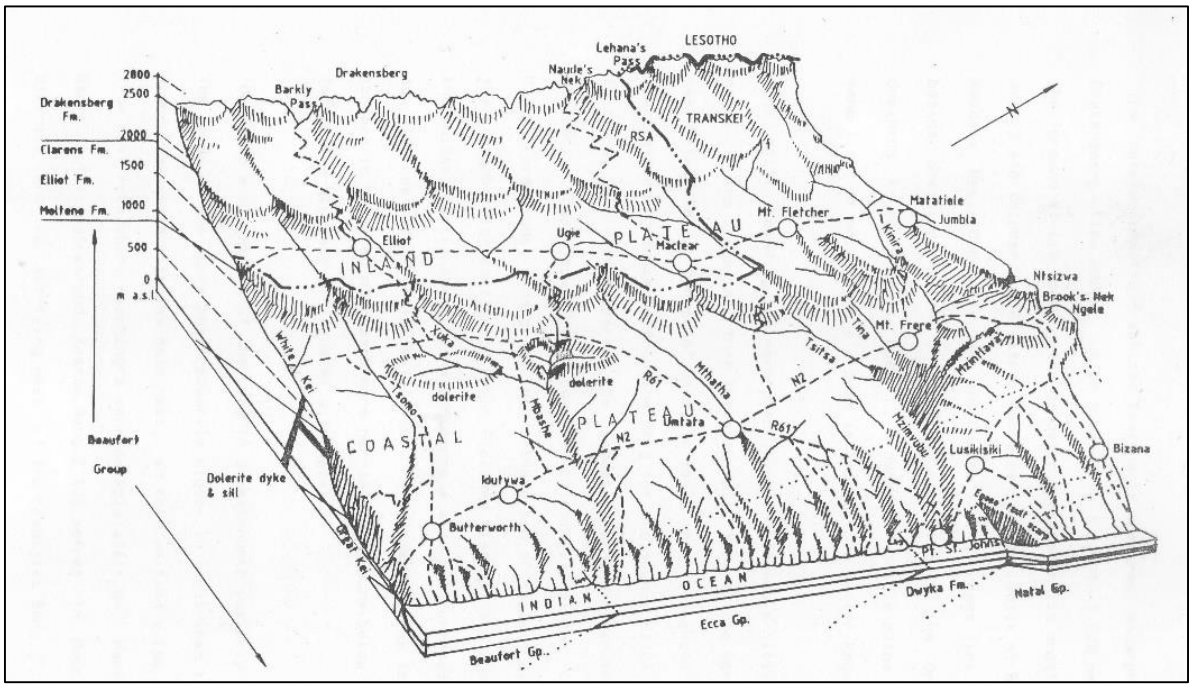

Figure 4.1: Topographic features of Transkei (Feely, 1987)

The Coastal Plateau is generally undulating but the larger rivers have cut gorges of considerable depth in it, like the ravines of the Great Kei, Mbhashe, Tsitsa, Mzimvubu, Msikaba, Mtentu and Mtamvuna Rivers. It mainly comprises formations of the Beaufort Group, together with the Ecca Group and Dwyka Formation in the northeast, all major units in the Karoo Basin (Feely, 1987). The Ecca Group overlies the Dwyka Group and comprises shale and subordinate sandstone. This group is exposed just south of the Mbhashe River mouth and spreads as a broad band some 30 km wide to the Mzimvubu River (McKenzie, 1982). The sandstones of the Natal Group outcrop in a zone adjacent to the northeast coast. Soils of this Group are generally shallow, highly leached and acidic (van Wyk, 1967), creating the unique environmental conditions where endemic plants evolved. Overlying Cretaceous formations also occur in scattered narrow localities along the sea-shore, from the Mngazana river mouth northward, while narrow and intermittent Quaternary dunes fringe the coast (Feely, 1987). Soils with diagnostic B horizons occur widely along the Coastal Plateau. North of Port St Johns, the soil from the Fernwood form is very common. This soil is sandy with a low pH, and is low in plant nutrients (Wood and van Schoor, 1976).

While the geology and associated soils of the Wild Coast have created the medium for the rare and endemic plants to evolve, the climate maintains the vegetation endowments that are important as natural resources for local livelihoods. The Transkei Wild Coast has a warm, temperate climate with sufficient precipitation during all months (McKenzie, 1982). Transkei lies in the relatively wetter region of southern Africa, where more than 65% of normal annual rainfall along the coast occurs in summer between October and March (Feely, 1987). It is in one of the most reliable rainfall zones of southern Africa with 85% or more of normal rainfall expected seven years out of 10 (McKenzie, 1982). The coastal region generally has greater than 1000 mm of rain per annum, and is usually frost and hail free (McKenzie, 1982; Feely, 1987). The moderating influence of the sea results in relatively low temperature fluctuations along the Wild Coast. Records from Mbhashe and Port St Johns indicate mean summer maximum temperatures of 25°C (February) and mean winter minimums of 13.3°C (McKenzie, 1982). This stable weather makes the region desirable to reside in and is one of the key attractions for tourists to the region (Queiros, 2000; De Villiers and Costello, 2006). The following section discusses the peoples who have settled along the Wild Coast.

4.3 People and Politics of the Wild Coast of Transkei

Before discussing the Wild Coast vegetation, and in order to understand the history of natural resource use and conservation in the region, one needs to have a background of the history of the people who passed through or lived along this coastline. It is important to explain that the Wild Coast is the coastal stretch of an area that has been known as Transkei or Transkeian Territories, a wholly colonial concept comprising the area across the Kei River and stretching north of the Cape Colony and south of Natal (Beinart and Bundy, 1987). Prior to the mid-19th century, the area consisted of a series of adjacent territories 'belonging' to independent chiefs (Beinart, 1981), and earlier still, occupied by Khoikhoi and Bushmen (Feely, 1987; Vernon, 2013).

With its favourable climate and higher rainfall, the eastern part of South Africa has historically been the preferred area for farming and settlement in the country (Tomlinson, 1955; Feely, 1987). Mostert (1992) notes that the San (sometimes referred to as Bushmen or Boesmans)[8] hunter-gatherers were the original inhabitants of South Africa. The San were not confined to the Kalahari and Drakensberg inland areas as is commonly believed. The discovery of rock shelters with rock paintings close to the coastline of northeast Pondoland suggests that Late Stone Age hunters, or San, were present, at least seasonally, in that part of the Wild Coast (Feely, 1987; De Villiers and Costello, 2006) where they probably collected shellfish in winter before returning to the Inland Plateau and the Drakensberg in summer (Feely, 1987). The acquisition of sheep – and later cattle – from north Africa transformed the San into the pastoral Khoikhoi (sometimes referred to as Khoi or Khoe). The milk diet from their cattle allowed the Khokhoi to grow taller and more robust. Khoikhoi spread from Namibia to the eastern coastal belt. There, they were the most frequently observed people by early European sailors and were known by Europeans as 'Hottentots'[9] (Mostert, 1992).

[8] It is often debated whether the word 'San' or 'Bushman' is preferable as both are sometimes considered derogatory. Ellis (2015) argues that some Namibian San understand the term 'San' as an insult. The researcher spent a year living amongst the San in the 'Bushman Batallion' in the Caprivi where the people referred to themselves as 'Boesmans' and preferred the word to San. According to Christian Martin, a Khoi-San activist, San is the more accepted word, even though some groups still refer to themselves as Bushmen. It is often stated that San means 'scoundrel' or 'little thief'. Regardless of negative connotations, San is currently the most commonly used reference in academia (Ellis, 2015) and in political circles (C. Martin, pers comm., 20/08/2020).

[9] The word 'Hottentot' became a term that was used in a racially offensive manner. It is now generally considered to be derogatory and is only used in this thesis when a direct quote is made from literature.

Vernon (2013) records only two contacts between shipwreck survivors along the east coast and San during the 1600s. The *Atalaia* survivors of 1647 were visited by a band of people at the site of the wreck in Cintsa Bay (approximately 50 km south of the Great Kei River) who spoke with clicks, were naked save for a few skins, and were armed with fire-hardened wooden weapons. Survivors of the *Stavenisse* (1686) encountered San or Khoi near Mpekweni who attacked them using bows and arrows. From the 17th century more regular contact was made with Black inhabitants of the coast (Vernon, 2013).

Based on his studies of Strandloper shell middens along the Transkei coast, Derricourt (1977, p. 135) is of the opinion that, since the 16th century the Transkei coast has been occupied by Nguni cultivators (the amaXhosa), although the amaXhosa did not often extend east of the Mbhashe River along the Wild Coast between 1700 and 1850 (Peires, 1981). Derricourt (1977) found no clear record of San or hunting societies living along the coast for the past 450 years. The individuals that Europeans noted 'strandloping' – living off coastal resources – would have been from outside of Nguni societies (Derricourt, 1977).

Mostert (1992) describes the Bantu-speaking people of South Africa as having evolved into two major language groups, the Sotho and the Nguni. The Nguni include two of South Africa's largest individual groups, the Zulu and the amaXhosa. Nguni lived in widely scattered homesteads and lacked the centralised urban settlements of the Sotho. Where the Sotho and other South African Bantu people lived in the interior, the Nguni lived below the Great Escarpment, on the narrow coastal belt between Natal and the Cape. Unlike the Sotho, the Nguni have a cattle culture that closely resembles the people of Sudan leading to speculation about their arrival in South Africa from the north (Wilson, 1959; Mostert, 1992).

Feely (1987 p. 19) in writing about the views of Transkeian farming history, argues that, 'The orthodox view held that there had been an invasion by successive waves of Bantu-speaking Negro farmers migrating as tribes into southern Africa from the north c. 400-300 BP, more-or-less at the time when White farmers were settling in the southwest Cape.' The Tomlinson Commission (1955) in reporting on the socio-development of the Bantu areas within the Union of South Africa, endorsed this view by stating that Bantu lived north of the line extending from

the headwaters of the Vaal River to the Drakensberg and thence east of the Drakensberg to the Mtamvuna River.

The unorthodox view of Transkeian farming history is that it dates further back (Feely, 1987). Theal (1898) referred to Bantu being as far south as the Mzimvubu River by the 16th century and people of mixed Bantu and 'Hottentot' blood being further south still. Reports from survivors of Portuguese shipwrecks along the Wild Coast during the 16th century confirmed this (Derricourt, 1977; Vernon, 2013). Based on the written accounts of several shipwreck survivors of the 16th and 17th centuries, Wilson (1959) suggests that Bantu-speaking farmers had probably been established in Natal, Transkei and Ciskei for a long distance north and south of the Mtamvuna River earlier than the 16th century. Feely (1987) writes that shipwreck reports were eventually supported by Iron Age archaeological studies that revealed evidence of Negro settlements along the coast north of Transkei pre-16th century. Derricourt (1977) suggests that Iron Age farming settlements commenced in Transkei in the 15th or 16th century. Feely (2004) states that along the Mbhashe and Great Kei rivers, Early Iron Age settlements were restricted to stretches near the mouths, above the ebb and flow. His research found no evidence of Early Iron Age settlement in the valleys of the quartzitic sandstones of north-east Pondoland.

Feely (1987) suggests that linguistic, religious, genetic, and place name studies demonstrate that amaXhosa peoples living in Transkei before 1800s must have experienced on-going interaction and integration with Khoe-speaking pastoralists. According to Peires (1981), a sixth of isiXhosa words contain clicks, indicating the influence of Khoi and San languages on isiXhosa. It is widely believed that the word 'Xhosa' is derived from San, meaning 'angry men' (Peires, 1981; Mostert, 1992). Peires (1981) argues that although the amaXhosa were at times brutal to the San, they traded cattle, ivory and dagga and, although rare, also intermarried. These differences between amaXhosa people of Transkei and the Nguni people of Natal, have resulted in anthropologists grouping amaXhosa as the Cape Nguni (Feely, 1987).

The Nguni population along the Wild Coast was very sparse during the 16th century (Peires, 1981), indicating that their impact on the area's natural resources would have been negligible. In 1554 the survivors of the *Sao Bento* off Msikaba found no signs of Iron Age habitation

within 10-15 km of the wreck site, despite a deliberate search (Feely, 1987). Palmer (1998), however, states that the earliest oral record of the amaXhosa nation is associated with the Mbhashe River area where the first paramount chief, Ngconde ruled from the mid-17th century. The amaXhosa migrated east of the Mbhashe in the 18th century under Chief Phalo. The amaBomvana from Natal bought the land on the eastern side of the Mbhashe River from King Hintsa for the sum of ten cattle. The area became known as Bomvanaland, while the area west of the Mbhashe was known as Gcalekaland (Palmer, 1998).

The Nguni were pastoralists, with cattle being the bedrock of their economy and social systems (Peires, 1981; Beinart, 1982; Feely, 1987; Mostert, 1992; Ainslie, 2005). Historically isiXhosa-speaking farmers have preferred ridges when locating their homesteads, usually choosing sites that allow their cattle to catch the earliest rays of the rising sun (Peires, 1981). The cattle enclosure (*kraal*) was made of thorn-bushes and always built about 30 metres downslope of the human dwellings (Feely, 1987). The homestead consisted of eight to fifteen beehive-shaped dwellings arranged in a semi-circle around the kraal. The homestead-head was the senior male of the lineage in the homestead. He lived with his wife and unmarried children, and was the subject of a chief. He was linked to a group of lineages and ultimately a clan, with many of his neighbours being part of this clan (Peires, 1981). The African landholding system is often termed 'communal tenure', indicating that the land cannot be bought or sold. Rights to land came from membership of a lineage, a family grouping or chiefdom. Local political authorities would grant arable plots, mainly to married men who had wives to work them. The right to new fields was negotiated through local headmen and the council (Beinart, 2001). The siting and location of these homesteads and the construction of the buildings and kraals had a profound effect on the use of natural resources.

Tomlinson (1955) reports that early European hunting parties encountered amaXhosa in these homestead villages as early as 1730. Boer hunters of the late 1700s had already traded ivory for cattle with the amaXhosa (Peires, 1981; Crampton, 2004). The amaXhosa were farmers with a strong cattle centred culture (Brownlee, 1916; Feely, 1987; Mostert, 1992) while White settlers were not only farmers, but also traders, missionaries and miners (Beinart, 1982). The early European hunters were followed by European cattle farmers who settled on the banks of the Fish River. In 1778 the Fish River was declared the boundary between Europeans and

Bantu. Europeans were not allowed to enter Xhosa territory beyond the Fish River to barter with cattle, but the amaXhosa crossed the boundary and settled among the Europeans (Tomlinson, 1955).

The amaXhosa were keen traders (Callaway, 1939). Peires (1981) writes of the earlier amaXhosa being enthusiastic to acquire wealth, with the major items sought being cattle, copper, iron and beads. All these functioned as money equivalents and were exchangeable. The amaXhosa traded with the northwest in the 17th century using their tobacco and hemp (dagga) to acquire cattle and copper which they in turn traded with the abaThembu and amaMpondo. There was also trade in ivory, with tusks being fashioned into bracelets worn on the left arm. The amaXhosa already accompanied Boer hunters in the late 1700s to hunt elephants and traded cattle for ivory – even though it was customary that the ivory of any elephant killed was to be the property of the chief (Peires, 1981). From these accounts one must assume that the human impacts on the environment and certain natural resources were steadily increasing.

There was also trade in labour amongst the amaXhosa. According to Peires (1981), the wealth of amaXhosa chiefs stemmed from exploitation of the labour of commoners and outsiders like Khoi and amaMfengu who had been incorporated into the amaXhosa community. The amaXhosa women could be considered permanent labourers. amaXhosa were reportedly servants to Boers from as early as 1777, men as herdsmen and women as domestic servants and gardeners (Peires, 1981). By 1811 there were numerous amaXhosa working on farms across the Fish River despite the colonial government's attempts to drive them back (Muller, 1977). The arrival of the 1820 British settlers increased demand for labour and in 1828, Ordinance 49 provided for employment of 'native foreigners' on a contractual basis. The majority of these workers were amaXhosa, some of whom began to squat on White farms as labour tenants. Some farmers allowed their tenants to bring their entire families with them, while outside of towns, often on communal waste dumps or burial grounds, Black 'locations' developed from the 1830s (Peires, 1981).

Following the second British Occupation of the Cape in 1806, Governor Cradock ordered that the amaXhosa be evicted from the European area by force, in part because of continued reports

by White farmers of stock theft and raids by the amaXhosa (Muller, 1977). Stock theft continued and Cradock's successor, Somerset, intervened by directly interfering in amaXhosa affairs beyond the Fish River (Tomlinson, 1955). Somerset appointed Gaika (Ngqika) as Paramount Chief of all the amaXhosa. When a section of amaXhosa under Ndlambi revolted, Somerset came to Gaika's assistance. This marked the beginning of official acceptance of responsibility in matters affecting the Bantu. There followed a series of wars and annexations where Europeans acquired land from the amaXhosa by means of conquest. As a result of the policy of annexation, the frontiers of the colony eventually stretched to the southern boundary of Natal, and all the amaXhosa became British subjects (Tomlinson, 1955). Despite this, political hierarchy around chiefs remained significant. Chiefs and headmen had to work under European magistrates and although they could no longer run military regiments, they were allowed to run courts, collect income from fees, and issue fines. As guarantors of African land they had powerful standing and often still commanded widespread authority among their people (Beinart, 2001). This is important to note for the purposes of this research. It shows the colonial intent of subjugating the amaXhosa, but also illustrates that the traditional leadership hierarchy continued to be respected by the amaXhosa despite the enforced political changes.

During the 1830s large organised groups of White Afrikaans-speaking frontier farmers left the Cape Colony mainly because of continual attacks on them by the amaXhosa as well as losses they had suffered in the series of Xhosa wars (Muller, 1977). Dissatisfaction with the way that the British authorities at the Cape were dealing with the amaXhosa and their liberal racial policies led to the Great Trek (Muller, 1977; Peires, 1981). During 1834, the trekkers explored the coastal route to Port Natal, searching for the best areas for settlement. The trekkers met up with the amaXhosa under the leadership of Faku south of the Umzimkulu River (Tomlinson, 1955). The trekkers had no intention of settling in Transkei but wanted to establish themselves in Port Natal (Muller, 1977). It is possible that the groups of trekkers would have had localised impacts on the natural resources along the Wild Coast, notably from their hunting for food. However, these would not have been lasting impacts as the groups merely passed through the region.

It is only in the 1800s that there is mention of a shortage of resources to sustain the amaXhosa and peoples of Transkei. Peires (1981) states that at some point in the 1830s Xhosaland became

unable to support its population. This was the result of the numerous wars, the incorporation of the amaMfengu and other refugees from the *Mfecane*, and the loss of some of their grazing lands. The *Mfecane* was the wave of battles and migrations set in motion by the rise of Shaka and the Zulu state (Peires, 1989). During these battles, the amaBhaca were the first to invade the amaXhosa, who then combined forces with their neighbours, the abaThembu and the amaMpondomise and crushed the amaBhaca. The amaBhaca aligned themselves with the amaMpondo and attacked the amaBomvana, but were repelled by King Hintsa's amaXhosa troops who aligned with the amaBomvana. These accounts only provide a small indication of the constant warring between the indigenous African tribes in Transkei during the 1800s. The abaThembu were caught up in the middle of the wars and became weak and isolated. They migrated north from the coast shortly after the 1828 *Battle of Mbholompo*. As with other stragglers who suffered after the battles, they increasingly looked to the British Colony for salvation. Refugees from the wave of wars became known as *Mfengu* (Peires, 1989). The impacts that the amaMfengu would have on land, natural resource use and politics, proved to be considerable.

Palmer (1998) states that the amaMfengu refugees that were chased from Natal by Shaka settled in Gcalekaland, but were subjugated by the amaXhosa. 'Mfengu' is not a tribal name but a term meaning 'homeless wanderer' that the Gcaleka applied to the defeated tribes (Anon, 1976). Peires (1989) writes that many amaMfengu arrived at King Hintsa hungry and without cattle. Hintsa allowed them to settle amidst the amaXhosa. The amaXhosa chiefs accepted the new followers but the amaMfengu became organised, with their own chiefs. They became good pastoralists, growing tobacco for trade with the colony and also acquired cattle which they hid from the amaXhosa in the forests (Peires, 1989). In the war of 1834-1835, the British defeated the Gcaleka and, according to Palmer (1998), the amaMfengu settled in the Cape Colony and sided with the British in subsequent struggles with the amaXhosa. Peires (1989) states that colonial forces found allies in the amaMfengu and rewarded them with some of the best land taken from the amaXhosa. Palmer (1998) suggests that some of the land granted to the amaMfengu by the British was unwanted by Whites. He states that the amaMfengu adopted Western culture, but the relationship between the British and the amaMfengu, and especially the allocation of land to them, angered some Whites (Peires, 1989).

Peires (1981) reports that the amaXhosa nation was expanding in the early 1800s. Its chiefs were wealthy and the people had homesteads along the ridges and cattle. However, by 1847 this had changed and the amaXhosa kingdom had shrunk. They had been driven beyond the Fish River and lost the fertile valleys of the Kat River in 1829, and past the Keiskamma in 1847. Game was hunted out. It is interesting that the amaXhosa saw the easy trapping of still abundant game on White farms as a major attraction to work as labour tenants (Peires, 1981). This indicates that hunting and wildlife utilisation remained important to the amaXhosa.

Beinart (2001) argues that Transkei's resources were depleted by the late 19th century. Wildlife had been hunted out by both settlers and Africans with firearms and dogs. Colonial taxes like the hut tax were levied on the amaXhosa people, coaxing them to become labourers and to seek waged work. In the early 20th century African societies transformed to Westernised societies, with firearms replacing traditional weapons, and blankets displacing hides. Iron goods like three-legged pots, hoes and ploughs were sought after, and trading stations were established, usually owned and managed by licensed Whites. Traders played a crucial part in the development of a peasant class in the Eastern Cape (Beinart, 1982; Hendricks, 1990). They introduced new technology, availed new domestic commodities and became the single most important agents of economic change (Hendricks, 1990). Callaway (1939) argues that European traders were generally good tempered and sociable amongst the locals. They knew the language and understood the culture (Thompson, 2009). Whilst traders appeared to live in harmony with the amaXhosa, accepting their customs and culture, the colonial leaders had different ideas. These ideas would impact on the use of the land and the traditional way of life of the amaXhosa.

Governor Grey arrived in the Cape in 1854 and was intent on a 'civilization policy' for the amaXhosa who he regarded as living in a state of 'barbarism' (Peires, 1989). According to Muller (1977), Grey aimed at detribalising, educating and befriending the native. Unlike Cathcart before him, who left the chiefs to govern their people, Grey proceeded to trample Cathcart's policies and agreements with the chiefs. Whereas Cathcart had promised to ask Queen Victoria about the return of lands lost during wars to the amaXhosa, Grey declined to even discuss the land issue (Peires, 1989). Grey wanted to destroy the amaXhosa laws and customs and implement the British version of civilization. He replaced chiefs' rights to judicial

fees and fines with a fixed monthly income in colonial money which he stated would make them dependent on the government, and he appointed European magistrates to oversee the chiefs (Peires, 1989).

After the Cattle-killing of 1857, which is elaborated upon in Chapter Six of this study, the Gcaleka were hard hit by starvation, having obeyed the prophet Nongqawuse, and slaughtering all their cattle. The British took the opportunity to relocate around 20 000 amaMfengu from the western side of the Fish River to Gcalekaland on the west bank of the Mbhashe River (Brownlee, 1916; Peires, 1981; Palmer, 1998). Muller (1977) argues that this allowed Grey to make room for Whites in British Kaffraria where he settled nearly 2 300 ex German servicemen who he enticed to emigrate to the area. With the influx of amaMfengu to Transkei, the remaining Gcaleka moved across the Mbhashe River to join the amaBomvana who had not participated in the cattle-killing (Palmer, 1998). Having embraced the Christian ideology and Westernised agriculture, education and life-style, the amaMfengu culture differed from their Gcaleka and amaBomvana neighbours (Palmer, 1998). These distinct cultural differences remain to the present day (Timmermans, 2004; Sunde, 2014).

While the conditions in Transkei were deteriorating, elsewhere in South Africa the economy was prospering. Muller (1977, p. 204) attributes the 'extraordinary prosperity' to the discovery of diamonds and the export of agricultural produce. Mining for diamonds in Kimberley from 1867 and for gold in the Transvaal from the 1880s required labour (Beinart, 2001). Mining was central to South Africa's expansion and Black men were the core of its labour force. The dire situation in Transkei from the late 1840s and the Cattle-killings of 1857 created an ideal situation for the colonial government to lure Black men to the mines as cheap labour. By 1913 around 200 000 Black workers were recruited annually for gold mining work. Migrant Black workers were housed in male-only compounds negating the need for capitalists to provide for workers' families and thereby saving costs. Whilst men provided labour, women performed their traditional role of cultivating fields back in the Native Reserves; hence, Transkei imported only 10% of its food by 1930 (Beinart, 2001). For this research it is important to remember that women have traditionally worked the land and utilised natural resources. Men laboured in the mines away from the Wild Coast. The custodians of the land in the Native Reserves were largely amaXhosa women (Beinart, 2001).

Native Reserves were a creation of the Glen Grey Act of 1894. According to Hendricks (1990), this Act was a watershed in land tenure policies in South Africa because the accepted practice of ruling Black Africans differently from the colonists would now be sanctioned by an act of parliament. The Act undermined the authority of the chiefs by replacing them with a system of local councils. It is often interpreted as an extension of individual land tenure to tribal areas of communal tenure. It provided for a principle of one-man-one-lot and the division of land into four or five morgen allotments, but it resembled a distorted system of communal tenure that became prevalent in the reserves, rather than individual tenure in the freehold sense of the term. The only individuality was that the land would be in the possession of one holder, as was the case in Transkei with the certificate of occupation (permission to occupy (PTO)). The principles of the Act necessitated the creation of Native Reserves from which Europeans were excluded. The creation of these reserves marked the beginning of a policy that ruled parts of the colony separately. This supported the mines' demand for labour and simultaneously eroded African voting rights in the Cape. The imposition of a labour tax on men who could not prove that they had worked for a wage for at least three months of the year further ensured that the reserves acted as labour pools for the mines (Hendricks, 1990).

Beinart (2001) notes that by 1904, the majority of Whites living in South Africa stayed in towns (53%) but only 15% of Blacks did so. Well over three million Black Africans lived in villages, in dispersed homesteads on reserved lands, and as tenants on farms. Land ownership was formalised by the Native Land Act No. 27 of 1913 that effectively divided South Africa between Black Africans and Whites (Kahn, 1990). The Act scheduled 13% of the land in South Africa to be released for eventual Black occupation, whilst 87% of the land was reserved for Whites (Hendricks, 1989; Kahn, 1990). Beinart (2001) unpacks this oft-quoted statement by explaining that Whites have never owned so much of the land and that less was initially reserved for Blacks. About three-quarters of the country was demarcated for private rural ownership by White individuals or companies. Initially only 8% of the land was reserved solely for Blacks and this gradually increased to 13%. The rest was urban land and Crown or state land, much of which was demarcated as forests or game reserves. Over half of the country to the west of Port Elizabeth is too arid to grow crops. Consequently, the bulk of Bantu-speaking people lived in the east. The 13% of land reserved for Black African occupation, and the

reserves created in the heartlands of their conquered chiefdoms, were lands where they had historically resided. Although the amaXhosa suffered from colonialism and the eastward expansion of settlers, most east coast chiefdoms retained a large percentage of the land that they had occupied before conquest; in the case of the amaMpondo, the bulk was retained (Beinart, 2001).

The Native Land Act prevented Black Africans from buying land in areas designated as White, except in the Cape (Kahn, 1990). Successful peasants or tenant farmers, of whom there were thousands on White farms (at least a third of Black Africans in South Africa lived on White-owned farms during the early part of the 20th century) could not transform themselves into capitalist farmers (Beinart, 2001). After 1940 subsistence agriculture production began to decline along the Wild Coast (Palmer, 1998). Rural political struggles ensued. These tended to be defensive but innovative, geared to maintaining access to resources such as land and forests and grazing – all vital to the survival of peasant families (Beinart, 2001).

As agricultural production declined and the environment degraded, the colonial government devised schemes to improve land use in Transkei. Although the idea had been conceived in the late 1920s, Betterment was implemented in Transkei after the Second World War (Palmer, 1998). Betterment planning, which is discussed in detail in Chapter Five, entailed the division of land into arable residential areas, relocating people from dispersed homesteads into villages, and fencing of grazing camps. It included the introduction of Westernised agriculture through contour ploughing, rotational grazing, irrigation schemes, erosion projects and livestock improvement (Palmer, 1998).

By the 20th century amaXhosa people in Transkei had adopted much of Westernised culture, including the construction and design of houses. Wicker 'beehive' huts had been displaced by circular wattle and daub mud structures with thatched conical roofs (Feely, 1987; Beinart, 2001). Square houses made of mud bricks were also built, but were more common around mission stations where they were a mark of Christianity. Pastures and fields dominated the landscape, leaving only pockets of indigenous forest (Beinart, 2001). Betterment was supposed to improve agriculture, but with the election of the Nationalist Party in 1948, and the

implementation of apartheid laws and policies, racial categorisation became the focus of government (Palmer, 1998; Beinart, 2001).

As early as 1905, Milner had established a blueprint for what would later be called apartheid when he proposed residential and territorial separation of Black and White, with urban Blacks living in locations on the fringes of cities and towns (Mostert, 1992). Dubow (1991) reflects on the aftermath of the Economic Depression of the 1930s in South Africa and the impoverishment of some 300 000 poor Whites, mainly rural Afrikaners, being the ideal time for politicians to promote separate development. Beinart (2001) writes that in planning apartheid, the spatial division of the growing urban population by racial categorisation was critical in protecting White workers from Black Africans moving to towns. Skilled jobs were reserved for Whites through legislation (Dubow, 1991). The maintenance of the migrant labour system remained a centrepiece of apartheid, providing cheap unskilled labour from African reserves. The large market for domestic servants was increasingly supplied by Black women from African reserves (Beinart, 2001). Apartheid policies would have a profound effect on family life in Transkei, on the occupation of land in the region, and on the utilisation of natural resources to support livelihoods.

Territorial separation became increasingly central to National Party policy in the 1950s. In 1951 the Bantu Authorities Act created new local and regional government systems in the reserves, remodelled old councils and elevated the role of chiefs. The Tomlinson Commission examined ways of developing the homelands economy within the parameters of apartheid (Rhoodie and Liebenberg, 1994; Beinart, 2001). The commission supported the implementation of Betterment as a first stage in the rehabilitation of the reserves to combat soil erosion and promote agricultural expansion. It also advocated for freehold title for African farmers. The government accepted only limited parts of the strategy. It rejected landholding within homelands on the basis that it would undermine the chiefs upon whom the homeland strategy depended. By the late 1950s the decision had been made to create a series of separate minority nations for Africans with similar histories, while Whites from diverse backgrounds would live in one territory. There would be separate Xhosa-speaking homelands in the Ciskei and Transkei (Dubow, 1991; Beinart, 2001).

In 1962, the Prime Minister of South Africa, Dr H.F. Verwoerd, announced that the Transkei Territorial Authority would be granted self-government (de Kock, 1971). Kaizer Matanzima was elected Chief Minister of Transkei during the first Legislative Assembly in 1963. Transkei was declared an 'independent homeland' in 1976 (Muller, 1977; Gibbs, 2014). Kaizer Matanzima was elected as Prime Minister and later President, until his brother George became Prime Minister in 1986 (Peires, 1992). Independence did not bring the hoped-for international recognition and investment (Mbana, 1991). Efforts by the South African and Transkeian governments to encourage industrialisation within Transkei bore little fruit with less than 20 000 jobs in the manufacturing sector at the peak in 1985 (Palmer, 1998). According to Mbana (1991), demand for migrant labour from Transkei was reduced as the mines sought cheaper, more docile workers from neighbouring countries. This negatively impacted Transkei because the export of labour had become the mainstay of its economy. More than 500 000 men and boys relied on being employed as labourers (Mbana, 1991). The loss of jobs would have created immense pressure on environmental resources to support the livelihoods of people living in Transkei and along the Wild Coast. In order to sustain Transkei as a 'homeland' the government boosted the Transkei civil service. In addition, social pensions became increasingly important as a largely illiterate population rapidly increased (Mbana, 1991; Palmer, 1998). According to Palmer (1998), a further blow to the livelihoods of the people living in Transkei were the droughts of 1982-1994 that decimated cattle stock and rendered cultivation of lands unviable, resulting in widespread hunger. Mbana (1991) states that 40% of households in Transkei were landless. Those with arable plots had small allocations of about two hectares or less. These were becoming smaller as population and land pressure increased and could barely meet 16% of the residents' own food needs (Huntley et al., 1989).

The traditional (tribal) system of land tenure still predominated in Transkei although it had been continually modified during colonial rule to create different forms of tenure like quitrent and certificates of occupation (Mbana, 1991). It has been stated that the greatest virtue in Cape Nguni society is the willingness to die for a chief (Anon, 1976), but while chieftaincy has remained important politically, this does not mean all chiefs received, or receive, support (Beinart, 2001). The institution itself has many layers, from paramount chiefs to conquered chiefdoms to local headmen of distant royal descent. Claims to office were often disputed, especially as the state recognised and paid certain selected chiefs or headmen as government employees. Palmer (1998) argues, for example, that chiefs and headmen who had supported

Betterment were victimised during the Mpondo Revolts of the 1960s (discussed in detail in Chapter Eight).

Peires (1992) reminds us that Kaiser Matanzima was also an abaThembu chief. Both he and his brother, George, were accused of major corruption as leaders of Transkei (Gibbs, 2014). Their successor, Stella Sigcawu, did not escape similar allegations and after less than three months in office as Prime Minister, she was overthrown by the Transkei Defence Force (TDF) in a military coup in 1987 (Peires, 1992). Bantu Holomisa, the commander of the TDF, and himself a chief of the abaThembu, was declared the leader of Transkei. Holomisa supported the liberation movements of South Africa and unbanned the African National Congress (ANC) and Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) in Transkei. This resulted in deteriorating relationships between the South African government and Transkei. Holomisa ruled as a military dictator until the end of the homeland era (Peires, 1992). It was under his tenure that the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree No. 9 of 1992 was signed and assented to on 14th July, 1992 on the advice of the Transkei Military Council. This Decree still applied to the Transkei region during the research period of this study.

The release of Nelson Mandela from prison in February 1990, together with the unbanning of the ANC and other Black political movements, set in motion negotiations for a new South Africa after apartheid (Beinart, 2001). President F.W. De Klerk revoked racial legislation including the Separate Reservation of Amenities Act, the Land Act and the Group Areas Act. Black people could now legally live anywhere. After the abandonment of influx control in 1990, outward migration of young Black men and women escalated as they moved to towns and cities in search of work (Beinart, 2001; Dhlomo, 1994). The increasing urbanisation of Black people from homelands like Transkei was a crucial element in the collapse of apartheid (Dhlomo, 1994).

Following the non-racial democratic elections of April 1994, Bantu Holomisa was elected onto the ANC National Executive Committee and appointed as Deputy Minister of Environment and Tourism. He was passionate about environmental conservation as the researcher personally witnessed in working with him on the development of the Strandloper Trail along the coast

between the Kei River and East London. During one meeting with the local community in Kei Mouth he wrote a personal cheque for the development of a training centre in the Cape Morgan Nature Reserve, which he insisted should focus on training Transkeian field rangers and trail guides. He explicitly stated that his love was for Transkei. Holomisa was forced to resign from the ANC after accusing a Cabinet colleague of corruption (Beinart, 2001). Transkei theoretically ceased to exist in democratic South Africa, but although politically frowned upon, the region continues to carry the name. What is more politically correct is reference to Transkei's coast. It is known by everyone as, 'The Wild Coast'. The following sections describe the geography of the Wild Coast and discuss the utilisation of the rich natural resources of the region that sustain the livelihoods of the local people.

4.4 Wild Coast Vegetation

The vegetation of South Africa's coast owes its origin to two major seas – the Atlantic Ocean on the west and the Indian Ocean on the east (Mucina and Rutherford, 2006). The Wild Coast is dominated by rolling coastal grasslands and indigenous forests (Butchard, 1989; Reyers and Ginsburg, 2005). Coastal forests occur in an almost continuous belt down the eastern seaboard of South Africa (Lawes et al., 1997). These have been classified differently over the years. von Maltitz and Fleming (2000) state that there is no universally accepted classification for the forests of South Africa, but it is generally accepted that they can be divided into Afromontane and Indian Ocean Coastal Belt or Tongaland Pondoland Forests. The Wild Coast forests are considered to be Indian Ocean Coastal Belt Forests (Cooper and Swart, 1992; von Maltitz and Fleming, 2000). Interspersed amongst the forests are rolling grasslands. These are generally sour, but have a rich species diversity and are amongst the densest in South Africa (Acocks, 1956; McKenzie, 1982). Besides the forests and grasslands having abundant natural resources and acclaimed biodiversity, the Wild Coast has an international hotspot of plant endemism in the north. From the Mtamvuna River to Port St Johns, the sandstone outcrops of the Msikaba Formation harbour numerous unique plant species in a narrow band known as the Pondoland Centre of Endemism (Van Wyk, 1990; 1994; Abbott, 2002; 2006). This is one of three centres of endemism within the Maputaland-Pondoland-Albany region and is recognised as one of the principal centres of plant diversity in the world (Abbot, 2006; van Wyk, 1994; De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

4.4.1 Wild Coast Indigenous Forests

Indigenous forests cover the smallest land surface area of the South African biomes (Low and Rebelo, 1996; Castley et al., 2000). Estimates of forest cover vary from 0.5% (Low and Rebelo, 1996) to 0.33% (von Maltitz and Fleming, 2000) and 0.02% (Lawes et al., 1997). There is no single accepted classification for the forests in South Africa (von Maltitz and Fleming, 2000). Cawe and McKenzie (1989a) cite Weger (1978), who divided South African flora into six regions, two of them encompassing the forest biome. It is generally accepted that forests can be divided into Afromontane and Indian Ocean Coastal Belt or Tongaland Pondoland Forests (von Maltitz and Fleming, 2000). The majority of both Afromontane and coastal forests of South Africa (47.6% and 95.8%, respectively) are found as fragmented patches in the Eastern Cape (Low and Rebelo, 1996).

The indigenous forests of Transkei have been classified into different categories by various botanists. Acocks (1953) classified them mainly on their floristic composition. He regarded forests as climatic climax vegetation covering most of Transkei and defined five tropical forest types: Typical Coast-Belt Forest, Dune Forest, Pondoland Coastal Plateau Sourveld, Ngongoni Veld and Eastern Province Thornveld. He further defined two temperate forest types: Dohne Sourveld and Highland Sourveld. Cawe (1996) re-evaluated the Acocks' classification. He classified sub-tropical forests into swamp, dune, mangrove and coastal high forests and highlighted the role of humans in changing the composition of these forests. He used the same floristic data that Cooper and Swart (1992) used to modify Acocks' classification.

Low and Rebelo (1996) updated the Acocks' maps of vegetation of South Africa because Acocks had based his observations on the agricultural potential of the vegetation. Bailey et al. (1999) reclassified South Africa's forests and woodlands, distinguishing between coastal forests north and south of the Mngazana River. Their classification does not categorise dune forests, swamp forests or mangroves. Mucina et al. (2006) described the East Coast vegetation units as comprising Subtropical Seashore Vegetation and Subtropical Dune Thicket.

For the purposes of this study, Cooper and Swart's (1992) classification has been used. The main reason is that they evaluated the indigenous forests of Transkei from a conservation point of view. Furthermore, the researcher used their classification in his MSc thesis to re-evaluate the condition of many of the forests that they had surveyed in terms of the impacts of human utilisation on certain species of mammals, and some of this data has been used in the present study. Cooper and Swart (1992) classified Wild Coast forests as being Indian Ocean Coast Belt Forests. According to their classification, Indian Ocean Coast Belt Forests include Pondoland Coast Forest, South Coast Forest, Dune Forest, Swamp Forest and Mangroves.

Cooper and Swart (1992) estimated that there were approximately 100 000 ha of indigenous forest left in Transkei, representing 3% of the total surface of the territory. Approximately 70 000 ha were demarcated as State forest by the Colonial government and 30 000ha were Headman's forests falling under the jurisdiction of the regional tribal authorities or local headmen. von Maltitz and Shackleton (2004) are of the opinion that the demarcation of indigenous forests by the colonial government was taken to its extreme in Transkei. Demarcated forests comprise some 540 patches, varying in size from 0.5 ha to 200 ha, 76% of which are less than 50 ha (Cawe and McKenzie, 1989b). Apart from recent reductions in area and fragmentation of some forests by human activity, there is no other evidence to suggest that the indigenous forests were significantly bigger or more extensive in the last 20 000 years. It is clear that South Africa's indigenous forests are naturally small (Lawes et al., 1997).

Coastal forests of the eastern seaboard of Africa are regarded as the most threatened forest type on the continent (Fitzgibbon et al., 1996). Approximately 40 000 ha of coastal forest is demarcated in Transkei while a further 20 000 ha are managed as Headman's forests (von Maltitz and Fleming, 2000) but no forest patches larger than 1800 ha remain in the region (van Eck et al., 1997).

Acocks (1953) believes the Wild Coast to have been largely forested, however, his distribution of forest has since been disputed widely (Feely, 1987; Cooper and Swart, 1992; Cawe, 1996; and Low and Rebelo, 1996). There is agreement amongst many researchers that the indigenous forests along the Wild Coast have indeed been reduced in extent since the 1800s (Berliner,

2011) with some apportioning blame to the Black inhabitants of the area. Skead (1987) states that there was general consensus of opinion amongst botanists that the coastal area of Transkei had been more heavily forested, but had been destroyed by Black people over the past century, thereby extensively fragmenting the remaining forests. On the other hand, Henkel (1903), the first forester conservator appointed in Transkei, and Sim (1906), refer to the impact of Whites who migrated to the Transkei forests to saw timber for use in the Cape colony. Henkel (1889, p. 64), highlighted that: 'Forests (of Transkei) …have been very badly managed and are rapidly disappearing. The wholesale destruction has commenced since the years 1877 – 1883... and is ascribed to the influx of white people, and in their train the Hottentot sawyer into these territories'. According to Sim (1906), the havoc caused by the Dutch and 'Hottentot' sawyers who crossed the Kei River to work the Eastern forests, far exceeded that made by the 'aboriginal inhabitants'. The sawyers were resentful of restrictions imposed on them by colonial regulations; hence, their influx into the uncontrolled Transkei prior to its annexation (Cawe, 1986; Cooper and Swart, 1992).

It can be concluded that indigenous forests along the Wild Coast were heavily impacted upon and fragmented by Black and White people. This realisation resulted in various conservation measures that were imposed by traditional leaders and the colonial authorities. This is explored in Chapter Five.

4.4.2 Forest Fauna of the Wild Coast

According to Skead (1987), the Wild Coast forests were historically inhabited by a variety of forest-dwelling animals, including larger mammal species such as elephant (*Loxodonta africana*) and buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*). The first White pioneer to settle in Pondoland appears to have been the trader and ivory collector, Henry Francis Fynn (Callaway, 1939; Stuart and McK. Malcolm, 1951). In his diary, Fynn reflects on elephant hunts that he participated in with local men while he lived in Pondoland in 1825 (Stuart and McK Malcolm, 1951). There are numerous reports of local inhabitants of Transkei hunting in large numbers and in an apparently abandoned fashion (Kay, 1834; Fleming, 1852; Hook, 1905; Soga, 1931; Hunter, 1936; Stuart and McK Malcolm, 1951; Kirby, 1953; Skead, 1987; De Villiers, 2002a; De Villiers and Costello, 2013). De Villiers (2002a) suggests that mammals survived in the Transkei forests

because of low human densities, limited use of technology and firearms by local inhabitants, and the establishment of protected areas such as Dwesa and Cwebe.

Henkel (1895; 1903) reported that after the proclamation of Forest Regulations, hunting declined in the forests of Transkei, and game increased considerably, especially in the forests where foresters and forest guards were stationed. He described 'energetic measures for the preservation of many, now almost extinct, species of game' (Henkel, 1895, p. 130). He wrote that, 'in most forests under supervision some bush bucks, blue bucks and bush pigs are found' (Henkel, 1903, p. 58). Similarly, De Villiers (2002a) found that there were greater incidences of forest-dwelling species in forests where there was a management presence. Hunting has, however, continued inside the forests regardless of the protection status (Hook, 1905; White, 2002; De Villiers, 2002a; Hayward, 2009). Forest protection by the Department of Forestry did not extend as strictly to the protection of wildlife as it did to timber (De Villiers, 2002a).

The pioneer Whites in the Eastern Cape were hunters who entered Transkei from the second quarter of the 19th century, long before missionaries and farmers settled in the area (Skead, 1987) drawn by the lure of ivory from the great numbers of elephant and hippopotamus (*Hippopotamus amphibius*). Most of the rivers along the Wild Coast carried hippopotamus (Kay, 1834; Hook, 1905; Scully, 1913; Carter and van Reenen, 1927; Hunter, 1936; Stuart and McK Malcolm, 1951; Smithers, 1983; Skead, 1987; De Villiers, 2002a). There are records of local Black hunters using pitfalls and sharpened spikes driven into the mud that hippopotamus were known to frequent and jump into the water on disturbance (Hunter, 1936; Skead, 1987). Fynn recorded amaMpondo men hunting elephants with spears and dogs (Stuart and McK Malcolm, 1951). However, the hunting impacts of the Black people were probably negligible on the big game populations before White hunters arrived with guns and a desire for sport hunting and ivory (Skead, 1987; De Villiers, 2002a). The impact of Black hunters appears to have been greatest on the more accessible plains game than on wildlife having refuge in the dense indigenous forests (Skead, 1987; Shackleton, 1989a; De Villiers, 2002a), but the arrival of White hunters exacerbated declines in large trophy species such as lion (*Panthera leo*), elephant, buffalo and hippopotamus, which suffered local extinctions in the region (Skead, 1987; De Villiers, 2002a).

Skead (1987) suggested that the Transkei forests might still have had reasonable populations of smaller fauna like bushbuck (*Tragelaphus scriptus*), blue duiker (*Philantomba monticola*), grey duiker (*Sylvicapra grimmia*), samango monkeys (*Cercopithecus mitis*) and vervet monkeys (*Cercopithecus aethiops*). During their work in the Wild Coast forests, W. Dutton (pers. comm., 09/06/1998) and Cooper and Swart (1992) had incidental sightings of some smaller mammals, notably bushbuck, blue duiker, baboon (*Papio ursinus*), porcupine (*Hystrix africaeaustralis*), black-backed jackal (*Canis mesomelas*), large-spotted genet (*Genetta tigrina*) and caracal (*Felis caracal*). De Villiers (2002a) compiled a species list of mammals found in the forests, but reported a marked decline in wildlife species and numbers in forests throughout Transkei, including the protected coastal nature reserves of Dwesa-Cwebe, Hluleka and Silaka.

4.5 Natural Resource Utilisation of Wild Coast Indigenous Forests

Forest products are widely used and highly valued resources and are often regarded as poor people's safety net, providing for as much as 35% of rural household income (Lawes et al., 2004). In the pre-colonial period, forest resources were especially important for indigenous people who made extensive use of wood for building huts, ploughs, sledges and cattle enclosures (Sim, 1906; Tropp, 2006). Chiefs and traditional councils would have been responsible for setting and enforcing regulations and controlling the use of forest resources (Palmer, 1998).

Kay (1834) noted that during the early 1800s the diet of the local people in southern Transkei consisted mainly of milk, boiled corn, millet and sorghum. Fynn recorded a similar diet among the amaMpondo in the late 1820s (Stuart and McK Malcolm, 1951). The local people along the Wild Coast used wooden spades to cultivate crops, implying that iron smelting was not yet prolific (Foord, 1999). Forest products provided food, building materials, cosmetics and medicine (Dold and Cocks, 2012). Huts were still the traditional beehive design, constructed of long thin branches and grass (Foord, 1999). Considering the dietary requirements, limited clearing for cultivation and the limited need for timber as building material, it can be concluded that the impacts on forests by local people were minimal, at least until the early 1800s.

4.5.1 Timber: Over-exploitation of a Scarce Resource.

Concerns were first raised during the late 1800s that over-utilisation of certain timber species was occurring in the indigenous forests of Transkei (Henkel, 1889; Sim, 1906; King, 1941). This was mainly attributed to White and Coloured sawyers. King (1941) stated that the yellowwoods (*Podocarpus*) in the Afromontane and coastal forests had been decimated by the sawyers. *Trichilia dregeana, Buxus macowanii,* and *Ptaeroxylon obliquum* (sneezewood) had also been severely impacted (Sim, 1906; King, 1941; Moll, 1974). In his Annual Reports, C.C. Henkel regularly reported that forests were being very badly managed and were rapidly disappearing (Henkel; 1889; 1890; 1891). While Henkel attributed this mainly to the influx of White and 'Hottentot' sawyers, he also accused indigenous African people of using the forests without restriction for cutting poles and laths to build huts and kraals with.

Dold and Cocks (2012) argue that forests still play an important part in the livelihoods of amaXhosa people. It is not only timber that is important for extraction for human use, but a variety of non-timber forest products (NTFPs). The literature on the use of NTFPs such as wildlife in South Africa is scant (Grundy, 2000) and there is a lack of scientific knowledge on sustainable harvesting of NTFPs (Obiri and Lawes, 2000; Grundy, 2000). It is undisputed that indigenous forests along the eastern coast of South Africa are small and fragmented (Laws et al., 1997; van Eck et al., 1997) and Fearon (2010) suggests that only Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve along the Wild Coast is sufficiently large enough to allow sustainable harvesting of some of its forest resources.

4.5.2 The Use of Medicinal Plants (*Amayeza*) from Forests

The medicinal plant (*amayeza* or *muthi*) trade is a multi-million Rand 'hidden economy' with up to 80% of Black South Africans making use of traditional medicine (Dold and Cocks, 2002; Obiri, 2002; Lawes et al., 2004). Indigenous medicine from plant material is used by 27 million consumers in South Africa with 700 plant species traded and harvested from the wild (Fearon, 2010). The most valued medicinal plants come from indigenous forests and this biome is most under threat in South Africa from unsustainable harvesting practices (Dold and Cocks, 2002). A large percentage of the harvested bark and plants is sold to medicinal markets in urban areas where demand for amaXhosa medicine (*Amayeza esiXhosa*) remains high (Cocks and Dold,

2006; Dold and Cocks, 2012). Obiri (2002) describes the intensity of debarking of high-value trees in Transkei forests as significant. De Villiers (2002a) and Obiri (2002) highlight the over-exploitation of *Ocotea bullata* and *Curtisia dentata* that has led to localised extinction in the wild. Obiri (2002) found that 80% of households in Pondoland use *Cassipourea gerrardii* and 62% use *Trichillia dregeana* for medicinal purposes. Debarking is so intense that over 40% of trees that have been debarked die (Obiri, 2002). The most popular medicinal species sold by traditional healers in the Eastern Cape include *Helichrysum odoratissimum, Hypoxis hemerocallidea* and *Rhoicissus digitate. Strychnos henningsii, Protorhus longifolia* and *Schotia latifolia* are some of the trees most widely used along the Wild Coast (Fearon, 2010). At least a third of wild plant species are also used for cultural and spiritual purposes (Cocks et al., 2008).

4.5.3 Fruits and Foods from Wild Coast Forests: Supplements to Rural Diets

Lawes et al. (2004) suggest that the use of forest plants as foods is highly localised and less important than their medicinal use. There is no commercial trade in indigenous food from South Africa's coastal forests. However, Van Eck et al. (1997) found that fruits of approximately 25 trees in Eastern Cape forests are widely eaten. *Harpephyllum caffrum* and *Englerophytum natalense* were eaten by up to 80% of local respondents. While walking in the coastal forests, the researcher regularly eats the amatangulu (*Carissa macrocarpa*) and slightly further inland, the Kei apples (*Dovyalis caffra*) which grow on the forest margins. Rural children in particular snack extensively on the diversity of wild fruits which provide an important source of minerals and vitamins to their diet (Pooley, 1994; Van Wyk and Gericke, 2000)

Other edible foods from forests include wild spinaches, fruits, fungi and honey (Kepe, 2002; Fearon, 2010). Wild spinach and edible leaves (*imifino*) are an important part of rural people's diet and nutritional requirements (Kepe, 2002). *Imifino* may be made from at least 20 species of leafy plants (Fearon, 2010). The most popular wild spinaches collected along the Wild Coast include *Amaranthus* spp. *Bidens pilosa*, *Scuria* spp. and *Urtica urens* (Kepe, 2002; Fearon, 2010).

4.5.4 Crafts, Building Materials and Firewood: The Backbone of an Economy

Handcrafts are an important part of the economy of coastal communities along the Wild Coast (Cawe and Ntloko, 1997). *Flagellaria guineensis* is particularly important as it is widely used for weaving baskets (Cawe and Ntloko, 1997). The leaves of the wild date palm (*Phoenix reclinata*) may also be used to make baskets. The palm has may other uses - its dates are eaten by some people, alcohol is brewed from its sap, and brooms are manufactured from the fibres of its stems (Pooley, 1994). The midribs of the leaves are used in hut walls and for kraal fences. Fencing and building materials, along with fuelwood, account for the highest volume of forest plant material used annually, especially among communities living close to forests (Cunningham, 1985; van Wyk and Gericke, 2000; Lawes et al., 2004) (Figure 4.2). Feely (1987) emphasises the importance of *Acacia karroo* (reclassified as *Vachellia karroo*) as fuelwood for centuries. This fast-growing species occurs widely on the dunes along the Wild Coast (Pooley, 1994) and besides having multiple uses for local people is also an excellent fodder tree for wildlife.

Figure 4.2: Wood collected from a Wild Coast forest for building a kraal (De Villiers, 16/04/2020)

It is clear that amaXhosa people are heavily dependent on indigenous forests for livelihoods. Fearon (2010) determined the most popular trees still used by local people who live near forest nature reserves along the Wild Coast (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Widely used indigenous trees from forests within Wild Coast nature reserves (adapted from Obiri, 2002 and Fearon, 2010)

Species	Xhosa name	Main uses
Vachellia karroo	Umnga	Firewood, fencing
Milettia grandis	Umsimbithi	Crafts and building
Ptaeroxylon obliquum	Umthathi	Customs, fencing, building
Heywoodia lucens	Umnebelele	Building
Premna mooiensis	Utyatyambani	Building
Hypercanthus amoenus	Umthongothi	Building
Zanthoxylum capensis	Umlungamabele	Medicinal
Protorhus longifolia	Uzintlwa/Ithuthe	Medicinal
Macaranga capensis	Umpumeleli	Medicinal
Polygala myrtifolia	Isthethemfazi	Medicinal
Vepris undulate	Umzaneno	Medicinal, building
Rauvolfia caffra	Umnxamu	Medicinal
Strychnos henningsii	Umnonono	Medicinal
Schotia latifolia	Umgxam	Medicinal, fencing
Cassipourea gerrardii	Umemezi	Medicinal
Trichillia dregeana	Umkhulu	Medicinal

While studies on NTFPs focus strongly on plant products, game and wildlife are often the most important NTFPs in some African countries (van Wieren, 1998). The following section discusses hunting and wildlife utilisation in the forests of the Wild Coast, and explores the impact that it is having on the conservation of these areas.

4.5.5 Wildlife Utilisation in Transkei Forests: Is there still Wildlife on the Wild Coast?

The conservation status of indigenous forests requires an understanding of the faunal components as well as the floral communities (Castley et al., 2000). Forest fauna play a critical role in the regeneration of the natural vegetation of forest habitats (Caspary, 1999; Bennett and Robinson, 2000) and wildlife loss can threaten the survival of whole forest ecosystems (Bennett and Robinson, 2000).

Faunal diversity is often a function of habitat structure and alteration of this habitat may lead to subsequent declines in diversity (Castley, 1997). Approximately 14% of South Africa's threatened terrestrial vertebrates are found in forests (Castley, 1997) and they contain the largest proportion of endangered faunal species of any biome in South Africa (Gaylard, 1992). These species are largely restricted to intact forest habitat and do not readily disperse to other habitats. Forest animals are probably more prone to the effects of habitat fragmentation and disturbance than plants (Castley et al., 2000). Deforestation eliminates habitats necessary for the survival of most species of forest mammals. At worst, it results in local extinction of forest species unable to adapt to changing conditions.

While habitat conversion is still recognised as the main threat to biodiversity worldwide, the most important factor for loss of animal biodiversity in forests is direct hunting (van Wieren, 1998). In Africa as a whole, mammalian population numbers and the geographical distribution of many species have been reduced due to hunting, pastoralism, habitat modification and disease control (Happold, 1995). People have hunted wildlife populations in forests for thousands of years (Ajayi 1971, Martin, 1983; Juste et al., 1995; Fitzgibbon et al., 1995; 1996; van Wieren, 1998; Bennett and Robinson, 2000) and despite rapid deforestation, harvesting of forest wildlife is still an important activity that provides meat for homes and markets (van Wieren, 1998). As pressure on remaining wild areas increases it is more likely that hunting will have adverse effects on forest fauna (Fitzgibbon et al., 1996). Wildlife has been hunted for food, social and cultural reasons and because they are agricultural pests (Bennett and Robinson, 2000; White, 2000; Fearon, 2010) (Figure 4.3). Rates of wildlife extraction have been unsustainable for some time (Asibey, 1974; van Wieren, 1998; Bennett and Robinson, 2000; Rodriguez, 2001) and hunting is usually indiscriminate (Bennett and Robinson, 2000; White,

2001) and wasteful (Castley et al., 2000). The combination of improved hunting technology and increased forest fragmentation has greatly facilitated commercial hunters and outsiders' access to forest interiors (Rodriguez, 2001; De Villiers 2002a).

Figure 4.3: amaXhosa boys display rock dassies (*Procavia capensis*) (*imbila* in isiXhosa) hunted with the aid of their pack of dogs in the forests surrounding Port St Johns (De Villiers, 19/03/2020)

Much of the hunting in Africa is for the commercial 'bushmeat' trade for increasing rural and urban populations (Fa et al., 1995; Amman, 1997; van Wieren, 1998; Rodriguez, 2001). There is a growing realisation that the demand for animal and plant products for traditional cultural uses is also extensive and expanding and may represent a threat to some species (Simelane and Kerley, 1998; White, 2001). This is particularly true for forests because they have a very low production/km² in comparison to grassland ecosystems and hunting is therefore less likely to be sustainable (Bennett and Robinson, 2000; Robinson and Bennett, 2000).

Hunters trap and shoot all species of primates and antelope in the forests of Africa (Caspary, 1999), and a similar trend occurs in Transkei forests (De Villiers, 2002a). Forest duikers, bushbuck and bushpig constitute the largest percentage of forest wildlife hunted (Martin, 1983; Juste et al., 1995; De Villiers, 2002a). Dinesen et al. (2001) state that intensive hunting is particularly a threat to duikers, bushbuck and small antelope in small isolated forests. The

forests along the Wild Coast are small and fragmented (von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004); therefore, duikers and bushbuck may be threatened with localised extinction as a result of intensive hunting pressure. In southern Africa skins of parts of bushbuck, blue duiker and bushpig were regularly recorded in herbalist shops amidst a variety of other species by Simelane and Kerley (1998). Animal parts are primarily used in traditional medicine to instil a sense of power and magic to potions. Vervet monkeys, bushbuck and large-spotted genet (*Genetta tigrina*) are arguably the most commonly used forest species for this purpose (Fearon, 2010).

In most countries wildlife is by far the most important NTFP both commercially and non-commercially (van Wieren, 1998). Relatively little is known about the ecological consequences of wildlife utilisation in African forests (Fitzgibbon et al., 1995). Even if hunted species still persist in an area, their numbers may be reduced to such low levels that they are ecologically extinct, no longer fulfilling their ecological role in the forest. Thus, overhunting just a few species has widespread repercussions for the long-term diversity and health of forests (Crumpacker, 1998; Bennett and Robinson, 2000).

The current poor conservation status of forest vertebrates in the Eastern Cape can be attributed to habitat destruction, habitat degradation and direct exploitation, but since there has been no significant decline in forest area in the Eastern Cape in recent times (Castley, 1997; Lawes et al., 1997; Castley et al., 2000), direct exploitation and habitat degradation appear to be the greatest threats (Castley et al., 2000). There has been very little research on the forest mammals of Transkei (Lloyd and Millar, 1983; Skead, 1987; De Villiers 2002a). The original mammalian presence and abundance can only be deduced from a compilation of sparse historical records, while current species lists are based on limited research (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Medium and Large Indigenous Mammalian Species Occurring in Wild Coast Forests (Adapted from De Villiers (2002a), Feely (2009) and personal sightings until 2020)

Species	English name	Xhosa name	Hunted
Cercopithecus aethiops	Vervet monkey	Inkawu	Yes
Cercopithecus mitis	Samango monkey	Intsimango	Yes
Papio ursinus	Chacma baboon	Imfene	Yes
Lepus saxatilis (mainly grassland)	Scrub hare	Umvundla	Yes
Hystrix africaeaustralis	Porcupine	Incanda	Yes
Canis mesomelas	Black-backed jackal	Udyakalashe/Impungutya	Yes
Ictonyx striatus	Striped polecat	Iqaqa	Yes
Aonyx capensis	Cape clawless otter	Intini	Yes
Genetta tigrina	Large-spotted genet	Inywagi (Inyhwagi)	Yes
Herpestes ichneumon	Large grey mongoose	Umhlangala	Yes
Atilax paludinosus	Water mongoose	Ivuzi	Yes
Hyaena brunnea	Brown hyaena	Ingcuka	Rarely
Panthera pardus	Leopard	Ingwe/Ihlosi[10]	Yes
Felis caracal	Caracal	Ingqawa	Yes
Orycteropus afer (mainly in grassland)	Aardvark	Ihodi	Yes
Procavia capensis	Rock dassie	Imbila	Yes
Dendrohyrax arboreus	Tree dassie	Umqha	Yes
Potamochoerus porcus	Bushpig	Ingulube	Yes
Raphicerus melanotis	Cape grysbok	Ingxungxu	Yes
Philantomba monticola	Blue duiker	Iphuthi	Yes
Sylvicapra grimmia	Grey duiker	Impunzi	Yes
Tragelaphus scriptus	Bushbuck	Imbabala	Yes
Taurotragus oryx (mainly grassland)	Eland	Impofu	Yes
Syncerus caffer	Cape buffalo	Inyathi	Rarely

4.6 Grasslands of the Wild Coast

The rolling grasslands of the Wild Coast are recognised not only as a tourist attraction, but as a productive habitat which is able to support populations of large grazing animals (Butchart, 1989). Acocks (1953) suggests that the extensive grasslands in Transkei are mainly the result

[10] *Ihlosi* is the correct isiXhosa name for leopard, whilst *Ingwe* means tiger. Tigers are not indigenous to Africa. Although both names are used in reference to leopard, it is incorrect to use *Ingwe*.

of anthropogenically influenced woodland destruction over the past 600 years or so. McKenzie (1982; 1989) and Feely (1987) dispute this and argue that Iron Age people may not have been responsible for the destruction of large forests and woodland communities to create the grasslands of Transkei. Based on C isotope analysis, archaeological and historical findings, Foord (1999) concludes that Transkei's vegetation has remained relatively stable for thousands of years, with extant grasslands always being grasslands. The assumption that the high rainfall along the coast would necessarily have resulted in climax vegetation being forest does not apply to large areas along the Wild Coast because soil conditions are a limiting factor (Feely, 1987).

McKenzie (1984a; b) states that Pondoland has sour grasslands. There is a section of Ngongoni veld but the grass sward is dominated by highly palatable *Themeda triandra* and *Tristachya leucothrix.* Some patches are dominated by *Aristida junciformis* which is associated with degenerated grassland and has low nutritional value (Kepe, 1997; Van Zyl, 1998). Acocks (1953) referred to the veld in Pondoland as being the densest grass in southern Africa. McKenzie (1984a) found the grassland south of Pondoland, between the Coastal Forests and Thornveld, to be similarly sour and dense. The southern Transkei coast is dominated by *Aristida* grassland as well as relatively stable *Themeda* climax grasslands, despite heavy grazing pressure (McKenzie, 1984b). *Cymbopogon* species often form tall patches along the coast which is indicative that there may be rapid succession to Thornveld. McKenzie (1984a; 1989) describes abandoned fields along the Wild Coast becoming woodlands because of invasions of woody species. Acocks (1953) in comparing grassland composition on White-owned commercial farms with areas traditionally occupied by Black communities, found that the heavy non-selective grazing on the Black areas, especially in the sourveld of Transkei, preserved species diversity of grasslands. McKenzie (1982) found that despite the high stocking rates there remained high basal cover and an abundance of climax grass species.

4.6.1 Utilisation of the Wild Coast's Grasslands

Feely (1987) argues that grasslands would have been avoided by farmers for a thousand years or more because of the scarcity of timber there. This explains the slower movement of farmers down the eastern coast of Transkei in comparison with the northern parts of South Africa. Feely

(1987) suggests that present distribution of grasslands in Transkei are an older phenomenon than is farming settlement, i.e. older than 1750 BP.

Prior to large scale settlement along the Wild Coast, the San, Khoikhoi, Nguni and Whites hunted the game that grazed the grasslands along the coast (Hook, 1905; Sim, 1906; Hunter, 1936; Skead, 1987). It is argued that these grasslands were never as heavily populated by game as the interior of South Africa was (De Villiers, 2002a). There are also unexplained gaps in records of some mammals in Transkei's forests and grasslands, including kudu (*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*), black rhinoceros (*Diceros bicornis spp.*) and white rhinoceros (*Ceratotherium simum*) (Skead, 1987, Feely, 1989; De Villiers, 2002a). There are, however, historical records of buffalo, eland (*Taurotragus oryx*), southern reedbuck (*Redunca arundinum*), mountain reedbuck (*Redunca fulvorufula*), oribi (*Ourebia ourebi*) and red hartebeest (*Alcelaphus buselaphus*) having occurred along the Wild Coast grasslands (Skead, 1987). There are no records of Burchell's zebra (*Equus quagga burchellii*) or of Cape mountain zebra (*Equus zebra zebra*), although quagga (*Equus quagga quagga*) occurred in the northern parts of Transkei prior to being hunted to extinction (Feely, 1989). Cape grysbok (*Raphicerus melanotis*) were recorded in the Drakensberg areas of Transkei (Feely, 1992) and may have historically occurred along the Wild Coast (De Villiers, 2002a). Unfortunately, extensive and relentless hunting along the Wild Coast led to the extinction of most of the game occurring on the grasslands, as well as the larger predators like lion (*Panthera leo*). Unlike forest mammals, the plains game had no refuge to escape and stood little chance against the constant waves of hunters (Skead, 1987).

Once the Wild Coast was occupied by Nguni pastoralists, the grasslands became an important part of their livelihoods (Timmermans, 2004; Shackleton et al., 2007; Ntshona et al., 2010). This not only included crop and livestock farming, but the use of a range of natural resources (Ntshona et al., 2010). Grass species have been used to build homesteads (McKenzie, 1984a; Feely, 1987), thatch roofs (S Shackleton, 1989; Shackleton, 1990; Kepe, 1997) and weave baskets and mats (Makhado, 2004; Fearon, 2010; Dold and Cocks, 2012). Wild Spinach growing amidst the grassland is collected for food (Kepe, 2002) while herbs and forbs are used for medicines (Cocks and Dold, 2006; Fearon, 2010).

Although modern housing along the Wild Coast is increasingly utilising zinc and tiles for roofing, Kepe (1997a) emphasises the importance of grass for thatching roofs in Pondoland. *Hyperrenia* spp. (iDobo), *Miscanthus capensis* (umthala) and especially *Cymbopogon validus* (umqungu) are sought after for roofing material (Kepe, 1997a). It has been argued that amaXhosa living along the Wild Coast are becoming more Westernised (M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018) but Makhado (2004) states that even during the post-apartheid period, crafts are still a crucial element of rural people's lives along the Wild Coast. Grassland species such as *Cyperus textilus* are particularly important in manufacturing grass mats and baskets (Kepe, 2003; Makhado, 2004). While these mats and baskets were usually for own use and gifts for family, they are increasingly traded to supplement income (Makhado, 2004).

The most valued use of grassland by the people living along the Wild Coast is undoubtedly for grazing of their livestock (Ainslie, 2005). Livestock is an integral part of the Nguni lifestyle (McKenzie, 1984b) with cattle being particularly important to the amaXhosa people in terms of culture and wealth (Huffman, 2004; Ntshona et al., 2010). Cattle have been an important part of amaXhosa culture for centuries (Fehr, 1968; Mostert, 1992; Ainslie, 2005) and remain so (Gwadiso, pers comm., 2018; Ndlumbini, pers comm., 2018; Jama, pers comm., 2018).

Such is the desire for cattle that there has been a tendency for Transkeian livestock owners to forsake quality of cattle for quantity. The region has at times had twice as many large stock units that would be acceptable to well-managed Western systems (McKenzie, 1984b). These high stocking rates were not problematic up until the late 1800s when the Transkei Wild Coast was not heavily populated by people (McKenzie, 1984b). Henkel (1903, p. 46) wrote of Pondoland being 'par excellence' a cattle breeder's paradise. There was no direct evidence of soil erosion as the system was ecologically stable with grasslands able to maintain vigour (McKenzie, 1984b). By the mid-19th century, Transkei's population was in the region of 100 000 and towards the end of the century it reached 600 000 (Henkel, 1903; Beinart, 1982). At that time the Large Stock Unit (LSU) was in the region of a million. This would have been an acceptable carrying capacity for Transkei by Western standards (McKenzie, 1984b).

Cattle populations fluctuated due to setbacks such as lungsickness of the late 1850s; redwater of the 1880s, and rinderpest of the 1890s (Beinart, 1982; McKenzie, 1984b). Furthermore, general stock diseases, cattle theft, Shaka's incursions of the late 1820s, cattle wars and the Cattle killing of 1857 reduced stock, allowing grassland to recover from any overgrazing (McKenzie, 1984b). From the end of the 19th century, the human population increased dramatically in Transkei. Migrant labourers returned from the mines with enough money to buy cattle. Improved disease control measures and dipping resulted in reduced stock losses. Subsequently, more small stock was introduced to Transkei. By the 1930s the LSU increased above two million and soil erosion became increasingly evident (McKenzie, 1984b).

Acocks (1953) found that in many areas of Transkei sourveld where Black communities had allowed the grasslands to be grazed heavily, and therefore non-selectively, by cattle, species diversity was higher than on some White commercial farms where selective grazing was practiced. Unfortunately, the high stocking rate often resulted in soil erosion, particularly on steep slopes (Acocks, 1953). The degradation of the soil and vegetation in Transkei is described by Crickmay and Venter (1993, p. 129) as 'the worst degradation anywhere in Southern Africa'. The soil erosion and grassland degradation in Transkei led to some of the earliest colonial conservation initiatives for the region. These are discussed in the following chapter as are the impacts of sand mining on conservation of the grasslands of the Wild Coast.

4.7 The Marine Environment along the Wild Coast

South Africa's oceans and coasts are simultaneously extensive, complex, productive and sensitive (DEAT, 2016). The increasing reliance of a growing human population on the resources provided by the oceans and coasts has resulted in increasing pressures and a deterioration in the health of these environments (DEAT, 2016). People have relied on the Wild Coast as a food resource for thousands of years and it is critically important to conserve the region's coastal resources for the livelihoods of the local people (Lasiak, 1993).

The coastal region of the Wild Coast that extends between the Great Kei River and the Mtamvuna River is termed the Transkei Inshore Bioregion as defined by the National Spatial

Biodiversity Assessment (Lombard et al., 2004). The intertidal zone forms part of the Agulhas Bioregion south of the Mbhashe River and the Natal Bioregion to the north of it (Lombard et al., 2004). The Agulhas Current Ecoregion along the east coast of South Africa is recognised as one of the Global 200 Ecoregions of exceptional biodiversity. Of southern Africa's endemic coastal fishes, the Gobidae and Sparidae endemics peak along the coast of the Eastern Cape, and Conservation International classifies the region as one of the top ten coral reef hotspots (Reyers and Ginsburg, 2005).

South Africa has five major marine ecotypes: offshore reefs, offshore soft sediment, rocky shores, sandy shores and estuaries (Attwood et al., 1997). Estuaries are one of the most threatened habitats in South Africa (Turpie et al., 2000; 2002) and although the country has 250 functional estuaries, they are inadequately protected (Whitfield, 1997). Transkei's Wild Coast is particularly important in that it has 120 river outlets of which 76 are estuaries (Colloty et al., 2002).

4.7.1 Use of Marine Resources along the Wild Coast

Intertidal shellfish resources such as mussels, oysters and limpets have been harvested as a source of sustenance by the indigenous people of Transkei for thousands of years (Lasiak, 1993; Fielding et al., 1994; Dye et al., 1997; Mann et al., 2003; Feely, 2012; Sunde, 2014).). Archaeological evidence of the gathering of shellfish can be found in the form of middens along the coast (Feely; 2012). Derricourt (1977) found evidence in shell middens that hunter gatherers, herders and farmers have used shellfish along the Wild Coast over the last millennium and very probably further back into prehistory. Shells from a Dwesa midden were carbon dated at 5000 BP (Lasiak, 1992).

The southeast and east coasts of South Africa are still heavily used by subsistence harvesters who mainly gather mussels, limpets, winkles, whelks and a large solitary ascidian, red bait (*Pyura stolonifera*) (Branch and Odendaal, 2003). The main shellfish species that are consumed are brown mussels (*Perna perna*), followed by a variety of limpets (Fielding et al., 1994). At least 15 species of molluscs are eaten (Lasiak, 1991). Abalone (*Haliotis midae*)

oysters (*Striostrea margaritacea*), and rock lobster (*Panulirus homarus*) are very popular food amongst local people (Fielding, 2003). Abalone has become sought after as the lucrative black market and demand from the Far East has grown for this species (Madikizela, 2013; Steyn, 2017). The influx of abalone divers to the Wild Coast, especially in 2019 and 2020, who are equipped with expensive wetsuits and diving apparatus including tanks, has been clearly noticeable following numerous arrests (personal observations).

Lasiak (1991) states that one of the most common sights on the Wild Coast is women and children collecting mussels on the rocks. Dye et al. (1997) warn that these mussels show low resilience to exploitation and have slow recovery rates. Mussels and other shellfish are mainly collected by women and children using flat steel bars with which they often clean rocks entirely. Mussels are sorted on the beach with all unwanted organisms discarded, including small mussels (Lasiak, 1993; L. Nodwala, pers comm., 2019). Heavy uncontrolled exploitation of mussels is potentially unsustainable, and increasing coastal human populations are resulting in greater pressure on stocks (Branch and Odendaal, 2003). Mussel beds are replaced by algae when overly exploited (Dye et al., 1997). Branch and Odendaal (2003) warn that the consequences of over harvesting can be severe on targeted species as well as other species that are indirectly affected.

The Transkei government commissioned a survey by the Oceanographic Research Institute (ORI) and the University of Transkei (UNITRA) in 1973 to conduct a quantitative estimate of the coastal resources along the Wild Coast and gauge the economic viability of sustainably exploiting these. During these surveys, Fielding et al. (1994) found that socio-economically, invertebrates, particularly rock lobsters, mussels, oysters and limpets were probably the most important resources for the people living along the Wild Coast. Finfish were mainly caught by a few individuals using high technology equipment like sophisticated rods and reels, whereas most invertebrate resources were collected by local people using traditional harvesting methods. Fielding et al. (1994) stated that exploitation of marine resources was increasing because of their growing monetary value. Coastal people were earning income by collecting finfish and invertebrates which they sold to visitors, hotels and commercial fishing operators. Interviews with anglers along the Wild Coast by McDonald et al. (1999) showed that 64% of

Black anglers considered fishing to be an important part of their livelihood, with 91% saying that they regularly sold their catch and 76% reporting that they fished for food.

Most intertidal shellfish was removed as food while only a fraction was used for bait (Fielding et al., 1994). The quantities of shellfish taken by local people were estimated by Lasiak (1992) to be up to 17.9 kg whole wet mass per day. At Nqabarha 6 kg wet weight of mussels were collected per trip. It should be noted that visits are determined by the weather and tides. During calm spring low tides, a larger quantity may be collected (Lasiak, 1992).

Nearly all the people questioned by Fielding et al. (1994) were concerned about insufficient controls and lack of law enforcement. Most reported that intertidal zone marine life had been depleted. Fielding et al. (1994) concluded that insufficient shellfish resources existed to support commercial fisheries. They suggested that strict enforcement and compliance with existing regulations would probably result in sustainable harvesting at existing levels of subsistence use, but cautioned that effective management strategies were required to prevent over exploitation. They recommended that traditional practices should not simply be legislated against without community involvement. This section shows that the recommendations were not all implemented and there were consequences that led to major conflicts.

4.7.2 Main Species of Intertidal Marine Resources Utilised along the Wild Coast

4.7.2.1 Abalone *(Haliotis midae)*

Fielding et al. (1994) found that abalone was mainly restricted to the area between the Great Kei and Mbhashe Rivers in very shallow waters less than five metres deep. According to Fielding (1995) abalone fisheries developed rapidly in Transkei when populations were discovered along the Wild Coast in the late 1980s up to just north of Port St Johns. Exploitation was uncontrolled with one fishery processing 80 tons (whole wet mass) of abalone in 1990 and at least 54 tons in 1991. The government of Transkei became concerned at the extent of commercial exploitation, and in 1991, all harvesting of abalone along the Transkei coast was prohibited by legislation (Government Notice No. 107 in Special Gazette No. 76 dated 24

October 1991) until it could be shown that abalone stocks existed in commercially viable quantities. Research by Fielding (1995) showed that while there were patches of high density abalone populations along the Transkei coastline, there was a scarcity of such high concentrations. He raised concern that the almost total absence of law enforcement personnel would likely result in heavy exploitation of accessible abalone populations by fishers.

A minimum size limit of 114 mm shell width was thought to be sufficient to ensure sustainable harvesting because the animals would be allowed to spawn several times prior to harvest (Fielding et al., 1994). Demand for abalone from the East and consequent illegal harvesting increased throughout its range to the point that by 2003 the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries imposed a total ban on recreational collection of abalone. In 2008 commercial harvesting was also closed after recommendations from researchers indicated depleted stock. However, it was provisionally opened again in 2010 after protests from the fishing communities (Moloyi, 2016). Madikizela (2012) discusses the challenges that such a decision poses for sustainable fisheries, but states that the MLRA empowers the Minister to determine Total Allowable Catch (TAC). The Minister is also within his or her right to determine what portions of the TAC are to be allocated to subsistence, recreational, commercial and foreign fishing. Although the Minister is guided by principles including optimal utilisation, conservation and the precautionary approach, he or she must also consider the economy and the need to permit new entrants, particularly those from historically disadvantaged sectors (Madikizela, 2012).

4.7.2.2 Rock lobster *(Panulirus homarus)*

The east coast spiny rock lobster inhabits the surf zone along the Wild Coast to about 20 m depth (Fielding et al., 1994). It mainly feeds on brown mussels and is often caught by pole fishing using these mussels as bait (Steyn et al., 2008). Fishing along the Wild Coast for rock lobster was traditionally done by diving in shallow water without the aid of goggles or by fishing at night with lines baited with limpets (Fielding et al., 1994) Most of the lobsters caught by local people occur between Dwesa and Port St Johns with very few rock lobsters found south of the Mbhashe River. Transkei fish factories harvested rock lobsters between 1986 and 1991 but never exceeded 10 tonnes per annum. Hotels and holiday cottage residents consumed

more than six tonnes per annum. Over 80% of cottage owners who consumed rock lobsters admitted to purchasing them from local people (Fielding et al., 1994). During the mid-1990s local fishers were able to generate in excess of R500 000 from lobster sales (Robertson and Fielding, 1997). Steyn et al. (2008) found that cottage owners were the most likely market for undersized lobsters. With a minimum carapace length of 65 mm as per regulations Fielding et al. (1994) estimated that stocks would withstand fishing levels of that time; however, removal of sublegal size animals and purchasing lobsters during the closed season between 1st November and the end of February, occurs regularly because of lack of law enforcement and threatens the sustainability of the industry (Fielding et al., 1994; Robertson and Fielding, 1997; Steyn et al., 2008).

In 2005 a small scale fishery was developed to allow local rural people to sell their catches to a commercial venture with a holding facility at Mdumbi Estuary (Steyn et al., 2008). The buying station has been found to be compliant with sizes and seasons, but fishers collect excess lobsters which they sell to owners of cottages and fishermen who are willing to buy (Steyn et al., 2008). Additional holding stations have been erected at Coffee Bay and Sinangwana. Local fishers have been trained to dive and have been provided with diving equipment by the government in an attempt to improve their livelihoods (personal knowledge, 2019).

4.7.2.3 Oysters *(Striostrea margaritacea)*

Sub-tidal oyster beds were found by Fielding et al. (1994) on 18% of their surveyed dives along the Wild Coast at depths up to nine metres. Oysters are harvested infratidaly and have historically been sold to tourists and coastal hotels along the Wild Coast by local women (Fielding et al., 1994; Haupt et al., 2010). Surveys estimated that the 14 coastal hotels and seaside resorts along the Wild Coast used approximately 4 500 oysters per annum between 1991 and 1993, while cottage owners took approximately 70 000 oysters per annum. These were sourced from local people. Fish factories processed between 19 000 and 131 000 per year between 1986 and 1991 (Fielding et al., 1994). Subsistence harvesting of oysters along the Wild Coast has been unmanaged (Haupt et al., 2010). Fielding et al. (1994) were of the opinion that oysters could be sustainably harvested if the fisheries were to be carefully managed. Oyster beds are most productive when fished in a manner that opens settlement space for new recruits

thereby allowing them uninterrupted growth for at least three years. Zonation and rotational harvesting of oyster beds would therefore be most productive.

4.7.2.4 Brown Mussels *(Perna perna)*

Mussels are the most popular shellfish utilised along the Wild Coast (Lasiak, 1991; Paliso, 2002). More than 80% of cottage owners confirmed their purchase from local people with an average of five dozen mussels used per cottage per week of occupancy (Fielding et al., 1994). Dye et al. (1997) found that *Perna perna* comprised 90% of shellfish utilised.

According to Fielding et al. (1994), sub tidal mussels along the Wild Coast are rare and offer no potential for exploitation. Replenishment of overfished intertidal mussel stocks from a reservoir of sub tidal mussels is therefore not possible. However, Calvo-Ugarteburu et al. (2017) developed a successful recolonisation strategy for mussels in Coffee Bay along the Wild Coast. Paliso (2002) recommended implementation methods to re-establish mussel populations along the Wild Coast.

Following their assessment of mussel stocks Fielding et al. (1994) and Lasiak and Dye (1989) concluded that there were insufficient resources to support a commercial fishery. Subsistence harvesting was considered uncontrolled and unsustainable and they warned of a poor recovery rate of the species from over exploitation (Figure 4.4).

Figure 4.4: A Fisheries Officer counts several hundred mussels collected in a grain bag for selling to cottage owners and for household consumption (Phakisa, 2020)

4.7.2.5 Mud crabs *(Scylla serrata)*, Sand prawns *(Callianassa kraussi)* and Mud prawns *(Upogebia capensis)*

Fielding et al. (1994) were of the opinion that mud crabs were not heavily exploited from the estuaries and rivers along the Wild Coast for local use. They were harvested commercially between 1988 and 1990 when 2 140 were sold to fish factories. During that period, cottage residents used about 600 per annum (Fielding et al., 1994).

Exploitation of sand prawns from the estuaries was also found to be low as local people did not possess the prawn pumps necessary for efficient collection of these organisms. Lungile Nodwala (pers comm., 24/04/2020) confirmed that fisheries officers seldom encounter local people collecting sand prawns in Wild Coast estuaries, or using them as bait when fishing.

Cretchley (1996) states that mud prawns, rather than sand prawns, are one of the preferred baits for fishing in estuaries. Where they occur in Wild Coast estuaries, Fielding et al. (1994) found that local people use spades to dig for them, although this is an illegal method of collection. Cottage owners removed about 124 000 mud prawns annually according to Fielding et al.

(1994) and 38% admitted to buying from locals. Nodwala (pers comm., 24/04/2020) said that he had never seen locals using spades to dig for prawns in Wild Coast estuaries from the time he began patrolling as a Fisheries Control Officer in 2003.

4.7.2.6 Commercial Invertebrate Fisheries

Besides the subsistence collection of shellfish, commercial harvesting was also practiced historically. In 1988, trading in marine products of the Wild Coast increased markedly with the opening of four fish factories in Transkei. These included invertebrates. Abalone were harvested south of the Qora River by commercial divers. Oysters and rock lobsters were collected between Mbhashe River and Port St Johns. Rock lobsters, oysters, crabs and prawns were bought from local people, providing them with an important source of income (Fielding et al., 1994).

By 1991, four commercial fishing operators were conducting business in Transkei. A further two operators were permitted to collect seaweed along the entire length of the Wild Coast. Until 1991 exploitation of marine resources was governed by the Sea Fisheries Act of 1973 (Act 58 of 1973). In October 1991 new regulations in terms of the Act were promulgated under Transkei Government Notice No. 107 in Special Gazette No. 76 to improve controls. Permits were no longer allowed for fish factories to process invertebrate animals (Fielding et al., 1994).

4.7.2.7 Commercial Seaweed Harvesting

Gelidium species have been harvested along the Wild Coast for their agar content since 1979 (Fielding et al., 1994; Aingworth and Critchley, 1997). In 1993 approximately 90 tonnes of *Gelidium* was harvested. The removal of *Gelidium* reduces the available habitat for molluscs and other marine invertebrates (Fielding et al., 1994). It is harvested by plucking or shearing, with potentially greater impacts on its sustainability if plucking is used (Figure 4.5). Shearing does not damage the holdfast, but is more time consuming and less productive (Aingworth and Critchley, 1997).

Figure 4.5: A woman wearing a face mask harvests seaweed during the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 (D. de Villiers, 26/04/2020)

The main conclusions of published marine biological research pertaining to the utilisation of intertidal marine resources along the Wild Coast are summarised by Pienaar (2003) to reflect that stocks of these organisms are low due to high levels of harvesting by local communities, exacerbated by the fact that ecosystem productivity is generally low. Subsistence use needs to be managed and monitored while commercial exploitation will generally not be sustainable and could result in the total collapse of marine resources.

4.7.3 Fishing and Utilisation of Finfish

Mann (2000) defines linefishing as that activity where fish are harvested using a hook and line, but excludes the use of longlines. The activity embraces subsistence, commercial and recreational linefishing, the latter often being referred to as angling. Subsistence fishing generally consists of poor people living within walking distance of the resource. They fish from the shore using low technology gear and the fish caught are generally used for own consumption, while a surplus may be sold locally (Mann, 2000). In the opinion of Mann (2000) and Fennessy et al. (2003), regulations have failed to provide a reasonable measure of resource protection; either because of poor enforcement or because the regulations themselves were not limiting. They therefore recommend a substantial revision of management procedures to prevent linefish stocks from collapsing. This section discusses the different linefishing activities and their efficacy over time.

4.7.3.1 Commercial Fishing along the Wild Coast

Fielding et al. (1994) state that the earliest records of commercial exploitation of finfish along the Wild Coast can be traced to pre-1921 when 16 lineboats operated from Durban. The fishery was lucrative as it targeted red Steenbras (*Petrus rupestris*), poenskop (*Cymatoceps nasutus*), seventy-four (*Polysteganus undulosus*) and Scotsman (*Polysteganus praeorbitalis*) – all highly valuable endemic fish. Up to 2 000 tonnes of reef fish were caught per annum. Between 1922 and 1933 fishing was productive but declined thereafter and has never fully recovered. No management action was taken until the fishery collapsed. The harbour-based lineboat fishery was almost phased out after 1975 with only periodic visits to the Wild Coast. Simultaneously a ski-boat fishery developed. Transkei Fisheries legislation of 1992 limited commercial ski-boat fishing to twelve licensees (Fielding et al., 1994; Mann and Fennessey, 1998) who Fennessey et al. (2003) found to be largely non-compliant with fishing regulations.

Commercial skiboats were White owned but mainly manned by Black crews (Fennessey et al., 2003). Nodwala (pers comm., 24/04/2020) states that the Department of Fisheries is seeking to provide historically disadvantaged people with opportunities to benefit from commercial fishing along the Wild Coast. The small scale fisheries policy has provided licences to cooperatives along the Wild Coast where registered skiboats will be able to sell their catches.

4.7.3.2 Recreational Ski-boat Fishing along the Wild Coast

The recreational ski-boat fishery developed after 1980. Very few catch records have been kept for fishing except for those of the early Durban-based fishing boats. After 1987, the Transkei Department of Agriculture and Forestry implemented a plan to gather fishing data. An annual angling licence was introduced. Catch returns from ski-boat operators were required and showed that red steenbras made up to 90% of the total weight of fish caught in some areas. Poenskop accounted for almost a tonne caught by commercial fishers in 1990 but by 1993 the catches had declined to only 280 kg (Fielding et al., 1994). The Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries imposed a moratorium in 2012 against the commercial and recreational catching of red steenbras, but a High Court ruling in 2014 overturned the moratorium on

recreational fishing, forcing the DAFF to allow one red steenbras to be caught per recreational angler per day (Greenstone, 2014).

At least 48 species of fish are caught by ski-boat fishermen operating off the Wild Coast (Fielding et al., 1994). Local people do not have boats to enable them to fish off shore (Dutton, 1988; Fielding et al., 1994) but are well aware that White ski-boat operators make large catches. Pienaar (2003) reported that local people in the Dwesa-Cwebe area believed that it was unfair for the authorities to restrict their shore angling while almost no patrolling was done to control fishing from boats off their coastline.

4.7.3.3 Rock and Surf Angling along the Wild Coast

The Wild Coast is known as a premier region for recreational rock and surf angling in South Africa (McDonald et al., 1999). For over a century, angling has been one of the most important attractions for tourists visiting the region (Fielding et al., 1994; Pienaar, 2003). Wild Coast hotels have capitalised on this market (Pienaar, 2003; Sunde, 2014), for example The Haven Hotel marketed fishing competitions to coincide with the predictable spawning aggregation of white Steenbras (*Lithognathus lithognathus*) in the Mbhashe River mouth during late winter. This attracted considerable fishing pressure with mature breeding fish being caught (Fielding et al., 1994). The main fish species caught along the Wild Coast by rock and surf anglers are bronzebream (*Pachymetapon grande*), blacktail (*Diplodus sargus*), kob (*Argyrosomus japonicas*), elf/shad (*Pomatomus saltatrix*) and stonebream (*Neoscorpis lithophilus*) (McDonald et al., 1999).

The history of linefish use amongst the local people is less clear than their use of shellfish (Mann et al., 2003). Numerous reports in the literature suggest that traditionally, the amaXhosa, particularly circumcised men, did not catch fish (Fikizolo, 1998; Mann et al., 2003; Feely, 2012). Paul Dutton (pers comm., 16/05/2018) argues that amaXhosa never fished. In his words, 'The Thongans loved fish but never Zulu or Xhosa, especially not the men. They wanted cattle and milk but were horrified with fish eaters because of cultural taboos relating to ancestors in the ocean'.

Feely (2012) argues that fishing was never a customary practice amongst amaXhosa before World War 2. He says they learnt the practice from Whites and recalls several incidents of theft of rods and reels at Dwesa-Cwebe that were raised at meetings in Mthatha by reserve managers. According to Feely, coastal middens along the Wild Coast show no sign of traps or spears. There is no recorded tradition of trapping or spearing of fish by amaXhosa as in Kosi Bay (Dutton, 1988). Spearing needs large expanses of clear, calm, shallow water. The only suitable place on the East Coast of South Africa is Kosi Bay, and possibly St Lucia in the very early years (Feely, 2012).

Dold and Cocks (2014) report on early shipwreck survivors having raided fish traps, possibly made by amaXhosa, but by 1686 when the Dutch ship, the *Stavenisse,* was wrecked it was well-recorded that eating of fish was taboo amongst amaXhosa. There is no definite reason for the taboo although it has been suggested that it may have been an expression of differentiation from their neighbours. Some amaMpondo continued to fish with spears and basket traps (Dold and Cocks, 2014) like the Thonga further up the east coast.

Paul Dutton (pers comm., 16/05/2018) believes that traditional fishing methods with traditional African gear were unable to have major impacts on fish. He showed the researcher collections from Kosi Bay of hooks made of bone and thorns that were tied to line made of bark. These could never catch large fish. The principal fishing method used by the Thonga was valve baskets, *umono*, and guide fences, *umtamana*, set in the broad shallow Kosi estuary. Fish caught in these traps were speared by the owner of the traps. Mullet and milkfish were most commonly targeted (Dutton, 1988).

Mann et al. (2003) suggest that the fact that most common shore-fish species have unique isiXhosa names shows that there has been a relatively long history of use of these species. With Western influence, the taboos and beliefs are generally no longer adhered to and subsistence linefishing has now become an important source of food and income for Transkei (Mann et al., 2003). It is thought that the taboo became less common sometime in the mid-20th century, although it is still known, as was conveyed to the researcher during his interviews with the

elder traditional leaders. Dold and Cocks (2014) state that the taboo originated out of reverence to the ancestors residing in the sea, the *abantu basemlanjeni* – the people of the sea.

Holt (1973) writes that around 1901, an African named Mtyida walked into a store in 'Gqeleni' and offered a fish for sale to the white trader. The trader took it, salted it, and hung it up in his shop but refused to pay the two-shilling price asked for because he felt this was too much. A maize sack full of oysters cost less than a shilling at the time. An argument ensued that led to Mtyida hitting the trader and being arrested. The story indicates that Mtyida may have been a fisherman, meaning that as far back as 1900, local people were catching fish, even if it was just to supplement their diet. Where communities have access to terrestrial resources and practice subsistence agriculture and pastoralism, livelihoods may merely be supplemented by hunting and fishing (Dutton, 1988).

Although it appears that fishing was historically not common practice amongst amaXhosa men, it has become popular amongst local Black men along the Wild Coast. Mann et al. (2003) found that the number of subsistence fishers was higher along the Transkei coast than along either the KwaZulu-Natal coast or the remainder of the Eastern Cape coast. Almost half of all shore fishermen encountered were local people. More than half of these local fishers were unemployed. The high level of unemployment, coupled with rapid population growth in the Eastern Cape has resulted in increased pressure on the natural resources in the area, including linefish resources (McDonald et al., 1999; Mann et al., 2003).

Most fishers in Mann's surveys agreed with the principles of the various regulations, but their knowledge of these regulations was poor. A large proportion of fishers admitted to transgressing the laws. In fact, fishers were often encountered in possession of undersized fish, even though they had agreed with the concept of minimum size limits (Mann, et al., 2003). McDonald et al. (1999) argue that Transkei's shore-fishery is already considered overexploited and that only through sound management objectives and implementation of clearly defined operational management procedures will future catches will be sustained.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter argued that the Wild Coast's natural resources have been valued by different people over thousands of years. Studies have shown that the rich and varied biodiversity is the result of the geology, soils, ocean currents and climate of the region. The chapter briefly discussed this and showed that various people settled along the Wild Coast to utilise these bountiful natural resources. It showed that the history of the people and their settlement patterns had a profound impact on the natural resources of the Wild Coast. The chapter discussed the utilisation of the different available resources and explored the political influences and institutional dynamics relating to mechanisms to gain access and control of these resources.

CHAPTER FIVE: AN OVERVIEW OF HISTORICAL CONSERVATION PRACTICES ON THE WILD COAST

5.1 Introduction

The previous chapter (Chapter Four) discussed some of the important natural resources of the Wild Coast and the patterns of utilisation from pre-colonial times until the present. It showed that, in their livelihoods, local people have historically made significant use of the indigenous forests, grasslands and marine resources for thousands of years. Until the early 1800s, there were arguably sufficient resources to sustain a subsistence way of life. Furthermore, the chapter examined the changes to the environment with the arrival of European colonists. It highlighted the argument that the destruction of indigenous forests and extinction of large animal species has largely been through commercial harvesting.

Following this introduction to this chapter, is a discussion on pre-colonial forest conservation by King Sarhili (also written as Sarili or Kreli). It is followed by a section on forest conservation measures implemented by the colonial government in the late 1800s. The chapter then examines the Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes initiated by the colonial government as a measure to conserve grasslands and prevent overgrazing and soil erosion. It discusses how these schemes were later exploited by the apartheid government to accomplish their ideology of separate settlement by relocating Black people to 'homelands'. The next section discusses the traditional and Westernised methods of conserving marine resources. It examines the effects of declaration of no-take MPAs on livelihoods and attitudes of local people towards conservation authorities. The apartheid government wanted Transkei to have credibility as an 'independent homeland' and a discussion follows relating to the declaration of terrestrial nature reserves and a coastal conservation area to attract tourists, thereby assisting in providing this credibility. The section examines the resultant alienation of local people from the resources that they depended upon. The chapter concludes by exploring traditional conservation practices and the efforts of local conservationists to manage the resources and protect the Wild Coast.

5.2 A History of Conservation and Management of Wild Coast Indigenous Forests

Low and Rebelo (1996) state that only 17.6% of Afromontane and 9.5% of coastal forests in South Africa are conserved. The majority of the country's Afromontane and coastal forests (47.6% and 95.8%, respectively) are found as fragmented patches in the Eastern Cape (Low and Rebelo, 1996); therefore, this region should be a focal point for conserving South Africa's indigenous forests (Castley et al., 2000). Interestingly, the history of conservation along the Wild Coast indicates that some of the earliest efforts to protect indigenous forests and associated fauna in South Africa, occurred here.

From the information available to the researcher, it can be argued that formal forest conservation in Transkei began in the 19th century with Paramount Chief Sarhili protecting Dwesa and Manubi along the coast until his conquest by the British in 1878 (Henkel, 1889; Sim, 1906; Cooper and Swart, 1992; De Villiers and White, 2000). Outside of that, the first officially protected areas in South Africa are considered to be the forest reserves of Knysna and Tsitsikamma, proclaimed in terms of the Cape Forest Act of 1888 (DEAT, 1996; Kepe, 2001a). Dwesa was officially declared as a state forest in 1891 (Moll, 1974).

Commercial exploitation of the Eastern Cape and Transkei forests began in 1847 and by 1938 it was estimated that 88% of forests had been heavily overharvested (King, 1941), or as Sim (1906) repeatedly states, 'exhausted'. Eighty-five percent of the total volume of timber from Transkei was harvested from Afromontane forests between Cala and the Natal border and comprised mainly *Podocarpus* species (King, 1941). Other than commercial logging, Transkei forests were also used by indigenous populations for various purposes, including hut building, for which saplings were cut by the thousands (Sim, 1906). Uncontrolled commercial and subsistence exploitation was only checked after establishment of the forestry service in 1888 (Sim, 1906; Cawe and McKenzie, 1989a). Following the promulgation of the Cape Forest Act of 1888, the colonial era of forest conservation began with the appointment of Caesar Henkel as the first Forest Conservator (Sim, 1906; Cooper and Swart, 1992).

Sim (1906) cites Henkel's (1889, p. 57) report that, 'These forests are scattered over a vast extent of country, have been very badly managed, and are rapidly disappearing. Their wholesale destruction has commenced since 1877 – 1883…and is ascribed to the influx of white people, and in their train the Hottentot sawyer into these territories.' Henkel added that Kreli (Sarhili), the Chief of the Gcaleka, never allowed his men to cut or saw timber, nor to hunt in the Manubi or Udwessa Forests, considering them 'Forest Reserves'. 'Since the conquest of his country and the locating of Gaikas and Fingos therein, forest destruction has been steadily going on and many patches have been converted to mealie gardens' (Henkel, 1889 p. 57). In his 1890 report, Henkel writes of the 'havoc' created by Dutch and 'Hottentot' sawyers, who crossed the Kei River, destroying once magnificent forests. He argues that their damage far exceeded that caused by the amaXhosa, who actually blamed the sawyers for the destruction of their forests since their arrival (Henkel, 1890). The amaXhosa, initiated by the Whites and 'Hottentots', continued to clear and burn forests and to plant crops (Henkel, 1890).

Sim (1906) also notes that Henkel reported on the settled Fingos' mania to destroy forests. This was initially reported to Henkel by sawyers and traders (Henkel, 1889, p. 64). However, in 1890, Henkel writes of his accounts of 'the perfect mania of the Fingos for destroying forests into karoo or howling desert' (Henkel, 1890, p. 98). The District Forest Officer in Butterworth, Mr Carlson, summarised the early history of forests of Transkei in Sim (1906). Carlson stated that prior to the period of Transkeian Territories, the forests, like the land, were used by the natives without any restrictions. They cut wattles and poles for their huts and kraals, and burned and cleared round the edges to make lands. However, in a few instances the chiefs set aside certain forests as their private hunting reserves and people were forbidden to cut anything in these.

Henkel and Carlson's accounts of early forest use, confirm that some traditional leaders in pre-colonial times took measures to conserve certain important forests. Sim's remark that conservation in Transkei forests only began in 1888 is thus incorrect. The Dwesa and Manubi Forests were definitely protected prior to their proclamation in 1888, at least by King Sarhili. Henkel (1890) reported that, 'Some native Chiefs and Headmen begin to see the evils attendant on forest destruction. Foremost is Umhlangano, a Pondo Chief, who has prohibited the clearing of timber in his location' (Henkel, 1890, p. 94).

It is correct that the first written conservation laws applicable to Transkei were the Cape Government's Proclamation 140 of 1885 and the subsequent Forest Act No. 28 of 1888. This legislation reserved all forests over five acres in extent for the Cape Government (Palmer et al., 2002). With the establishment of a Forestry department in the Transkeian territories in 1888, new regulations were promulgated that restricted utilisation in indigenous forests. Henkel (1895, p. 130) reported that, 'all the principal and best forests throughout the three Territories have been placed under absolute control of the Forest Department, the smaller and scattered patches under the Resident Magistrates for Native use.'

Kepe (2001a) argues that the colonial government took the view that indigenous forests 'suffered grievous injury at the hands of the natives'; therefore, local African people were in some cases forcibly removed from their ancestral land to provide protection for the forests. According to King (1941), a large number of indigenous forests were set aside in each district for the domestic use of the local communities, but many of these forests were deliberately destroyed to make way for maize gardens and grazing, particularly in the midlands and parts of the coastal belt (Sim, 1906).

Tropp (2004) argues that from the 1890s to the 1930s, the colonial authorities strove to exclude rural livelihood practices from government forests. For example, cattle were not permitted to enter forests. From the perspective of forest officials in the late 19th century, African livestock presented some of the most intractable obstacles to conservation efforts in Transkei. Officials repeatedly assailed Africans' livestock as agents of deforestation and soil erosion. Despite legislation to keep livestock out of forests it was difficult to enforce. Magistrates recognised that forests were important shelters for cattle during cold and windy weather. Transkei Conservator of Forests, Caesar Henkel continually argued for the need to fence forest perimeters to properly demarcate them, and to assist in restricting livestock from entering. This was seldom done due to budgetary constraints and foresters later decided to demarcate the forests using more pragmatic methods such as stone beacons and woodlots (Tropp, 2004).

Under Proclamation 135 of 1903, fenced in forests were off-limits to livestock unless Africans acquired a licence. The majority of forests were unfenced and grazing of livestock, excluding

goats, was allowed in non-wooded areas. The authorities impounded domestic stock trespassing in the off-limit forests, leading to conflict with local people (Tropp, 2004). Conde et al. (2013) reflect on the environmental damage that domestic stock inflicts on Wild Coast forest vegetation, confirming that negative impacts are associated with uncontrolled grazing, browsing and trampling.

In 1911, Government Notice 668 further entrenched the prohibition of African stock in government forests. Chief Marelane of the amaMpondo pleaded for forests to be fenced because cattle and stock could otherwise not be controlled from entering. He considered the legislation as a trap to allow forest guards to impound his people's cattle (Tropp, 2004). What angered local livestock owners more was that foresters employed a liberal interpretation of what they termed forest 'potential' and included grasslands into actual forests when demarcating state forest areas. This reduced the land available for their cattle to graze (Tropp, 2004). This demarcation of grassland as 'state forest' is clearly evident along the southern Wild Coast between the Great Kei River and Dwesa-Cwebe (G. Pienaar, pers comm., 04/07/2019). A typical example is the Cwebe Nature Reserve which, when originally proclaimed, was only approximately 60% forest (Tropp, 2004), unlike the present time where more than 80% now appears to be forested or wooded (De Villiers, 2020a).

The colonial era between the 1800s and 1940 not only divided land into distinct European settlement areas and African communal reserves, but also marked the beginning of demarcation of state forests (von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004). Colonial settlement brought about large-scale exploitation of indigenous forests, largely for timber, but Tropp (2006) also refers to aggressive afforestation with exotic timber species in Transkei during this period. Africans were forced onto smaller parcels of land which were generally in woodland areas (von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004). Tropp (2006) believes that from the early 1880s onward, controlling forests became a key ingredient in official strategies to stabilise the social order, consolidate colonial rule, and resettle local populations. He writes of tensions between 1880 and 1915, between the colonial government's administrative authority relating to environmental management amongst other things. Paramount chiefs were demoted, commoner headmen were elevated to new ranks, magistrates took charge of newly demarcated estates and the Forestry Department increasingly exerted its influence on the lives of African communities. From the

1880s until the mid-1910s, colonial personnel, chiefs and commoners negotiated control over natural resources across Transkei (Tropp, 2006).

To assist with the enforcement of government forest schemes, the state empowered and employed headmen. Government foresters with African forest guards patrolled demarcated state forests while headmen took over supervision of smaller 'headmen's forests' (Tropp, 2006). A tradition developed of reliance on chiefs and headmen who were 'trustworthy' African men and they were rewarded with a substantial percentage of fines from forest offences. Headmen sometimes exploited their positions of control in favour of political allies, or for personal benefits (Emdon, 2013). Chiefs were upset by the impacts of colonial annexation on their ability to impose and collect revenue from sawyers and wood traders – not dissimilar to the sand mining scenarios along the Wild Coast of the 2000s as discussed in Section 5.7 of this chapter. During his term as Forest Conservation Officer, Henkel reported the corruption of certain headmen. By the early 1890s, headmen's influence over indigenous forests was reduced as a result of these allegations. Henkel limited the appointment of forest guards to African men that he could trust. Consequently, headmen clashed with forest guards with the latter becoming unpopular in communities (Tropp, 2006). The animosity against forest guards increased as socio-economic conditions deteriorated. When local people suffered as a result of droughts, wood shortages and job losses on the mines, they resented the 'policemen-work' being performed by forest guards who restricted their access to the natural resources they required to sustain their livelihoods in such difficult times (Tropp, 2006). Henkel (1898) reported that, 'natives were very insolent towards Officers of the Department and I met some carrying weapons.' He further reported of intimidation and death threats to foresters and forest guards and attributed this partly to the hardships created by the ravages of the Rinderpest and locust plagues.

On succeeding Henkel as forest conservator, Heywood introduced new ideas for indigenous forest management. It was his initiative to establish wattle plantations as woodlots for use by local people, thus reducing the offtake of laths and saplings from indigenous forests (Cooper and Swart, 1992). Heywood (1903, p. 153) wrote: 'Until sufficient building is provided artificially for a native population of something like 800,000, it is absolutely impossible to prohibit cutting in the forests.' He added that he hoped that natives could be effectively weaned from the destruction of indigenous forests which they had occupied from the earliest of times. In his 1901 Forest Report, Heywood referred to Africans, in particular the 'Pondomisi', as

being lawless in so far as forest offences were concerned, and called for intensified enforcement efforts from the Forestry Department (Heywood, 1903). Subsequently, forest guards were granted greater powers and from 1901 could issue summonses for forest contraventions (Cooper and Swart, 1992).

In 1908, government again transferred some of the smaller undemarcated forests to headmen, creating confusion over control and management. Chiefs and headmen became members of the Transkeian Territorial General Council (TTGC). The TTGC was commonly referred to as the *bunga* and it became the main organ of African political representation of the Territories at the time (Palmer et al., 2002). All the forests that were not demarcated were returned to the Forestry Department by the TTGC in 1910. The Forestry Department alleged that African leaders could not be trusted with the complex tasks of modern environmental management. In 1910 the Department of Forestry redrew the boundaries of Transkei's forests, handing management of 'valuable' forests over to the Department (Palmer et al., 2002). By 1913 more than 200 Government forests in Transkei were demarcated on Crown land under the Forest Act of 1913, including large forest complexes like Mt Thesiger, Dwesa and Cwebe (Feely, 2001).

Headmen managed smaller forests until the late 1930s when they were again retracted because the state once more alleged they could not be trusted with resource management. They reportedly allowed much greater use of forests than intended, and applied restrictions loosely (Tropp, 2006). Some chiefs alleged that locals destroyed forests because they were being ordered by Whites to refrain from utilising the wood. The chiefs claimed that they would do a better job of conserving the forests as local people respected their authority. They contended that they conserved the forests long before the arrival of Whites (Tropp, 2006).

In 1936 the Native Trust and Land Act enabled the government to function as the 'trustee' of African people more comprehensively than ever before. Three years later, the first Betterment proclamation was enacted, leading to more systematic restriction of local forest use (Tropp, 2006). Fencing schemes and further afforestation were embarked upon. The government expanded plantations with exotic trees to discourage the local people from using indigenous timber and to save the forests (Dutton, 1992; Kepe, 2002; Tropp, 2006).

From 2 April 1937 Government forests in Transkei were situated on two categories of land: (a) Crown land demarcated as a forest under the Forest Act, first of 1913 and later 1941, administered by the Department of Forestry; and (b) Trust land reserved for forest purposes and declared a reserved forest in terms of regulation 74 of the regulations under the Development Trust and Land Act, 1936, contained in Government Notice No. 494 of 2 April 1937, and administered by the then Department of Native Affairs (Feely, 2001).

From 1957, government forests demarcated under the Forest Act of 1913, were withdrawn from demarcation in terms of Government Notice No. 1693 of 1 November 1957. These forests were then reserved for forest purposes by Government Notice No. 100 of 17 January 1958 under regulation 74 of above-mentioned regulations under the Development Trust and Land Act. Former Crown forests were thereby added to those already reserved after 1937 under the Development Trust and Land Act (Feely, 2001). Regulations 70 – 106 of the Development Trust and Land Act regulations of 1937 were repealed by the Transkeian Forest Act No. 6 of 1969, and each forest reserved under regulation 74 was 'deemed to have been declared to be a demarcated forest' under subsection 1 of section 6 of the Transkeian Forest Act of 1969 (Feely, 2001).

The Forest Act No 6 of 1969 served as the official legislation for the management of forests during the period of Transkei's 'independence' (Feely, 2001). During the apartheid era the divide between communal areas and private areas was reinforced. The Bantustan areas were formalised into 'homelands' and 'independent states' (von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004). Administration and management of the forests became the responsibility of the homeland governments, with each having their own separate legislation and management policies. Little attention was paid to supporting the management and use of forest resources (von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004). In fact, access to forest resources was more strictly controlled than ever before, with some forests such as Dwesa-Cwebe totally out of bounds for any use (Timmermans, 2004).

Tropp (2006) believes that colonial and Transkeian foresters were driven solely by their commitment to forestry and forest conservation. There was little consideration for the welfare of communities living amidst the forests and utilising the natural resources available to them. The establishment of woodlots to 'wean the natives' from indigenous forests that is so often referenced in early Forest Conservator reports and by King (1941), clearly indicates this. The Transkei Forestry Department expanded on Heywood's woodlot idea by planting gum trees (*Eucalyptus spp.*) and Black wattle (*Acacia mearnsii*) around the indigenous forests (Cawe, 1986; Cooper and Swart, 1992). These alien timber species were intended to supply the needs of neighbouring communities for construction timber and firewood. Cawe (1986) and De Villiers (2002a) found that the establishment of such woodlots indeed benefitted indigenous forest conservation in Transkei. Cawe (1992) went so far as to state that the planting of these fast-growing exotic trees on the peripheries of coastal forests had probably saved more forests than any number of laws and regulations could have done.

Chiefs and headmen often had control over the issuing of permission for wood collection and pole harvesting in the woodlots (Ndlumbini; Jama; Geya; pers comm., 2018). However, apartheid saw the erosion of the authority and legitimacy of some traditional leaders (von Maltitz and Shackleton, 2004). The co-option of chiefs by the apartheid state, and replacement of some chiefs by state-nominated individuals, made locals suspicious of them (Kepe, 1997b; Tropp, 2006). In the decades since the formal unravelling of apartheid, some of the nation's most persistent tensions have revolved around natural resource use in former Bantustans. These tensions may be particularly played out between traditional authorities and various branches and levels of local government (Tropp, 2006).

With the demise of apartheid, Transkei legislation had to be repealed and rationalised (Feely, 2001). Therefore, in 1994 the Transkeian Forest Act, 1969 was repealed by section 1(1) of the Forestry Laws Rationalisation and Amendment Act No. 51 of 1994, except for certain provisions relating to trees outside demarcated forests. In terms of section 1(2) of the 1994 Act, declared forests in Transkei were deemed to have been demarcated under section 10(1) of the Forest Act No. 122 of 1984 (Feely, 2001).

The impression exists that the indigenous forests of the Eastern Cape have been well protected because of all the legislation passed (Preston and Siegfried, 1995; Low and Rebelo, 1996). Cooper and Swart (1992) found that many of Transkei's Declared forests had been well protected, but warned of gross mismanagement of many Headmen's forests and even some government forests. Cawe (1986) suggests, however, that there was a significant increase in the rate of deforestation in the late 1970s after Transkei was granted nominal 'independence' from South Africa, but lacked the resources to control or manage the forests. White (2001) suggests that as a result of the uncertainty caused by changing policies and the new political climate after 1990, exploitation and deforestation appear to have increased in Transkei. Post-apartheid, Lawes et al. (1997) and Castley et al. (2000) found the indigenous forests of Transkei to be mismanaged and degraded. The increase in the rate of deforestation after 1994 may be attributed to the reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa after the democratic transition. This was accompanied by a weakening of forest governance structures on the ground (White, 2001; De Villiers, 2002a; von Maltitz and Shackleton 2004; Quvile, 2011).

De Villiers and White (2000) and De Villiers (2002a) expressed concern that neither Headman's or Declared forests were being well protected in the region during the late 1990s. Prior to the reabsorption of Transkei into South Africa in 1994, DWAF had the responsibility for some 84 000 ha of indigenous forest. With the inclusion of the 'homelands', a further 146 000 ha were added as primary conservation areas. There appears to have been little effort to incorporate these additional forests into a planning and management process and in a large number of cases no management has been undertaken since 1994 (Neil, 2000; De Villiers, 2002a; Quvile, 2011). Wily and Mbaya (2001) acknowledge that there was a challenge in returning management of forests in homelands to local jurisdiction after the fall of apartheid. Homeland tenure was an issue of considerable contention and political indecision. The state considered retaining management of some forests through cash compensation to local people.

While Mangwale, Shackleton and Sigwela (2017) report a steady increase in the rate of forest loss along the Wild Coast, being highest in the most recent period, Berliner (2011) believes that mismanagement occurred long before the 1990s. He states that over the past 50 years, total forest loss in Transkei may be in excess of 35% of total original cover. In addition, at least a third of remaining forests are significantly degraded. Evidence suggests that most of this loss

is in coastal forests and has occurred since 1982. This coincides with the emergence of three driving factors: increased population and land use pressure, a decline in traditional authority (and associated resource use controls), and the spread of invasive alien vegetation (Berliner, 2011).

In 1999, Forest Act 1984 and the remaining provisions of the Transkeian Forest Act 1969 were repealed by the National Forest Act No. 84 of 1998 (NFA) (Feely, 2001), The NFA made provision for local people to become owner-managers of forests (Wily and Mbaya, 2001). Communal Property Associations provided for in 1996 were identified as likely management authorities, together with community trusts, local management boards and companies. The NFA states that communities may apply to manage a state forest jointly with an organ of State, or alone. If the offer is accepted by the Minister an agreement is entered into. According to Wily and Mbaya (2001), this has not developed along the Wild Coast because of disputes over rights and occupancy. Community members are also reportedly reluctant to work without financial compensation because they are used to the 'food for work' programmes of former governments. The underlying conflict over long-unresolved land claims has contributed to the failure of the initiatives. Consequently, illegal commercial trade in medicinal plants and game has become a thriving industry in several indigenous forests in Transkei. Forest guards are unable to control incursions and local communities have been alienated from resources for so long, severing the link between them and the land, that they are powerless to stop outsiders from exploiting their resources and are content to rely on social grants and remittances (Wily and Mbaya, 2001).

According to von Maltitz and Fleming (2000) all forests in South Africa are conserved by the National Forest Act of 1998. In reality, Berliner (2011) and Quvile (2011) argue that while the indigenous forests of the Wild Coast are theoretically protected under this Act, and many of the larger patches are state forest land, few, if any, are effectively managed as protected areas, and many of these forests experience ongoing degradation. The causes are multifaceted and tend to act synergistically with one another. These include illegal logging, overharvesting of medicinal plants and building materials, slash and burn agriculture, invasive alien plants, fires and climate change (Berliner, 2011).

The causes of forest loss and degradation need to be systemically understood, so that conservation interventions can treat the root causes, rather than secondary effects. Root causes include increasing population pressure, non-sustainable resource use, particularly the clearing of natural vegetation for shifting cultivation, and a breakdown in resource use controls and regulations (Cooper and Swart, 1992; De Villiers, 2002a; Berliner, 2011).

The breakdown of traditional authority, commercialisation, modernisation, social change, and inappropriate state policies may all have contributed towards the break down in the natural equilibrium that may have once existed between traditional communities and their natural resources (Berliner, 2011). According to Berliner (2011), forest conservation on the Wild Coast can be considered as a 'crisis situation' and like any other resource, and in any other communal area of South Africa, it suffers from the symptoms that Shackleton (2009) refers to as an 'institutional control vacuum', with neither traditional, nor government authorities providing adequate regulation, control, monitoring or advice on sustainable harvesting methods and land management. This, in Berliner's opinion (2011), is further reflected in the absence of any government department with a clear, comprehensive and financial focus on promoting sustainable natural resource use, and sustainable livelihoods. In their Forestry Development Plan, Crickmay and Venter (1993) state that there is virtually no professional management of the indigenous forest resource of Transkei. De Villiers (2002a) and Quvile (2011) highlight similar challenges and according to Izak van der Merwe, a senior scientist in the National Forestry Department (van der Merwe, pers comm., 15/05/2019) the situation remains the same because forestry posts have been 'frozen' for several years in the Transkei region of the Eastern Cape. While indigenous forests along the Wild Coast are not being effectively managed, the rate of forest loss in recent periods appears to be steadily increasing (Mangwale et al., 2017).

5.2.1 Conservation of Forest Fauna

At the end of the 19th century, the Forestry Department expressed concern about the large game drives that occurred in Transkei forests where hundreds of head of game were slaughtered by Blacks and Whites (Palmer et al., 2002). Accordingly, the first law restricting hunting that was applicable to Transkei forests was passed in 1887 - the Game Law Amendment Act 36/1887. This law was not widely applied, especially in some areas where magistrates showed sympathy to Blacks who they considered as having historically hunted game that 'belonged' to them (Palmer et al., 2002). Conservator of Forests reports briefly mention management of forest fauna (Henkel, 1888; 1891; 1894; 1895; 1898). Henkel (1890) argued that the extensive hunts, where thousands of Black beaters with large packs of dogs, chased game though the forests for up to a week, were not only attended by natives, but by everyone including traders and magistrates. He reported that hundreds of head of game were slaughtered, and the hunts were accompanied by fires that destroyed the forests. Henkel repeatedly reported extensive hunting by natives, especially youths who robbed birds' nests, killed brood stock and hunted does (ewes) inside the Crown Forests (Henkel, 1894; 1895). He (1894) accused Blacks, Whites and 'Hottentots' of being guilty of hunting. The workmen employed in forests were, according to Henkel (1894) untrustworthy, coming of 'Poor Whites' or 'Hottentots'. He added that, 'natives can no more be trusted with an axe or hatchet into the forest than with a gun or dogs. With the axe he will destroy trees whether he wants them or not, with a gun, assegais and dogs, every living creature larger than a mouse will be killed' (Henkel, 1894, p. 141). In his 1897 report he writes of poisoned meat being placed for wild animals and vermin in Crown Forests, but this he attributes to the foresters protecting the valuable timber assets (Henkel, 1897). While hunting by local natives was repeatedly condemned, by all accounts, foresters' practice of poisoning wild animals appeared to be acceptable. Natives caught killing wildlife were usually warned and discharged by magistrates (Henkel, 1894).

In 1913 it was decided that a licence would no longer be required for hunting on land outside of demarcated forests. This ruling continued until the passing of the Transkei Nature Conservation Act in 1971 where after wildlife utilisation was governed by a series of ordinances and hunting proclamations (Palmer et al., 2002). As in many of South Africa's woodland areas, conservation and forestry officials in Transkei lacked the capacity to enforce legislation and the rate of indigenous forest habitat destruction and of the direct removal of

fauna thus increased. There is insufficient information on the status of wildlife in forest reserves but there appears to be little protection and poor management (Geldenhuys, 1997, De Villiers, 2002a, Hayward, 2009).

Currently, Transkei wildlife is protected under the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree 9 of 1992 and the National Environmental Management Biodiversity Act 10 of 2004 under which hunting without a permit is forbidden. However, it is well known that hunting has continued irrespective of the law (Nyengane, 1997; White, 2000; 2001; 2004; De Villiers, 2002a; Hayward, 2009). Hunting was a traditional practice of Black people in Transkei (Sim, 1906; Skead, 1987). Coupled with increasing populations and poverty, it has led to the extermination of plains game outside Declared Nature Reserves (Shackleton, 1989a; b; De Villiers, 2002a; De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Animals within the indigenous forests appear to have survived better, probably due to their more secretive behaviour and ability to hide in the thick vegetation and because of the better protection status that many of the larger forests enjoyed (Skead, 1987; Nyengane, 1997; De Villiers, 2002a; Hayward, 2009).

5.3 Conservation of the Wild Coast's Grasslands

5.3.1 Soil Erosion on the Wild Coast Grasslands

The cattle-centred culture of the amaXhosa has meant that grasslands have been of critical importance to the local people of the Wild Coast for centuries (C. Shackleton, 1989a; b; S. Shackleton, 1989; Kepe, 2002). During the colonial era, as cattle numbers increased in Transkei, the government expressed concern that there was overstocking on the land (Hendricks, 1990). This makes for an ideal analysis in terms of political ecology, particularly as one approach of political ecologists is to focus on a specific environmental problem such as soil erosion or land degradation (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987). As the colonial government attributed Transkei's environmental problems almost entirely to overstocking, the obvious solution was to reduce stock numbers (Hendricks, 1990). The state therefore devised a series of Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes to impose Westernised agricultural methods on local people (Mbana, 1991; Tropp, 2006).

Considering that cattle and grasslands were so important to the amaXhosa, it is inconceivable that they would intentionally destroy their environment; however, Blaikie (1985) confirms that environmental degradation may be caused directly by small-scale land-users if they are forced to do so by social relationships involving surplus extraction. He argues further, that efforts to reduce soil erosion will not succeed unless it threatens the accumulations of the dominant classes, like national and international agricultural capitalists, industrial capitalists and government agents, which is unlikely because they have the means to adjust to economic issues created by soil erosion, unlike the peasants who depend on the land for their livelihood. The poor may try to conserve their environment, but it is often difficult because of their survival strategies. Poverty, via poor natural resource management, can induce environmental degradation (Blaikie, 1985). The soil erosion that played out in Transkei during the early 20th century may largely be attributed to the poverty experienced in the region during that time.

Hendricks (1990) argues that a shortage of land plagued Transkei, eventually even reaching the once sparsely populated Western Pondoland in the 1930s. The amaXhosa were struggling to survive, largely because of a prolonged drought and locust plagues which rendered them more and more dependent on purchases from traders. Fourie (1994) refers to Transkei being overcrowded with local people being forced to chop down trees, hunt wildlife and overstock grazing lands in an effort to survive. The rhetoric is that in such situations the state has to intervene and 'control' peasants in the name of development (Blaikie, 1985). This argument may support Hardin's 'tragedy of the commons' theory; however, Bryant and Bailey (1997) argue that Hardin's theory will only apply if there is free-for-all access to common resources. Where traditional structures have broken down and there are no longer communal rules and practices, overutilisation of natural resources may occur (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). As this section shows, the various governments between 1900 and 1990 made every attempt to break down traditional structures and practices in Transkei to suit their labour needs and ideologies.

Agricultural deterioration in Transkei threatened the migratory labour system and the foundations of segregation in South Africa. If the soil eroded, and grasslands consequently degraded to the extent that farming could no longer supplement the migrant's income derived from wage labour, there would be a decrease in his incentive to return to his 'home' (Hendricks, 1990). The abandonment of the Transkei reserves in favour of permanent urbanisation amongst

Whites concerned the government; therefore, it was in government's interests that grasslands had to be conserved and soil erosion had to be rehabilitated (Hendricks, 1990; Emdon, 2013).

5.3.2 Betterment Planning, Land Appropriation and Politics

By late 1930s, the National and United Parties agreed that the poor veld conditions in the Native Reserves required state intervention. A comprehensive survey of resource degradation in Transkei showed that almost 772000 ha of land had been destroyed by soil erosion and 70 to 80% of all drainage lines were gullied, resulting in all Transkei's dams silting (Mbana, 1991). This was the worst erosion in South Africa. The rural decay was attributed to the Africans' 'irrational' desire for large numbers of cattle and their religious beliefs regarding cattle-holding (Hendricks, 1990). Mbana (1991) argued that the only way to deal with it would be through stock reduction and the introduction of rotational grazing systems. The Betterment Proclamation (The Control and Improvement of Livestock in Native Areas Proclamation No. 31 of 1939) gave effect to limiting stock. According to Mbana (1991) Betterment was the centrepiece of Agriculture and Forestry efforts from the 1940s to 1980 and Emdon (2013) refers to it as the main conservation scheme of that period. Hendricks (1990) states that Betterment was the first concerted effort by the state to rehabilitate the reserves. Mbana (1991) argues that at the time of it being implemented, Betterment was the only form of land use planning in Transkei.

Fay (1998) states that from 1938 to 1948, the South African government forcibly removed vast numbers of rural Black South Africans from Transkei under the auspices of Betterment planning. Implementation was in a top-down manner that involved very little, if any, community consultation (Hendricks, 1990; Mbana 1991). Due to the disruptions that it caused to local livelihoods, people on the ground resented Betterment planning, viewing it as unnecessary state interference (Moll, 1988; McAllister, 1989; Fay, 1998; 2002). Designed *inter alia* to place African agriculture on a more scientific footing, a central component of the programme was the spatial reorganisation of the traditional scattered settlement pattern into one of nucleated residential areas, consolidated arable areas and communal grazing (Fay, 1998).

Betterment areas were declared by agreement between the district magistrate and headmen. Local people often stalled the scheme by raising objections or stating that they never understood the implications thereof (Hendricks, 1990). Fay (1998) cites Hobeni near Cwebe as an example where resistance to Betterment resulted in it being implemented later than in most areas. When the droughts of the 1950s struck the area hard and cattle and goat populations were reduced by about a third, the magistrate in Elliotdale wrote confidently that the people of Hobeni would now agree to the Betterment rehabilitation scheme, but even then it was resisted (Fay, 1998).

Hendricks (1990) concedes that the Transkei Chief Magistracy and agricultural officers were committed to rehabilitate and conserve the land in the 1940s. However, the Betterment scheme was fraught with problems. It had hardly commenced when the Second World War broke out, diverting the country's attention to the war. Staff and funding that had been earmarked for Betterment were allocated elsewhere. The fencing that was supposed to create paddocks was insufficient. Above all, people were unanimous in their opposition to stock reduction (Hendricks, 1990). Ntsebeza (1999) argues that Betterment compromised local headmen's authority in relation to land allocation. Being on the state's payroll, headmen and chiefs were forced to act as go-betweens in implementing these unpopular policies, putting them in a very difficult position. Some of them sought to exploit the situation to their own advantage by, for instance, ensuring that they got the best and largest fields, or by taking bribes before allocating land under the Betterment regulations. As a result, many traditional leaders lost the respect of their subjects and came to be seen as part and parcel of the oppressive state machinery (Ntsebeza, 1999).

Hendricks (1990) explains that with the failure of the Betterment Scheme, the Minister of Native Affairs announced a new scheme in 1944 called 'Rehabilitation'. This aimed to tackle the problem of soil erosion more vigorously. It planned to enlist various state departments including the Department of Forestry. It was a comprehensive rural development scheme that partially abandoned the one-man-one-plot principle. The scheme divided Africans into groups of peasants who had access to arable or grazing land, and proletariats – a landless wage-earning group. The land rights of many people would thus now be restricted to residential sites in different types of villages. A Transkei Planning Committee was established and agricultural

officers were appointed to demarcate sites for occupation. Obviously chiefs and headmen who had traditionally had the authority, resented this. The privileges and bribes that Ntsebeza (1999) referred to were no longer possible.

Despite agricultural officers initially tackling the task of Rehabilitation eagerly, they soon realised that it was not possible to implement given that only nine of them had to serve an area in excess of four million hectares and they lacked the financial resources and administrative support required to achieve success (Hendricks, 1990; Emdon 2013; Sunde, 2014). Realising the challenges of the Betterment Scheme, the government replaced the Betterment Proclamation of 1939 with the 1949 Proclamation No. 116. This provided Native Commissioners with the power to appropriate land for reclamation purposes. The focus was on preventing soil erosion, protecting catchment areas and ensuring that land was divided into separate grazing, arable and residential areas. They had the power to cull all livestock exceeding the assessed carrying capacity of the grazing area. Because of erosion, the policies discouraged the keeping of small stock, especially goats. However, it was the culling of cattle that was the greatest concern to amaXhosa farmers (Hendricks and Peires, 2012).

The National Party apartheid ideals of 1948 required a revised policy to the Betterment and Rehabilitation Schemes, and hence the Tomlinson socio-economic commission was tasked to prepare a comprehensive scheme for rehabilitating the Native Areas. The findings of the commission strongly resembled previous schemes to rehabilitate the land. The fundamental difference was the recommendation that land, both arable and residential, should be sold to Africans under a system of title deeds (Tomlinson, 1955). The National Party rejected this outright. Hendricks (1990, p. 132) is of the opinion that the reason for this ‘was related to the role of the reserves as depositories of proletarians in abeyance and dump for the disabled and unproductive.’ However, the National Party claimed that it was to retain tribal tenure in accordance with the culture of the native. The Tomlinson Commission’s recommendation that Africans displaying a firm interest in farming should be entitled to sufficiently large economic farming units was also rejected in favour of allocations of equal-sized plots of five morgen (4.3 hectares). This was done in terms of Proclamation No. 26 of 1936, and theoretically residents who did not meet the requirements of this proclamation could lose their certificate of occupation. Unsuitable farmers or those not using the land beneficially could lose it to another

resident. Section 4 further states that not more than one allotment should be allocated to one person.

Hendricks (1990) believes that one of the main reasons that the land conservation and rehabilitation policies were never implemented was because of the introduction of Bantu Authorities in the 1950s when the Nationalist Party's priority shifted to elevating the position of chiefs and headmen and giving them greater authority over local affairs. This was at the expense of local authorities of Transkei and their conservation ideals. Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019) suggests that the National Party had no interest in conserving the land in Transkei. Their focus was entirely on using Transkei as an area to dump amaXhosa who were living in White areas. Hendricks (1990) explains that when the National Party came to power in 1948, it did away with the Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes in Transkei in favour of a 'Stabilisation' policy. It replaced the Department of Native Affairs with the Department of Bantu Administration and Development and developed Bantu Authorities to 'assist Africans to develop along their own lines'. No longer was conservation of soil and catchments a priority; the emphasis was on achieving acceptance of relocation to residential areas and suitable farming terrain. The stock culling and fencing that was so vehemently opposed in some areas was abandoned until a later stage. The government embarked on a strategy of converting tribal leaders into state functionaries. Fay (1998) states that the National Party introduced a new approach to the system of racial separation that had gained ground since the turn of the century. It aimed to create a distinct domain for African society and asserted that the institution of chieftainship was the cornerstone of such a society. Towards this end it introduced the Bantu Authorities Act in 1951 which defined tribal authority in such a way that it further distorted the power and authority of chiefs, reducing their dependence on their subjects and granting them new powers. Headmen were now subject to the chiefs and the chiefs themselves largely became instruments of control for the apartheid system. The Act involved the demarcation of new Tribal Authority boundaries, in many instances drawing arbitrary boundaries around communities (Fay, 1998).

According to Hendricks (1990), the only accepted recommendation of the Tomlinson Commission was to establish rural villages. Thus, loose planning and rapid resettlement characterised Transkei agriculture and settlement during the 1950s and 1960s. The boundaries

of residential settlements were often arbitrary and poorly planned (Fay, 1998). Contrary to the Tomlinson commission's recommendations to reduce Transkei's population, the government cleared 'Black spots' from residential areas and squatters from White farms and relocated them to Transkei and other reserves, thereby dramatically increasing their populations (Hendricks, 1990).

Fay (1998) describes the challenges that state officials encountered in implementing the new stabilization policies in Hobeni. The zoning of areas for residential, forestry, arable and communal grazing land was not supported. In 1970, Magistrate Hitge wrote, 'The attitude of people at meetings is very hostile…constables demarcating lands and kraals do not receive their cooperation. These people are still very much primitive and backward and the headman of the area are no longer sure of their lives' (Fay, 1998). Hendricks (1990) argues that this attitude prevailed in most of Transkei. He reports of people being forcibly relocated if they occupied land outside of demarcated zones. Fay (1998) argues that the impacts of zoning meant relocation and a loss of access to grazing land and resources. There was resistance and opposition to zoning and land use planning and resource-use restrictions by Hobeni people, as elsewhere in Transkei. The researcher has witnessed the resistance to the term 'zoning' on numerous occasions during meetings along the Wild Coast, even in relation to creating 'zones' in protected areas. He recalls strong resistance being voiced by communities when the word 'zonation' was used when the Pondoland Park idea was mooted by Minister van Schalkwyk and the National Department of Environmental Affairs. Even if the concept of zonation made sense, the stigma associated with it resulted in severe resentment of the term. It is ironic that policies intended to prevent environmental damage have actually made conservation efforts more difficult.

In 1976, Transkei was granted a form of independence with its own elected government system (Mbana, 1991; Sunde, 2014). Renewed attempts were made at conserving the grasslands and soil through legislation and policies of the Transkei Department of Agriculture and Forestry (Mbana, 1991). Fay (2009) states that the villagisation implemented during Betterment, Rehabilitation and Stabilization schemes was finally cancelled in 1989 after the military coup in Transkei under General Bantu Holomisa in 1987.

Following the unbanning of the liberation movements, and the onset of democracy in South Africa in 1994, Transkei lost its status as an independent Republic, and was reincorporated into South Africa. The conservation of grasslands became the mandate of the Departments of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs (Sunde, 2014).

5.4 Conservation of Marine resources along the Wild Coast

5.4.1 Traditional Marine Conservation Practices

Dutton (1988) states that opinions differ markedly as to whether or not traditional fisheries conserved marine resources. He argues that there has been no need for a traditional conservation ethic amongst local people because until relatively recent times their marine resources were functionally infinite. He questions whether marine resources were historically managed through inadvertent or intentional conservation measures. He argues that for conservation of a resource to be intentional, the resource must be of value to society; be perceived to be in limited supply and vulnerable to human impact and the socio-political realm of society must have the necessary structure for resource management. If marine resources have been functionally infinite there is no need for a traditional marine conservation ethic. Dutton (1988) therefore cautions against reviving the concept of the 'noble savage' with reference to traditional conservation ethics. However, he believes that the efficacy of African traditional gear to harvest marine resources intentionally or inadvertently conserved the species that they targeted.

Traditional collection of mussels and red bait by Africans living along the east coast of South Africa, would have been with sharpened sticks before the now preferred methods of bush knives, hoes and blades that strip rocks bare (Dutton, 1988; Lasiak, 1991; 1992). While the historical practice of fishing along the Wild Coast by amaXhosa is contested, it was traditionally done with traps, spears or simple poles with natural fibre lines and hooks of bone or thorns along the Zululand coast (P. Dutton, pers comm., 16/05/2018). Dutton (1988) states that traditional fish traps have been used in northern Zululand for centuries. In Thongaland the principal fishing methods are still valve baskets, *umono*, and guide fences, *umtamana*, set in

the broad shallow estuaries. These are constructed from indigenous brushwood supported by mangrove poles. The baskets are checked daily and if the owner of the traps observes fish within the baskets, he spears the fish using metal tipped spears without barbs. Mullet (*Mugil* spp.) and milkfish (*Pteromugil* spp.) are most commonly caught. For line fishing, commercial hooks and natural fibre lines made from the leaves of indigenous plants were attached to a simple pole without a reel. Gill netting was never practiced by traditional fishers and was strongly opposed by them (Dutton, 1988).

Dutton (1988) argues that local people have an intimate knowledge of their marine environment. He illustrates this by discussing Thonga traditional fishers and their use of marine resources. The Thonga failed to understand the reasons for bag limits to species which had been collected on a rotational basis, depending on availability, for centuries. There was no scientifically determined reason for an arbitrary number of 25 mussels per person per day as legislated by the state. Coastal regulations determined by Western conservationists were rigid and appeared to them not to consider the fluctuations in abundance of species. Traditional fishing communities understand the ecology of their marine environments and formulate restrictive taboos to manage their fisheries (Dutton, 1988; K. Juza, pers comm., 22/03/2019).

5.4.2 Westernised Conservation Measures for the Wild Coast's Marine Resources

Prior to the late 1800s there was no legislation governing the utilisation of marine resources along the Wild Coast, but in the 1890s the fisheries and marine resource laws of the Cape were extended to cover Transkei through the Transkeian Proclamation of 1895 (Sunde, 2014). At this time, a state narrative emerged about Africans' ecological 'destruction' in Transkei which necessitated colonial 'protection' of forests and trees from 'extinction' (Tropp 2006). Legislation covering natural resources, particularly forests, was implemented and had an effect on communities' access to marine resources (Sunde, 2014). In the period up until Union in 1910, and immediately thereafter, provincial regulation persisted, albeit of varying strength depending on proximity to the centre in the Cape. The Transkei Proclamation of 1895 was thus not rigidly enforced. It was the Natives Land Act of 1913 and the Native Administration Act 38 of 1927 that paved the way for an approach to customary law which patterned marine and coastal resource use and governance in racially based ways. The policy of separate

development whereby areas of the country set aside under the Natives Land Act would eventually come to be self-governed as Black Bantustans impacted the Eastern Cape considerably, especially along the coast (Sunde, 2014).

Under the Native Administration Act, Africans were governed in a distinct domain legitimised by custom and chiefly rule (Emdon, 2013). The Act drew on highly authoritarian understanding of chiefly rule as a model. It gave chiefs the authority to impose controls over the rural population and was a significant mechanism of power used in the process of re-shaping traditional authority. It recognised Native law and custom as the legal means for dealing with disputes in which native interests predominated. Chiefs were used as the instruments of the state in implementing these policies which some of their people rejected (Sunde, 2014).

From the 1930s the state embarked on a determined path towards shifting governance firmly in its favour. The authority to manage fisheries was moved from provinces to the state as the state attempted to gain a measure of control over the lucrative and rapidly expanding commercial fishing sector located along the Western seaboard (Sunde, 2014).

In 1940, the Sea Fisheries Act 19 of 1940, extended certain restrictions on fishing but it appears that these were not enforced in the rural areas of the country. There was little awareness or enforcement of legislation along the Wild Coast until well into the 1970s when the Sea Fisheries Act 19 of 1940 was replaced by Act 58 of 1973 (Sunde, 2014). Besides the Sea Fisheries Act, the Sea-Shore Act 21 of 1935 applied to the South African coastline until the Transkei Sea-Shore Act 17 of 1979 replaced it (Nondlebe and Nondoda-Gaulana, 2019). These Acts apply on the seashore between the low water mark and high water mark of the sea and/or estuaries. They regulate development on the seashore (Nondlebe and Nondoda- Gaulana, 2019).

Following the election of the National Party to power in 1948, the racially based approach to governance gathered momentum and in this process the expression of power through the use of law by the dominant regime is evident. In addition to the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951

which shaped governance in the coastal Bantustan areas, a key legal mechanism of governance that came to have wide reaching influence on marine resource management and conservation was the Group Areas Act of 1950. The implementation of this Act led to the forced removal of thousands of Coloured, Indian and Black South Africans from land that they had historically occupied along the coast. In so doing they lost not only their tenure security to land but also their tenure of marine resources which they had traditionally used for livelihoods, culture and customary practices (Sunde 2014).

The 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self Government Act 46 aimed to consolidate the policy of separate development by enabling the self-governance of Transkei as an independent African 'homeland'. In 1963 Transkei became self-governing and it achieved its independence in 1967. The Constitution Act 48 of 1963 transferred responsibility for marine conservation in Transkei to the Transkei Government. The Transkei Nature Conservation Act was promulgated in 1971. This Act made provision for wild life and marine reserves and granted headmen ex officio status as conservation officers. Additional restrictions on fishing, harvesting and bait collection were introduced and selling marine resources without a permit was prohibited (Sunde, 2014).

The Transkei government established a 'Flora and Fauna' division of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry which was responsible for all nature conservation previously administered by the Cape Provincial Administration (Palmer et al., 2002). Until October 1991 exploitation of marine resources along the Transkei Wild Coast was governed by the South African Fisheries Act of 1973 (Act 58 of 1973) and its regulations. The legislation focused on the conservation of fishes mainly occurring in the western half of the Cape Province and Namibia. Transkei had no integrated coastal conservation legislation and marine resources were ineffectively managed by the Department of Commerce, Industry and Tourism (Fielding et al., 1994).

New regulations in terms of the Sea Fisheries Act were promulgated by the Minister of Agriculture and Forestry under Government Notice No. 107 in Special Gazette No. 76 dated 24th October, 1991. This was done in consultation with relevant public and private authorities in the Republic of South Africa (but it is dubious whether any Transkeian citizen was

consulted). The 1991 regulations were replaced by the Transkei Fisheries Regulations (Sea and Inland) of 1992, published in Government Notice No. 129, Special Gazette No. 81, dated December 1992, in terms of Environmental Conservation Decree No. 9 of 1992 (Fielding et al., 1994).

The main provision of the 1991 regulations was that the use of marine resources by fish factories was restricted to the catching or harvesting, processing and sale of finfish and seaweed. Permits could no longer be issued for processing of rock lobsters, abalone, oysters or other shellfish. The regulations effectively closed down the fish factories that did not deal in finfish (Fielding et al., 1994).

After reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa the Marine and Coastal Management (MCM) Branch of the National Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) managed most matters relating to coastal conservation, coastal biodiversity, fisheries and MPAs (Fielding, 2018). Essentially, DEAT has remained the principle management authority of marine conservation, albeit with several name changes and restructuring processes.

In developing legislation and regulations, the state has seldom consulted local communities along the Wild Coast (Fielding et al., 1994; Sunde, 2014; A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020). Despite this, interviews with anglers along the Wild Coast by McDonald et al. *(*1999) showed that 82% of interviewees agreed with regulations for minimum size limits, 78% agreed with bag limits, and 73% agreed with the establishment of MPAs. Black fishermen were less knowledgeable about the rules and regulations and a higher percentage disagreed with the legislation compared with the White, Coloured and Indian fishermen who were interviewed. Unfortunately, a high percentage of anglers across the spectrum admitted to disobeying the fisheries laws (McDonald et al., 1999). This is one of the reasons that the promulgation of MPAs is often effective because theoretically, management and enforcement efforts can focus on specific areas that have been identified as most important to sustain marine life and ecosystems. The following section explores the MPAs that have been established along the Wild Coast.

5.4.3 The Wild Coast Marine Protected Areas

It has long been argued that protected areas may be the most effective means of conserving terrestrial biodiversity (Lombard, 1995a; b; Brandon et al., 1998). Similarly, it is widely acknowledged that establishing MPAs is very effective in conserving marine biodiversity (Mann et al., 2003; Fielding, 2018), but until 1994 only three marine reserves had been proclaimed along the Wild Coast - at Mkambati, Hluleka and Dwesa - protecting a mere 30 km or 11% of the Wild Coast (Fielding et al., 1994). MPAs along the South African coastline were originally not selected based on research and monitoring to determine whether they would perform a useful function (Attwood et al., 1997). As a result, the Wild Coast MPAs were not ideally located and did not extend far enough seaward to protect reef fish species (Fielding et al., 1994). This was a problem because commercial and recreational ski-boat fishers, and to some extent rock-and-surf anglers, targeted reef fish species. Many of the targeted fish belong to the family Sparidae and are endemic to the southern African coast. These are usually slow-growing, long-lived species that are consequently easily over-exploited. As a result of this Fielding et al. (1994) proposed extending the Wild Coast MPAs as the preferred method of conserving marine resources along that coastline. McDonald et al. (1999) and Mann (2000) supported the proposal, but added that more MPAs should be established and that those in existence must be patrolled to ensure compliance with legislation. In attempting to determine the attitudes of fishers toward MPAs, Mann et al. (2003) found that fishers who disagreed with the MPA concept were often locals, particularly those who had to walk extra distances to reach waters where fishing was allowed.

Fielding (2018) explains that prior to the promulgation of the Marine Living Resource Act (MLRA) of 1998, MPAs were declared in terms of the Sea Fisheries Act of 1973 and of 1988 and its various amendments. After 1998, MPAs were declared in terms of Section 43 of the MLRA until 2014. Growing awareness of the broader social and livelihood responsibilities of MPAs led to a decision to separate the management of fisheries and the management of MPAs and to move MPAs under the same legislation that controlled terrestrial protected areas. Since 2014 the primary legal instrument for the establishment and protection of MPAs has been the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Act 57 of 2003 (NEMPAA) Sections 22A and 48A by way of the NEMPAA Amendment Act. Section 43 of the MLRA has been

repealed. On 2nd June 2014 all MPAs previously declared under the MLRA were transferred by presidential pronouncement to Section 22A of the NEMPAA.

For more than a decade the Marine and Coastal Management (MCM) Branch of the National Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) managed all matters relating to conservation, biodiversity, fisheries and MPAs. In 2009, the institutional arrangements relating to management of the environment underwent a major revision and the Department of Environment Affairs and Tourism was divided into three Departments – the Department of Environment Affairs (DEA), the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF), and the Department of Tourism (DoT). Management of the marine environment was shared between DEA that manages most aspects of the marine environment, and DAFF that manages fisheries. DEA is the legally mandated management authority for all MPAs. It has contractual agreements with various management authorities to manage the country's MPAs. The current management authority appointed to manage the Wild Coast MPAs is the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA) (Fielding, 2018).

Along the Wild Coast, marine conservation and restrictions on shellfish utilisation are the most serious obstacles to conservation partnerships (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997; Sunde, 2014) and the most contentious conservation management is undoubtedly the MPAs (Pienaar, 2003). Attwood et al. (1997) reflect that little consultation took place with user groups and affected parties when the MPAs were established in Transkei and Boyd (pers comm., 31/01/2020) states that decisions relating to their management were based entirely on science.

Marine Protected Areas in South Africa were established long after terrestrial nature reserves and received considerably less attention than the terrestrial protected areas (Sink, 2016). Only 0.4% of South Africa's mainland ocean territory was protected by MPAs prior to the Phakisa Presidential Project that began in 2014 (Sink, 2016; Mtshali and Kock, 2019). Since the crash of marine resources due to overexploitation in the 1970s, the government has focused on establishing the current types of MPAs (Sowman et al., 2010). The Transkei Wild Coast MPAs were established adjacent to the terrestrial Mkambati, Hluleka, Dwesa and Cwebe Nature

Reserves (Fielding, 2018) (Figure 5.1). The case studies in later chapters of this thesis cover their history in greater detail.

Sowman et al. (2010) suggest that a more integrated human approach is required to establish MPAs because, in their opinion it was, and remains, a top down approach. There is an urgent need to meet international targets of setting 20 to 30% of the marine coastline aside as MPAs and the drive to achieve this sometimes overtakes the process of meaningful consultation. It has been suggested that the lack of community participation may be the reason why so many local communities and fishermen who live along the Wild Coast resent the establishment of MPAs in their areas (Sowman et al., 2010; Emdon, 2013; Sunde, 2014). This is recognised in the National Coastal Management Programme for South Africa (DEAT, 2014) and the importance of partnerships with marginalised and previously disadvantaged communities has been included in the cooperative governance framework for integrated coastal management.

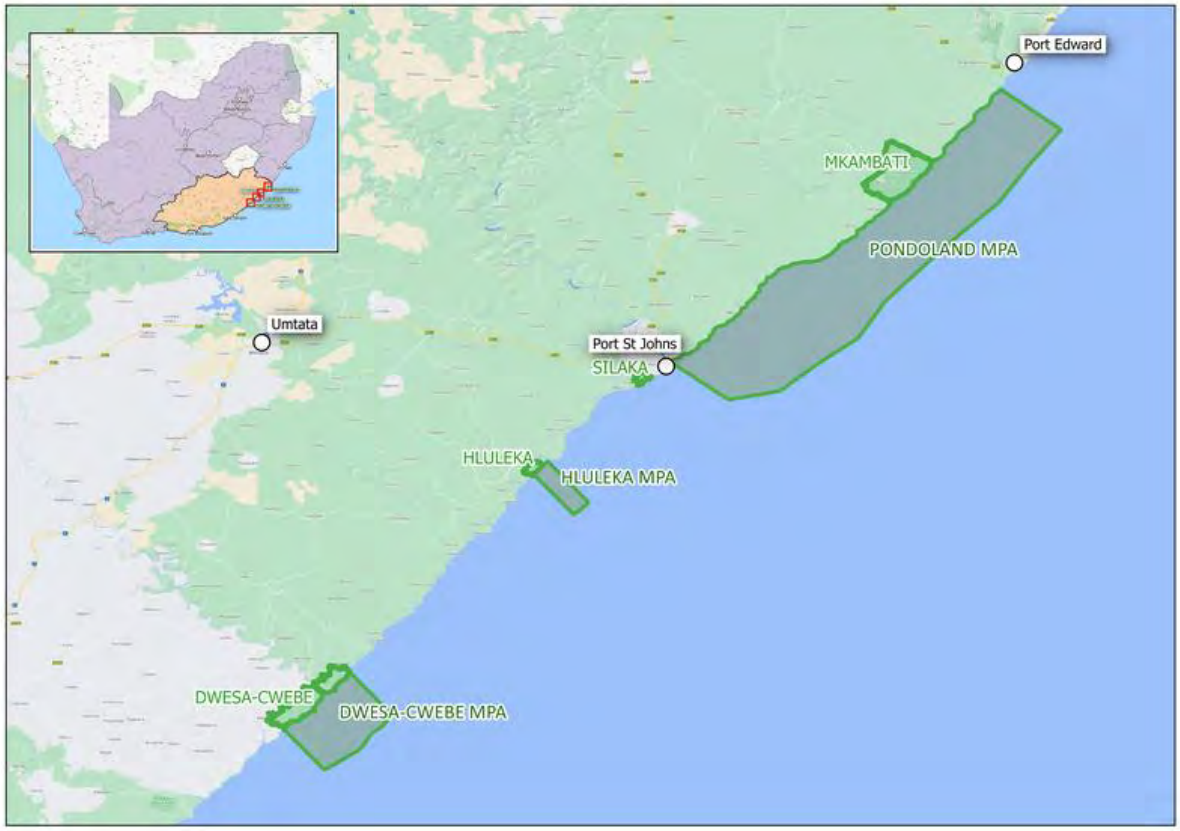

Figure 5.1: Spatial Distribution of Marine Protected Areas along the Wild Coast (ECPTA, 2020)

5.5 Terrestrial Protected Areas of the Wild Coast

The Wild Coast has several types of protected areas which vary in terms of status and management (Reyers and Ginsburg, 2005). The State Forests and Headmen Forests are not considered to be protected areas unless they have been formally proclaimed. Protected areas were initially established in Transkei to protect biodiversity, attract tourists, create jobs and show that the homeland was a functional independent state (Mbana, 1991).

Transkei had ten nature reserves, six of which were situated on the Wild Coast (Butchart, 1989). The Wild Coast Nature Reserves included Dwesa, Cwebe, Hluleka and Mkambati that were all formally proclaimed under Transkeian legislation. These have been recognised under the National Environmental Management Protected Areas Act of 2003 as proclaimed provincial nature reserves. The Silaka Nature Reserve near Port St Johns and the Umtamvuna Nature Reserve on the Transkei side of the KwaZulu-Natal border, were never officially proclaimed (Feely, 2013). However, Silaka was managed as a protected area to showcase Transkei and affirm its independence (Dennison, 2010). Having been established and managed as a protected area, Silaka therefore fulfils the definition in NEMPAA of a proclaimed provincial nature reserve.

Reyers and Ginsburg (2005) argue that the Wild Coast protected areas have been poorly managed ever since their establishment in the Transkei era. Prior to 1971 no legislation existed to establish protected areas in the region. Campion (1976) records an expedition along the Wild Coast in October 1968 where Dr Vincent Wager, a naturalist, led a contingent from the Wildlife Society of Southern Africa to assess the coastal area for its potential for tourism and establishment of nature reserves. After Wager's expedition made recommendations to Dr Piet Koornhof, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, laws were drafted to enable the proclamation of nature reserves. In 1971, the Transkei Nature Conservation Act No. 6 was passed. A division of Nature Conservation and Tourism was established under the wing of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry in 1972, with Mr G.P. 'Vis' Visagie appointed as Chief Professional Officer (Campion, 1976). Mbana (1991) states that the Nature Conservation section was initially managed by four professionals, two Transkeians and two

non-Transkeians. The first two professional Black conservators appointed in 1972 were Montgomery Ntloko (MSc) and Winston Xaba (BSc), both amaXhosa graduates from Fort Hare University (Campion, 1976). Herb Bourn (pers comm., 21/05/2020) was appointed as a Principle Conservator in Umtata in 1974. He hand-picked Black second-year Agriculture students at Tsolo College as potential nature conservation candidates. These officials were trained in nature conservation at Tsolo until Mangosuthu Technikon opened in KwaZulu. According to Mbana (1991), further technical officers were later employed, having obtained diplomas from the Mangosuthu Technikon. Six hundred men were eventually employed to protect the nature reserves, but the Department's main focus remained protection of the 1 200 state forests. Nature conservation focused on the Wild Coast which was popular with tourists, but nature conservation was not popular with the local people of Transkei (Mbana, 1991).

Following their incorporation into South Africa, the nature reserves were managed by the Provincial Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism and finally by the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA), a provincial government agency under the Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEDEAT). The ECPTA was established in July 2010 in terms of the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency Act, No. 2 of 2010. It is currently mandated to manage biodiversity in protected areas and manage tourism in the province and is responsible for the management of the provincial protected area network (Fielding, 2018).

Although the Wild Coast has five declared provincial nature reserves, a mere 3.26% of its land is protected within these reserves (Reyers and Ginsburg, 2005). The protected areas do not conserve a representative portion of all ecosystems and biomes; for example, only 1% of Coastal grasslands fall within the nature reserves (Reyers and Ginsburg, 2005). During the 1970s various reports were submitted to highlight the importance of the Wild Coast for biodiversity conservation (Moll, 1974; Tinley and van Riet, 1975; Cooper, 1977; Tinley, 1978). The establishment of the few existing nature reserves may largely be attributed to these pioneering efforts. However, the recommendations to allow sustainable utilisation of natural resources were not considered or implemented by the Transkei government and resentment developed towards the nature reserves among local communities living close to these areas (Mbana, 1991; Timmermans, 2004).

Following the reincorporation of Transkei into South Africa, the Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa, having long been a driving force behind conserving the Wild Coast (Pringle, 1982), again vigorously lobbied for the establishment of a larger conservation area along this coastline (Kepe, 2002). The WESSA particularly focused on the biodiverse-rich Pondoland coast and developed a proposal for a Pondoland National Park (Briers et al., 1996). This proposal declares that subsistence grazing, exotic tree plantations and squatter settlements have a negative effect on the coastal environment of the Wild Coast, and that this geographical area is poorly conserved (Kepe, 2002). Lobbying for the new conservation area received a boost when the National Department of Environment and Tourism (DEAT) embraced the proposals in 2000. Consequently, a new protected area covering over 100 000 hectares, to be known as the Pondoland National Park, was mooted and presented to the leaders in Pondoland (Gerardy, 2001). The initiative was immediately perceived as a government attempt to take land from the people in a similar manner to former governments. The wounds from past nature reserve declarations and subsequent restrictions on natural resource use for local livelihoods had not healed. The Pondoland National Park with all its hype about tourism and jobs for local people was rejected outright and the delegation from the national DEAT, including the Minister of Environment and Tourism, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, was sent packing back to Pretoria (A. Mfenyana, pers comm., 17/08/2020). P. Mzazi-Geja (pers comm., 20/08/2020) recalls the reports from the meeting where local leaders enquired about the legitimacy of the national department intervening in the province. According to her, the national DEAT and provincial DEDEAT were not on good terms at the time. In her opinion communities learn to trust the people that they know and interact with on the ground. The national DEAT's intervention in the province was a mistake. The Pondoland National Park idea was shelved and has never materialised.

This study discusses the establishment and management of the proclaimed Wild Coast protected areas in greater detail in later chapters. It is useful to include a short discussion on the Silaka Nature Reserve as well because it represents a small protected area situated within a municipal area with a burgeoning, predominantly poor population. The nature reserve lies in a forested valley about seven km south of Port St Johns and stretches from Second Beach to Sugarloaf Rock, covering an area of merely 370 ha (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Silaka is

often referred to as ‘Third Beach’, but the reserve was given its name in reference to the Silaka River which runs through it until it breaks out into the sea. It has been managed as a nature reserve since 1983, but has never been officially declared as a protected area (Thondhlana et al., 2016).

There are differing opinions as to the history of Silaka because three separate erven make up the reserve area, and documentation relating to title appears to be lost. Conflicting records indicate who the owners were from the early 1900s when Third Beach, previously Crown Land, was allocated and sold (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Silaka Nature Reserve was established as a result of several agreements. When the road was built through Agate Terrace to Poenskop, Garth Lloyd, then Mayor of Port St Johns, agreed with Government that the municipal owned portion of Third Beach that lay beside the sea, could be declared a nature reserve in exchange for permission to build the road. When the Transkei Military took over Mount Thesiger Nature Reserve as a military base, another agreement was entered into whereby Government added a state owned erf to the Silaka Nature Reserve. This is the land where the rest camp is situated. Mt Thesiger retained its state forest status but ceased to be a nature reserve. Paramount Chief Ndamase granted the Caguba portion of Silaka to become part of the nature reserve (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

The community of Caguba that adjoins Silaka to the north of the river, lodged a land claim on the greater Port St Johns area, including Silaka Nature Reserve, on the basis that it was historically theirs. The claim was settled in 2008 with a proviso that Silaka had to remain a protected area into perpetuity, but had to be co-managed by the people of Caguba and ECPTA (Silaka Settlement Agreement, 2008). Promises of jobs and benefits from tourism have not materialised, resulting in serious conflict between the state and the communities. Silaka Nature Reserve has had to close to tourism on several occasions as a result thereof (Thondhlana et al., 2016).

5.6 The Wild Coast Coastal Conservation Area

In addition to the terrestrial nature reserves proclaimed to protect portions of this coast, Transkei declared a 'coastal conservation area' (CCA) along the entire coast from the Mtamvuna to the Great Kei Rivers under the Transkei Environmental and Conservation Decree 9/1992. Section 39 (1) states: 'There is hereby established on the landward side of the entire length of the sea-shore, excluding any national park, national wildlife reserve, municipal land, sea-side resort, site occupied in terms of Proclamation No. 174 of 1921 or Proclamation No 26 of 1936, privately owned land and lease-hold land, a coastal conservation area 1 000 metres wide measured – (a) in relation to the sea, as distinct from a tidal river and tidal lagoon, from the high-water mark; (b) in relation to a tidal river or tidal lagoon, from the highest water-level reached during ordinary storms during the most stormy period of the year, excluding exceptional or abnormal floods.'

All development within the CCA is controlled under Section 39(2) which requires a permit from the Department of Nature Conservation in accordance with an approved coastal development plan. This Environmental Conservation Decree remains in force despite Transkei having been incorporated into South Africa more than 25 years ago and the restrictions imposed by the CCA have been a major bone of contention, especially among traditional leaders who are of the opinion that they 'own the land' (personal knowledge). Mike Coleman, former Director of the Department of Land Affairs, argues that land along the Wild Coast is predominantly State Land, acquired as Crown Land by annexation between 1878 and 1895. The locations or Administrative Areas were named, surveyed and gazetted, but not registered in the Deeds Registry. The land was re-surveyed from 2006, but remains largely unregistered. In this process the historically familiar Administration Areas were renamed and numbered as 'Farms' (Coleman, 2020).

Communal State Land is assigned to the Department of Agriculture Rural Development and Land reform (formerly Department of Land Affairs). Government ambiguously regards it as 'owned' by the state, but under the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act the Minister signs leases as 'Co-owner' with the community. The Minister is legally the 'Trustee' on behalf

of the community, not the owner of communal land. Until there is land tenure reform of communal land, this is unlikely to be resolved (M. Coleman, pers comm., 22/08/2020).

As much as 40% of South Africa's population lives within 100 km of the coast (DEAT, 2007). Sink et al. (2012) argue that coastal development is the greatest pressure on coastal biodiversity. They estimate that 17% of South Africa's coast has some form of development within 100 metres of the shoreline. Inappropriate development in the coastal zone compromises ecosystem services and hampers our ability to adapt to climate change. Gerry Pienaar (pers comm., 04/07/2019) and Robert Stegmann (pers comm., 27/07/2020) are of the opinion that the CCA has been the main reason for some form of land use control along the Wild Coast. To quote Pienaar directly, 'Other coastal provinces are extremely jealous of the provisions of the Transkei Decree in relation to the CCA. Without it the Wild Coast would be completely overrun by unscrupulous developments' (Pienaar, pers comm., 04/07/2019).

5.7 The Legal and Illegal Cottages along the Wild Coast

The CCA allows for development in the Port St Johns magisterial area as well as in various identified development nodes where people have 'permission to occupy' (PTO). From the early 1900s civil servants were allowed to occupy coastal cottage 'shacks', originally under the Forest Act, for a maximum of three months a year. These were later formalised and mapped as Demarcated Recreation Areas for occupation of cottages, campsites and hotel sites (boarding houses). Tenure was by three-year Section 5 PTOs under Proclamation 26 of 1936. Under Section 4 of the Proclamation, the traditional authority confirmed that a local resident was a community member with land rights, the Department of Agriculture demarcated and mapped the site for residence and arable purposes, and the Magistrate signed the PTO and recorded it in the District Land Register. There were strict conditions relating to occupancy, extensions and sub-letting and a PTO could not be transferred or alienated (M. Coleman, pers comm., 22/08/2020).

According to Mike Coleman (pers comm., 22/08/2020), from 1994 the Minister of Land Affairs refused to administer the Proclamation, although it remains unrepealed and in force. In 1996 the signatory function was removed from magistrates. PTOs could therefore not be legally renewed or issued. Similarly, Section 4 PTOs for local land right holders, and Section 5 PTOs for cottage holders could not be renewed or issued. In essence this means that since 1998 when the existing law was repealed but not replaced, there has been no planning law in place for the rural areas of Transkei. Consequently, with no operative land tenure law, no planning law, and no land administration, land use management of the coastal area was left to DEDEAT using the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree 9 of 1992. The Spatial Planning and Land Use Management Act of 2013 (SPLUMA) is not yet effective in Transkei (Coleman, 2020).

During the Transkei Bantustan era, allocation of PTO sites along the coast took into consideration the provisions of the Coastal Development Control Plan after its development in 1979, which sought to provide for suitable development on the Wild Coast (DEDEAT, 2019). With the abolishment of Transkei, there was widespread uncertainty relating to the validity of PTOs and the acquiring of seaside plots within the CCA (Phuhlisani, 2005b). The minutes of the 27th Wild Coast Illegal Cottages Task Group reflect this as follows: 'Mike Coleman told Div de Villiers telephonically that no "legal PTO" sites were valid and interim procedures needed to be followed where people wanted to renovate existing buildings on old "legal PTO" sites' (WCICTG, 30/09/2005).

Dennison (2008) reports that an influx of illegal cottage owners flooded the Wild Coast at the advent of the 'New South Africa'. These speculative developers approached chiefs or headmen to acquire sites in exchange for a bottle of brandy and R200 (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). The Wildlife Society of SA brought an interdict against the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism for that Department's failure to prevent the establishment of these illegal holiday cottages on a CCA in the then Transkei. WESSA applied for an order compelling the Minister of Environmental Affairs, the Premier of the Eastern Cape, DWAF and DLA to enforce the provisions of the Transkei Decree and the Land Affairs legislation. The Wildlife Society contended that the establishment of the cottages caused environmental degradation, that the steps taken by the Ministry to prevent the degradation were slow and inadequate and that urgent action should have been taken to protect the environment. It further contended that Eastern

Cape chiefs or headmen had granted rights of occupation and had allocated sites within the declared CCA to private individuals without the legal mandate to do so. Shacks and dwellings had been constructed on those sites which had resulted in environmental degradation. Roads, pathways and tracks had been created through environmentally sensitive areas. It was contended that considerable and irreversible environmental degradation of the Transkei Wild Coast within the coastal conservation zone had been and was occurring at the time of the institution of the proceedings (R. Stegmann, pers comm., 27/07/2020). On 27th June, 1996, Judge Pickering granted an order that the respondent enforce the provisions of section 39(2) of the Decree (1996(3) All SA 462 (TK)). The Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism was ordered to enforce the law and have the illegal cottages demolished. The state responded by appointing the Heath Special Investigation Unit to investigate the unlawful land grabs. Although useful information was gathered by the SIU relating to details of the developers, no tangible results relating to removal of the developments occurred (R. Stegmann, pers comm., 27/07/2020).

In 2000 a concerted and renewed effort was undertaken by the Eastern Cape Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism (DEAET) together with a Task Team comprising various State Departments. MEC Enoch Godongwana established the Wild Coast Illegal Cottages Task Group (WCICTG) chaired by Dr Niel Malan of the National Department of Environmental Affairs and Div de Villiers of DEAET. Provincial Cabinet approved the aims of the WCICTG as: To conduct law enforcement operations to halt the lawlessness and uncontrolled development; To take offenders to court; To demolish and rehabilitate all illegal structures; To create a climate for planned development and investment.

Joint law enforcement operations began in 2000 and resulted in numerous arrests and the opening of criminal cases. This added to dozens of civil cases that had been in progress since the Heath SIU began work on the project in 1995. The media publicity was extensive and the renewed action drove some illegal cottage owners to demolish their structures and rehabilitate the areas that they occupied in an effort to escape prosecution and exposure in the media. However, most illegal developers opted to contest their right to occupy the land in court (R. Stegmann, pers comm., 27/07/2020).

Court cases were regularly postponed or delayed on technical grounds until the State won a civil court case against Michael Santi of Ntafufu in 2003. His house in the CCA was bulldozed to the ground, with the MEC of DEAET, Enoch Godongwana, assisting by driving the bulldozer. The media footage sent a message of the State's intent across the country. In July 2004 criminal charges were enacted against an illegal cottage owner at Poenskop, near Port St. John's, one of the most sought-after fishing areas of the Wild Coast. The owner of the cottage, Geoffrey Hawkes, was fined by the court and ordered by Magistrate Pretorius to demolish his cottage and pay the costs of restoring and rehabilitating the site (R. Stegmann, pers comm., 27/07/2020).

Approximately 40 illegal cottage owners at Dakane, Manteku, Sinangwana and Mngazana in the Port St John's and Lusikisiki districts volunteered to break down their cottages to avoid criminal records. In December 2005 a High Court judgment ordered that a further 30 cottages be demolished in the Black Sands, Manteku and Dakane areas (State vs Barnett et al. High Court of South Africa, Transkei Division). This had been the State's main civil case (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). The defense was granted leave to appeal but the Supreme Court of Appeal upheld the decision and ruled in favour of the State (SCA, 2007)[11]. In excess of 100 structures have since been demolished and removed from the Wild Coast CCA, and the sites rehabilitated (Mabuyane, 2018).

To provide for and encourage sustainable development on the Wild Coast, the Coastal Development Control Plan of 1979 was revised and replaced by the Wild Coast Tourism Development Policy which was published in the Provincial Gazette Extraordinary of 23rd February, 2001. The Wild Coast Development Policy was updated and revised to provide for the provisions of the National Environmental Management Act, 1998 (Act 107 of 1998) and Specific Environmental Management Acts which included the National Environmental Management: Integrated Coastal Management Act, 2008 (Act 24 of 2008). The Wild Coast Environmental Management Plan (EMP) was developed through extensive consultation, culminating in MEC Sakhumzi Somyo's approval on 24th July, 2015. The plan provides for nodal development and coastal settlements along the Wild Coast as well as biodiversity

[11] *Barnett v Minister of Land Affairs [2007] SCA 95 (RSA).*

landscape management areas where development is discouraged for environmental reasons (DEDEAT, 2019).

The number of holiday cottages with formerly legally acquired PTOs, has remained at 355 since 1944 (Fielding et al., 1994; A. Cocks, pers comm., 20/08/2020). The number of unlawful cottages and homesteads built within the CCA has increased to several hundred despite DEDEAT's continued attempts to prevent the uncontrolled and illegal developments (R. Stegmann, pers comm., 27/07/2020). The cottages have historically provided little revenue to Transkei and few benefits to local people because of low cottage rentals and poor shopping facilities in Transkei, which compelled visitors to bring all food and drink with them from outside areas (Fielding et al., 1994). This remains the situation along the Wild Coast (R. Stegmann, pers comm., 27/07/2020). The state's inability to control development within the CCA is largely due to the failure of all post-colonial governments to address the role of traditional leadership in a post-colonial context. During the era of Thabo Mbeki's presidency, the researcher was instructed not to engage traditional leaders when demolishing unlawful cottages, but to work through local authorities. According to the Regional Director of DEDEAT, Sizakele Gabula, this was a poor decision as many traditional leaders deliberately issued land in the CCA for development to show that they still had power (S. Gabula, pers comm., 2019). Phumla Mzazi-Geja (pers comm., 20/08/2020) argues that the only way to prevent this uncontrolled coastal sprawl is to work with traditional leadership. In her words, 'I have sleepless nights thinking about how we will conserve the Wild Coast with current land issues. Municipalities have no capacity and we (DEDEAT) have no foot soldiers. We must bank on the Green Economy. We have to develop the nodes (according to the Wild Coast EMP) and, maybe, declare Biosphere Reserves along sensitive areas. But we need the support of the people and the traditional leaders. When the chiefs were denied the right to manage the coast, things were a mess. We must give them (chiefs and headmen) greater responsibility to manage resources again. We need to work with them, and they want to work with us' (P. Mzazi-Geja, pers comm., 20/08/2020).

5.8 Traditional Conservation Methods and Local Conservationists Along the Wild Coast

Since the colonial era, Black people living in Transkei were considered as being wasteful in their use of natural resources (Henkel, 1890; Sim, 1906). While Sim (1906) acknowledges King Sarhili as having set aside the Manubi and Dwesa forests to protect the trees and animals within them, he goes on to state that forest conservation in Transkei only began in 1888 with the appointment of Henkel as a forest conservator. Local people's historical dependence on natural resources has been widely recorded (Hook, 1905; Soga, 1931; Hunter, 1936; Skead, 1987; Kahn, 1990) but their customs, values and traditional resource utilisation methods have not been considered when developing conservation initiatives in Transkei (Cocks et al., 2012; 2018).

There is a school of thought that holds that amaXhosa have a more practical approach to conservation than many Whites in that they consider customary utilisation of natural resources as being acceptable and sustainable (Doerr, 1988; Fourie, 1994). Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019) talks of the strong belief in God being the provider of resources. He will not let the people down by allowing resources to be depleted. This is a firm belief amongst people who collect shellfish along the Wild Coast (Emdon, 2013; Sunde, 2014; K. Juza, pers comm., 22/03/2019).

The researcher asked past foresters and conservationists, as well as traditional leaders, about any local amaXhosa person who could be considered an important conservationist. The answers varied from a complete negative to a reference to present or past nature conservators in the employment of the state. The concept of conservation is still a Westernised preservationist idea of someone who does not allow utilisation of natural resources, but looks after them for aesthetic reasons. Kidd (1904) was of the opinion that amaXhosa and amaMpondo had no appreciation of nature or aesthetic beauty if they could not benefit from it. However, Cocks et al. (2012) found that amongst amaXhosa there is in fact an appreciation of nature, especially of 'Xhosa forests' *ihlathi lesiXhosa* although it is seldom well articulated. Appreciation of nature is expressed during time spent collecting resources, as also told by

women and girls collecting mussels (Emdon, 2013; Sunde, 2014) and during hunts (De Villiers 2002a). Mogano (2012) speaks of a sense of well-being (*impilo*) derived by amaXhosa when they have spent time in nature.

Kahn (1990) argues that in pre-colonial Africa, Black people lived in close contact with nature and regarded themselves as part of the environment. Their perception of the environment was a positive one. Although they never practiced a formal conservation ethic, their customs, taboos and culture in effect protected the environment. Natural landscapes and associated biodiversity are closely linked to the strong nature-based religious and cultural beliefs of many amaXhosa (Cocks et al., 2012). Western ideas tend to separate nature from culture (West et al., 2006) but this is not the case with amaXhosa (Mogano, 2012). The culture and traditions of the local Black people were not considered in the declaration of nature reserves on the Wild Coast (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997; Timmermans, 2004). Culturally, amaXhosa people place a high premium on the resting places of their ancestors and on the grazing rights of their cattle (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997). Cocks et al. (2012) state that there is a strong link between the amaXhosa's connection with their ancestors, and their identity and well-being. This and the cattle-centred custom was denounced as sinful by missionaries (Saunders and Dericourt, 1974) and considered poor agricultural practice by Western agriculturalists (Mbana, 1991). Brownlee (1916, p. 180) wrote that, 'the great evils with which we have to contend are the constant thefts from the Colony, the influence of chiefs, the power of superstition, and the indolent habits of the natives…Some thousands have renounced heathenism with all its superstitions and customs, even to the receiving and giving of cattle for wives.' Cocks et al. (2012) argue that there is a link between the love of cattle and the love of the land. According to them, amaXhosa men enjoy their time walking with their cattle in grasslands and forests. Although it is not expressed as an appreciation of nature in a Western way, forests are sometimes visited by amaXhosa men simply to relax and reflect prior to returning to work. Boys learn to trap birds in forests and to hunt small game with dogs. This traditional custom teaches them about the plants and animals and their habitats. To the amaXhosa, it is acceptable practice that is distinguished from poaching and commercial hunting (Cocks et al., 2012).

Fast (1994) argues that the amaXhosa conception of moral behaviour as that which promoted harmonious social life was ignored by missionaries and many of their customs were categorised

as sinful. The cultural practice of circumcision is a case in point (Figure 5.2). The Wesleyan missionary John Ayliff reflected the missionary attitude in telling his followers to 'Put away that thing' in reference to circumcision (Fast, 1994) and Rev. William Holden considered the custom barbaric and degrading (Holden, 1866). However, Holden conceded that the practice was unlikely to be abandoned as an uncircumcised male is considered but a boy.

Figure 5.2: *abaKhwetha* (Initiates from boyhood to manhood) in a forest along the Wild Coast (J. Costello, 2006)

The passage of an umXhosa boy into manhood is characterised by the rite of circumcision (*ulwaluko*) (Cocks et al., 2012). The circumcision is followed by a period of seclusion where the initiates (*abakhwetha*) stay in a hut (*ibhoma*) traditionally constructed of grass and sticks, and usually near to a forest and stream (De Villiers and Tyali, 2012). In later years, men often return to the *ibhoma* site where they were *abakhwetha*, to reminisce and spend time in nature (Cocks et al., 2012). These are considered important areas to the amaXhosa men, yet there has been little recognition of this tradition by conservationists and no provision has been made to create protected areas to accommodate the practice (De Villiers and Tyali, 2012).

Dutton (1988) argues that many traditional people understand the ecology of the area that they reside in and form restrictive taboos to conserve the natural resources occurring there. Feely

spoke of cultural taboos that he encountered while doing research in Transkei (J. Feely, pers comm., 2012). Some amaXhosa believe in river monsters like the Mamlambo and Inkanyamba (De Villiers, 2010) and traditionally stay away from rivers at night; therefore, it is understandable that Feely erected his campsites beside rivers to stay safe and free from people who may otherwise have bothered him. The taboo is not only prevalent amongst the rural uneducated as might be thought, but widely believed. The MEC for Agriculture and Land Affairs, E.M. Sigwela, instructed the researcher in a fax in 1997 to 'seek and capture' the river monster in the Mzintlava River, rather than to 'seek and destroy' it (Sigwela, 1997). The researcher struggled to get any local person to assist, especially when he indicated the necessity of visiting the river at night when the monster allegedly appeared (De Villiers, 2010). The belief and associated taboo of living beside deep waters has kept the environmentally sensitive wetlands and rivers of Transkei clear of developments that so often cause pollution and siltation (J. Feely, pers comm., 2012).

There appears to be no intentional conservation of marine resources amongst amaXhosa people, but Dutton (1988) argues that for conservation to be intentional, the resource must be perceived to be in limited supply and vulnerable to human impact. The majority of Black respondents in surveys along the Wild Coast do not have this perception. There has been no scarcity of resources and therefore they have appeared functionally infinite. It may thus be argued, as Dutton (1988) did, that there has been no need for a traditional marine conservation ethic along the Wild Coast. This does not mean that Black people are ignorant of the need to look after resources. The researcher has witnessed this in north-eastern Pondoland where members of communities are so passionate about their land and livelihoods that they are prepared to die for it.

There has been a well-publicised outcry by the amaDiba communities living along the Pondoland coastline against proposals for mining of mineral sands on the community's land in the Xolobeni dunes (Haward et al., 2010) despite the promises of jobs and wealth made by the Australian mining company, Mineral Resource Commodities (MRC) (Clarke, 2014). The amaDiba formed a 'crisis committee' in 2007 to oppose titanium and heavy minerals mining (Reynolds, 2018). Resistance from a large portion of the community allegedly resulted in the 2016 assassination of the chairman of the Amadiba Crisis Committee (ACC), Sikosiphe

'Bazooka' Rhadebe (Lowman, 2016; Reynolds, 2018). The ACC has continued to resist the mining and won a successful court case in 2018 that ruled that community consent is required to grant rights to Transworld Energy and Mineral Resources (TEM), a subsidiary of MRC, to mine titanium in their area. Following this ruling, the Department of Mineral Resources placed a 24-month moratorium on any further prospecting or applications for mining at Xolobeni (Reynolds, 2018). This was gazetted and signed by Minister Samson Gwede Mantashe on the 3rd August, 2018 citing reasons of social and political tensions at Xolobeni (Government Gazette 781, 03/08/2018).

There has been similar resistance to the coastal highway that was mooted as the pillar of the government's Spatial Development Initiative to boost the economy of the region (Ncokazi, 2017). This has resulted in delays of more than 20 years to the building of the N2 through the greenfields area where the amaDiba have farmed in a traditional manner for generations (Clarke, 2014). These modern-day environmental activists are Black people. Nonhle Mbuthuma is a regular observer at South African National Roads Agency Soc. Ltd (SANRAL) environmental monitoring committee meetings where the researcher is also a representative for the DEDEAT. She represents the people of amaDiba who are against the N2 being built through their community and her passion for the environment is clear when she speaks out against government and local leaders who she believes have been 'bought' by SANRAL. A quote from her from the minutes of SANRAL (Meeting no. 7 15/05/2018) illustrates this: 'As the people of Mgungundlovu stated to SANRAL's CEO, "We don't want your road. We don't want a road that is going to cut our community."' She continues by stating that SANRAL has not considered the traditional way of life of the amaDiba. The consultants do not respect their graves, livestock or agricultural fields. To quote her further from those minutes, 'SANRAL never wants to listen and now they are continuing without the community. The community fought for the land for many years and it is their source of income and living. The community cannot sacrifice the land for the benefit of SANRAL.' Mbuthuma is unfazed by the threats she receives for her strong views. She even had a gun pulled on her at a heated meeting about the Xolobeni mining in 2013 (Sole, 2019).

Xolobeni may have taken centre stage regarding mining along the Pondoland Coast, but many more complaints stream in weekly to government about unlawful sand mining that occurs on

sensitive sites along the Wild Coast (personal knowledge). There are more than 200 illegal sand mines in operation along the Wild Coast (Mngeni et al., 2017). The complaints are not only from White cottage owners and tourists, but are predominantly from Black locals who are witnessing their environment being destroyed by commercial enterprises (personal knowledge). The financial gain from exploitation of the mines mainly accrues to outside business owners who have hardware shops and trucking companies in urban centres like Lusikisiki, Butterworth and Mthatha. Mngeni et al. (2017) state that local economies can also benefit from mining, however, the researcher has found that local people mainly benefit by being employed to load sand for which they are reportedly paid a pittance. Some chiefs and headmen receive payments from the truckers for every load of sand collected (personal knowledge). Mngeni et al. (2017) report that miners pay traditional leaders between R150 and R200 per 4-ton or 8-ton truck load. Sand is then sold for R2 000 per load. The industry is therefore a multi-million Rand uncontrolled economy considered to be one of the greatest risks to conservation of the Wild Coast (Phakisa, 2020). It is so rampant and lucrative that it has sparked fights and turf wars (Mngeni et al., 2017).

Ndzenze (2009) reported on the crackdown by Green Scorpions from the DEDEAT against sand miners. In this report, acting Head of Department of DEDEAT, Sybert Liebenberg, said environmental crimes were also economic crimes, eroding tourism along the Wild Coast. He promised harsh action by DEDEAT against perpetrators, but in a government about turn, the mandate to enforce the NEMA legislation relating to mining was withdrawn from environmental departments and given to the Department of Mineral Resources (DMR). DEDEAT reported in 2014 that they could no longer respond to contraventions without the concurrence and presence of DMR officials (Stone and Fuzile, 2014b). On 22nd March, 2014, under the headline 'RAVAGED', the front page of the *Daily Dispatch* reported on illegally mined sand from the Mbhashe River being used to build schools and government-funded houses. The DMR were not taking action against the three companies mining sand but according to their spokesperson, 'Community awareness sessions were being held and perpetrators were informed and educated when confronted' (Stone and Fuzile, 2014a). As at January 2021 the DMR had not obtained a single conviction in a sand mining case along the Wild Coast (personal knowledge). The DEDEAT has continued to act against unlawful miners by using the controversial Transkei Decree to issue fines for driving in the CCA (DEDEAT, 2018).

There are some passionate Black conservationists outside of the formal conservation and forestry sector, who have shown dedication in trying to conserve the Wild Coast and the culture and traditions of the people who live there. Nonhle Mbuthuma and Sinegugu Zukulu have been recognised for their efforts in opposing the Xolobeni mining and N2 through Pondoland. Zukulu is a young man who was born in the area and attended school at Baleni. He and the researcher were nominated for environmental awards for their work on the Wild Coast in 2015. At the awards function, Zukulu expressed his passion to the researcher about conserving the nature and rural environment that is central to his people's culture. The researcher was therefore surprised that none of the leaders around Mkambati mentioned him as a prominent and passionate conservationist from their area during the researcher's interviews for this study. None of them mentioned Mbuthuma either. Most surprising was that no traditional leader recognised their queen as a leading figure in fighting for the environment.

Queen Masobhuza Sigcawu, who was married to the late King of the amaMpondo, Mpondombini Sigcawu, has been outspoken against the road and mining, which she believes will destroy the traditional way of life forever. She spoke to the researcher about her love for Pondoland during 2005 while the researcher was writing the book, 'Mkambati and the Wild Coast'. She again reemphasised her desire for the Pondoland Wild Coast to be looked after for the benefit of the amaMpondo when the researcher interviewed her telephonically (M. Sigcawu, pers comm., 17/03/2020). Clarke (2014, p. 42) quotes the queen as stating in 2004 that, 'We cannot allow people to be moved from their ploughed fields and grazing lands to make way for a mine that will completely destroy the environment.' He likens her to the iconic conservationist, Wangari Maathai.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the conservation practices that were implemented along the Wild Coast from the early efforts of King Sarhili and Chief Umhlangaso, to modern efforts up to the post-apartheid era. It argued that conservation was initially unnecessary because of low human populations and bountiful resources. Traditional utilisation techniques may also have

unwittingly conserved natural resources prior to commercial exploitation by colonists. The chapter noted that, as pressure increased on the forests, the colonial government intervened with Westernised protection methods and laws. It showed that forestry and conservation officials were generally committed to their cause, but that underlying political motives used conservation to further political ideologies. The chapter drew on the literature, some previously unpublished, together with empirical evidence, to showcase the impacts of terrestrial and MPAs on the livelihoods of local people and on their attitudes to the various management authorities. In addition to protected areas, the impacts of the Transkei Environmental Conservation Military Decree and the declared CCA on protection of the Wild Coast and on livelihoods of local people residing along the coast, are revealed in this chapter for the first time in an academic study. The effects of this Bantustan legislation on land-use planning, including the legal and illegal coastal cottage developments, were discussed to serve as important historical records. The chapter concluded by discussing traditional conservation methods and Black African conservationists who are activists for environmental justice along the Wild Coast**.**

CHAPTER SIX: DWESA AND CWEBE NATURE RESERVES

6.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the history of conservation along the Wild Coast of the Eastern Cape from the pre-colonial efforts of King Sarhili to protect selected indigenous forests, to the Westernised conservation methods whereby nature reserves and MPAs were proclaimed by the state.

This chapter presents the case study of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The rationale for including this nature reserve is the fact that the indigenous forests that it protects are the most southerly of the important forests found on the Wild Coast. The forests are amongst the most biodiverse in southern Africa (Sim, 1906; Moll, 1974) and are arguably the oldest protected areas in South Africa (Cawe, 1992; Feely, 2013). This makes Dwesa-Cwebe an important case study when considering the history of conservation along the Wild Coast. The forests are classified as South Coast Forests, which differ from the forest types further north along the Wild Coast. They were initially protected by King Sarhili (Kreli) in the 1800s (Cawe, 1992), gazetted as a state forest by the colonial government in 1891, declared a nature reserve by the Transkei government in 1975, and incorporated as a protected area into post-apartheid South Africa in 1994 (Pienaar, 2003). Despite this, the forests have been an important part of the livelihoods of local people for thousands of years (Timmermans, 2004). Similarly, marine resources from this area have been used to supplement the nutritional requirements of the local population (Lasiak, 1992; Sunde, 2014). A series of restrictions on natural resource utilisation have historically been imposed on the local people in various forms. This has been justified under different guises, including ‘preservation’, ‘betterment’ and ‘conservation’ (See Chapter Five) with little consultation having taken place with local people (Timmermans, 2004; Sunde, 2014). Additionally, land rights issues have affected conservation in these reserves dating from colonial times to the present. The land claim on these nature reserves by local communities during the early 1990s became one of the most prominent land claims cases on protected areas in the country, after the Makuleke land claim for a portion of Kruger National Park and the Khomani San land claim on the Kgalagadi Transfrontier Park.

Dwesa Cwebe has been well-studied, particularly with regard to local community perceptions of conservation. There is, however, a severe lack of research and information on the opinions of foresters, scientists and conservationists who managed the forests and marine resources since the inception of legislated protection measures with regard to the management strategies used. There is also very little research or information regarding the involvement and understanding of traditional leaders in relation to conservation management of the area. In addition to the other factors mentioned above, the lack of research on these issues makes Dwesa-Cwebe an ideal case study area for this thesis.

Following this introduction, this chapter begins by discussing the biological importance of the Dwesa-Cwebe forests and marine environment. It then explores the history of natural resource use and conservation that is recorded as far back as the reign of King Sarhili in the 1800s up until the democratic South Africa. It considers the importance of the judgement from the Supreme Court of Appeal regarding customary practices relating to natural resource use. The chapter presents the data from interviews conducted with environmental managers, chiefs and headmen, who have managed the Dwesa and Cwebe nature reserves, some since their inception. It concludes with an analysis of the settled land claim and discusses the effects thereof on conservation of the area and on livelihoods of surrounding communities.

6.2 The Dwesa and Cwebe Study Area

The Dwesa and Cwebe nature reserves were originally established as state forests in 1891 and 1893, respectively (Moll, 1974; Fay, 1998; Pienaar, 2003). 'Dwesa-Cwebe' is the name used to collectively refer to the coastal strip of land that has been managed as a state protected area since that time (Vermaak and Peckham, 1996), and the four communal settlements inland, and adjacent to the reserves (Timmermans, 2004). A distinctive topographical feature of the study area and one that has contributed to its administrative separation is the large Mbhashe River system. Dwesa, located to the south-west of the Mbhashe River, is the generic name for the southern portions of the Mendu and Msendo Administrative Areas. Cwebe, which is located north-east of the Mbhashe River, refers to the administrative areas of Hobeni and Cwebe (Timmermans, 2004).

The Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is situated between the Nqabara River (32° 12′ S; 28° 58′E) and the Ntlonyana River (32° 20′ S; 28° 48′ E) (Timmermans, 2004; Shackleton et al., 2013) (Figure 6.1). The Dwesa Nature Reserve is approximately 50 km from the town of Willowvale, and consists of about 3 702 hectares of predominantly indigenous forest (Transkei Government Gazette 28, 25/7/1975). The Cwebe Nature Reserve lies adjacent to Dwesa, along the coast, and is separated by the Mbhashe River. Elliotdale is the closest town, approximately 50 km away (Shackleton et al., 2007). Cwebe Nature Reserve is approximately 2 004 ha (Transkei Government Gazette 28, 25/7/1975), but there are uncertainties as to the exact boundaries (Pienaar, 2003; Venter and Conradie, 2012; ECPTA, 2012a), as a result of inaccurate fencing along surveyed forest boundaries, as well as the disappearance of the original forest beacons. In total, the terrestrial area of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve covers about 5 700 hectares (Butchard, 1989; Ntshona et al., 2010). While Dwesa and Cwebe were historically administered separately as part of the Willowvale and Elliotdale districts, since the passing of the Local Government: Municipal Demarcation Act (Act No. 27 of 1998), and the Local Government: Municipal Structures Act (Act No. 117 of 1998), both areas fall under the administration of the Mbhashe Municipality, based in Dutywa. The Mbhashe Municipality in turn falls within the jurisdiction of the Amathole District Municipality situated in East London (Timmermans, 2004; Jonas, 2018).

Dwesa-Cwebe lies along a stretch of Wild Coast dominated by rolling hills and valleys, with an altitude ranging from sea level to 450 m (Shackleton et al., 2013). The general topography ranges from heavily wooded sand dunes to high grass-covered hills that slope steeply down to the Indian Ocean. Along this stretch of coastline, sheer sandstone cliffs and rugged rocky shores are interspersed by short stretches of sandy beach and estuary mouths (Mann et al., 2003). According to Moll (1974), Dwesa is at the southern limit of the Beaufort series of the Karroo System. The underlying rocks are essentially hard shales and mudstones. Towards the coast some Recent Sands overlie the Beaufort shales. Shackleton et al. (2013) state that the geology in the area is of the Karoo Supergroup, consisting of mudstones of the Adelaide Subgroup and shales, mudstones and sandstones of Beaufort and Ecca Group and tillites of the Dwyka Group. Moderate to deep apedal Glenrosa and Mispah soil types dominate, making up sandy and clay loams.

Soils from the Beaufort series tend to range from a clay-loam to a sandy-clay-loam, while those derived from Recent Sands are sandy-clays to sands. In general soils are shallow, less than 60

cm deep, except for flatter sites on Recent Sands where the depth may be more than 100 cm (Moll, 1974). The arable potential of the soil in Dwesa-Cwebe is low and less than 3% of the area has potential for cultivation (ECPTA, 2012a). Deeply incised river valleys with steep slopes of 15% or more result in the shallow soils being susceptible to erosion (Tshani, 2003). The geology and topography are thus not ideal for agriculture, but the scenery lends itself to tourism.

The average rainfall measured around Dwesa-Cwebe is approximately 800-1 000 mm per annum, concentrated in summer (October to April), although some winter rain is common. Mean temperatures range from highs of 27°C in summer to 3°C in winter (Shackleton et al., 2013). In spite of the high mean annual rainfall, lower than expected rainfall could periodically occur in any month or group of months during the year. Lower than normal rainfall tends to mainly affect communal grazing areas outside and inland of the reserves. This sometimes leads to communities requesting emergency grazing within the protected areas (Pienaar, 2003).

The communities referred to as the Dwesa-Cwebe communities reside adjacent to the reserve on either side of the Mbhashe River. There are seven villages immediately inland of the nature reserve. These include Cwebe, Hobeni, Mendwane, Ntlangano, Ngoma, Mpume and Ntubeni. Timmermans (2004) estimated the number of households in the villages to vary between 81 at Ntlangano to 612 at Hobeni. The total number of households was approximately 2 270 comprising about 14 700 people. The latest Census (Statistics South Africa, 2012a; b) recorded 2 357 households. In addition to residential settlements there are a few educational facilities, trading stores, private holiday cottages, the Dwesa Nature Reserve chalets and the Haven Hotel at Cwebe. Apart from these, the coastline is undeveloped with extremely poor road infrastructure linking the area to the inland (Pienaar, 2003; Timmermans, 2004).

Although all the people speak isiXhosa and are generally referred to as Cape Nguni, there are significant differences in the socio-cultural and political histories between those communities settled on the eastern side of the Mbhashe River (Hobeni and Cwebe) and those on the south western side (Ntubeni, Ngoma, Mpume, Ntlongana, Mendwane). The five communities on the western side of the Mbhashe River are of amaGcaleka and amaMfengu origin (Ntshona et al., 2010). Lucas (1878) writes of the ‘Fingoes’ (amaMfengu) as being an agglomeration of tribes that were allied to the British colonists during the wars against other natives. The ‘Fingo’ were thus treated favourably by the British (Lucas, 1878) and were settled to the west of the Mbhashe

River by the British between 1878 and 1903 (Ntshona et al., 2010). The clans on the eastern side were amaBomvana (Feely, 1987; Fay, 2003; 2007). Fay (2003) records that amaBomvana gained a reputation for resisting the influences of missionaries and colonial occupiers and were referred to by other groupings in the region as the 'Reds'. The name 'Reds' was given to them for the distinctive red ochre clay that they painted on their faces. In contrast, the residents on the western side of the river were known as the 'Schools', due to their willingness to obtain a colonial education. Indeed, Sunde (2014) indicates that it was the Hobeni and Cwebe communities associated with the 'Reds' that were at the forefront of resisting the imposition of the laws prohibiting access to marine resources in the Dwesa-Cwebe Marine Protected Area.

The areas surrounding Willowvale and Elliotdale are two of the poorest parts of the country (Timmermans, 2004; Shackleton et al., 2013; Sunde, 2014). Population density is approximately 53 persons per km² (Shackleton et al., 2013). Over half of the population (54.15%) is younger than 20 years of age (Statistics SA, 2012a). Tshani (2003) argued that polygamy was still practiced and big families were the norm with households having 8 to 10 children. The majority of these children are poorly educated with an illiteracy rate in the area of 56% (Shackleton et al., 2013). While there are primary and secondary schools in the villages surrounding Dwesa-Cwebe, they are not well resourced. Only two have access to water and three have toilet facilities (Jonas, 2018). Thirty-one percent of the population older than 20 years have never attended school and 63% of households live below the poverty line and earn less than R1 633 per month (Statistics SA, 2012b). Only 5% of the population surrounding Dwesa-Cwebe are formally employed, and 36% of the workforce over 15 is not economically active (Jonas, 2018). Apart from poverty, the area is characterised by high levels of temporary urban migration, and reliance on remittances and state welfare grants (Timmermans, 2004; Shackleton et al., 2013). Fifty-one percent of the Dwesa-Cwebe population receives social grants (Statistics SA, 2012b). Despite the absence of many adults, the majority of households continue to pursue an agrarian orientated lifestyle based on livestock husbandry, cropping and the use of 'wild' natural resources (Timmermans 2004; Shackleton et al., 2013). The landscape therefore has patches of grazing land, subsistence farming and dispersed homesteads.

With respect to local governance, the prevailing Dwesa-Cwebe administrative structure comprises the Mbhashe District Municipality based in Dutywa, and Administrative Areas with wards, ward councillors, and ward committees. These officials have taken over many of the administrative functions traditionally handled by headmen and chiefs, although some

uncertainty remains concerning their respective responsibilities. Shackleton et al. (2013) maintain that chiefs and tribal authorities still control land tenure.

To complicate governance matters further, since 2000, the Dwesa-Cwebe area has been part of a local land holding trust, following a successful land claim against the nature reserve. Trustees consist of elected representatives from the seven villages whose role is to oversee local conservation and development initiatives. The superimposition of three institutions - the municipality, traditional leaders and the trust - results in confusion regarding respective roles and responsibilities. There are power struggles and competition for status and resources (Timmermans, 2004; G, Pienaar, pers com., 04/07/2019). Fay (2007) argues that Dwesa-Cwebe does not meet the definition of community in spatial, economic or cultural terms. In reality, the Dwesa-Cwebe community emerged through solidarity formed through the struggle for a spatially situated resource. The Transkei Land Service Organisation (TRALSO), an activist NGO, convinced the two communities to amalgamate to lodge a claim against the nature reserve. Since the settlement of the claim there has been conflict between the Dwesa and Cwebe communities who desire to once again separate (P. Fudumele, pers comm., 2018; G. Jonginkosi, pers comm., 2019).

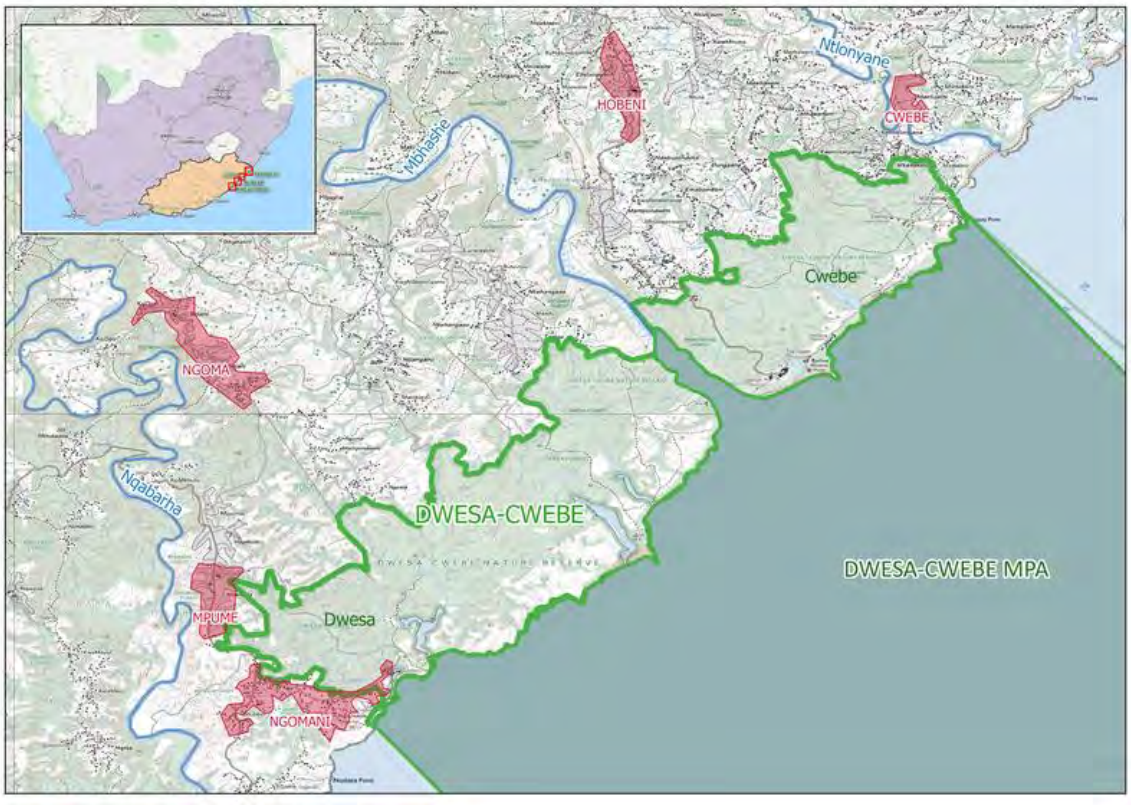

Figure 6.1: Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve in relation to the Wild Coast (ECPTA 2020)

6.3 Dwesa-Cwebe Vegetation and Fauna

6.3.1 Dwesa-Cwebe Forest Flora

The Dwesa region is renowned for its forests, which have long been considered the most valuable and ecologically significant of all coastal forests in Transkei (Henkel, 1888; Sim, 1906; Moll, 1974). The forests are some of the most species-rich non-tropical forests in the world (Moll, 1974). With high endemism and local land use pressures, Dwesa-Cwebe is regarded as a priority corridor for biodiversity conservation (Shackleton et al., 2013). Conservationists and traditional leaders who work and live in the area understand that the forests are of international significance and were the prime reason for the establishment of the nature reserves.

According to Low and Rebelo (1996), the Dwesa-Cwebe area contains four of the seven biomes found in South Africa: Forest, Thicket, Savanna and Grassland. Based on their floristic composition, the Dwesa and Cwebe forests are regarded as Typical Coast-Belt Forest as well as Dune Forest in terms of Acocks' (1953) vegetation classification. According to Cooper and Swart's (1992) classification, Dwesa and Cwebe comprise mainly South Coast Forests. A narrow band of Dune Forests form adjacent to the seashore and Mangroves occur in the Mbhashe Estuary (De Villiers, 2002a; Adams et. al., 2004b).

Although Skead (1987) states that there was general consensus amongst botanists that the coastal forests of Transkei had been extensively fragmented over the past century, Dwesa and Cwebe forests remain largely intact (De Villiers, 2002a). Approximately 80% of the Dwesa Nature Reserve comprises indigenous forest. According to Timmermans (2004), Cwebe Nature Reserve comprises approximately 50% indigenous forest whilst the remaining 50% is natural grassland. However, helicopter survey flights undertaken by the researcher over Cwebe in 2020 and 2021, as well as aerial photographs, indicate that the grasslands have been encroached by thornveld, forest and alien vegetation, resulting in at least 80% now being forested. Moll (1974) recorded 272 tree species at Dwesa of which it was estimated that 126 were used by local people.

In an attempt to conserve the indigenous forests from over-utilisation, the Department of Forestry began establishing woodlots of various Australian Gum species in and adjacent to Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves during the early 1970s (Cawe, 1986; Dutton, 1992; Pienaar, 2003). The plantations were mainly located near the entrance gates. Similar to many other areas of Transkei, these alien timber species were intended to supply neighbouring communities' need for construction timber and firewood (Ham, 1999; De Villiers, 2002a).

Cawe (1986) and de Villiers (2002a) found the establishment of woodlots to be beneficial to indigenous forest conservation in Transkei. Cawe (1992) went as far as to state that apart from legal protection that is conferred on forests once they have been proclaimed as nature reserves, the coastal forests are also protected by offsetting pressure on them for fuel and hut building materials through planting fast-growing exotic trees at their peripheries. This, in Cawe's opinion, has probably saved more forests than any number of laws and regulations could have. The idea of establishing woodlots to supply timber to local communities was advocated for by A.W. Heywood (Cooper and Swart, 1992). However, according to Gladwel Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018), *Eucalyptus* timber plantations were attributed by local people to Bill Dutton who was the forester responsible for planting woodlots during much of the time of Transkei 'independence'. Mpuhlu recalls that, 'Local people did not want uDutton's gum poles. They wanted hardwood poles from Dwesa Forests.'

Despite the reported success of woodlots in some areas of Transkei, Pienaar (2003) argues that the woodlots at Dwesa-Cwebe were not very successful, mainly because they were not managed correctly. As stated by Mpuhlu, local people also preferred the use of indigenous wood for construction of huts and cattle kraals (White, 2002; Pienaar, 2003; Fay, 2007). Chief Phatisile Fudumele (pers comm., 08/07/2018) and headmen of the Hobeni community (pers comm., 22/03/2019) confirmed that indigenous species were more sought after because exotic plantations provided timber that rotted quickly. The traditional leadership were very aware of the reasons for woodlots and of laws prohibiting harvesting of indigenous trees. However, Chiefs Fudumele (pers comm., 08/07/2018) and Chief Geya Jonginkosi (pers comm., 30/05/2019) reported large-scale commercial harvesting taking place within the Cwebe indigenous forests. They raised concerns that this was occurring while ECPTA was in charge and that ECPTA was not apprehending offenders.

Traditional leaders of Dwesa-Cwebe that were interviewed unanimously called for improved management of the forests (C1 – C13; D1 – D12; H1 – H29). Fudumele (pers comm., 08/07/2018) and Jonginkosi (pers comm., 30/05/2019) cited marked declines in the presence of knowledgeable foresters. They spoke of uncontrolled harvesting of timber and poaching of wildlife, even for commercial purposes. Jonginkosi (30/05/2019) stated, 'ECPTA do not show people collecting wood where they are allowed to go. When "Nature[12]" was in charge there were allocated plots for harvesting. These were rotated to allow recovery of the forest. Now you can collect anywhere without even being accompanied by rangers. The ECPTA does not clean the litter in the forests. They do not cut out alien plants. "Nature" used to employ us to clear alien species. Now alien plants are taking over the forests.'

No trained foresters have been employed to manage Dwesa-Cwebe since their proclamation as nature reserves in 1975 (Pienaar, 2003). In common with the rest of the Wild Coast region, populations of exotic, invasive plants are increasing in Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves (Berliner, 2011; Quvile, 2011) and are recognised as being amongst the greatest threats to indigenous forest conservation in the Eastern Cape (Lubke et al., 1986). The lack of indigenous forest management and the consequent proliferation of alien plant species that threaten the indigenous vegetation is a common understanding between local indigenous knowledge and Western conservation science.

6.3.2 Dwesa-Cwebe Forest Fauna

According to Skead (1987), the Wild Coast forests were historically inhabited by a variety of forest-dwelling animals including larger mammal species such as elephant and buffalo. Colonel de Villiers Montmorency reported in 1877 of the 'Gcaleka Chief Kreli' (Sarhili) preserving buffaloes, wild pigs and hippopotami in Manubi and Dwesa forests and along the Mbhashe River (Skead, 1987). Hook (1905), however, wrote of buffalo and hippopotamus hunts in Dwesa.

Dwesa's wildlife has been protected at least since the time of Paramount Chief Sarhili (Henkel, 1889; Sim, 1906; Moll, 1974; Skead 1987; De Villiers, 2002a). Elsewhere, there are numerous

[12] Local people living along the Wild Coast generally refer to the provincial department of environmental affairs as 'Nature'

reports of local inhabitants of Transkei hunting in large numbers and an apparent abandoned fashion (Kay, 1834; Flemming, 1852; Henkel, 1895; Hook, 1905; Soga, 1931; Hunter, 1936; McK Malcolm and McK Malcolm, 1951; Kirby, 1953; Skead, 1987; De Villiers, 2002a; De Villiers and Costello, 2013). De Villiers (2002a) suggests that mammals survived in Transkei forests because of low human densities, limited use of technology and firearms by local inhabitants, and the establishment of protected areas such as Dwesa and Cwebe.

Henkel (1895; 1903) reported that after the proclamation of the Forest Regulations, hunting declined in the forests of Transkei, and game increased considerably, especially in the forests where foresters and forest guards were stationed. De Villiers (2002a) and Hayward (2009) also found that there were greater incidences of forest-dwelling species in forests where there was a management presence. Hunting has, however, continued inside the forests regardless of the protection status (Hook, 1905; White, 2002; de Villiers, 2002; Hayward, 2009). Forest protection by the Department of Forestry did not extend as strictly to the protection of wildlife as it did to trees and forest flora (De Villiers, 2002a). During the present study, several older traditional leaders confirmed that the communities had access to hunting and fishing during the time that the Department of Forestry managed Dwesa and Cwebe Forests (C1; D1; H2; H11).

Skead (1987) suggested that while larger mammals were hunted to extinction, Transkei forests might still have had reasonable populations of smaller fauna like bushbuck, blue duiker, grey duiker, samango monkeys and vervet monkeys. During their research on the Wild Coast forests, Bill Dutton (pers. comm., 27/04/1998) and Cooper and Swart (1992) had incidental sightings of some smaller mammals, notably bushbuck, blue duiker, baboon, porcupine, black-backed jackal, large-spotted genet and caracal. De Villiers (2002a) compiled a species list of mammals found in the forests during surveyed transects, but reported a marked decline in wildlife species and numbers in forests throughout Transkei, including the Dwesa and Cwebe nature reserves. Bushpig, grey duiker, bushbuck and blue duiker always occurred in the area and are still present, but local people reported concerns about the low numbers of blue duiker on Dwesa and Cwebe (ECPTA, 2012a). Traditional leaders and reserve managers that were interviewed confirmed that blue duiker have become very scarce (C5; C13; D9; E3; E7; E9; H2; H21). It is difficult to verify this and to conduct a population census of mammal species in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve because of the large expanse of impenetrable forests (ECPTA, 2012a). This is the reason that buffalo were thought to be locally extinct during the 1990s (V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). A large herd was later discovered by field

rangers. The buffalo appear to have modified their normal behaviour, hiding in the forest during the day and only coming out to graze at night. This behaviour was also reported for the white rhino (De Villiers, 2002a) before the population was hunted and poached to local extinction (De Villiers and Costello, 2013; De Villiers, 2016; De Villiers 2017a; b). Despite the difficulties of conducting an accurate census, there is general agreement that the stocking rates of mammals in Dwesa-Cwebe are low, mainly as a result of heavy poaching since 1990 (ECPTA, 2012a; M. Gxashe, pers comm., 06/07/2018; V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019).

Besides the diverse mammal populations, Dwesa Nature Reserve has 290 species of birds (Beckerman, 2001), 15 frog species and 22 reptile species. It is recognised as a very important locality for at least one red listed amphibian species, *Natalobatrachus bonebergiis* (Venter and Conradie, 2012a). The reserve is also regarded as the southern-most natural distribution of Nile crocodiles (*Crocodylus niloticus*) (Feely, 2010a). The species occurs in the rivers of Dwesa since their reintroduction into the Kobole River in the late 1970s (Feely, 2010; Venter and Conradie, 2012a). A breeding event was recorded in the Mendu River in 2011 where an estimated clutch of eight eggs hatched and were carried to the water by a female crocodile (Venter and Conradie, 2012a).

6.3.3 Dwesa-Cwebe Grasslands and the Impacts of Wildlife, Cattle and Fences on them

McKenzie (1982) found the southern Transkei coast to be dominated by *Aristida* grassland, as well as relatively stable *Themeda* climax grasslands, despite heavy grazing pressure. According to Pienaar (2003), the grasslands in the Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves are similar to those found across the southern parts of the Wild Coast, but different from the unique grasslands found on Pondoland sandstones north of Port St Johns. This southern grassland type is not protected in nature reserves other than the approximately 600 hectares found on Dwesa and Cwebe, and is heavily utilised by livestock across its range (McKenzie, 1982). Although they contain fewer endemic species than Pondoland grasslands, they still have high botanical diversity and are considered deserving of conservation (Van Zyl 1998). McKenzie and Cowling (1979) identified the following grassland communities within Dwesa-Cwebe: coastal grassland in a narrow band adjacent to the sea; short grassland on hills above the dune forest belt; tall grassland, mainly on slopes close to the main forest zone; wooded grasslands in narrow bands adjacent to the main forest; and a small section of coastal grassland between the Mendu and

Mbhashe Rivers that contains fynbos elements, adding to plant diversity in Dwesa Nature Reserve.

According to Moll (1974), the grasslands close to the sea were heavily utilised by domestic cattle until the 1970s, such that they had a lawn like appearance. Chief Sijekula Ndlumbini (pers comm., 20/03/2019) and Chief Jonginkosi (pers comm., 28/05/2019) remember communities being permitted to graze their cattle on the grasslands at that time. Moll (1974) was of the opinion that the character of the grasslands resulted from mismanagement more than from any other factors.

After the reserves were fenced in the late 1970s, a range of large game species were introduced, including grazers to keep the grass short and to attract tourists to the newly created reserves (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018; G. Mpuhlu, pers comm., 07/02/2018). Lennox Ndude, pers comm. (01/09/2018) recalls assisting with the introductions from 1976. The animals were brought from Namibia (then South West Africa), KwaZulu-Natal (then Natal) and the Free State (then Orange Free State). Several introduced species were alien to the Dwesa area, including blue wildebeest, Burchell's zebra, blesbok and white rhinoceros (Smithers, 1983; Skead, 1987). Eland and Cape buffalo were historically present and reproduced well after being reintroduced (V. Mapya, pers comm., 05/07/2019).

Mpuhlu recalls introducing animals during his time as reserve manager, 'We fetched the red hartebeest and blesbok and zebra from Namibia in 1983. I remember the game transport truck breaking down one evening in Namibia. We were so scared that SWAPO were going to attack us while we struggled to repair the truck. The buffalo were brought to Dwesa from Addo Elephant National Park. I think the white rhino came from Midmar Nature Reserve from Natal Parks Board, but that was before I began working at Dwesa' (G. Mpuhlu pers comm., 21/05/2019). Jaap Pienaar (pers comm., 06/04/2020) argues that wildlife introductions were haphazard and unscientific. He recalls transporting game from the Free State in 1984 to Dwesa and Luchaba nature reserves, including springhares, bat-eared foxes, porcupines and steenbok. With the exception of porcupines, it is unlikely that any of these animals survived at Dwesa as they never occurred there historically.

After 1994, a large proportion of the game on the reserves was lost to poaching with the eventual localised extinction of blesbok, blue wildebeest, red hartebeest and eland as a result

(De Villiers, 2002a; Pienaar, 2003). Thabo Gwiji (pers comm., 09/06/2019) and Mapiya (pers comm., 05/07/2019) recall a herd of blue wildebeest exceeding 300 animals in the early 1990s. Mapiya (pers comm., 05/07/2019) remembers seeing a herd of approximately 60 eland grazing on the grass in front of the office complex when he managed the reserve (1992-1996). Most of these animals had been poached by the time that Mzikabawo Mbethe assumed the reserve manager's position in 1996 (M. Mbethe pers comm., 10/07/2018). According to Chief Jonginkosi (pers comm., 28/05/2019), the blue wildebeest died from disease on the Cwebe side. They had growths on their bodies that exuded a vile smell when lacerated. His community assisted in burying the carcasses. Mapiya (pers comm., 05/07/2019) denies that disease was responsible for all the deaths and attributes it almost entirely to illegal hunting.

With the demise of most of the introduced fauna, grazers were almost absent from the grasslands. A few Burchell's zebra remained and buffalo grazed at night, but domestic cattle became more regular occupants of the reserves (Pienaar, 2003) (Figure 6.2). There was no burning programme in place, but fires occurred regularly, either accidentally, naturally or purposely (Pienaar, 2003).

Figure 6.2: A white rhino amidst eland and cattle on the Dwesa Nature Reserve (K. Cole, 2004)

Ndude (pers comm., 01/09/2018) states that Dwesa was managed without any management plan when he was manager in 1975. 'We managed with our heads. Herbie Bourn helped me. Poaching was a massive problem. I had a meeting with King Xoliswe Sigcawu and he assisted greatly. I then met regularly with the traditional authorities. We fenced Dwesa to keep cattle out. We employed local people and they were happy for the jobs. We paid a few people, but

many volunteered. If people or cattle entered, we pushed them out' (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018).

Chief Sijekula Ndlumbini (pers comm., 20/03/2019) recalls the meetings where the establishment of the nature reserve and its fencing were discussed. He says, 'I was a chief here since 1971. The people were consulted by the government and agreed to the nature reserve.' Despite Ndlumbini's recollections, Sunde (2014) states that the Hobeni and Ntubeni communities were unanimous in their assertion that they were never consulted when the reserve was established in 1975 and fenced between 1977 and 1982. She does refer to consultations in 1974 with certain chiefs who were recognised by government. Ndude (pers comm., 01/09/2018) admits that there was no consultation with local communities when the fencing was erected. He says, 'We met with the chiefs, not with the local people. In those days (Transkei) we just implemented.' Glyn Rayment (pers comm., 21/03/2019) recalls that one never questioned the government. He says, 'In those times you simply complied with what you were told to do. You were too scared to ask questions.' Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) recalls fencing the boundary in a zig zag manner to avoid evicting people from the exact boundary. 'We employed more than 50 people directly, and through special employment programmes called SIPs we employed more than 80 additional workers. No cattle were allowed (on the reserve) when I was manager (between 1984 and 1987).'

Mzikabawo Mbete was appointed manager at Dwesa from 1996 to 2007. He recalls, 'In 1990 after Mandela was released everyone was politicised. Transkei Nature Conservation was seen to be a problem. This led to the invasions at Dwesa in 1994. There were demands that all ex Transkeians must leave (the reserves). That's why I was appointed (coming from Ciskei). Gerry Pienaar briefed me in 1996 about Dwesa and I travelled with him to meetings (in Dwesa and Cwebe) so that I could be acclimatised to the situation and prepared for working there. Between 1997 and 2000, at least 80% of my time was focussed on dealing with community matters. I implemented the law but you must remember the focus was on negotiation. Gerry (Pienaar) insisted there was to be minimum use of force at all times. There were no cattle in the reserve in my time. In 1995/1996 there had been a negotiated removal of all cattle. Before 1990 no cattle had been permitted. In 2003 some Cwebe community members drove cattle into the reserve and I negotiated their removal. I never needed to use force' (M. Mbete, pers comm., 10/07/2018).

Pienaar (2004) reported, following an 'emergency meeting' at the Haven Hotel, that 'a group of people from the Cwebe and Hobeni communities adjacent to Cwebe Nature Reserve has now for a long time been challenging the situation that arose after settling the Dwesa/Cwebe Land Claim. They are cutting the fence constructed through Poverty Alleviation Funding and deliberately introducing their cattle into Cwebe NR. The Reserve Manager has held a number of community meetings to try and resolve the matter. When there was no progress he requested assistance from SAPS. Since this issue started to reach crisis proportions, the Regional Land Claims Commission and DLA decided to arrange a meeting to try resolve the matter. Community Demands: Access to the NR for grazing of cattle.'

Since 2007 there has been an on-going struggle to prevent the reserve boundary fence from being cut or stolen (M. Gxashe, pers comm., 06/07/2018; L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018; V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). Consequently, cattle are a common sight in the grasslands and forests of Dwesa and Cwebe. Reserve managers and field rangers perpetually struggle to move them from the nature reserves. 'We collected stock and drove them out. At night they were simply driven back in again' (Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018).

Cattle have been an important part of amaXhosa culture for centuries (Fehr, 1968; Mostert, 1992; Ainslie, 2005) and remain so (S. Ndlumbini, pers comm., 20/03/2019). There will always be demand for good grazing lands and the grasslands in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve are perceived to be excellent for cattle (Sunde, 2014). The people, particularly those at Hobeni and Cwebe, want access to Cwebe Nature Reserve's grass for grazing, especially during periods of drought (P. Fudumele, pers comm., 08/07/2018; G. Jonginkosi, pers comm., 28/05/2019).

6.4 The Dwesa-Cwebe Marine Environment

The major oceanographic feature along the Dwesa-Cwebe coastline is the Agulhas Current which flows just offshore of the shelf break. (Fennesey et al., 2003). According to Adams et al. (2004b) 120 river outlets occur along the Wild Coast of which 76 are estuaries. The Mbhashe

River that separates Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves marks the boundary of the Agulhas warm temperate and Natal subtropical inshore marine biogeographic zones (Adams et al., 2004b; ECPTA, 2012a). The Mbhashe is one of the most important conserved estuaries along the Wild Coast. It is one of only 14 estuaries along this coastline with mangrove populations (Adams et al., 2004b) and in the inshore area, immediately north of its mouth, lies one of only two known spawning areas for the endemic white steenbras (*Lithognathus lithognathus*) (Fielding, 2018). This attracted recreational fishermen to the Mbhashe Estuary during the winter months, where they targeted the white steenbras (commonly referred to as pignose grunter in the area). The Haven Hotel traditionally catered for this influx of tourists to what was known as 'The Grunter Hunt' (Pienaar, 2003; G. Rayment, pers comm., 21/03/2019). Although estuarine fishing proved popular with recreational anglers, local communities historically made limited use of the estuaries (Pienaar, 2003).

In addition to the large Mbhashe Estuary a number of smaller rivers have their mouths in Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves. These include the Kobole, Mbanyana, Mendu, Ntlonyana and Suku Rivers. Together with the Nqabarha Estuary that lies just south of the nature reserve border, these rivers act as nursery areas for marine fishes and contribute to the biological diversity of the coast (Pienaar, 2003; Fielding, 2018). Venter and Mann (2012) recorded 28 species of line fish of a potential 39 species in the Dwesa-Cwebe protected area. Forty-three percent of the fish recorded are endemic to South Africa.

The focus of marine biological research in Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves has been on rocky inter tidal areas, focussing on species harvested by people as a food resource. (Pienaar, 2003). Dye et al. (1997) state that the intertidal area has been researched since the early 1980s. One of the key focal research areas has been on brown mussels *(Perna perna).* A number of monitoring and control zones were established, as well as experimental plots to test the viability of re-establishing brown mussels in areas where they have been decimated.

The main conclusions of published marine biological research are summarised by Pienaar (2003) to reflect that stocks of inter-tidal food organisms on the Wild Coast are very low. This, according to the research, is caused by high levels of harvesting of marine resources and exacerbated by the fact that ecosystem productivity is low. Pienaar (2003) concludes that Dwesa-Cwebe can sustain only low levels of utilisation and suggests that MPAs are crucial to

conserve the inter tidal biodiversity along the Dwesa-Cwebe coast. Ideally, the entire area should be maintained as full MPAs with no utilisation permitted at all (Pienaar, 2003).

Local people have been skeptical of the findings of scientific research and are not convinced that marine stocks are low (Lasiak, 1993; Pienaar, 2003). They believe that their traditional utilisation system will allow harvesting at a sustainable level (D. Gongqose, pers comm., 22/03/2019). Contrary to scientific survey results they do not perceive there to be any threat to the mussel resources (Lasiak, 1993). Local traditional leaders believe that sea-food constitutes a very important protein supplement to their diet (K. Juza, pers comm., 22/03/2019)). According to Lasiak (1993) shellfish derived protein is possibly the major source of high quality protein for the local populations around Dwesa. She warned that regulating this supply without providing an alternative may have serious repercussions on the nutrition of the population.

The fortress-style methods of conserving the marine and forest resources of Dwesa-Cwebe had little regard for the traditional use of these resources or for local conservation practices through the ages. The section that follows not only discusses the history of Western-style efforts to conserve the Dwesa-Cwebe area, but also explores the importance of traditional resource use and conservation practices.

6.5 History of Natural Resource Use and Conservation of Dwesa and Cwebe

6.5.1 Dwesa-Cwebe Forest Conservation from King Sarhili's Era to Post-Apartheid South Africa

The protection of the Dwesa forest and the fact that it is acknowledged as one of South Africa's most biodiverse forests, is due in part to amaXhosa king, Sarhili, who lived in the area in the mid-1800s (Henkel, 1889; Sim 1906; Moll 1974; Cawe, 1992). The reasons for Sarhili's protection of the forests are obscure. It has been suggested by Henkel (1889) and Sim (1906) that the king kept the Dwesa and Manubi forests as his royal hunting grounds, but Cawe (1992) argues that these forests were too far from his Great Place. Numerous other game-rich forests existed closer to his residence. It is more likely that he chanced upon their existence and declared their protection because he admired their grandeur (King, 1941; Cawe, 1992). By

several accounts, Sarhili would allow no cutting of timber or felling of trees, nor any hunting in Dwesa (Henkel, 1889; Sim, 1906; Moll, 1974; Cawe, 1992).

In the last Frontier War (1877 – 1878), Sarhili was defeated by the British and chased from his kingdom (Cawe, 1992; J. Peires, pers comm., 31/01/2019). On his expulsion, the Dwesa forest was greatly reduced through fires and the conversion of some forest land to mealie gardens, mainly by amaMfengu who had been settled there by the colonial government (Henkel, 1890; Sim, 1906; Moll, 1974; Cawe, 1992).

The annexation of the Transkei region by the British followed in the four decades after the Cattle-Killings of 1856 and after King Sarhili had been forced to flee eastwards (Sunde, 2014). Peires (1989) wrote that following the Cattle-Killings that were inspired by the prophecies of the young girl, Nongqawuse, and supported by King Sarhili, the people of the region suffered extreme hunger. Along the coast they were reduced to eating shellfish and many old people and children died of starvation. Sarhili accepted partial responsibility for the poor decision in supporting the Cattle-Killings and requested assistance for his starving people from the British Governor, Sir George Grey. However, Grey used the opportunity to crush Sarhili and his emaciated subjects and seized more than half of Xhosaland for the colonising of White settlements. Sarhili was permitted to occupy the coastal strip between the Kei and Mbhashe Rivers, comprising a third of his former land. After several battles with the colonial government and its amaMfengu allies, he was heavily defeated at the battle of Centane. He fled from the colonial authorities and took refuge in the dense coastal forests of Cwebe, just east of the Mbhashe mouth (Peires, 1989). The Cwebe land was already settled by amaBomvana who had migrated along the Eastern Cape coast in the late 17th century, seeking refuge from the wars in southern Natal (Lucas, 1878). Following the Frontier war of 1878 with the British, and the annexation of the area between the Kei and the Mbhashe Rivers, the colonial administration settled groups of their Mfengu loyalists on the Dwesa side of the Mbhashe River (Fay et al., 2002; Peires, pers comm., 31/01/2019). AmaMfengu comprised groups that had fled Shaka's wars (*Mfecane*) and moved westwards, settling amongst amaGcaleka (Lucas, 1878). Having settled on the Dwesa side, they were subsequently joined by amaGcaleka who had crossed over to the Cwebe side while fleeing from the British (Fay et al., 2002). The current generation of Dwesa-Cwebe residents thus comprises largely of descendants of amaBomvana, amaGcaleka and amaMfengu (Sunde, 2014; Peires, pers comm., 31/01/2019). According to Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019), local people are reluctant to acknowledge Sarhili's conservation efforts

because they were not all ruled by him. Furthermore, despite his love for the area and amaXhosa people, he played a big role in supporting the Cattle-Killing that resulted in starvation. Be that as it may, the written record reflects that Sarhili protected the Manubi and Dwesa forests until his expulsion (Henkel, 1889; Sim, 1906). Following Sarhili's departure from the area, a steam saw mill was constructed at Manubi, near Mazeppa Bay, and the Dwesa and Manuni forests were exploited for *Trichilia dregeana, Buxus macowanii, Podocarpus* and *Ptaeroxylon obliquum*. This exploitation ceased in the early 1900s, but by then the forests had suffered a reduction in size and most of the large timber trees had been removed (King, 1941; Moll, 1974).

Chapter Five discussed the conservation of forests in the Transkeian Territories with the establishment of the Forestry Department in 1888 and the promulgation of regulations that restricted utilisation in indigenous forests. In 1894 the forestry department removed households from Dwesa and Cwebe's coastal grasslands (Henkel, 1895; Fay, 1998; 2007; Sunde 2014). Henkel (1895, p. 130) writes that, 'A large number of Native families have been compensated for their huts, kraals and lands, and the strips of forest land between the Qwebe and D'wessa forests and the coast has been cleared of them with a view of re-afforestation of these areas…' By oral accounts, another set of removals occurred in the 1920s and 1930s to enable the redemarcation of the forest boundaries and demarcation of 'European holdings and Seaside Resort areas' by the magistrate of Elliotdale (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997; Fay, 1998; Fay, et al., 2002a). People were relocated again in the 1970s and 1980s (Fay, et al., 2002b; Timmermans, 2004; Sunde, 2014). This time the removals were done under the auspices of soil conservation and 'Betterment planning'. The intention was to improve agriculture using a scientific approach (Fay et al., 2002b). Herb Bourn (pers comm., 25/05/2020) and Lenox Ndude (pers comm., 01/09/2018) emphasise that no people were relocated from Dwesa or Cwebe nature reserves when they were proclaimed in 1975 or any time thereafter. The removals referred to in the 1970s and 1980s must have occurred outside of the nature reserve boundaries. Timmermans (2004) confirms that removal of homesteads occurred outside the protected areas in order to establish a buffer between the nature reserves and the communities. Timmermans (2004) and Sunde (2014) argue that the disruptions that the various waves of removals caused to local livelihoods resulted in people's resentment of the authorities.

6.5.2 The Establishment of Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves

The Haven Hotel has been the backbone of tourism for the Dwesa and Cwebe nature reserves since its establishment (Pienaar, 2003). Dennison (2010) records that in 1922, Edward Reid, a ship's carpenter from Aberdeen in Scotland, opened The Haven, as a private hotel that he built inside the Cwebe Protected Forest. His grandfather was the magistrate in Elliotdale, possibly the reason for him obtaining permission for the project. According to Dennison (2010), the local community accepted the hotel and its successive owners as the establishment provided job opportunities. A trading store was also established within the Cwebe Forest, near the Mbhashe River when Charles Wood applied for a Permission to Occupy in 1903 (Thompson, 2009). Up until the 1970s, there was harmony between local communities, the hotel, traders and the Forestry Department which until this time allowed local people to move freely through the Cwebe protected area to harvest seafood (Dennison, 2010). Donald Woods, political activist and close friend of Steve Biko, resided at Hobeni and writes that, 'Transkei was unique in SA because blacks had at least some land rights and political rights. The relationship between blacks and whites was more amiable and healthier than elsewhere in SA. There was an absence of racial tension. 15 000 white traders served the districts of Transkei. But the racial madness of apartheid forced white traders to sell their trading stations to blacks, who had no capital to run them. The resultant failure was put to black inability to run businesses. The economy suffered and villages declined' (Woods, 2000).

Sunde (2014) disputes the harmony and friendliness that Dennison and Woods refer to. She argues that the land on which the Haven Hotel was built had been given to amaTshawe and other clans by amaDingata when they fled the English during the Frontier wars. It was from here that they were 'chased' and where Edward Reid allegedly built over the graves of their ancestors. A local community member who she interviewed claimed that 'The land which is currently where the Haven Hotel is, underneath or inside the dining room, in fact the kitchen, underneath the kitchen there is the grave for my old grandfather, Mpampa' (Sunde, 2014, p. 117).

During the researcher's meetings with traditional leaders of Cwebe and Hobeni, there was unanimous support for the Haven Hotel. Nombona (pers comm., 22/03/2019) said, 'We are happy that the hotel is here. It must stay. It provides work.' Fudumele (pers comm., 08/07/2018

argued that, 'The Haven Hotel pays a lease fee into a Community Property Association account that is audited. It is one of the few benefits that we get since winning the land claim.'

The Haven Hotel has not always been a successful venture. Dennison (2010) states that occupancy dropped below 50% when Transkei was granted independence in 1976, and the Transkei Development Corporation (T.D.C.) took over the hotel. The 'Republic of Transkei' planned to make Dwesa-Cwebe a flagship wildlife reserve that would attract tourists to the Haven Hotel and newly developed resorts. They fenced the boundaries and introduced numerous wild animals, without taking local residents' feelings into account during the process (Dennison, 2010). Dwesa was chosen as the preferred site for wildlife introduction because of its wilderness character (H. Bourn, pers comm., 23/05/2020). This was unfortunate for local traders who had cottages at Mendwana and Kobole as they were forced to abandon their cottages (Dennison, 2010; G. Rayment, pers comm., 21/03/2019). Early in the 20th century it became common practice for mainly influential White families who worked as traders, doctors and magistrates in Transkei to be permitted to occupy sites along the Wild Coast in order to build holiday cottages that they could occupy for a maximum of three months in any year (Pienaar, 2003). Mertens and Broster, (1973) confirm that holiday cottages along the Wild Coast were hard to come by and very sought after. Any Transkeian resident was allowed to buy a building from a previous owner, subject to approval from the Transkei Government. This was made possible under the Permission to Occupy system under Proclamation 26 of 1936 which was administered by the Department of Land Affairs (Palmer et al., 2000; Pienaar, 2003). Rayment (pers comm., 21/03/2019) recalls Mr H C Bourn of the 'Transkei Forestry Department' instructing his father to demolish their rondawels in Dwesa Forest on the banks of the Kobole River during 1975 to make way for a new wildlife reserve with animals that would include buffalo and crocodiles. In 1976 they were given R600 compensation and allowed to remove their windows, doors and belongings from the huts. His mother was traumatised but nobody resisted the regime at the time. All the Dwesa cottage owners vacated. Herb Bourn recalls evicting the cottage owners (pers comm., 21/05/2020). He had been seconded to Umtata from Pretoria, where he worked for the Department of Development Aid and was appointed as the Principle Conservator to assist Transkei Nature Conservation. He remembers the politics being particularly stressful: 'I sometimes met with up to 12 politicians from different political parties until late at night and was given various instructions. It was the most stressful time of my life. I cried some evenings' (H. Bourn, pers comm., 21/05/2020).

The cottage owners on the Cwebe side at Mbanyana near The Haven and those at Nthlonyana were not disturbed by the government (Pienaar, 2003; Dennison, 2010). Gerry Pienaar (pers com., 04/07/2019) believes that this was because influential people resided in the Cwebe cottages. It was also one of the main reasons that the land claim was granted – White people not being removed from within the reserve and benefitting from it, while local Black people were not permitted to use the resources (G. Pienaar, pers comm., 04/07/2019).

Keith Cooper was the Director of the Wildlife Society of South Africa between 1972 and 2005 (The Wildlife Society became known as WESSA – The Wildlife and Environment Society of South Africa) and recalls that he lobbied T.C. Robertson and Piet Koornhof to proclaim Dwesa a nature reserve for the Transkei 'homeland' (K. Cooper, pers comm., 16/05/2018). The idea received support from Bert Shone who was Director of Forestry in Umtata. Monte Ntloko was the first zoologist appointed in Transkei and Winston Qaba was a qualified botanist who was appointed as Director of Nature Conservation. Monte Ntloko consulted local leaders around Dwesa about establishing the reserve and introducing game. He met with resistance about the fencing and game introductions, but continued irrespective. Herb Bourn from the Department of Bantu Administration and Development had a budget for conservation in 'homelands'. He was tasked to remove the White cottage owners and to build a tourist camp which Willem van Riet subsequently planned (K. Cooper, pers comm., 16/05/2018).

The Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves were eventually proclaimed in 1975 (Table 6.1). Campion (1976) states that Dwesa was the first nature reserve started by a Black homelands government in South Africa. He writes of this being a great achievement for Transkei and its multi-racial nature conservation division. Herb Bourn (pers comm., 23/05/2020) remembers training the first nature conservation officers at a college in Tsolo. 'They had all completed their first year of an agricultural diploma. I chose the best of the applicants to study nature conservation. This was in the mid-1970s before the technikon was established at Mangosuthu in Natal.' Bourn believes that the appointed conservation staff did the best that they could under the trying conditions of the time. In his opinion they got on with the task of conservation and left socio-economic development to other departments that were better suited to performing that work (H. Bourn, pers comm., 23/05/2020).

According to Terblanche and Kraai (1997), local people resented the declaration of the Dwesa and Cwebe nature reserves and the wildlife introductions into them because it resulted in their

exclusion from the land. They could still access and use the nature reserves but now had to get permits and pay a one Rand entrance fee in Mthatha; however, there was no way for them to get there (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997, Palmer et al., 2000). In his survey of the Transkei Coast, Cooper recommended that Dwesa be granted even higher status than that of a nature reserve. In his opinion it should have been declared a National Park, managed for strict conservation. He further recommended that harvesting of marine life within the park should be completely prohibited (Cooper, 1977). This recommendation was applied in 1991 with the establishment of a marine reserve along the coastline of Dwesa and Cwebe. When their access to the sea was also excluded by the establishment of this marine reserve in which they were not permitted to collect shellfish, the local people were extremely bitter (Palmer et al., 2000; Dennison, 2010). According to Pienaar (2003), the single biggest reason for conflict with environmental officials was the restriction on the use of marine resources. The following section discusses the Western-style conservation of Dwesa-Cwebe's marine resources and the consequences for traditional shellfish use.

Table 6.1: Timeline of terrestrial conservation proclamations of Dwesa-Cwebe (Pienaar, 2003)

1891	Dwesa Forest demarcated in terms of Proclamation 308 of 1890
1893	Cwebe Forest demarcated
1903	Demarcations published GN 527 and GN 729 (demarcations in terms of Proc 135/1903)
1927	Redemarcation of Cwebe (GN 1839) in terms of Forest Act 16/1913. Reduced in size from 3 003 morgen to 2 340 morgen
1928	Redemarcation of Dwesa (GN 1021)
1975	Dwesa and Cwebe established as Nature Reserves in terms of Transkei Nature Conservation Act No. 6 oof 1971. Retained status as demarcated forest in terms of the Transkei Forest Act
1992	Dwesa and Cwebe proclaimed as National Wildlife Reserve in terms of Transkei Environmental Decree 9/1992. Dwesa and Cwebe Marine Protected Areas proclaimed
1994	Transkei reincorporated into RSA. Demarcated Forest status reverts to Department of Water Affairs and Forestry under Forest Act 122 of 1984. DWAF transfers management to DEAET. No formal agreement is concluded regulating the transfer

Figure 6.3: Chief Ndlumbini (centre) says that he was consulted when Dwesa was proclaimed as a protected area in 1975 (J. Costello, 20/03/2019)

6.5.3 Marine Conservation Along the Dwesa-Cwebe Coastline

Since the 1890s the fisheries and marine resource laws of the Cape have been extended to cover Transkei; however, it appears that these were not rigidly enforced in the rural areas of the country and there was little awareness of or enforcement of regulations until well into the 1970s (Sunde, 2014). The Dwesa traditional leadership agree that during the time that Forestry managed the area there were no restrictions on utilising marine resources (S. Ndlumbini, pers comm., 20/03/2019). Ndude (pers comm., 01/09/2018) states that people collected lots of marine life when he assumed the post as the first reserve manager. Very few locals fished, but he recalls an incident when fishing rods were stolen from White cottage owners. He remembers some local people being very angry when he began stopping them from fishing. Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) states that no fishing by local people was permitted when he was manager from 1984.

Subsequent to Dwesa's proclamation and fencing, people were restricted from accessing the sea. Despite the fact that inter-tidal harvesting was not completely prohibited in terms of the fisheries legislation at the time, it would appear that the establishment of the reserve administration office on the Dwesa (Ntubeni) side, and the restrictions imposed on movement by the newly erected boundary fence, enabled the authorities to restrict access to inter-tidal resources along the western coastline of the reserve (Lasiak 1998; Fay et al., 2002, Sunde,

2014). At Cwebe, recreational anglers were permitted angling and spearfishing from the right bank of the Mbanyana River to the left bank of the Mbhashe River. At Dwesa fishing was permitted from Humans Rock at the entrance of the reserve to the Kobole estuary (Fay et al., 2002).

6.5.3.1 The Dwesa-Cwebe Marine Protected Area

It is widely acknowledged that MPAs are one of the most effective means of conserving marine biodiversity (Tunley, 2009; Fielding, 2018; Lynham et al., 2020). The protection of the Dwesa-Cwebe marine resources by declaring an MPA was mooted by Moll (1974) and Cooper (1977). By the time that this was implemented, little or no consultation had been done with local people who had been using the marine resources for centuries (Attwood et al., 1997; Sunde, 2014). Cooper (pers comm., 16/05/2018) reflects that they should have consulted more at the time that the marine reserve was declared.

The original MPA at Dwesa-Cwebe was proclaimed in 1991, under the Transkei Environmental Decree (Proclamation No. 107/1991). It conserved the intertidal zone, estuarine environments and offshore marine environment up to six nautical miles seawards, an area approximately 18 000 ha in extent (Pienaar, 2003). The MPA is located at the junction of the Agulhas and Natal inshore bioregions (Fielding, 2018). According to Pienaar (2003), it was initially established to protect linefish resources, estuaries and the intertidal zone. In 1992 the reserves were renamed National Wildlife Reserves under Decree No. 9 of 1992. Fielding (2018) states that the reserves, together with the MPA, reverted to South Africa in 1994. The MPA maintained its status under the Sea Fisheries Act of 1973.

The Wild Coast has traditionally attracted rock and surf anglers in large numbers and hotels like The Haven focused on this market sector (Pienaar, 2003). For tourism reasons there was an open shore angling zone in each of the Dwesa and Cwebe MPAs which, through the legislation, was restricted to overnight visitors to the reserves. Local recreation and subsistence anglers were thus technically excluded from fishing in the reserves, but a few locals nevertheless did so since 1994 (Pienaar, 2003; Sunde, 2014). The Haven Hotel even paid the locals for fish and shellfish, although they exploited them by paying low prices (A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020).

The Dwesa-Cwebe MPA was re-proclaimed in 2000 in terms of Section 43 of the Marine Living Resources Act (Act No. 18 of 1998). The regulations under the MLRA were changed in 2003 making the entire MPA a restricted (no-take) zone (Venter and Mann, 2012; Fielding, 2018). Boyd (2009, p. 1) states, 'In 2000 all areas were closed to fishing, just a few months prior to local communities winning a land claim on the terrestrial park.' Sunde (2014) argues that this effectively prohibited any utilisation of marine resources by the local communities who had won a land claim that actually gave them the right to sustainable utilisation of marine resources. According to Sunde (2014), the state authorities have no record of any consultation with the community about their intentions of gazetting a no-take MPA. Dr Alan Boyd, who worked for the Department of Sea Fisheries as a scientist between 1977 and 2019, admits that very little consultation took place between his department and the traditional leadership or local communities of Dwesa-Cwebe regarding the creation of the MPA. Where there was input from traditional leaders or communities, there was almost no implementation thereof in the final proclamation. According to Boyd (pers comm., 31/01/2020), the focus of fisheries scientists was on stopping recreational angling pressure on species like pignose grunter and it was 'cleaner' to simply close the whole marine reserve to everyone. No consideration was given to the historical access and use of the marine resources by surrounding communities. The fisheries scientists stuck to strict principles relating to fish stocks. Had they not based their decision to close the MPA on pure science and compromised to allow local communities some access, there would have been less of a stand-off (A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020).

In an email to the researcher dated 11/02/2020, Boyd states that he has 752 documents relating to Dwesa and Cwebe marine conservation between 2006 and 2015, indicating the importance given by his department to the reserves at the time. According to him, Dr Colin Attwood was very involved in the process of establishing the MPA and he quotes Attwood from one of his 2006 Dwesa-Cwebe documents (Box 6.1) wherein he explains the reason for closing the entire coastline to fishing and shellfish collection. The decision resulted in the Dwesa-Cwebe community receiving a worse deal in relation to marine resource use than they had prior to democracy (Sunde, 2014; A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020).

Box 6.1: Dwesa Cwebe MPA Decision 2000

> 'From a fisheries protection and conservation perspective it would be best to leave the MPA a fully closed MPA, as it now legally stands. The reserve is 16.5 km in shoreline length and any concession to shore-based exploitation will compromise its integrity and serve a dangerous precedent for other areas. Nonetheless, those who wish to have the original fishing zones re-instated have a strong argument: MCM did not design these areas (Hluleka is the other MPA similarly affected), they were inherited from the Transkei. The original Transkei Decree did allow fishing in two small zones, but only for anglers who were overnight guests of the Haven Hotel! When we inherited the Decree, the concession was at odds with our policy. Specifically, we could not open a part of a MPA to a certain group of people, and not allow everyone else, including local people, the right to fish there. As a result, a decision was taken to close it to all (as opposed to opening it to all)' (Colin Attwood).

The ECPB was contracted by MCM in 2007 to manage the MPA for three years (Boyd, 2009). When DEA became the legally mandated management authority for MPAs in 2009, it established new contractual agreements with various Management Authorities. Following ECPTA's establishment in 2010, it was contracted by DEA to manage the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA (Fielding, 2018).

In November 2015 the proclamation of the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA under the MLRA was withdrawn and the MPA was re-proclaimed as a mixed Restricted/Controlled Zone MPA under the National Environment Management Protected Areas Act (NEMPAA). The change from MLRA to NEMPAA was the result of growing awareness of the broader social and livelihood responsibilities of MPAs. This led to a decision to separate the management of fisheries and the management of MPAs and to move MPAs under the same legislation that controlled terrestrial protected areas (Fielding, 2018).

The boundaries of the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA as proclaimed in 2015 are between the mouth of the Ntlonyana River in the north (32^0 11.64834'S; 28^0 57.41436'E) and a rocky point just south of Human's Rock and just north of Nqabara Point in the south (32^0 18.9423'S; 28^0 49.5393'E). The MPA extends 14.8 km out to sea from the high water mark to incorporate subtidal rocky reefs and sandy benthos. It includes all the estuaries within the southern and northern

boundaries but only the tidal portion of the Mbhashe River to a point where the boundary of the Dwesa Forest Reserve reaches the high water mark of the estuary (32^0 14.25282'S 28^0 53.08554'E). The length of the shoreline included in the MPA is approximately 20 km and consists of rocky platforms and sandy beaches. The total area protected is about 265 km^2 (Fielding, 2018).

The 2015 MPA is an important area for the conservation of large sparid species and contains spawning areas for the threatened red steenbras (Tunley, 2009; Fielding, 2018). It provides a critical inshore and offshore reef habitat for the survival of a number of collapsed fish stocks (mainly sparids, including black steenbras (*Cymatoceps nasutus*), red steenbras (*Petrus rupestris*) and seventy four (*Polysteganus undulosus*). It contains one of only two known spawning areas for white steenbras and includes estuarine nursery habitat critical for a number of vulnerable fish species such as dusky kob (*Agryosomus japonicas*) and spotted grunter (*Pomadasys commersonni*). The MPA contains one of the very few remaining subtidal rocky areas along the Wild Coast where abalone is found in reasonable concentrations (Fielding, 2018).

Controlled use of marine resources is permitted in the 2015 Dwesa-Cwebe MPA. Permitted local community subsistence fishers can fish and collect intertidal shellfish in the MPA Controlled zones; however, as of 2020, the re-zoning is being contested by the Dwesa-Cwebe communities because they want access to the fish stocks in the Mbhashe River and the area in which white steenbras spawn (A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020). Limited recreational fishing is allowed in one of the Controlled zones. This attracts visitors to the Haven Hotel in the Cwebe nature reserve. According to Fielding (2018) and Mbuyiselo Gxashi (pers comm., 06/07/2018), the management authorities interact with the Dwesa Land Trust with regard to management issues, but there is currently no approved Management Plan for the MPA and no comprehensive system to monitor progress in achieving conservation objectives.

6.6 Natural Resource Use at Dwesa-Cwebe

The Strategic Management Plan of 2012 for the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve outlines its purpose as ensuring the protection of the reserve and sustainable use of its natural, scenic and heritage resources (ECPTA, 2012a). The importance of the reserve's natural resources to local

livelihoods is not new (Ntshona et al., 2010). The local amaBomvana people were using the area to support their livelihoods as early as 1857, and perhaps earlier, followed shortly by the immigrant amaMfengu who were settled in the area between 1878 and 1903 (Ntshona et al., 2010).

Dr Eugene Moll's (1974) preliminary report on the Dwesa Forest Reserve highlighted the scientific value of the forests and marine resources. He acknowledged the historical utilisation of the forests, grasslands and marine life and recommended that they be proclaimed as a nature reserve to protect them from the destruction that had occurred in other areas of the country. He had noticed that some rocks in the littoral zone of the Dwesa and Cwebe coastline were devoid of life and recommended protection of the marine areas because he was of the opinion that recolonisation of marine life would be rapid if the areas were rested. He did not state that utilisation should be outlawed forever, but recommended, '… the amount of cropping must be limited to the sustainable yield available from the area.' His final recommendation was, '…to re-emphasize that consultation and planning are the most important features of good long-term development. By having a well-planned, scientifically sound management plan for the future of an area like Dwesa, one will ensure that the maximum benefit for all will be obtained' (Moll, 1974, p. 5).

The Transkei Government commissioned the ecologists, Ken Tinley and Willem Van Riet, to draft a management plan for Dwesa-Cwebe after its proclamation. Tinley and Van Riet (1975) recognised that local people depended upon certain resources from the Dwesa-Cwebe forests. They thus made specific recommendations about natural resource use by local people and how the reserve should respond to their needs. They recommended that thatch grass collection should be allowed to satisfy local requirements as well as to reduce fire hazard in the forest. They concurred with Moll (1974) that rotational harvesting of shellfish should be implemented. Tinley was particularly adamant that herbalists should be given full cooperation in the collection of traditional medicines from the forests, but overuse should be guarded against. In an email to the researcher (21/05/2019), Tinley explains his thoughts behind some of the recommendations of 1975. 'For my Dwessa Report I was lucky in the fieldwork to have a local herbalist to show me around. When we came across a large Pepper-bark tree (*Warburgia salutaris*) roughly debarked down to the wood, I asked the elder herbalist what part of the bark was most important medicinally. He said the outer part. So I borrowed his cane-knife and holding it at each end scraped downwards without harming the cambium ...I believed that local

herbalists should have been allowed access to the reserves to collect plants that they required' (K. Tinley, 21/05/2019 email). Besides the natural resource use, Tinley and Van Riet recommended that local people should receive preferential employment opportunities. They suggested benefit sharing of revenue generated from tourism with neighbouring communities. They emphasised the need to sustain local communities' livelihoods through allowing cultivation of crops and produce to supply the tourist market, rather than sourcing products from outside the locality (Tinley and Van Riet, 1975). However, very few of Moll and Tinley and Van Riet's recommendations were implemented for Dwesa and Cwebe (Ntshona et al., 2010).

6.6.1 The Utilisation of Dwesa-Cwebe's Forests and Grasslands

The land on either side of the Mbhashe River has always been contested, as is the case in all areas unusually well-endowed by nature (Palmer et al., 2000). The ancestors of amaXhosa speakers replaced the Khoisan inhabitants who themselves probably replaced earlier inhabitants. However, pre-capitalist inhabitants lacked the technology to make serious inroads into the forests, and devastate the environment as was the case during colonial occupation (Palmer et al., 2000). Concerns were first raised from the late 1800s that over-utilisation of certain timber species was occurring in Dwesa and Cwebe Forests (Henkel, 1889; Sim, 1906; King, 1941; Moll, 1974; Cooper, 1977; Pienaar, 2003). King (1941) states that the yellowwoods (*Podocarpus spp.*) in the Afromontane and coastal forests had been overexploited by sawyers. *Trichilia dregeana, Buxus macowanii,* and *Ptaeroxylon obliquum* had also been impacted upon (Sim, 1906; King, 1941; Moll, 1974). C.C. Henkel (1889) and Sim (1906) reported on the poorly managed and rapidly disappearing forests. Henkel attributed this to the influx of White and 'Hottentot' sawyers, but also to the Gaika and Fingo people who had been settled in the Dwesa area (Henkel, 1890). Foresters of the early 1900s reported that local people used the forests without restriction to cut poles and laths to build huts and kraals. Local people surrounding Dwesa-Cwebe nature reserve still rely to a significant extent on land-based livelihood sources (Ntshona et al., 2010). These include crop and livestock farming, and the use of a range of natural resources. Thatch grass, poles for fencing kraals and building homes, fuelwood, material for crafts, wild spinaches and bush meat are all important to local livelihoods (Timmermans, 2004; Shackleton et al., 2007; Fearon, 2010; Ntshona et al., 2010).

Grazing land is in great demand because of the importance of cattle to the amaXhosa people in terms of culture and wealth (Huffman, 2004; Ntshona et al., 2010).

According to Fay (1998), forests around Dwesa-Cwebe played a crucial role in allowing local people to return to their residential locations following the end of the Betterment schemes. From the time of the Holomisa Transkeian government, the state relaxed its control of residential location and land use, enabling people to take control of the situation themselves. The political transformation of the 1990s boosted their confidence that they would not face retribution if they moved back to their original homes. Unfortunately, the subsequent rate of harvest for poles and laths in Cwebe was, according to Fay (1998), unlikely to be sustainable. A large portion of this demand was from people returning to former residential sites and constructing new houses. Cwebe's resources made it possible for people to return as they would not otherwise have had the financial means to build houses (Fay, 1998).

Interviews with traditional leaders at Dwesa (20/03/2019); Cwebe (28/05/2019) and Hobeni (08/07/2018; 22/03/2019) confirmed that the forests and grasslands of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve still play a vital role in local people's livelihoods. No leader expressed any desire to deproclaim the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. On the contrary, there was unanimous support for and pride in its existence. There was no acknowledgement of Sarhili or earlier foresters or conservationists for having established the reserves, but Nombona (pers comm., 28/05/2019) acknowledged the wisdom of early leaders for having set aside the Cwebe forests for protection so that they could be sustainably used. Mancobandeya (pers comm., 20/03/2019) said that traditional leaders are passionate about nature and looking after Dwesa. He emphasised the forest's importance for the culture of the local people. In particular, the importance of cattle in amaXhosa culture was continually raised by traditional leaders. The Cwebe traditional leaders were more adamant that they required grazing on the reserve. According to reserve managers (M. Gxashi, pers comm., 06/07/2018; L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018), this community is responsible for continually cutting the boundary fence and chasing cattle onto the reserve. Headmen from Cwebe, Mahilihili and Mayezana (pers comm., 28/05/2019), openly stated, 'We will keep cutting the fence until the ECPTA allow us to use the resources on Cwebe.' Fay (2007) reported similar threats from certain individuals, particularly at Cwebe, and raised the importance of enforcing legislation to ensure that everyone complies with agreements. His concern was that the state left control to traditional leaders or the Land Trust who did not have the means or the desire to enforce the law. Everyone

wants to keep the peace and fears being seen as implementers of old-style government policies, or being accused of harassing poor people wanting to make a living.

The traditional leaders that were interviewed did not deny that the ECPTA allowed the community to gather thatch grass, reeds and *ukutheza*[13] (to collect firewood). They said that local people were allowed to buy exotic poles from the woodlots, but wanted poles from the indigenous forests. Pienaar (pers comm., 04/07/2019) says that a trial period was embarked upon in the early 2000s where sustainable use of indigenous trees was attempted. This became a commercial enterprise and was subsequently stopped. Gxashe (pers comm., 06/07/2018) expresses concern that uncontrolled illegal harvesting was resulting in sneezewood (*Ptaeroxylon obliquum*) and umzimbeet (*Millettia grandis*) being overexploited, especially at Cwebe. Chief Ndlumbini (pers comm., 20/03/2019) shared concerns about poor management of the forest. He stated that past foresters were 'strong' and felt that there had been a lack of control since ECPTA assumed management of Dwesa. Similar sentiment was expressed at Cwebe. Outsiders collected timber freely, often for commercial purposes (C1; D1; H1) (Figure 6.4). Fudumele (pers comm., 22/03/2019) is of the opinion that permits should be issued for timber for building huts, kraals and sleds. Nombona (pers comm., 28/05/2019) says that there are no qualified foresters to manage the forests sustainably and allow for rotation and recovery. Jonginkosi (pers comm., 28/05/2019) was very vocal about alleged poor management of the Cwebe nature reserve. He insists that an office should be opened at Cwebe, as on the Dwesa side of the reserve. 'The people of Cwebe do not want to be managed from Dwesa' (Jonginkosi, pers comm., 28/05/2019). Chief Fudumele (pers comm., 22/03/2018) and Hobeni traditional leaders (H1 – H29) state that non-implementation of the Settlement Agreement (following the land claim) is the main reason for poor management. 'The poor management is the reason that poaching of timber and wildlife is completely out of control' (G. Jonginkosi, pers comm., 28/05/2019).

[13] According to Dold and Cocks (2012) *ukutheza* is a practice and a ritual carried out by amaXhosa women and girls to gather wood from a forest. This is a social event allowing time for singing and chatting while simultaneously teaching girls the art of gathering firewood. Mogano (2012) suggests that it provides time for amaXhosa women to enjoy being in nature.

Figure 6.4: A vehicle loaded with indigenous timber illegally harvested from within Cwebe Nature Reserve (D. de Villiers 27/05/2019)

Cooper (pers comm., 16/05/2018) recalled the conflict that arose in Dwesa and Cwebe when hunting was banned after proclamation of the nature reserves in 1975. Hayward (2009) confirmed that bushmeat hunting was common on Dwesa-Cwebe. Hunting is mainly undertaken by young boys using dogs and sticks. A few adult men with dog packs also hunt (Tshani, 2003). However, in 2018 and 2019, traditional leaders expressed their opposition to illegal hunting in the forests. Jonginkosi and Mlikile (pers comm., 28/05/2019) stated that hunting is frequent, and was mainly by outsiders who use firearms and large packs of dogs. ECPTA has almost no presence when these hunts occur (Nombona, pers comm., 28/05/2019). This was confirmed during January 2020 when the researcher received cell phone footage from tourists showing two separate illegal hunts occurring inside Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve over weekends in January. In one video more than 40 dogs chase a bushbuck into the sea while tourists watch poachers encouraging the dogs to enter the water to make the kill. The poaching incidents increased substantially during the Covid-19 lockdown period when a 1 000 percent increase was reported throughout the province (De Villiers, 2020c).

Despite the perceived mismanagement of the forests, all the interviewed traditional leaders agree that the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve provides an essential benefit to local customs and

culture. The ECPTA permits traditional healers to access plants and bark for medicinal use (C1 – C13). Medicinal plants (*muthi*) are allowed to be collected under permit and supervision (M. Gxashi, pers comm., 06/07/2018). At times religious groups and *amagqirha* congregate on the hills and beaches to perform spiritual and cultural ceremonies (M. Gxashi, pers comm., 06/07/2018). *Abakhwetha* initiation is conducted in forests outside the reserve but plants are collected within the reserve to help with the healing of wounds (P. Fudumele, pers comm., 08/07/2018). The plants are important to the culture of the amaXhosa and there are no deaths of *abakhwetha* in Dwesa locality because the area is 'clean' (D1 – D13). Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) said that during his tenure as manager, *amagqirha* were granted permission to enter the reserves and Zionists baptised members in the sea. The concept of Dwesa being 'clean' shows a conservation-mindedness amongst traditional leaders who recognise the environment as being important for cultural practices.

Although there is acceptance by traditional leaders that there are at least some benefits to local people from natural resource use on Dwesa-Cwebe, the common concern across all interviewed traditional leaders was the lack of employment opportunities on the reserves. Chief Jonginkosi and all of his headmen and sub-headmen reflected that there were more jobs when 'Nature' (referring to DEAET) managed Dwesa-Cwebe (C1-C13). There was also more consultation with the leadership during 'Nature's' management. These allegations support Mbana (1991) who states that the Transkei Government employed large numbers of people from within the homeland to grow the economy. Siyabu Manona (pers comm., 10/01/2019) is of the opinion that conservation must be supported by the state. He suggests that the Transkei principle of over-employing locals was a strategy to show that the 'homeland' was economically viable. This sheltered employment for Dwesa (of over 300 workers at one time in the 1980s) gained people's support for the reserves (Mpuhlu, pers comm., 07/02/2018). It was not a bad strategy to subsidise people and compensate them for conserving their land (S. Manona, pers comm., 10/01/2019). The Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is the major source of employment for local people (Tshani, 2003) and Mapiya (pers comm., 05/07/2019) recalls that more than 150 local people were permanently employed there during the 1990s. Gxashi (pers comm., 06/07/2018) states that ECPTA now only has one reserve manager, two section rangers, one environmental community outreach officer, two senior field rangers and 11 field rangers to manage the entire Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. In his opinion this is neither sufficient to manage the reserve efficiently, nor to provide meaningful employment benefits to surrounding local communities.

To compound the difficulty of managing the large forests, the same small staff component has been tasked with managing the MPA and marine resources.

6.6.2 The Utilisation of Dwesa-Cwebe's Marine Resources

Local people have been using shellfish for thousands of years along the Wild Coast and at Dwesa where shells from a midden were carbon dated at 5000 BP (Lasiak, 1992). The main shellfish species used are brown mussels (*Perna perna*) (Lasiak, 1993; Dye et al., 1997). Abalone (*Haliotis midae*) oysters (*Striostrea margaritacea*), and rock lobster (*Panulirus homarus*) are also popular food (Fielding, 1994; 1995). Abalone has become sought after as the lucrative black market and demand from the Far East has grown for this species (Steyn, 2017) and there have been several cases of illegal harvesting along the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA (L. Nodwala, pers comm., 25/04/2020).

Oysters were sold to the Haven Hotel when it was legal to purchase them from collectors (G. Rayment, pers comm., 21/03/2019). Sunde (2014) argues that prior to the declaration of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, local people were free to harvest marine resources and to sell them whenever an opportunity presented itself. The market was largely limited to holiday makers and White residents. Several of the Hobeni residents gained work as 'gillies'[14] at the hotel during the holiday seasons. Boyd (pers comm., 31/01/2020) states that prior to the closure of the MPA in 2000, the local people sold shellfish and fish to the hotel, and even though they were exploited in the prices they received for their catches, they at least received some money.

Lasiak (1991) states that one of the most common sights on the Wild Coast is women and children collecting mussels on the rocks. Dye et al. (1997) warn that these mussels show low resilience to exploitation and have slow recovery rates. Mussels and other shellfish are mainly collected by women and children using flat steel bars. Using this method, they often clean rocks. Mussels are sorted on the beach with all unwanted organisms discarded, including small mussels (Lasiak, 1993; Nodwala, pers comm., 2019). Heavy uncontrolled exploitation of mussels is potentially unsustainable and increasing coastal human populations are resulting in greater pressure on stocks (Branch and Odendaal, 2003). Mussel beds are replaced by algae

[14] The word, 'gillie' is commonly used along the Wild Coast in reference to local people who guide visiting anglers to productive fishing areas. They often collect and provide bait such as rock lobsters and may even bait the hooks and cast the line.

when overly exploited (Dye et al., 1997). Fielding et al. (1994) found only a small population of subtidal mussel stocks off Dwesa; thus, there is not a good reservoir and limited potential to replenish stock. Branch and Odendaal (2003) warn that the consequences of over harvesting can be severe on targeted species as well as other species that are indirectly affected.

Despite the research results and warnings from marine scientists, local people around Dwesa-Cwebe are reluctant to believe that the resources are being depleted (Pienaar, 2003). It was the prohibition of collection of marine resources in 1975 that created the strongest resistance from local people to the establishing of the Dwesa Nature Reserve (Pienaar, 2003; L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018). A Polish scientist employed by the Transkei Nature Conservation section, Andrew Grobicki was, according to several sources, instrumental in the imposition of strict enforcement of the regulations pertaining to the collection of marine resources in nature reserves. Grobicki was autocratic and imposed his ideas on conservation on officials. These included that all Transkei's grasslands should be forested with *Acacia karoo* and that marine life should not be collected in nature reserves (J. Feely, pers comm., 17/04/2015). Paul Dutton was also a scientist in Mthatha at the time and recalls (pers comm., 16/05/2018) that, 'Grobicki was one of those fugitives that found their way into the Transkei. He was like KGB. He refused to allow locals to collect mussels at Dwesa.' Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) remembers that Grobicki immediately fled the country in 1993 after Polish-born Yanush Valush assassinated Chris Hani, the popular Transkeian born leader of the South African Communist Party. Dennyson (2010) recalls that near-anarchy erupted in Transkei in 1993 after the assassination, resulting in a number of motorists and holidaymakers being attacked and dealing tourism along the Wild Coast a major blow.

An indication of local people's resistance to restrictions on shellfish utilisation is provided by an extract from a DEAET report by Pienaar (2002) to the department's senior management about progress with Dwesa-Cwebe co-management, 'Our experience is that the community is quite open-minded about most issues, but extremely sensitive about issues related to use of marine resources. Put simply, they do not want MPAs!'

In all the interviews, the traditional leaders noted that the rationale for the establishment of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was to protect the biodiversity of the indigenous forests (C1-C13; D1-D13; H1-H29) and provide tourist attractions (Ndlumbini, pers comm., 20/03/2019). Not one mentioned protection of marine resources as the reason for the proclamation of the

reserve. Traditional leaders at Cwebe were particularly adamant that the reserves were never established to protect marine resources (C1-C13). Early reserve managers agreed that the focus was on forest conservation. Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) stated, 'Dwesa was straight forest conservation – we had no concerns about marine.' Khuzwayo (pers comm., 28/03/2018) believes that the sea may not have originally been the focus for conservation.

The reason for such resistance to restrictions on the use of marine resources is that they are a key source of protein for the communities surrounding Dwesa-Cwebe, particularly for the two communities of Ntubeni and Cwebe (Timmermans 2004). Collecting shellfish is an important custom among local communities and it provides essential food (C1-C13; D1-D13; H1-H29). Dutton (1988) argues that there has been no need for a traditional conservation ethic amongst local people because until relatively recent times their marine resources have been functionally infinite. Furthermore, their traditional methods of collecting mussels and red bait using sharpened sticks never stripped rocks bare as has become prevalent with the now preferred methods of bush knives, hoes and blades.

Besides the subsistence collection of shellfish, commercial harvesting was also practiced at Dwesa-Cwebe. In 1988, trading in marine products of the Wild Coast increased markedly with the opening of four fish factories in Transkei. These included invertebrates. Abalone were harvested by commercial divers. Oysters and rock lobsters were collected between the Mbhashe River (Dwesa-Cwebe) and Port St Johns. Rock lobsters, oysters, crabs and prawns were bought from local people, providing them with an important source of income (Fielding et al., 1994).

6.6.3 The Importance of Fishing at Dwesa-Cwebe

The Wild Coast is known as a premier angling destination and has attracted recreational anglers for more than a century (Fielding et al., 1994; Pienaar, 2003). Wild Coast hotels, including The Haven, capitalised on this market (Pienaar, 2003; Sunde, 2014). The predictable spawning aggregation of white steenbras in the Mbhashe River mouth during late winter attracted considerable fishing pressure with mature breeding fish being caught (Fielding et al., 1994). The hotel hosted an annual 'Grunter Hunt' angling competition with the focus on catching this

species, also known as a pignose grunter (G. Rayment, pers comm., 21/03/2019). This competition was for the predominantly White guests of the hotel.

Feely (2012) argues that fishing was never a customary practice amongst the Xhosa before World War 2. He says they learnt the practice from Whites and recalls several incidents of theft of rods and reels at Dwesa-Cwebe that were raised at meetings in Mthatha by reserve managers. According to Feely, coastal middens along the Wild Coast show no sign of traps or spears. Derricourt (1977) also found little evidence of fish in the middens of Transkei when he conducted his archaeological research; however, there were a few fish bones in a midden in the Chalumna area of the former Ciskei Bantustan. There is no recorded tradition of trapping or spearing of fish by amaXhosa as in Kosi Bay (Dutton, 1988). Spearing needs large expanses of clear, calm, shallow water. The only suitable place on the East Coast of South Africa is Kosi Bay, and possibly St Lucia in the very early years (Feely, 2012).

Despite the lack of archaeological evidence and written records of early fishing by people along the Eastern Cape coastline, it is clear from photographs in the Haven Hotel that amaXhosa of Dwesa-Cwebe have been fishing since at least the mid-1900s. Rayment (pers comm., 21/03/2019) recalls a few fishermen from the local community that used to fish at Dwesa during the 1960s and 1970s. Bourn (pers comm., 23/05/2020) remembers local people fishing and collecting seafood when he began working at Dwesa in 1974.

During interviews with local traditional leaders they all said that their people wanted greater access to marine resources and fishing. The Dwesa leaders acknowledge past taboos relating to fishing in the sea. Chief Ndlumbini (pers comm., 20/03/2019) spoke of ancestors that lived in the sea, but said that White traders and holiday-makers taught the local people to fish with rods and reels. From as far back as he can remember, fishing has been an important part of their livelihoods.

The traditional leaders at Cwebe believe they are allowed to fish anywhere along the sea, except in estuaries (C1-C13). This is not according to current legislation relating to the MPA which specifically has closed Restricted Zones. David Gongqose of Hobeni believes that fishing has been a custom of amaXhosa for hundreds of years (D. Gongqose, pers comm., 22/03/2019). He says people used to use spears to fish. They made line from vines before the Whites came and used thorns for hooks. He says they caught big fish in this way. This is disputed by Dutton

(pers comm., 08/03/2020) who demonstrated that fishing methods by the Thonga people with their traditional African equipment would have been unlikely to catch very large fish and therefore not have major impacts on fish populations. Traditional gear of hooks made from bone and thorns and line made from bark would, in Dutton's opinion, not have been able to catch or land large fish. The main method used by the Thonga was valve baskets and guide fences set in shallow estuaries. Mullet and milkfish were mainly trapped and speared by the owners of these traps (P. Dutton, pers comm., 16/05/2018).

Gongqose (pers comm., 22/03/2019) says that there are currently three very good fishermen from the local community at Dwesa. He admits that not all people surrounding Dwesa-Cwebe fish. People from inland used to tease them for fishing and eating mussels that looked like the private parts of a woman (Sunde, 2014). Despite the teasing, certain families continued fishing. Hunter (1936) writes that some coastal families preferred fish to meat. Gongqose says he and his fellow fishermen rebelled against the closing of the Dwesa-Cwebe coast in 2000. He continued fishing and was arrested and jailed. He was convicted but won his case in the Supreme Court of Appeal based on his customary rights. He, believes, however, that there must be controls on fishing like bag limits and size limits to fish and shellfish (D. Gongqose, pers comm., 22/03/2019).

Kuzile Juza (pers comm., 22/03/2019) says he also comes from a fishing family. A photograph of his grandfather hangs on The Haven wall where he has a large fish in the 1960s. He says the Dwesa-Cwebe management of marine resources is poor. In his opinion, 'People are employed as if it is a beauty pageant. The ECPTA must employ people who know about fishing.' Dutton (1988) argues that local fishermen have a profound knowledge of the marine ecosystem. According to him, there is a disparity in how Western and traditional cultures interpret 'conservation'. Western cultures generally use resources from various parts of the world and have historically focussed on 'preservation'. Traditional fishing cultures, on the other hand, have relied on resources in close proximity to their communities for livelihoods. They have to practice conservation as 'wise use' in order to survive. Failing to use their marine resources wisely may result in reduced catches of fish and a shortage of food.

Where communities have access to terrestrial resources and practice subsistence agriculture and pastoralism, livelihoods may merely be supplemented by hunting and fishing (Dutton, 1988). Mbete (pers comm., 10/07/2018) states that fishing was not a big deal when he managed

the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. He says, '0.1 percent of local people went fishing.' Pienaar (pers comm., 04/07/2019) recalls only two regular local fishermen who used to frequent the open area at Dwesa. In his words, 'They focussed on smaller fish like blacktail, galjoen and bluefish, but they were bladdy good.'

Irrespective of this limited fishing, resistance to MPAs and catch restrictions has been a key source of conflict between local people and the authorities managing Dwesa-Cwebe. Mapiya (pers comm., 05/07/2019) states that the local communities from Mendwane are most anti MPAs and suggests that this is due to the long distances they have to walk to access the sea for fishing in open zones. This supports Mann et al. (2003) who found that most fishers who disagreed with the MPA concept were locals who had to walk extra distances to reach waters where fishing was allowed. There has been one form or another of MPA at Dwesa since 1991 but management thereof has been poor (Fielding et al., 1994; Lasiak, 1994; McDonald et al., 1999; Mann, 2000; Mann et al., 2003; Sunde, 2014; Fielding, 2018). Branch and Odendaal (2003) argued that the Dwesa MPA of the time was under threat from poaching and demands for access to resources, but contended that a strong case existed for retaining at least a core fully protected area. According to them, research results clearly illustrated the need for MPAs among the tools for coastal management at Dwesa-Cwebe (Branch and Odendaal, 2003).

Fielding (2018) acknowledges that management of both the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and the MPA has been difficult and conflictual for many years because of the forced removal of coastal inhabitants from the nature reserve and the loss of access to both forest and marine resources that ensued upon the promulgation of the protected areas. In November 2015, the previous MPA proclamation was withdrawn and repealed to be replaced with a multi-use MPA with restricted and controlled use zones in which limited fishing would be allowed, thereby restoring access to marine resources (Fielding, 2018). Gxashe (pers comm., 06/07/2018) states that Dwesa tourist occupancy increased when the fishing was reopened in 2015 to allow recreational anglers between Human's Rock and the Kobole River. Local fishermen could also fish between the Kobole and Mendu Rivers. Their mussel quota was increased from 30 to 50 per subsistence fisher as well. Although this has been well received, there have been renewed demands to open more areas in the MPA to allow locals unrestricted access. It appears that the historical conflict pertaining to fishing and collection of shellfish is set to persist. The following section explores some of the major conflicts that have occurred between the managing authorities and local communities of Dwesa-Cwebe.

6.7 People-Conservation Tensions and Challenges around Compliance

6.7.1 Historical Conflict around Fishing up to 1994

Dr Douglas Hey was the first Director of the Cape Department of Nature Conservation, which came about in 1952 as a result of trying to secure funds for the five natural history museums of the Cape. Thereafter the Department focussed on establishing inland fish hatcheries and nature reserves, before drafting legislation to protect the fauna and flora of the province. Hey (1995, p. 93) wrote that 'to be effective legislation must be both enforceable and enforced. It should also be promoted by sound educational programmes which explain both the purpose and need for such laws in order to solicit public observance and support.' Initially the Department was obliged to rely on volunteers to assist with enforcement until 1959 when the first full time law enforcement officers were appointed to the Department and trained in their profession (Hey, 1995).

In contrast to Dr Hey's philosophy, the forestry legislation of the Transkeian Territories and subsequent Forest Acts were not well known to the people of Transkei. The laws were therefore not rigorously enforced as attested to by various magistrates of the time (Sim, 1906; Sunde 2014). Regarding marine conservation, the implementation of the Seashore Act was of greater importance to the west coast of the Cape, where fishing fleets exploited the rich Atlantic waters, than to the Wild Coast that was far away from Cape Town (Sunde, 2014).

By the time that the Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves were proclaimed in 1975 there had been no enforcement of laws relating to utilisation of marine resources by the Forestry Departments that previously managed the area (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018; S Ndlumbini, pers comm., 20/03/2019). Local people had also been allowed to collect firewood and poles from the forests under permit and could *theza* for free from the woodlots, resulting in a relatively amicable relationship with Forestry (Dutton, 1992; S. Ndlumbini, pers comm., 20/03/2019; R. Mapukata, pers comm., 20/03/2018). Upon declaring the Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves, the newly created Transkei Department of Nature Conservation employed rangers to patrol the areas. These men were initially untrained and ill-equipped (K. Cooper, pers comm., 16/05/2018; L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018). The first field ranger that the researcher met at Dwesa in 1992 was an elderly man who could speak no English, wore part

of a torn uniform and carried a rusty .303 rifle. His mode of transport was his personal horse which was not in a healthy state. He had had no formal training about the applicable legislation; neither had he been taught how to enforce the law (De Villiers, 2010). This illustrates the lack of efficiency that existed in relation to enforcement of the environmental legislation.

After the promulgation and fencing of Dwesa-Cwebe, hunting and harvesting of inter-tidal resources was prohibited, but for a few years fishing was permitted. Even when the Dwesa Marine Reserve was promulgated under the Transkei Environmental Decree 9/1992, there were still open areas for fishing (Sunde, 2014). Provision was made in the legislation for local fishermen to continue fishing as they had done historically (Wicomb, 2015). The same right was not afforded to women who harvested shellfish. As early as 1986 Hobeni women were apprehended by rangers in the reserve and allegedly locked in a garage for several hours and their catch confiscated by the rangers (Sunde, 2014). Despite being particularly harshly treated, women continued harvesting mussels, even changing routines to gather shellfish at night when the chances of being apprehended by rangers were reduced (Sunde, 2014).

Given the rangers' lack of training and limited resources, the researcher can believe that incidents such as those described by Sunde occurred on occasion. It would have been extremely difficult for rangers to arrest offenders and take them to the nearest town when the reserve often had no operational vehicles. The researcher heard from several sources that rangers would dish out their own forms of punishment or solicit bribes from fishermen who were found to be contravening laws. Wiseman Monde, a former nature conservation officer based at Dwesa, told the researcher in 1994 that the method they used for enforcement at Dwesa-Cwebe was, 'Thetha, thetha, betha.' This literally translates to 'Talk, talk, hit.' The statement shows that local conservationists and rangers of that time had a perception that conservation needed to be violent. It was not until 1997 that rangers were selected for formal training at the DEAET Field Ranger Training School in Graaff-Reinet (De Villiers, 2010).

Branch and Odendaal (2003) argue that the history of management and compliance in relation to marine resources in Dwesa-Cwebe was mixed. Levels of enforcement differed on either side of the Mbhashe River, but in general there was little compliance (Lasiak, 1993; Mann et al., 2003; Hayward, 2009). In spite of legislation prohibiting the use of marine resources along the Dwesa-Cwebe coastline, subsistence users continued to collect shellfish in the reserve (Pienaar,

2003; Tunley, 2009). Attwood et al. (1997) argue that managers of the Dwesa-Cwebe Marine Reserve actually allowed subsistence users to exploit intertidal resources in contravention of the authorising legislation and contrary to scientific advice. Originally, all biota were protected in Dwesa-Cwebe when the marine reserve was declared in 1991. According to Attwood et al. (1997), adjacent unprotected intertidal communities had been severely degraded by intense, uncontrolled exploitation, leading to immense pressure from local subsistence users to open Dwesa-Cwebe to utilisation. This resulted in a situation in which intertidal exploitation was permitted 'under supervision' by reserve managers. This situation received bad publicity and, following an investigation by a multidisciplinary task group, total protection was reinstated (Attwood et al., 1997).

There are vastly differing opinions on how effective law enforcement along the Dwesa-Cwebe coastline was. Pienaar (2003) states that until 1994, the MPA, including the rocky inter-tidal zone, was totally protected through strong law enforcement. The efficacy of this is disputed by Lasiak (1993), Fielding et al. (1994), Mann et al. (2003), and Stegmann (2009) who claim that law enforcement along the Wild Coast has historically been ineffective due to a lack of resources and low staff numbers. Mann et al. (2003) go so far as to state that it is unlikely that the regulations had any effect at all in controlling fishing effort or fishing mortality. Lasiak (1993) is of the opinion that enforcement alone will not be effective in managing mussel stocks as local people do not see them as being over exploited. Access to the beach and rocky shores is also too difficult for officials to effectively patrol. Be that as it may, Pienaar (2003) argues that during 1994 local people increasingly began to challenge and protest the fact that they were being policed and did not have access to inter-tidal resources. He admits that despite a moratorium on harvesting of intertidal resources by local communities, they nevertheless continued to gain access to the rocks. Branch and Odendaal (2003) are of the view that the marine resources had been well protected for many years because of the existence of the adjacent terrestrial forest reserve, but after the first democratic elections in 1994, local communities regarded access to, control over, and use of the resources in the reserve, as their right. With political changes in the country, demands for access to these resources intensified, and heavy poaching of mussels took place in defiance of conservation regulations (Branch and Odendaal, 2003). Pienaar (2003) states that large amounts of organisms, mainly brown mussels, were harvested, even within the UNITRA monitoring areas, so much so that some research projects had to be abandoned.

According to Gwiji (pers com, 09/06/2019), managers and rangers allowed local fishers and shellfish collectors into Dwesa and Cwebe after they protested in 1994, despite the legislation prohibiting them to harvest inside the reserve. The protests of 1994 were arguably the first serious show of intent to disagree with and disregard the restrictions. Past Dwesa-Cwebe managers who the researcher interviewed felt that there had been a sudden unprecedented change from apartheid to democracy, leading to unrealistic expectations (E1; E3; E4; E6). The communities understood democracy to mean that they could now take back the land. The mass protest of September 1994 was actually triggered after the DEAET's refusal to allow the local people to graze their cattle on the reserves. They chopped down trees in the Dwesa-Cwebe forests and plundered mussels from the marine reserve using spades (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997; Ntshona et al., 2010). Then Minister of Agriculture, Tertius Delport, was informed of the wholesale destruction and called for law enforcement intervention (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997).

The researcher recalls taking part in the debates in the Bhisho DEAET head office about what action to take against the invaders in September 1994. The head of law enforcement at the time, Jaap Pienaar, was adamant that immediate enforcement was required with police and military assistance. Other officials preferred a more negotiated approach. The researcher was tasked to travel to Dwesa to assess the situation and report back. The protests were headline news, broadcasting the plight of the Dwesa-Cwebe communities to all of South Africa. The forest damage was not extensive, but the effects of the plundering of mussel beds that had been protected for decades would have major impacts on stock recovery (Dye et al., 1997). However, the protests paved the way for negotiations between the Dwesa-Cwebe communities and DEAET and the start of a land claim process that would be coordinated by TRALSO (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997).

Unfortunately for DEAET and the reserve management at the time, the paramilitary conservation staff at Dwesa-Cwebe had become a symbol of oppression (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997). The local people demanded a change of guard. To quote Mzikabawo Mbete, 'The communities wanted every manager from the former Transkei moved from the reserves. That is why Gerry asked me to go to Dwesa' (M. Mbete, pers comm., 10/07/2018). The DEAET strategy following the lodging of the land claim was to avoid the conflict that strict law enforcement might create (M. Mbete, pers comm., 10/07/2018; Pienaar, pers comm.,

07/08/2018). ‘It was only after agreements of the land claim that I took a stronger stand, but I always tried negotiating first’ (M. Mbete, pers comm., 10/07/2018).

6.7.2 Differing Perspectives and Conflicts Relating to Abalone Poaching at Dwesa-Cwebe

South African abalone (*Haliotis midae*) is an endemic marine mollusc that is highly prized in Asian food markets as a delicacy (Okes et al., 2018). It sells for a high price per kilogram, and is therefore often referred to as ‘white gold’ (Steyn, 2017; Minnaar, van Schalkwyk and Kader, 2018). Dwesa has been exploited for abalone since populations were discovered in the 1980s (Fielding et al., 1994; Fielding, 1995). Exploitation along the Wild Coast was uncontrolled at the time. One fishery that was established in 1988 processed 80 tons in 1990 until all harvesting of abalone was stopped in 1991 (Fielding, 1995). An almost total lack of law enforcement and difficulty in accessing the coast made it easy for poachers to exploit the abalone stocks (Fielding, 1995).

When the Eastern Cape Parks Board (ECPB) took over management of Dwesa-Cwebe in 2004 the parastatal appointed field rangers to patrol Dwesa-Cwebe (T. Gwiji, pers comm., 09/06/2019; V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). Although they were initially poorly trained, they improved their efficacy through attending courses at institutions that specialised in field ranger training (De Villiers, 2010). The early course content predominantly focussed on law enforcement and patrolling of protected areas (Coetzee, 2013) but expanded to include subjects such as game management and environmental education. This training enabled field rangers to perform their duties in a more professional manner.

A large part of the Dwesa-Cwebe field rangers’ duties entails patrolling the coastline to prevent illegal fishing and harvesting of shellfish (M. Gxashe, pers comm., 06/07/2018). During April 2011, field rangers patrolling the coast encountered a group of armed abalone poachers (N. Tyabashe, pers comm., 23/08/2019). According to Mr Tyabashe, who was a field ranger based at Dwesa-Cwebe at the time, Field Ranger Sphondo fatally shot one of the abalone poachers at Kiwane, near Dwesa Point, after the poacher attacked Mr Sphondo with a knife. After the mandatory police investigation into the shooting, the court found that Sphondo acted in self-defence and the shotgun used was returned to the Dwesa Nature Reserve. Gwiji (pers comm., 09/06/2019) is of the opinion that, the fact that the community of Dwesa never protested

violently about this incident shows that the abalone poacher who was shot was in the wrong. Lwazi Khuzwayo (pers comm., 23/08/2019) says that the incident was never even brought to his attention by the community or the reserve staff when he assumed duties as the Dwesa-Cwebe reserve manager in 2013.

C. Khumalo (2011), who was the reserve manager at Dwesa-Cwebe, reported a different incident that occurred at Cwebe on 14th June, 2011 where four field rangers discovered a poacher, Mr Njovana Mbira, chopping protected trees in the reserve. They told him to stop but he attacked them with a bush knife. According to Field Ranger Nkosinathi Tyabashe (pers comm., 23/08/2019), who was present during the incident, the poacher never stopped, even after warning shots were fired into the ground. Instead, the poacher chased an elderly field ranger, Mr Maqhekeni, until the ranger turned and shot him in his leg in self-defence. Khumalo (2011) reports that one bullet penetrated Mbira's left thigh. Tyabashe (pers comm., 23/08/2019) recalls that the rangers carried the wounded man to the road but he unfortunately died from loss of blood before the ambulance arrived. The incident was reported to Nkosi Geya Jonginkosi, who accompanied the rangers to the deceased man's house in Cwebe Village where the family was informed of the incident. The community was angry and burned a ranger's house down at Gate 2. The ranger was acquitted of murder by the court as it was found that he had acted in self-defence. He was traumatised and retired shortly after the incident (N. Tyabashe, pers comm., 23/08/2019). Matose (2016) argues that the incident highlights an underlying desire for communities to utilise the resources of Dwesa-Cwebe no matter the cost.

Despite the acquittal of the rangers in the two cases, there has been conflict between the ECPTA and the Cwebe community as a result of these incidents. At Cwebe some traditional leaders related to the researcher that rangers had shot community members for trespassing 'about five years ago' (C1, C11, C12, C13). This appears to be a reference to the 2011 incidents. According to Chief Jonginkosi (pers comm., 28/05/2019), the ECPTA apologised to the community for their actions.

Wicomb (2015) reflects on attending a meeting in Cape Town in July 2011 where NGOs spoke of the horrific acts by park rangers at Dwesa Cwebe where, 'at least one local fisher had been shot dead and another was killed months later.' At the same meeting, the TRALSO NGO told of the rape of women by enforcers of the environmental regime (Wicomb, 2015). While her narrative paints a picture of brutal, uncontrolled enforcement by Dwesa-Cwebe field rangers,

it does not elaborate on the circumstances leading to the shooting. Neither does it state that the rangers were acquitted by the courts of any wrongdoing. According to Mapiya (pers comm., 05/07/2019), no environmental officers or field rangers from Dwesa-Cwebe have been found guilty of the murder or rape of members of the community. The allegations of rape are denied by Field Ranger Tyabashe (pers comm., 23/08/2019). He says there were incidents where women stripped themselves of their clothing when rangers approached them while they were illegally removing shellfish and abalone from the rocks. 'This was an attempt to deter the rangers from arresting them, but we waited for them to put their clothes back on' (N. Tyabashe, pers comm., 23/08/2019). It is a well-known strategy that law enforcement officers encounter along the coast. Sometimes women put shellfish in their underwear so that rangers cannot search them. These strategies are used to evade arrest (De Villiers, 2010; G. Mpuhlu, pers comm., 07/02/2018).

Following the 2011 skirmishes with poachers, coastal patrols continued unabated. During December 2013, four field rangers received information about abalone poachers operating near Mendu Point on the reserve (B. Mbundwini, pers comm., 22/11/2019). When they encountered the poachers at night, a scuffle ensued and a field ranger was shot dead (GRAA, 2013). His R1 automatic rifle was stolen. The CEO of ECPTA, Vuyani Dayimani, immediately contacted the researcher. They flew to the scene with the head of DEDEAT's Special Investigation Unit, Etienne Kitching, at first light on the morning after the incident. The helicopter landed on the beach beside the abandoned body of the deceased field ranger, who was identified as Mr Sphondo. In the absence of police, who had still not arrived at the crime scene, and with the incoming tide threatening to wash away shoe prints, the researcher and head of SIU took photographs and secured the evidence. There are unsubstantiated published reports of this ranger having been too vigilant and harsh in executing his duties. Reports from his supervisor and colleagues portray a different picture. Thabo Gwiji (pers comm., 09/06/2019) says, 'He was an excellent field ranger who was dedicated to his work. He was the one who was responsible for most arrests. This is the reason that he was targeted.' The CEO of ECPTA remarked that he was one of the best field rangers that the reserve had (V. Dayimani, pers comm., 28/12/2013). The perpetrators were caught and convicted of murder. They were sentenced to 15 years in prison (B. Mbundwini, pers comm., 22/11/2019).

The incident shows the dangers associated with law enforcement. In 2013, 52 rangers, including Mr Sphondo, were killed in the line of duty in Africa (GRAA, 2013). Forty of the

deaths were as a result of homicide at the hands of poachers. The Dwesa-Cwebe community never protested against the arrest of the poachers who murdered the field ranger. This indicates that they did not support the offenders' actions. In fact, the communities do not support abalone poaching and claim that poachers come from outside the Dwesa-Cwebe area (Sunde, 2014). A number of the traditional leaders who the researcher interviewed openly expressed these thoughts (C1; C2; D1; D3; D9; H1; H2; H11). According to Sunde (2014), the community considers the poachers as dangerous and generally feels that they cannot deal with them (Sunde, 2014). Similarly, traditional leaders expect the state authorities to enforce the law and apprehend the abalone poachers (C1; D1), and Fay (2007) argues that it is the state's duty to assist traditional leaders in ensuring compliance with legislation.

Abalone poaching has increased since the 1990s and 2000s, coinciding with a time where organised crime syndicates have been establishing sophisticated markets and linkages with the drug trade (Minaar et al., 2018). The trade in rhino horn spiked dramatically during a similar time period, especially from 2008 (De Villiers, 2017a; b). The effects of this on the white rhino population on Dwesa-Cwebe are discussed in the following section.

6.7.3 Conflicts about Introduction of White Rhino to Dwesa and their controversial Demise

White rhino never occurred along the Wild Coast during historical times (Skead, 1987). They were introduced to Dwesa in the 1970s without consultation with the surrounding communities (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018). There were concerns at the time from local people about the consequences for their safety and how the presence of these dangerous animals would impact on their access to natural resources (Sunde, 2014).

The rhino settled down and adapted to the Dwesa environment, even changing their habits to hide in forest cover and emerge onto the grasslands by day to avoid poaching (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). In April 2009 the ECPB allowed the controversial hunting of six of the eleven white rhino at Dwesa. Five were shot by Vietnamese and the sixth by a French National. This led to public and community outrage (Stone, 2011). The ECPB defended their decision to hunt based on their policy of removing alien species from their protected areas (Stone, 2011). In February 2011, the carcasses of the remaining five rhino were discovered. They had been shot by poachers using high calibre firearms (De Villiers, 2017a). The researcher was Director of

Compliance and Enforcement with DEDEAT at the time of the Dwesa rhino poaching. The unit had been investigating rhino poaching incidents since the first rhino was poached in the province in December 2008 (De Villiers, 2017b). The Acting Chief Executive Officer of ECPTA contacted the researcher immediately and arranged a helicopter to fly to the crime scene at Dwesa. The carcasses had already decomposed and forensic experts estimated that they had been shot at least three months prior to having been discovered. The incident was mentioned by some traditional leaders during the interviews to substantiate their perceptions of the ECPTA's inability to manage Dwesa-Cwebe (D1, H1, C2, C3). This highlights the importance of having well-trained field rangers patrolling protected areas. It also shows that organised crime syndicates are aware of the location of high demand products like rhino horn and abalone. It is interesting that the first skirmish with abalone poachers involving Mr Sphondo occurred two months after the discovery of the rhino carcasses.

6.7.4 Subsistence Fishing in Dwesa-Cwebe: Conflicts about the Arrests of Community Fishermen in the MPA

While abalone and rhino poaching is usually for commercial purposes and linked to organised crime syndicates, fishing to feed local families cannot be considered in the same manner, even if it is being conducted unlawfully. The arrest in 2010 of Mr David Gongqose for fishing in the MPA and subsequent judgments created immense conflict between ECPTA and the communities of Cwebe and Hobeni (C1; H1; H2; H11). Gongqoze, a 49-year-old male, Siphumile Windase, a 27-year-old male and Nkosi Juza, a 17-year-old male were jointly charged for attempting to fish in the Dwesa-Cwebe marine protected area in contravention of section 43(2)(a) of the Marine Living Resources Act 18 of 1998 (MLRA). They were further charged for entering a national wildlife reserve area (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve) without authorisation by permit in contravention of section 29(1)(a) of the Environmental Conservation Decree No 9 of 1992 (Snijman and Feris, 2013). They had been spotted carrying fishing rods on the evening of 22 September 2010 and were arrested by field rangers who allegedly pointed rifles at them (Wicomb, 2015).

In the Elliotdale Court in May 2012, Magistrate Greg Nel was sympathetic to the accused because he considered them to be subsistence fishermen, but said he had no option other than to find all three guilty (Wicomb, 2015). He granted some reprieve by only giving them

suspended sentences. He said the absolute ban on harvesting of marine resources extinguished the customary rights of the Dwesa-Cwebe people and questioned the constitutionality of this, stating that the closure of the reserve without consultation was irrefutable. It was not within his powers to rule on the constitutionality of the provisions of the legislation (Blaine, 2012).

According to Magistrate Nel, the finalisation of the land claim and subsequent settlement agreement that transferred ownership of the reserve to the Dwesa-Cwebe community should have marked a new beginning for local people. Instead, it marked the point at which goodwill towards the community appeared to 'terminate'. Sunde (2014) states that the title deed to the land was never transferred, none of the co-management promises were realised, and the community's rights to its resources, instead of being fulfilled, were foreclosed entirely. This began with the declaration of the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA no-take zone being declared on 29th December, 2000, mere months before the signing of the Settlement Agreement of the land claim. All of this was in direct conflict with negotiations with the surrounding communities at the time. ECPTA had not been implementing the Settlement Agreement (Snijman and Feris, 2013; Sunde, 2014; Wicomb, 2015).

The Elliotdale judgment was appealed at the High Court and eventually at the Supreme Court of Appeal. On the 1st June, 2018 the SCA ruled that the accused were carrying out their customary rights. The state never proved that fishing is not a customary right of the amaXhosa living adjacent to the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The MLRA did not deal with Customary Rights until it was amended in 2014 to recognise small-scale customary fishing rights. In November 2015 the Minister of the DEA published new regulations which allowed limited access to the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA by community members (Jamie and Pillay, 2019).

Despite access to fishing and collecting shellfish in controlled zones of the new MPA, the communities of Cwebe and Hobeni are still dissatisfied. Interviews with traditional leaders of the area (C1-C13) revealed full support for the statement made by David Gongqose (pers comm., 22/03/2019): 'We can fish anywhere along the coast. It is only in estuaries that we cannot fish' (C1-C13). Khaya Ncube, the Dwesa-Cwebe reserve manager appointed in 2019 says, 'Especially Mendwane community are aggressive and ignore the law. They say that they killed the field ranger in 2012 (sic) and will kill any field ranger who prevents them from fishing. We still enforce the law. We did awareness in Mendwane but were ignored. They want

no zones, no permits. They want to fish all over with no restrictions to numbers or sizes' (K. Ncube, pers comm., 25/02/2019).

The DEFF Assistant Director in charge of fisheries enforcement along the Wild Coast, Lungile Nodwala says, 'The attitude (of the Dwesa-Cwebe fishermen) is completely different to their testimony during the Gongqose trial, which I attended. There is no regard for minimum sizes or bag limits. The community is completely lawless' (L. Nodwala, pers comm., 29/04/2019).

On the other hand, the communities at Cwebe and Hobeni feel that they were awarded the land and agreed on the correct way of managing it. However, the Settlement Agreement is not being implemented (P. Fudemele, pers comm., 22/03/2019). In contrast to the legal opinion provided by Jamie and Pillay (2019), the Cwebe fishermen feel that the courts have given them permission to fish anywhere along the Dwesa-Cwebe coastline. To quote Gongqose (pers comm., 22/03/2019), 'We have been fishing here forever. Our fathers fished here and our grandfathers. The court found that we have the right to fish here' (Figure 6.5).

The struggle to access their natural resources has been at the forefront of the conflict between the communities and the forestry and conservation authorities. It formed the basis of the land claim that was instituted following South Africa's first democratic elections of 1994. The following section explores the process as it unfolded and examines the consequences for management of the nature reserve.

Figure 6.5: David Gongqose (far left) and Kuzile Juza (second from right) speak openly about fishing and marine conservation at Dwesa-Cwebe (J. Costello, 22/03/2019)

6.7.5 The Dwesa-Cwebe Land Claim: Effects on Natural Resource Use and Conservation

The most severe conflict between indigenous communities around the Dwesa and Cwebe nature reserves and the state authorities responsible for implementing Western-style conservation, arose in the early 1990s. Nelson Mandela had been freed from prison, and these communities who had faced forced removals from their land and livelihoods caught on to the promise of a free and equal society (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997). In 1993 and 1994, during a crippling drought, some 2 500 local community members attended a crisis meeting and appealed for access to grazing in the nature reserve (Ntshona et al., 2010). Their appeal was rejected by the authorities. A year later, in the wake of South Africa's first democratic election and the adoption of an interim constitution and Bill of Rights, the communities took their protest a step further and entered the reserves *en masse*, where they harvested marine and other resources in defiance of the Transkei 'homeland' regulations that prohibited them from doing so (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997; Ntshona et al., 2010). Large trees were felled and long-protected musselbeds were removed with spades. The then Minister of Agriculture, Tertius Delport, was informed of the wholesale destruction and called for law enforcement intervention (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997). The protest headlined across all forms of media and made national television news. The authorities finally took note of the plight of the communities (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997; Timmermans, 2004; Ntshona et al., 2010; Sunde, 2014; Wicomb, 2015). The action prompted the conservation authorities to open negotiations with a locally elected Village Conservation Committee, and to establish a permit-based system for use of forest products and grazing land within the reserves (Ntshona et al., 2010).

The Eastern Cape Nature Conservation Department had during the time of these protests recently been created as part of the Department of Agriculture, and inherited Transkei's environmental challenges. The ECNC had to deal with divisive internal debates around Dwesa and Cwebe that, according to Terblanche and Kraai (1997, p. 34), 'amounted to a struggle between apartheid-era militarists who demanded aggressive clampdowns on militant communities and more sophisticated intellectuals who understood that continued national support for conservation demanded becoming more accountable and open to local communities.' It was also realised that nature conservation should be located within a department that focused on economic development and tourism so that local communities

could benefit from protected areas (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997). Environmental Affairs became part of the Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism (DEAET).

Terblanche and Kraai's (1997) assumptions about the ECNC internal strife are only partially correct. The researcher was part of the ECNC management team that debated the Dwesa and Cwebe situation immediately following the land invasions of September 1994. There were differing opinions, but not between 'militarists and intellectuals' as argued by Terblanche and Kraai (1997). Rather, the differences of opinion were between separate units within the department, each with very different mandates, but comprising officials with post matric qualifications in conservation and/or environmental sciences. The law enforcement unit, mandated to ensure compliance with legislation, was seething because there appeared to be a completely hands-off approach to the invasions of the nature reserves that, by some accounts, were leading to irreparable damage to the environment. During one heated meeting the then head of ECNC law enforcement, Jaap Pienaar, chased Christo Fabricius and Gerry Pienaar (who would become key negotiators for the ECNC with the Dwesa-Cwebe communities) out of the venue because they disagreed on the need for immediate heavy-handed enforcement to restore order. This demonstrates the intensity of the debates that the ECNC officials were engaged in. It was only the following day that the parties reconvened and agreed on a strategy to deal with the Dwesa and Cwebe invasions, that being to continue with negotiations.

On 26th January, 1995, Deputy Minister of Environmental Affairs, General Bantu Holomisa, whom the researcher knew personally from previous engagements on community projects in Kei Mouth, asked the researcher's opinion about the destruction of natural resources at Dwesa and Cwebe. The researcher was of the opinion that greater enforcement would be required if a negotiated solution could not be found rapidly and informed Holomisa accordingly.

By 11th August, 1995 a solution had not yet been found and the researcher met with senior ECNC officials, Dr Peter Norton and Gerry Pienaar, to discuss interventions in the reserve to prevent ongoing poaching and unlawful resource use. On 2nd October, 1995, an emergency meeting was held at Dwesa between senior ECNC managers (including Dr Norton, Gerry Pienaar, Christo Fabricius and the researcher) and managers from Mthatha and Dwesa, including Vuyani Mapiya, Godfrey Zide and Wiseman Mondi. An assessment of environmental damage showed that blesbok had been poached from 60 animals to six, while blue wildebeest and eland numbers had also been dramatically reduced through illegal hunting.

Bushbuck and blue duiker were reportedly no longer seen, where they had previously walked around the office and tourist camps. With regard to protected trees, large *Millettia grandis* and *Ptaeroxylon obliquum* were indiscriminately felled, particularly at Cwebe. However, in the greater context of things this damage was not substantial given the size of the forests and thus the ability to recover. Of more concern was the mussel harvesting that impacted upon research projects that had been undertaken by UNITRA. Three experimental sites had been established at Dwesa in October 1982 for long-term monitoring of mussel biology and recruitment (Dye, 1988). Protesters had cleaned mussel beds from the rocks at Dwesa and Cwebe. The scarcity of sub-tidal mussel stocks would mean a lengthy period before recolonisation of the rocks (Dye et al., 1997; Fielding et al., 1994).

The Dwesa reserve manager, Vuyani Mapiya, felt at the time that ECNC management was taking the community's side without considering the opinions of the nature conservation officials who had been employed to work on the reserve by the former Transkei Department of Agriculture and Forestry's Nature Conservation Directorate. Wiseman Mondi, who headed the Dwesa law enforcement team, agreed. He explained that the community had been warned numerous times of the laws relating to the reserve. He said that there was no hatred towards the communities or invaders, but despondency at seeing the natural resources being plundered, seemingly without any ECNC strategy to respond. Mondi wanted stronger enforcement action against what he believed was deliberate defiance and criminal behaviour. The researcher recalls that ECNC's law enforcement sub programme's sympathies lay with the Dwesa and Cwebe managers. There were definitely differing opinions between ECNC managers, but all agreed on the urgent need for negotiations with the communities.

According to Fabricius and de Wet (2002), it was fortunate that the Dwesa and Cwebe communities had approached an NGO, TRALSO (Transkei Land Services Organisation) to facilitate negotiations on their behalf. This NGO played a critical role in limiting conflict and facilitating dialogue that ultimately culminated in a resolution (Fabricius and de Wet, 2002). TRALSO responded to the communities by requesting The Village Planner NGO to design and implement a participatory research process (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997).

Between 6th and 9th November, 1995 meetings were held at Dwesa between ECNC management and community representatives. While TRALSO facilitated, Rhodes University researchers observed and recorded proceedings. Joint management was the focal theme rather

than law enforcement. The researcher presented on the successes of joint management in the Eastern Cape, specifically the lessons learned at the Umtiza Nature Reserve which he managed, and the benefits of public-private partnerships which had developed through the establishment of the Strandloper Trail along the East London Coast Nature Reserves. These were pioneering participatory management efforts between a protected area, by coincidence of a similar nature to Dwesa and Cwebe, and surrounding communities in the Eastern Cape (De Villiers, 1995; 1996a; 2004b). Lessons learned included identifying the values and interests of stakeholders; trying to assist with stakeholders' needs; always delivering on promises; educating at all levels; learning from local indigenous knowledge and continuously building trust (De Villiers, 2000). In addition to discussing the benefits of joint management, the researcher presented the case for law enforcement if the uncontrolled destruction continued. While there was enthusiasm and support for the joint management scenario, any mention of law enforcement was met with a chorus of disapproval and threats of retaliation. There was clearly still antagonism towards any paramilitary-styled management as reflected by Terblanche and Kraai (1997).

On the 13th November, 1995 TRALSO dropped an unexpected bombshell at a Dwesa meeting (Pienaar, 2003). Following The Village Planner recommendations, they demanded that the nature reserve land be returned to the people (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997). There were differences of opinion in ECNC whether there was a valid land claim. The Senior Scientist of Transkei Nature Conservation, Jim Feely, assessed past aerial photographs and forestry archives relating to Dwesa and Cwebe. Based on his research, he categorically denied that there were any forced evictions of Black Africans from within Dwesa. In an email entitled 'Dwesa Sociology' (J Feely, 28/01/2010), he wrote that, 'Dwesa and Cwebe are State Forests established in 1890, and the few people living in and removed from grassland next to the sea were compensated in 1893. This alone should have precluded any land claim since the removals were before 1913. Furthermore, the adjustments to the boundaries carried out in the 1920s were to exclude areas of grassland on the inland side of the forest vegetation, and thus reduce the original extent of what was crown land. The land was added to the commonage used by the people. As a result, nobody was removed after 1913.' Feely's email further refers to 'air photos' between the 1930s and 1992 at UNITRA supporting his contention. He agreed that some local people may have resided on Dwesa whilst being employed by the Department of Forestry. This is in line with Palmer et al. (2002) who state that although all Blacks had allegedly been removed from Dwesa and Cwebe forests by 1894, Proclamation 135 of 1903 created a mechanism for local people to reside in demarcated forests with a temporary licence or permit.

Based on his research, Feely advised the researcher not to append his signature to any agreement on a land claim that was based on forced removals. There were definitely forced removals of White Africans who had holiday cottages at Dwesa (Dennison, 2010). Strangely, the owners of holiday cottages at Cwebe were not removed. There was evidence of a few huts at Cwebe where local people were residing. It is unclear whether or not they were employees of the Forestry Department. During the interviews with Cwebe and Hobeni traditional leaders, they stated that only a few families were evicted from Cwebe (C1, H1, H2, H3, H4, H11). K. Juza (pers comm., 22/03/2019) says 'Only five families lived inside the reserve (at Cwebe) but people used the resources. There were families on the boundary. KD Matanzima moved the families – not forcefully like sometimes recorded. But he was a puppet of the Apartheid administrators. He then began Betterment in 1984 and moved families three km from the reserve.' Fay (2007; 2009) states that the families who were moved during Betterment were relocated five kilometres from the reserves to create a buffer zone.

Feely was not convinced that the Cwebe huts were settlements. He was of the opinion that these were employees of the Department of Forestry. What Feely did admit was that the access to natural resources that the Department of Forestry had always allowed had been prohibited when the nature reserves were proclaimed at Dwesa and Cwebe in 1975. He was also opposed to the closure of the entire Dwesa-Cwebe coastline to utilisation which he said local people had had the right to utilise for thousands of years (J. Feely, pers comm., 28/01/2010).

On 4th December, 1995 the researcher attended a ceremony at Mendwana where Agriculture MEC Ezra Sigwela signed an agreement for joint management of reserves and sustainable use of the natural resources protected within them. Eventually in 1996, with the assistance of TRALSO, the villagers formally lodged a land claim based on the Restitution of Land Rights Act (22 of 1994) (Ntshona et al., 2010). Under this Act, individuals or communities dispossessed of land after 1913 on the basis of racially discriminatory laws and policies could lodge a claim for restitution. The claim had to be filed by 31st December, 1998.

Terblanche and Kraai (1997) refer to the 'progressive element' of ECNC having won over from the old Transkei Authority (ECNC was an amalgamation of the former Cape Administration Nature Conservation Department; Ciskei Nature Conservation and Transkei Nature Conservation). Gerry Pienaar was designated as the main representative of ECNC to deal with

the Dwesa-Cwebe negotiations (Sunde, 2014). Pienaar (2003) reflects that Dwesa-Cwebe was a test case for land restitution; hence, it was prioritised and swiftly brought to completion. Researchers lined up to interview communities with, at one stage, at least 18 simultaneous research projects (Tshani, 2003). The communities eventually met prior to responding to researchers and adapted answers depending on who asked the questions (G. Pienaar, pers comm., 07/08/2018).

Over the following few years, the newly elected democratic government vigorously engaged the seven villages around Dwesa and Cwebe, assisting them to create representative structures and conceptualising and negotiating a flagship settlement under the 1994 Restitution of Land Rights Act that would see stewardship of the Dwesa-Cwebe Reserve returned to the communities (Pienaar, 2003; Sunde, 2014). ECNC (later DEAET) and local communities proposed methods to ensure the sustainable utilisation of resources within the reserve. For the government, this ambitious settlement proposal which carried with it the promise of a 'quick win' to mark the beginning of a new democratic era, could not be slowed down by unnecessary complexity (Palmer et al., 2000). Thus, the Eastern Cape Regional Land Claims Commission decided to combine all seven villages on the reserve's boundary and create a new community called the 'Dwesa-Cwebe community'. This new community was given a legal personality and was represented by a land trust that spoke for the seven villages, each of which had a separate communal property association. Creating the legal fiction of the 'Dwesa-Cwebe community' glossed over the fact that the only commonality among these seven villages was a history of dispossession (Sunde, 2014; Wicomb, 2015).

Despite the reservations held by many about the validity of the land claim based on forced removals from within the forestry areas, the DEAET decided not to contest the land claim (G. Pienaar, pers comm., 07/08/2018). Following a lengthy and conflict-ridden period of negotiations between the representatives of the villagers and the state, the claim was settled out of court on 17th June, 2001 (Ntshona et al., 2010). The basis on which the land claim was settled was not, according to Pienaar (pers comm., 04/07/2019) forced removals or denial of access to natural resources, but discrimination, where Whites were permitted to have cottages in the Cwebe Nature Reserve and Blacks were not. In an email (Establishment of Dwesa 18/05/2009), Feely writes that the state's main condition to agreeing to settle was that the community agreed that the land would continue to be protected under the forestry and environmental legislation.

Palmer et al. (2000) argue that restitution was contingent upon continued conservation at Dwesa-Cwebe.

The return of the land resulted in the establishment of Communal Property Associations (CPAs) in terms of the Communal Property Associations Act (28 of 1996), enforcing two forms of tenure – (1) land managed by local people in accordance with national legislation establishing CPA rights (ii) land managed by tribal authorities as communal property (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997). The seven villages formed the Dwesa-Cwebe Land Trust (DCLT) as a legal entity to hold land rights that were being returned. The settlement agreement was R14 276 million. The focus was not on individual household compensation. The money was to be invested in a number of development projects that were meant to yield benefits for all members of the community. These included ecotourism ventures and infrastructural projects in and around the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve (Ntshona et al., 2010). The land on which the Haven Hotel is built was deproclaimed and ownership handed to the DCLT. Similarly, the 39 private cottages on Cwebe were given to the DCLT (Paterson, 2011). The DCLT leases the hotel and cottages, providing some income since the finalisation of the land claim (Jonginkosi, pers comm., 2019).

The land restitution settlement agreement recognised the importance of natural resources for biodiversity conservation as well as for the rural livelihoods of the local people. The settlement agreement includes a clause that stipulates that the land will not be occupied or farmed by the former claimants but will be retained as a nature reserve into perpetuity (Paterson, 2011). Importantly for local livelihoods and the land and resource rights of community members, was the provision for a community forest agreement that became part of the land claim settlement (Ntshona et al., 2010).

The Community Forestry Agreement (CFA) accommodates use and management of natural resources by local people (DLA, 2001; Feely, 2010b). It provides for co-management of the reserve by the DCLT, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, the provincial conservation authority, the Department of Land Affairs and local government institutions. These institutions came together as a Co-Management Committee (CMC). Co-management of the reserve was to be conducted in accordance with a management plan, which could be amended from time to time as the need arose, in accordance with the Management Framework (DLA, 2001).

Co-management as part of the land restitution agreement was consistent with a trend in South Africa to settle land claims in protected areas in this manner (Kepe, 2008). According to the PAMP (ECPTA, 2012a), it is a stated objective of the reserve that a CMC be constituted for the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve as a mechanism to promote and enhance the active participation of local communities in the development of reserve management strategies and decision-making. In terms of the PAMP, the reserve is expected to facilitate the establishment of the CMC. Gerry Pienaar (pers comm., 07/08/2018) argued that the CMC experienced extreme difficulties due to the lack of financial support (Box 6.2).

Following the land claim, the Dwesa-Cwebe area became part of a local land holding trust. Trustees consist of elected representatives from the seven villages, and their role is to oversee local conservation and development initiatives. According to Timmermans (2004), the superimposition of three institutions - the municipality (and its local representatives), traditional leaders, and the trust - is not without its problems, especially confusion regarding respective roles and responsibilities and competition for status and resources.

Ntshona et al. (2010), are of the opinion that a number of institutions that were supposed to facilitate a smooth transition into the post settlement era at Dwesa-Cwebe have not worked according to plan. The CPAs that were established between 1997 and 1998 in each of the seven villages around the reserve, and were supposed to hold land outside the reserve, never functioned adequately. They were designed to allow rural communities to form juristic persons that can acquire, hold and manage property under the guidance of elected committees. The CPAs had to draw up constitutions that allow for democratic decision making and participatory management, but this did not happen (Ntshona et al., 2010). Palmer (1998) expressed confidence in the CPAs empowering new landowners to generate funds through ecotourism and by attracting private investors through an initiative by the Department of Trade and Industry called ‘The Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative’ (SDI). According to Palmer (1998), this was a key factor for the acceleration of the Dwesa-Cwebe land claim through ministerial intervention.

Box 6.2: Difficulties of Co-management at Dwesa-Cwebe: Extract from Report to DEAET Head Office (G. Pienaar, 2002).

> 'We have established the required co management committee and it has made a good start. UNITRA is providing significant scientific services and support. A R400 000 Poverty Relief Project will assist in refencing the reserves. The Amathole District Municipality and the Regional Land Claims Commission has set up a Steering Committee to drive development in the Dwesa/Cwebe Area and include the 7 Community Property Associations around the reserves. PROBLEMS: Funds paid to the community in terms of the land claim settlement are housed in the Amathole District Municipality while the lease fee of R2.1 million paid by ourselves is located at ECDC. The community is unhappy about this. Their argument is that they should not have to submit business plans to get their own money. One of their main complaints is that the Dwesa/Cwebe Land Trust has no money to function – this is actually true. They also argue that they do not have the capacity to draw up business plans. We have offered to assist.
>
> 'Questions around the management of marine living resources in Dwesa/Cwebe are equally sensitive and difficult. The MPA falls under National competency and we do not have an agreement with MCM re management.
>
> 'NB. Our experience has been that the community is quite open-minded about most issues, but they are extremely sensitive about issues related to use of marine resources. Put simply, they do not want Marine Protected Areas! Because it is such a contentious and complex issue, the Co-management Committee has not yet tackled this issue. This can be done in 2003.'

As in other parts of South Africa, the CPAs in Dwesa-Cwebe area faced a formidable challenge from the institution of traditional authorities, whose legitimacy is based on heredity rather than democratic elections. Traditional authorities largely rejected the CPAs, arguing that they were effectively wresting from them their traditional land administration role (Ntsebeza, 2005). Pienaar (pers comm., 07/08/2018) recalls a chief being escorted out of a meeting by CPA members during early negotiations at Dwesa-Cwebe. This animosity was still very evident when the researcher attended a meeting at Mbhashe Local Municipality in Dutywa on 29th April, 2019 to discuss the implications of the Gongqose judgment on fishing in the MPA. CPA members refused to participate in the same meeting as chiefs from Cwebe and Hobeni. They

said there cannot be a meeting where there are 'two bulls in the same kraal'. Chief Fudumele had told the researcher during discussions at his Great Place in Hobeni in 2018 that some local people do not want to recognise chiefs nowadays. Some members of his community suspect him of taking the money from the Settlement Agreement, which is in reality still with the Amathole District Municipality. It is a fact that in some rural areas there has been a breakdown of traditional authority and acceptance of chiefs as leaders (De Villiers, 2004a).

The conflict and confusion between the CPAs and the institution of traditional authorities is difficult to resolve. Gxashe (pers comm., 06/07/2018) says, 'It is difficult to decide who to meet when we discuss reserve management issues. I meet with the chiefs and then also with the CPA.' In addition, the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act (41 of 2003) and the Communal Land Rights Act (11 of 2004) appear to give traditional authorities more power than the CPAs (Ntshona et al., 2010). With these laws, the state has effectively presided over the disempowerment of the CPAs, and traditional authorities continue to control land administration in the villages.

Since the resolution of the land claim in 2001, the Land Trust has had very little to report back to the local people in terms of progress in the economic development of the area through the use of the reserve. As highlighted in the interviews for this study, very few tangible benefits have been evident. Chief Jonginkosi (pers comm., 28/05/2019) says, 'We had more jobs when Nature managed the reserves. We do not even have a copy of the Settlement Agreement.' Chief Fudumele (pers comm., 08/07/2018; 22/03/2019) repeatedly states, 'The Settlement Agreement is not being implemented.' Juza (pers comm., 22/03/2019) comments, 'We never get asked for our opinions about managing the forests.' Furthermore, Chiefs Fudumele and Ndlumbini (pers comm., 2019) express concerns that the communities have never received the promised money from the agreement. While the traditional leaders are, without exception, dissatisfied with the communication between the ECPTA and themselves, the Dwesa-Cwebe reserve managers are of the opinion that they have met with Land Trust members, albeit not in accordance with the settlement agreement. The Land Trust is at the mercy of the co-management partners and is clearly unsuccessful.

Research elsewhere has shown that, following all land claims in protected areas in South Africa, co-management arrangements with the state, represented by conservation agencies, have reinforced the unequal power relations that have historically characterised African

conservation (Kepe, 2008). Many community members on the CMCs feel out of place and dominated by the educated and confident conservation authorities. On the other hand, villagers often have little or no education (Ntshona et al., 2010). The question that the researcher posed to traditional leaders, 'Do you have any people in your communities who are conservationists that want to look after the forests and marine life?' invariably triggered the answer that, 'the people employed in the reserve by ECPTA are our conservationists.' A notable exception was the reply from Chief Fudumele (pers com., 08/07/2018) who said that David Gongqose (who was charged for poaching by ECPTA) was interested in looking after the marine resources. The other exception was Chief Ndlumbini (pers comm., 20/03/2019) who said that Ronnie Maphukata was a conservationist. Ronnie Maphukata, however, had worked on the Dwesa Nature Reserve until retiring and assuming a position as a headman. The responses to the question shows the unequal power relations that exist in the Dwesa-Cwebe co-management structure. ECPTA is acknowledged as having the expertise to manage the reserves, but by and large, traditional leaders do not acknowledge the natural-resource-users within their communities as having a desire to look after the environment. The colonial concept of conservation is still manifest in the minds of local people residing around Dwesa-Cwebe (Ntsholo, 2014).

6.7.5.1 The Success of the Dwesa-Cwebe Land Claim: Who Really Benefits?

Dwesa-Cwebe is often touted as one of South Africa's first successful land claims (Kepe, 2002; 2008). Siyabu Manona (pers comm., 10/01/2019) argues that Land Affairs ticked the box of finalising the land claim, but thereafter handed over most responsibilities to the conservation department. Since then Land Affairs has been largely hands off. Cocks, Dold and Grundy (2001) argue that Land Affairs leaves communities without support after land claim processes. Manona believes that post-settlement support from the Land Claims Commission of DRDLR is virtually non-existent at Dwesa-Cwebe, but is supposed to be their responsibility. No additional money is given to ECPTA to provide post-settlement support (S. Manona, pers comm., 10/01/2019). In Manona's opinion, the wrong department is therefore held accountable for any failure of delivery on promises by the local people. He argues that the land restitution deal set ECPTA up for failure. In his words, 'Nature Conservation became the bad guys.'

Pienaar (pers comm., 04/07/2019) questions the promises made for jobs and tourism following the land claim. He believes that the Dwesa-Cwebe reserves will never be economically self-sustainable because the environment is not suitable for vehicles, visitor accessibility, or mass tourism development. Furthermore, the topography, geology, high rainfall, poor water supply and deteriorating infrastructure are all inhibiting factors (Pienaar, 2003). Manona (pers comm., 10/01/2019) argues that the land deal was never sustainable in terms of tourism income generation because Dwesa-Cwebe will never have income exceeding expenditure. All the anger of local people at failed delivery is taken out on ECPTA who are the only face of government available to the people. Even their anger about unpaid funds from the land claim, lying somewhere at Amathole District Municipality, is expressed against ECPTA (S. Manona, pers comm., 10/01/2019).

This research shows that amongst the traditional leadership there appears to be resignation towards the land claim. They all want the Settlement Agreement to be implemented (Figure 6.6). Chief Jonginkosi appealed to the researcher for a copy of the agreement which he says he still does not have. There were complaints from all the leaders that the full spectrum of benefits has not accrued to the people as promised in the Settlement Agreement. The main requirements are the payment of outstanding funds to beneficiaries, provision of jobs to local people, and availability of grazing land for cattle. There was also unanimous agreement among the interviewed chiefs and headmen that larger areas must be open for collection of shellfish and fishing in the MPA. Chief Fudumele requests access to sand for building purposes. He also says that hardwood poles are still sought after for sleds and houses, yet ECPTA only permits use of alien timber growing in the woodlots. One aspect that is acknowledged is that ECPTA allows access to cultural activities. Collection of *muthi*, thatch grass for roofs, reeds for baskets and plants for *abakhwetha* is also permitted under supervision. Swimming over Christmas and New Year is allowed free of charge. This came about after 1984 when Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) says, 'We had to allow the community in because they broke down the gate and fence (in 1984). Since then we never charged any entrance fees over the Festive Season.'

While there have been allowances for a measure of sustainable use of resources, the promised large-scale development and increased job provision following the settlement of the land claim, has never materialised. The Dwesa-Cwebe development plan that was compiled by Tshani Consulting in 2003, has not been implemented by the ECPTA (D1; C1; H1). The promised

investment by the Spatial Development Initiative amounted to nothing (P. Fudumela, pers comm., 08/07/2018). Instead of increasing investment and jobs, there has actually been a reduction in provision of work since the land claim was settled (D1, C1, H1). This despite the fanfare and promises made at the formal handover ceremony at Dwesa on 17 June 2001 where then vice-president Jacob Zuma declared, 'Prepare yourselves people of Dwesa and Cwebe – development is coming your way!' (Palmer et al., 2000, p. 113).

The few jobs that are provided through programmes such as the state's Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) are fiercely contested by communities. This should have been expected because the Dwesa-Cwebe 'community' was artificially created for the sole purpose of the land claim (Fay, 2007). The only commonality among the seven villages was a history of dispossession (Wicomb, 2015). Community in-fighting flared up soon after the land claim was settled with the Dwesa side versus Cwebe and even Cwebe versus Hobeni (Fay, 2007). Chief Jonginkosi (pers comm., 28/05/2019) now wants Cwebe to be treated separately from Dwesa so that the forest can be managed with the attention that it deserves. He insists that 'his people' must be employed and should benefit from the nature reserve.

The reality is that there are far fewer permanent employees on Dwesa-Cwebe than during the Transkei era (M. Gxashe, pers comm., 06/07/2018; V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). Mbana (1991) states that the Transkei principle of over-employing locals was a strategy to show that the 'homeland' was economically viable. In this manner, the employment of over 150 workers for Dwesa at the time, gained people's support for the reserves (V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). Manona (pers comm., 2019) believes that this was not a bad strategy, because people should be subsidised by the state, and compensated for conserving their land.

With the success of the land claim, some people considered this to mean they could utilise resources without control (M. Mbete, pers comm., 10/07/2018; V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). Manona (pers comm., 10/01/2019) believes that people exploited the confusion that had been created by the land claim and the establishment of a false Dwesa-Cwebe community, with some members breaking laws to benefit themselves. During the time of negotiations for the land claim and even thereafter, enforcement broke down (S. Manona, pers comm., 10/01/2019). Despite recognising the unlawful actions occurring on Dwesa-Cwebe, ECNC took the position of limited enforcement during the land claim phase (M. Mbete, pers

comm., 10/07/2018). Some people used the confusion to run to government as soon as any enforcement was done. Political parties often pander to the complainants so that they do not lose votes. There has therefore been ineffective enforcement along the Wild Coast for many years (S. Manona, pers comm., 10/01/2019).

Despite the breakdown of compliance with legislation (S. Manona, pers comm., 10/01/2019), and continued mistrust by the Dwesa-Cwebe communities of government as a result of past experiences (Timmermans, 2004), land restitution has had some positive effects on conservation (Fabricius and de Wet, 2002). For instance, new models for management and improved relations between authorities and communities have been created (Fabricius and de Wet, 2002). The sustainability of the improved relations is, however, questionable (Ntshona et al., 2010). According to Barrow and Fabricius (2002), a lot will depend on the success of community conservation and joint management. Here there is a direct correlation between the commitment of park managers and success or failure. The wins for conservation following the Dwesa-Cwebe land claim are clear in that the reserve is maintained and, in the case of Cwebe, even expanded to include the cottages to the east (Fabricius and de Wet, 2002). But will the community continue to 'win' and realise the promised benefits? Will community structures be able to manage revenue and internal conflict? Will monitoring occur to ensure that all parties comply with the formal agreements, especially since the media hype about successful restitution has subsided? Barrow and Fabricius (2002) believe that conservation in protected areas in contemporary Africa must either contribute to local livelihoods, or fail in its biodiversity goals. They do, however, concede that sometimes heavy investment in law enforcement and payment of subsidies to communities to conserve resources may be the only viable strategy to conserve areas. It is debatable which strategy will be most suitable to ensure the success of the land claim and the future success of conservation at Dwesa and Cwebe.

Figure 6.6: Chief Fudumele, a strong proponent of implementation of the Settlement Agreement, poses in front of the traditional hut that remains at his Great Place as a customary dwelling for his ancestors (A. de Villiers, 08/07/2018)

6.8 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Dwesa-Cwebe is an important biodiversity hotspot, with internationally acclaimed indigenous forests that have been recognised and protected by traditional leadership since at least the 1800s. The chapter discussed the over exploitation of the timber and forest resources since the late 1800s, initially by an influx of colonial sawyers, and thereafter by local Black people who settled in the area. It listed the conservation measures that were taken to protect the Dwesa and Cwebe forests, and explored the conflicts that arose between local communities and the state authorities as a result of restrictions on natural resource use. Through a literature review and interviews with traditional leaders and conservation managers, the chapter discussed the establishment of the Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves during the Transkei Bantustan era to attract tourists to an apartheid created 'homeland' state. These terrestrial protected areas were followed by the declaration of a Marine Protected Area along the coastline, with minimal consultation with traditional leaders or local people, and without any consideration of their historical use of the coastal resources. The chapter explored the management of these protected areas and the impacts that the fortress conservation methods of the time had on local people's livelihoods. It discussed the land invasions and deliberate plundering of the natural resources that occurred on Dwesa and Cwebe during 1994, as communities sought to express their dissatisfaction with management to new

government leaders in power. It explored the ensuing land claim, which became one of South Africa's first settled land claims following a restitution process after the country's 1994 democratic elections and discussed whether justice has been accomplished through this process. New, previously unpublished information, was provided regarding the different institutional power plays that led to finalisation of the land claim. Finally, the chapter reflected on the ideas and feelings of traditional leaders, as well as conservation managers, during these times of conflict. In gathering the views of decision makers, the chapter is able to contribute to a strategy for dealing with future conservation and resource management of Dwesa-Cwebe.

CHAPTER SEVEN: HLULEKA NATURE RESERVE

7.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the case of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve that amalgamates two of South Africa's oldest state forest reserves. In particular, it reflected on the impacts that the restrictions on natural resource use have had on the surrounding local communities. The chapter's key rationale is that it discusses people's access to natural resources within the context of two important realities – the scientific and conservation importance of the nature reserve; and the historical land claim that was lodged against the reserve, preceded by, and leading to numerous clashes between conservation authorities (the state) and local livelihoods needs (the local people). As such, the chapter highlights that these tensions continue, albeit with different tones and actors. The state, the chapter implies, has not necessarily acted decisively and transparently in confronting the challenges. Similarly, local people's aspirations with regard to natural resource use, and sensitivity to biodiversity conservation, have not always been consistent over time. The chapter questions the so-called success of the land claim and concludes that reconciling biodiversity conservation and local people's livelihood needs from Dwesa-Cwebe's natural resources, requires more thinking and new strategies.

This chapter discusses the Hluleka Nature Reserve (HNR), which was declared largely from state forests and land that had been granted by a traditional leader to a colonial settler. It reflects on how the management of the nature reserve impacted, and continues to impact, local people's livelihoods and how sentiments changed towards the authorities when access to natural resources was denied. The chapter discusses the conflicts between local people and the conservation authorities and examines whether the successful land claim has improved the relations between them. It concludes with a discussion on the future of HNR and whether this small protected area can play a role in conserving important biodiversity while contributing to local people's livelihoods.

7.2 The Hluleka Study Area

The HNR is situated roughly in the centre of the Wild Coast. It is located about 87 km south east of Mthatha and 45 km south west of the town of Port St Johns (Figure 7.1). The terrestrial part of the reserve consists of hills vegetated with grassland, thicket and coastal forest; while the coast consists of mainly rocky shore, interspersed with small sandy beaches and a lagoon (Butchard, 1989). Part of the area is demarcated Government Forest Reserve (Congwane-Mtombo Forest Reserve and Ndabeni-Hluleka Forest Reserve) established in 1906 on state land reserved for government purposes. The remainder is made up of the farm 'Strachan's Grant', which was excised from the Hluleka Forest Reserve in 1927 and sold to a private owner, and thereafter purchased by the Transkei Government in 1974 (ECPTA, 2012b). Hluleka was proclaimed as a Provincial Nature Reserve in 1976 (Proclamation number 31/1976). Records of the extent of the terrestrial reserve differ widely. Some research documents indicate an area of approximately 400 ha, and a previous management report gives values of 492 ha and 603 ha, without stating which is correct (Emdon, 2013; Ranger and du Plessis, 2013). The reserve boundary is fenced, except along the coastline. A considerable area is fenced into the south west of the protected area, but appears to be outside the demarcated reserve boundaries, while the north-eastern fence line stops short of the Mnenu River which is within the HNR proclamation (ECPTA, 2012b). In assessing the Management Effectiveness Tracking Tool (METT) of HNR, Ranger and du Plessis (2013) recommend that the unclear boundaries need to be surveyed to settle the confusion and allow for the fencing of the correct gazetted area.

While the width of the terrestrial reserve is approximately two kilometres, the reserve includes approximately 4.5 km of coastline. The coastal zone is bounded by the Mnenu River to the north and in the south it is demarcated by a beacon just north of the Hluleka village (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). This coastline is protected as a marine reserve (the Hluleka MPA) for a distance of 6 nm out to sea (+ 4 860 ha) (ECPTA, 2012b). The Hluleka MPA was proclaimed in 1991 under the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree and re-proclaimed under the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998 (MLRA).

The HNR was managed from 1976 by the Nature Conservation section of the Forestry Division of the Transkei Department of Agriculture and Forestry. In 1996 management was transferred to the Eastern Cape Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism (now the

Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism). Since 2004, the HNR has been managed by the Eastern Cape Parks Board, which became the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA) after a merger with the Eastern Cape Tourism Board in 2010 (ECPTA, 2012b).

Much of Hluleka is still registered as State Forest, and there is no formal agreement between the Forestry Department and DEDEAT or ECPTA for the transfer of management responsibility. There appears to be considerable confusion about land ownership rights. The various deeds of transfer of the land indicate that Hluleka is a legally protected area, but the community claims that in 1976 the Transkei Government enclosed within the reserve more than it was entitled to in terms of the land that formerly belonged to Mrs Mona Heard. There are other claims that the deeds of transfer indicate that the protected area is in fact much larger than the area that is presently fenced and managed (ECPTA, 2012b). Lennox Ndude, the first reserve manager of HNR, admits that there was give and take when he fenced off the reserve in 1976 (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018).

Prior to its proclamation, the HNR was a productive agricultural farm with herds of healthy cattle (G. Strachan, pers comm., 30/08/2019). In Strachan's opinion, the climate, soils and vegetation lend themselves to cattle farming. The geology comprises Karoo sediments of the Beaufort series, with Beaufort sandstones, mudstones, flagstones and shales predominating (Wildlife Society Report, 1977). These shales are periodically intruded by dolerite. They weather to form a dystrophic, sandy clay loam with dark topsoils that are rich in organic matter. The dominant soils on the coastal hill and plains are generally deep, humid sandy loam soil, but shallower clay soils occur on the eroded, rounded hill forms and spurs. The basic topography rises steeply from the coastline to a height of just over 200 m at Mhlabomhlophe on the western border of the reserve, and then rises more gradually to a height of about 400 m onto the old surface of the midlands (ECPTA, 2012b).

Hluleka has a subtropical climate with an average rainfall of approximately 1 000-1 200 mm annually that falls predominantly in spring and autumn (ECPTA, 2012b; Emdon, 2013). Approximately 70% of the annual rainfall occurs between October and March, with high occurrence during October and November. There is no distinct dry season and hail does not normally occur in this area. The wind direction is predominantly parallel to the coast,

northeasterly in summer and southwesterly in winter. The northeast winds are associated with Indian Ocean high pressure systems, and bring warm, humid weather. The southwesterly winds are linked to the approach of cold fronts and bring cold, windy conditions and rain. Frost does not typically occur in the area, and humidity in the summer months can be high. Mean temperatures range from 20°C to 25°C in summer and 8°C to 21°C in winter (ECPTA, 2012b).

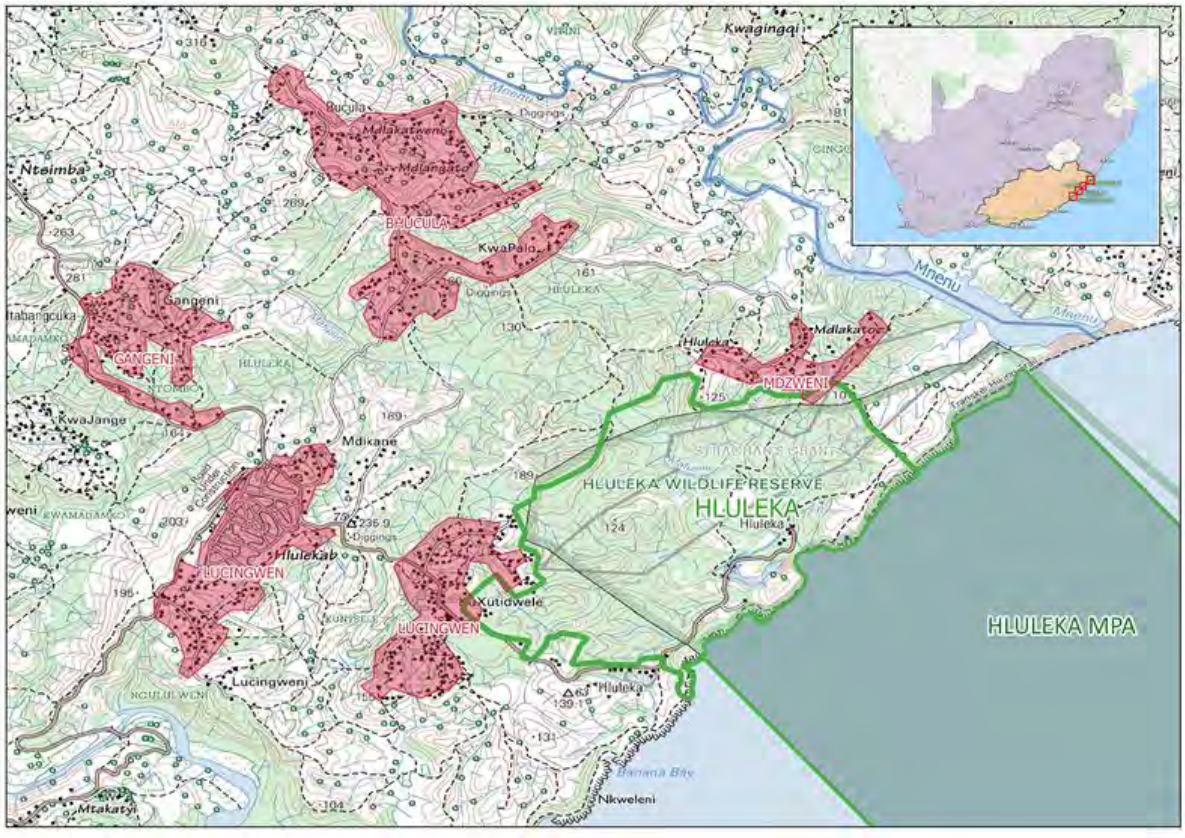

Figure 7.1: Hluleka Nature Reserve and settlement areas (ECPTA, 2020)

7.2.1 Human Population and Settlements around Hluleka

In the pre-colonial era the Mpondo Kingdom, ruled by King Faku, was one of the four kingdoms of the Eastern Cape (Emdon, 2013). King Faku ruled from 1820 until his death in 1867. His sons, Ndamase and Mqikela clashed to such an extent that Ndamase crossed the Mzimvubu River to establish a new chieftaincy, thus splitting the Mpondo kingdom at the Mzimvubu River (J. Peires, pers comm., 31/01/2019). While Eastern and Western Pondoland were politically separated, they worked together against White encroachment into Pondoland (Emdon, 2013). The amaMpondo never signed treaties with the Cape during the 1870s when all other African groups in Transkei accepted British control and reported to White magistrates.

It was only after Ndamase's death that the British annexed Western Pondoland (Hendricks and Peires, 2012).

The British placed Eastern Pondoland under the control of the Chief Magistrate of East Griqualand in Kokstad, while Western Pondoland was placed under the Chief Magistrate of Transkei in Mthatha (Emdon, 2013). The paramount chiefs of the amaMpondo, having a history of trade and some cooperation with the colonial government, were permitted direct access to the chief magistrates, unlike in other Transkeian territories where magistrates ruled through appointed headmen without the assistance of paramount chiefs. In rural locations of Pondoland, headmen had some form of control, but could only make recommendations to the magistrates in matters relating to land allocation. Magistrates rarely deviated from these recommendations (Emdon, 2013).

Western Pondoland, under Chief Victor Poto Ndamase, collaborated with the colonial authorities, unlike Eastern Pondoland, which fiercely resisted colonial rule (Emdon, 2013). Hluleka is situated in Western Pondoland. Communities in this area lived in small villages within the Konjwayo Tribal Authority. Hunter (1936) wrote of the round brown huts scattered on the hills, indicating a small population at the time. In the 1920s, only 40 306 Africans lived in the entire Ngqeleni district (Emdon, 2013).

The apartheid regime legitimised separate development by referring to Transkei as an independent 'homeland' to the amaXhosa people. Following the first elections in an independent South Africa in 1994, Transkei became part of the Eastern Cape Province. Hluleka became part of Nyandeni Local Municipality in the O.R. Tambo District Municipality (ECPTA, 2012b; Emdon 2013).

There are five villages within two kilometres of HNR (Table 7.1). These include Lucingweni, Xhuthudwele, Mdzwini, Bucula and Gangeni. There are approximately 1 050 households within these villages (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). Most settlements are located along the ridges (Phuhlisani, 2005a). The communities are comprised entirely of amaMpondo Black African people. There are a few White owned cottages at Madwaleni outside the Hluleka gate, but these are owned by holiday makers who are not permanent residents of the area. Although most of the people speak isiXhosa, the local language is a variation known as isiMpondo (Tom and van der Bank, 2017).

Table 7.1: Human population along the coast of the Hluleka MPA (Nyandeni IDP 2015/2016)

Community Area	Approximate No. of Households	Population
Lucingweni	700	3 000
Xhuthudwele	300	1 500
Mdzwini	150	1 000
Bucula	400	2 000
Gangeni	350	1 500
Total	1 900	9 000

As with other areas of the former Transkei, the inhabitants of Hluleka live under a form of communal tenure. The land is registered in the name of the state under the Department of Land Affairs (now renamed the Department of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform). Communal tenure enables local inhabitants to have certain rights, including a right to a residential stand and an arable allotment, and rights to grazing, firewood, building materials and collection of medicinal plants on land held in common. There are also rights to collect edible plants and marine resources (Phuhlisani, 2005a).

Cousins (2005) argued that communal tenure in Pondoland is dynamic and changing. The researcher's experience in Pondoland points to acknowledgement of the role that chiefs and headmen play in allocating rights, but lack of respect for some traditional leaders. This view is shared by Pienaar (2003) and Kobokana (2007). Velile Qhwemeshe (pers comm., 18/11/2019) states that the new generation residing around Hluleka no longer respects authority. Beinart (1982) explains that the changes to traditional authority were already evident from the early 19th century following the Mfecane. He argues that the role of the paramount chief became less important and sub-chiefs attempted to expand their authority and the size of their followings, especially amongst immigrant groups. Chiefs controlled access to land, but distribution of land for cultivation was left to homestead heads. When Pondoland was annexed by the Cape in 1894, a new administration system was implemented. Pondoland was divided into districts with magistrates in charge. Districts were divided into locations and headmen were appointed. This initiated a power struggle between the state, the chiefs and headmen over political control

(Beinart, 1982). It is not very different from current power struggles and uncertainties where it is extremely difficult to establish who is actually in charge of land allocation and resource management in communal areas (S. Gabula, pers comm., 24/08/2020; personal experience).

Kingwill (2008) argues that communal tenure systems evolve and change. In some areas, institutional arrangements are wholly dependent on traditional authorities whilst in others only partially so. There may be combinations of old and new institutional arrangements linked to civic and government departments. Phuhlisani (2005b) warns that confusion relating to institutional arrangements may lead to widespread uncertainty around security of tenure and the validity of 'Permission to Occupy' certificates.

Phuhlisani (2005b) estimate an 80% unemployment rate in the Hluleka area with high dependence on social grants. Access to land including forests or communal grazing areas allows households to maintain a diversified livelihood strategy and enhances their ability to live under difficult conditions (Emdon, 2013).

7.3 The Vegetation of Hluleka

7.3.1 The Hluleka Forests

According to Cooper and Swart (1992), Hluleka comprises predominantly Coast Scarp forest and Dune forest. Forest covers approximately 70% of the HNR, and thicket vegetation and Transkei Coastal Belt grassland the remainder (ECPTA, 2012b). There is a narrow strip of Dune forest which appears limited to the eastern facing slopes overlooking the ocean, with clumps of milkwood trees occurring above the high water mark (Butchart, 1989). In the opinion of Ranger and du Plessis (2013), Hluleka is too small to achieve ecosystem-based conservation objectives for the mix of Coast Scarp forest, Dune forest and grasslands. They propose expansion to include forests to the north up to and including the Mpande River, and forests to the west in order to make the HNR a meaningful protected area for biodiversity conservation. They recommend further that the Mangrove habitats of the Mtakatye and Mpande Rivers should be incorporated into the HNR. The need for expansion is acknowledged by Chief Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) and Headman Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) but their reasons revolve more around creating larger areas for tourism development.

According to the ECPTA PAMP (2012b), the HNR forests appear to be in relatively good health but are invaded in places by alien vegetation, particularly in the riverine areas. Invasive alien vegetation has been identified by various studies as the single greatest threat to the environmental integrity of the HNR (Berliner, 2011). Butchart (1989) already referred to the large number of alien plants growing in Hluleka during the 1980s, most apparently originating during the years that it was a private farm. Ranger and du Plessis (2013) warn that alien invasive plants are expanding and resulting in serious degradation of the forest. Van Wilgen et al. (2011) highlight concerns about the ability of some alien species to choke indigenous vegetation and increase fire intensity. The HNR management staff are concerned that too little is being done to control the spread of the invasive plants (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2019). The state recognises the threat of alien species to all biomes across South Africa with an estimated 198 introduced species already invading about 10% of the country (DEAT, 2009). The Working for Water projects were launched in 1995 with the purpose of eliminating alien plant species from invaded areas in partnership with communities and various government departments (DEAT, 2009). These projects on HNR ended in 2007 (ECPTA, 2012b) and have not been renewed (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2019). According to Ms Tom, the reserve management is not clearing alien vegetation because there is insufficient budget for such a project, and too few general workers to carry out the manual labour.

Besides the alien vegetation threat, forests in the Hluleka area are heavily impacted by clearing for cultivation. Berliner (2011) found that forest cover had almost halved in experimental plots that McKenzie had set up close to HNR and along the Mtakatye River in 1989 to map vegetation changes. McKenzie's (1989) study represents one of the first attempts to scientifically quantify vegetation changes on the Wild Coast. Berliner used satellite imagery to analyse changes in McKenzie's plots and concluded that there had been a decline in indigenous forest of between 25 and 60% (Berliner, 2011). The indigenous forests have largely been replaced by agricultural lands (D. Berliner, pers comm., 29/01/2020).

While the indigenous forests of the Wild Coast are theoretically protected under the National Forest Act, and many of the larger patches, such as Hluleka, are state forest land, few, if any, are effectively managed as protected areas, and many of these forests experience ongoing degradation (Cooper and Swart, 1992; Berliner, 2011; Quvile, 2011). According to Cooper and

Swart (1992), forest guards employed at HNR were easily persuaded to turn a 'blind-eye' to illegal activities such as timber and bark removal and hunting. Berliner (2011) argues that the causes of the forest degradation are multifaceted and tend to act synergistically with one another. These include illegal logging, overharvesting of medicinal plants and building materials, slash and burn agriculture, invasive alien plants, fires and climate change.

Cooper and Swart (1992) found that some of the worst examples of forest destruction in Transkei occurred in the Hluleka area, when demarcated forests were exchanged as trade-offs for tribal areas that were incorporated into the HNR. To quote Cooper and Swart (1992, p. 28), 'The exchanged demarcated forests (numbering nine) have subsequently been plundered to annihilation'.

7.3.2 The Hluleka Grasslands

The grasslands in HNR appear to be restricted to sandy soils of marine origin, and are dominated by *Cymbopogon plurinoides* and *Stenotaphrum secundatum*. (ECPTA, 2012b). Suggestions in early HNR reserve management plans that the fence line was specifically erected to exclude grassland areas and to include forest areas are disputed by Ndude (pers comm., 01/09/2018) who was in charge of erecting the fence in 1976.

The grasslands do not appear to be overgrazed and exhibit relatively good basal cover. Indigenous woody structure within the grasslands is largely confined to patches of *Vachellia karroo* (*Acacia karroo*). There is a mosaic of thicket vegetation throughout the grasslands. Thicket areas are heavily infested with a variety of alien invasive species. Thicket vegetation appears to be overrunning grasslands but this may be the result of a lack of proper vegetation management (ECPTA, 2012b).

7.3.3 Fauna Occurring in the Forests and Grasslands of Hluleka

Skead (1987) states that there was general consensus amongst botanists that the coastal area of Transkei had been far more heavily forested in the past and was inhabited by elephant, leopard, Cape buffalo, bushpig, bushbuck, blue duiker and other forest dwelling animals. Western and

Eastern Pondoland were covered in thick forest through which Jacob van Reenen had to cut paths in 1790 in his search for survivors of the *Grosvenor* shipwreck (Carter and van Reenen, 1927). While it is unlikely that wildlife could survive the relentless hunting in Transkei's grasslands (Skead, 1987), it is in thick indigenous forests such as those described by van Reenen that forest-dwelling species stood a better chance of survival, if the forests were to be conserved (Skead, 1987; De Villiers, 2002a).

The Hluleka PAMP (ECPTA, 2012b) mentions numerous large and medium sized mammals allegedly occurring in the nature reserve, including chacma baboon, blue wildebeest, bushbuck, blesbok, kudu, eland, common reedbuck, red hartebeest, impala, springbok, Burchell's zebra, black-backed jackal, and bushpig. According to the PAMP, serval, clawless otter and brown hyena tracks have been observed. Small mammals recorded in the reserve include blue duiker, common duiker, large spotted genet, rock dassie, vervet monkey, samango monkey, African civet, tree dassie, and mongoose as well as many other small mammal species like rats, mice, gerbils, bats, elephant shrews, dormice and moles. Burchell's zebra and blue wildebeest were introduced to the reserve but are not indigenous to the area. ECPTA initiated a culling programme to remove these species. According to Tom (pers comm., 08/02/2018), no blue wildebeest remain on the reserve but Burchell's zebra still occur. She says that red hartebeest were introduced in 2013, but all drowned in the sea. Wildlife has become very scarce as a result of sustained illegal hunting, and according to Ranger and du Plessis (2013), bushbuck numbers have decreased due to this. Tom (pers comm., 08/02/2018) believes that field rangers are making a difference in controlling poaching. The field rangers report rare sightings of bushbuck and blue duiker, but confess that grey duiker have not been observed for several years and may be locally extinct.

De Villiers (2002a) recorded the presence of bushbuck, blue duiker, common duiker, Burchell's zebra, blue wildebeest, vervet monkey, samango monkey, porcupine, large-spotted genet, tree hyrax, rock hyrax, Cape clawless otter, large grey mongoose, water mongoose, baboon, caracal and black-backed jackal in HNR, indicating that the area still retained a diversity of species, albeit in low numbers. From historical records, information gathered in De Villiers (2002a) and personal observations during the course of this research, all indications are that the information about mammals in the Hluleka PAMP (ECPTA, 2012b) has numerous inaccuracies, and mammalian species diversity is declining.

According to the Hluleka PAMP (2012b), bird species are poorly documented, but include; black duck (*Anus sparsa*), dabchick (*Tachybaptus ruficollis*), African jacana (*Actophilornis africanus*), black-bellied starling (*Notopholia corusca*), green pigeon (*Treron calvus*), Cape batis (*Batis capensis*), olive bush shrike (*Telophoros olivaceus*), dusky flycatcher (*Muscicapa adusta*), pygmy kingfisher (*Ispidina picta*), half-collared kingfisher (*Alcedo semitorquata*) and long-crested eagle (*Lophaetus occipitalis*). Notable sightings by the researcher in 2019 included Knysna turaco (*Tauraco corythaix*), narina trogon (*Apaloderma narina)*, trumpeter hornbills (*Bycanistes bucinator*) and crowned hornbills (*Tockus alboterminatus*).

Personal observations by the researcher, while collecting data for the South African Frog Atlas Project (Minter et al., 2004), indicate that HNR has numerous reptile, amphibian and terrestrial invertebrate populations. There are confirmed records of both the endangered Kloof frog (*Natalobatrachus bonebergi*) and the endangered Pondo dwarf chameleon (*Bradypodion caffer*) (Venter and Conradie, 2012b; Venter, 2015).

Besides the impact of illegal hunting on the fauna occurring on the HNR, problem animals also affect the dynamics of the small game, bird and reptile populations. According to the PAMP (2012b) such problem animals include domestic dogs and cats that infiltrate the reserve from surrounding local communities, as well as vervet monkeys that are frequently fed by tourists. The reserve management does try to control problem animals although this sometimes leads to conflict with local people and tourists who may not understand the need to cull the problem individuals (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2018).

7.4 The Marine Environment at Hluleka

The HNR coastline consists of predominantly fine-grained sandy shores with some interspersed wave-cut rocky platforms (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). The Agulhas Current flows just offshore of the shelf break (Mann et al., 2003). The majority of the HNR falls within the Hluleka river basin with a minor section falling into the Mnenu drainage system. The Hluleka River drains into the sea within the boundaries of the reserve, forming a wide shallow estuarine area where it meets the sea (Tom and van der Bank, 2017).

The Hluleka Estuary is one of the 76 Wild Coast estuaries described by Adams et al. (2004b). According to Whitfield and Baliwe (2013), it is in relatively good condition, but is in urgent need of baseline research. Within the adjacent terrestrial reserve there is minor erosion from footpaths, roads and denuded areas. This, together with serious erosion in the Hluleka River catchment area outside the reserve, has resulted in significant siltation of the river and estuary (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). The bridge over the river and the raised main road required to access the accommodation and administrative complex has also had a negative impact on the river and estuary (ECPTA, 2012b).

7.5 Conservation and Natural Resource Use in Ngqeleni and the Hluleka Area

7.5.1 Early Forest Conservation in Ngqeleni before Hluleka Nature Reserve

While HNR was proclaimed in 1976 to protect the beauty and rich biodiversity of a portion of Ngqeleni's Wild Coast, the forests of the area had, in fact, been conserved and managed by the Department of Forestry or traditional leaders long before this (Brosius, 1899; Emdon, 2013). Pondoland's forests were recognised as among the largest, densest and most important in Transkei (Cooper and Swart, 1992). A conservator for forests was therefore employed in Transkei in the 1880s (Sim, 1906; Cooper and Swart, 1992). Forest Officer J.H. Brosius reported in 1898 that 'The Forests, especially those which were temporarily closed to the natives, have made considerable progress. Many small Yellow-wood forests which were cut down almost to a tree, have in consequence of the protection now afforded them grown out well' (Brosius, 1899). In addition to this, traditional leaders played an important role in regulating natural resource use from indigenous forests. Headmen were supposed to manage Native Trust Forests and could grant permission for the cutting of non-protected species (Cooper and Swart, 1992; Quvile, 2011). Local people could collect dry firewood, bark and twine for free and without permission as long as it was for own personal use and not for sale (Berliner, 2011; Quvile, 2011; Emdon, 2013); however, only magistrates could issue permits to cut protected species (Emdon, 2013). Despite these measures, officials in Ngqeleni became concerned about the poor management of the Headmen's Forests and recommended that control be removed from them. As a result, by 1946, the Director of Forestry in Pretoria had demarcated many forests in Ngqeleni and closed some along the coast entirely to the removal of forest products (Cooper and Swart, 1992; Feely, 2001). Restrictions were placed on the

distance that lands could be made and kraals could be built from demarcated forest boundaries. Families who lived close to forest boundaries were moved to new sites and their old huts were demolished (Emdon, 2013).

Regardless of the stricter controls, by the end of the 1940s the forests of Ngqeleni were described by foresters as severely damaged. Forest rangers were therefore placed in South African Native Trust Forests to override the authority of headmen. This created confusion and tension. There was reportedly a blurring of the roles of headmen and forest rangers in managing the forests. Access to newly demarcated forests in Ngqeleni was restricted (Tropp, 2006) and the restrictions on forest use angered headmen and local people (Emdon, 2013).

Cooper and Swart (1992) are of the opinion that the damage continued unabated until almost complete annihilation of the indigenous forests that had been allocated to headmen. Berliner (2011) is of the opinion that demarcated state forests fared little better as they were poorly managed and drastically reduced in size through overutilisation.

7.5.2 Soil Conservation and Betterment in Ngqeleni

Strict laws were not only imposed on access and utilisation of Ngqeleni's indigenous forests, but also on the grasslands. During the 1920s and 1930s, Ngqeleni experienced increasing state intervention in the management of livestock, agriculture and natural resources (Emdon, 2013). Improved dipping and disease control in cattle as well as the availability of money from migrant labourers working on the mines allowed more men to buy cattle, resulting in dramatic overstocking (Emdon, 2013). The 'Betterment' programme of 1939 was the first state attempt to reduce stock pressure on the land (Hendricks, 1989; Emdon, 2013). This became the main conservationist scheme of the 1930s (Emdon, 2013). Hendricks (1989) states that official development thinking of the 1930s was heavily influenced by fears of ecological decline of Transkei. This followed reports by the Native Economic Commission which highlighted the dangers of environmental deterioration. Government and opposition parties agreed that state intervention was required (Hendricks, 1989). Betterment demanded the reduction of domestic stock in relation to the carrying capacity of the veld. Africans claimed that the problem was not too large a stock population, but too many people on too little land (Hendricks, 1989).

Unlike the fierce resistance to Betterment in Eastern Pondoland, Western Pondoland was relatively peaceful (Hendricks, 1989; Emdon, 2013). By the 1940s, Ngqeleni officials reported a measure of success in agricultural extension and Betterment (Emdon, 2013). Conservation was taught in schools and officials reported that women were especially receptive to learning new farming methods. Men were more concerned with cattle, particularly the quantity, and may have felt threatened by the schemes (Emdon, 2013). Agricultural officers were sometimes treated with suspicion as people did not trust the state. However, in Western Pondoland they were received relatively well. This was attributed to chief Victor Poto Ndamase's keen interest in agriculture (Hendricks, 1989; Hendricks and Peires, 2012; Emdon 2013).

According to Emdon (2013), chiefs and headmen in Western Pondoland generally supported Betterment and conservation, but some local people were regarded as being backward. The Ngqeleni residents had differing attitudes. Some supported the Betterment schemes which allowed their boys to attend school rather than herd cattle, but others ploughed virgin land and encroached on commonage (Emdon, 2013). The rehabilitation policy required homesteads to be built in clusters on suitable ridges to allow space for grazing. Some people ignored this policy and built in areas that were not designated for residential purposes. Chief Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) and Headman Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) complained that this was sometimes still the case. To illustrate this, the researcher was referred to a structure that had been built near the Mnenu River during 2018 by a Lusikisiki resident without either of their permission. As the developer of the site had built in the declared Coastal Conservation Area within one kilometre of the high-water mark of the sea, the DEDEAT issued a notice to him informing him to demolish and rehabilitate the site. The chief and headman instructed him likewise. Only when a criminal docket was opened did the unlawful developer remove the structure and allow the site to rehabilitate to its natural state (Figure 7.2).

Figure 7.2: Unlawfully cleared vegetation and an unauthorised shack built near the Mnenu River (D. de Villiers, 09/02/2018)

A major reason for resistance to Betterment by men, was that they wanted no interference in their ownership of cattle (Hendricks, 1989; Emdon 2013). Similarly, some men resisted state officials who wanted them to take cattle for dipping so that boys could attend school. They insisted that looking after cattle was culturally the duty of boys, not adult men (Emdon, 2013). Cattle along the coast at Ngqeleni were reportedly in better condition than those of inland areas (Emdon, 2013). This may be attributed to the assistance that Leonard Heard gave to local cattle owners. Heard traded in Afrikaner and Herefords and implemented dipping programmes at the coast (G. Strachan, pers comm., 30/08/2019). The men of Ngqeleni were therefore particularly proud of their cattle herds. They regarded their cattle as wealth and wanted to see their stock from their homesteads to prevent theft. This was their reason for resisting the Betterment idea of separating residential areas from grazing lands (Emdon, 2013).

On the whole Western Pondoland people did not sympathise with those of Eastern Pondoland and deplored the unrest there that arose as a result of resistance to Betterment (Emdon, 2013). Hendricks and Peires (2012) state that Paramount Chief Victor Poto Ndamase dominated Western Pondoland for more than 50 years and kept the area quiet compared to the conflicts in Eastern Pondoland. Although there was some hostility towards the Betterment schemes in the West, Poto prevented it from becoming open rebellion (Kepe and Ntsebeza, 2012).

The implementation of the government's Betterment, Rehabilitation, Reclamation and Stabilisation schemes, and their connection with Bantu authorities, is key to understanding why Western Pondoland was more peaceful than Eastern Pondoland. This may even explain present day tendencies relating to greater community acceptance of government management of the HNR.

Western Pondoland experienced political stability during Paramount Chief Victor Poto Ndamase's reign between 1918 and 1972 (Hendricks and Peires, 2012). There were three magisterial districts at the time, comprising Libode, Ngqeleni and Port St Johns. This was smaller than Qawukeni which consisted of Mbizana, Ntabankhulu, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki magisterial districts. The Western Pondoland population was also half that of its eastern neighbour with 120 000 inhabitants as opposed to 245 550 according to 1958 file records from the Chief Magistrate of Transkei. This resulted in Victor Poto receiving a lower salary than the Eastern Pondoland paramounts.

Victor Poto was educated by White missionaries and finished his studies at Fort Hare University before assuming his duties in 1918 at the age of 20. During his leadership he sought to combine the best elements of traditional Mpondo culture with the most beneficial elements of European culture. Agriculture was his favourite subject at school and his economic efforts were based on his personal experience on his farm at Marubeni (Emdon, 2013).

When the government's rehabilitation schemes were proposed they appeared in Western Pondoland as an extension to Victor Poto Ndamase's progressive agricultural policies. They were therefore not seen as alien colonial concepts as was the case in Eastern Pondoland. It is evident that Ndamase was a proud conservationist as can be deduced from his 1960 boast to the then Minister of Bantu Development, M.C. De Wet Nel cited in Hendricks and Peires (2012): 'I made it my business in Western Mpondoland to take the initiative (in rehabilitation)…I appreciated the conservation of water in the dams for use by stock and the provision of wattle and gum plantations…in addition to the schemes for the reclamation and conservation of the soil to preserve it for posterity.'

In 1951 the National Party passed the Bantu Authorities Act that changed the role of traditional authorities so that chiefs were no longer rulers of an independent people, but government

employees with salaries. The Act sought to enlist chiefs in the task of policing. They had to maintain law and order in their tribe or community and bring any lawlessness to the notice of the Native Commissioner. Victor Poto Ndamase promised the Minister of Bantu Affairs that he would not allow disturbances in Western Pondoland. When the 1960 Mpondo revolts occurred, Western Pondoland was largely unaffected (Hendricks and Peires, 2012).

Hendricks and Peires (2012) state that it was remarkable that Poto maintained his popular support and legitimacy amongst his people even though he appeared to be collaborating with the apartheid government. However, his genius was that he could give the impression of loyalty to both indigenous people and colonists.

Besides Victor Poto, only one chief was recognised in the Western Pondoland districts, namely, Chief Gwadiso of the amaKhonjwayo in Ngqeleni (Hendricks and Peires, 2012). Victor Poto Ndamase's paramountcy was accepted by all the headmen of Western Pondoland except the amaKhonjwayo. However, he had a reasonable working relationship with Chief Mpiko Gwadiso.

Headmanship was in practice hereditary. Most headmen were regarded by their subjects as traditional chiefs. If a headman was dismissed for disobedience by the colonial authorities, he was usually replaced by his eldest son. If the son was a minor, another male relative acted as Regent until the heir apparent turned 25 and married (Hendricks and Peires, 2012). This tradition is still followed as shown when the researcher interviewed the young Chief Gumbuzo at Tahle outside Mkambati Nature Reserve and had to speak through his uncle, who was a sub-headman.

The Bantu Authority Act recognised the authority of the three Transkei Paramount Chiefs. It also provided an opportunity for Victor Poto Ndamase to be recognised as the full equal of Botha Sigcawu of Eastern Pondoland and he thus finally received the equivalent salary for which he had long pleaded. The Bantu Authorities also created an Mpondo Chiefship in Ngqeleni to match the Chiefship of the amaKhonjwayo. Victor Poto's nephew, D.D.P. Ndamase, the senior Mpondo royal in Ngqeleni District, was promoted from headman to chief of Ngqeleni (Hendricks and Peires, 2012).

The Betterment programme never succeeded due to the disruption of the Second World War and as a result of concerted opposition by Transkeians (J. Peires, pers comm., 31/01/2019). It was replaced by the Rehabilitation Scheme in the mid-1940s and a Transkei Planning Committee. It considered a revised version of the communal land tenure system as it was clear that there was insufficient land in Transkei for all the inhabitants to be self-supporting farmers (Hendricks and Peires, 2012). Victor Poto stated that the people were opposed to the scheme but the facts compelled rehabilitation measures as soil erosion carried lands away by water. His passion for conservation of the land and his legitimate traditional leadership and stature were crucial to there being no open rebellion in Eastern Pondoland to the Betterment and Rehabilitation Schemes (J. Peires, pers comm., 31/01/2019).

According to Hendricks and Peires (2012), Victor Poto Ndamase accepted the Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes despite resistance from some of his people, and facilitated the implementation of its planning in a number of administrative areas. He separated land-use types into residential areas, arable allotments, woodlots, irrigation areas and grazing commonages. This involved large-scale movement of people from traditional homesteads to organised villages. While people were reluctant to move, they respected their chief. Ndamase drew the line when it came to stock culling. Despite the conservation basis for it, stock limitation did not occur anywhere in Pondoland. By implementing part of the Rehabilitation Scheme, Ndamase gave the impression to government that he supported the plan. However, by ignoring the stock culling, his people believed he was on their side.

Besides their resistance to stock culling, Hendricks and Peires (2012) are of the opinion that another reason for headmen refusing to support Rehabilitation, was the interference by officials of the Department of Agriculture in their control of land allocation. This was very noticeable in some administrative areas during the work that the researcher and his teams did to restrict occupation of the declared Wild Coast Coastal Conservation Area between 2000 and 2020. Gerry Pienaar (pers comm., 07/08/2018) also stated that, during his drafting of the Wild Coast Environmental Management Plan of 2018, he found traditional leaders to be extremely resistant to any interference in their right to allocate land.

Hendricks and Peires (2012) believe that agricultural officers and even some local administrators in Transkei were committed to conservation; however, when the National Party assumed power in 1948, the conservation ethos of the local administrators was overtaken by

the drive to compel rigid separation of Whites and Blacks. The detailed plans for conservation gave way to loose planning and rapid resettlement in the 1950s in order to squeeze as many African people as possible into the homelands. Forced removals from 'black spots' in urban areas and from White farms were implemented, and evicted people were moved to Transkei and other homelands (Hendricks, 1990).

Peires (pers comm., 2019) is of the opinion that the Nationalist government used the Betterment scheme to implement separate development and to retain Transkei as a labour pool for industry and mining in urban areas. He believes that human residence rather than agricultural production and land conservation became the state's priority. Strachan (pers comm., 30/08/2019) recalls the Nationalist government moving the kraals of the Black people of Ngqeleni inland of one mile (1,6 km) from the coast shortly after they came into power in 1948. 'uBili' Strachan was also moved in 1948 from his hut at Strachan's Bay to Presley's Bay, one of the 'recreational centres' created by the authorities (G. Strachan, pers comm., 30/08/2019).

The practical problems of implementation of the Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes, combined with the pursuit of apartheid policies and the migrant labour system after 1948, put paid to the notion that soil could be saved in Transkei. The National Party was against the creation of an African agricultural class that could own land under title deeds and was not prepared to do away with the tribal tenure (Hendricks and Peires, 2012). Emdon (2013) states that the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951 became the cornerstone of the apartheid system. The Act began the process of incorporating chiefs into the administrative system. It granted chiefs more power over their people as long as they served as puppets to the state. From 1957 four Tribal Authorities were established in Ngqeleni. The introduction of Tribal Authorities brought inefficiency to Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes in Ngqeleni. Progress in Betterment and Rehabilitation attempts in Ngqeleni was further hampered by insufficient funding and a lack of staff to assist eager participants (Emdon, 2013).

To make matters worse, there was conflict between the amaKhonjwayo Tribal Authority and the Paramount Chief of Pondoland. Although the amaKhonjwayo were Mpondo, they reported to their own chief, Mapiki Gwadiso, who resided in the coastal region of Hluleka. Under the Tribal Authorities, they were expected to be accountable to Paramount Chief Victor Poto. Resistance by the people to Betterment was tied to resistance to Tribal Authorities. This was a major contributor to the Pondoland Revolt (Hendricks and Peires, 2012; Emdon, 2013).

The Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes eventually ended, having largely failed to improve soil conservation in Transkei. Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019) believes that they were initially devised with genuine intentions of improving land use, but the real death blow to the schemes was the Nationalist government's apartheid policies. In the post-apartheid era there is a new geographic dispensation of nine provinces, but the former Transkei remains differentiated by the previous form of land tenure and the accompanying form of local government which also involves traditional (tribal) authorities.

7.6 The Creation of Hluleka Nature Reserve

During the period between 1860 and 1919, a settler, William Strachan, was closely associated with the amaMpondo people of the Hluleka area, and often acted as mediator between the amaMpondo and colonial government officials (Holt, 1973; Emdon 2013). Strachan was known affectionately as 'uBili' (Holt, 1973; Rock, 1974; Hawkes, n.d., Emdon, 2013; Strachan, pers comm., 30/08/2019) and is still referred to by local people by that name. Holt (1973) states that Strachan acquired the title of 'Peacemaker' in Transkei. He often arbitrated in disputes amongst the 'tribes', promoting peace and welfare. When approximately 100 000 Mpondo men wanted to destroy about 80 000 Khonjwayo in the lower part of the Ngqeleni District, Strachan intervened. He went to Chief Nqwiliso and convinced him not to attack Chief Gwadiso. He warned of potential annexation by the Cape Government. To encourage him further to abandon his intended war with the Khonjwayo, Strachan gave Nqwiliso 100 cattle (Holt, 1973).

Emdon (2013, p. 12) reports that William Strachan was granted land by Chief Gwadiso in 1860 for his work amongst the local people. Holt (1973) states that the land stretched between the Mnenu and Mtakatyi Rivers and eight miles inland to Ntabengcuka Mountain. Emdon (2013) estimates that it was approximately 1 040 hectares. The land extended between two to three kilometres inland (ECPTA, 2012b) and was known as Strachan's Grant (Holt, 1973; Emdon, 2013). After the annexation of Pondoland, the government surveyed European holdings and reduced Strachan's portion of Hluleka to 750 morgen (Holt, 1973).

William Strachan was the great grandfather of Graham Strachan whom the researcher met in Port Alfred in 2019. Graham Strachan showed the researcher the original cleft stick, that 'uBili' and Chief Gwadiso exchanged when calling for meetings between them (Figure 7.3). This stick was used to call for 'uBili' when the chief requested a meeting. A leopard's tail would be tied to the stick to show that the messenger carrying it came from the Royal House (Rock, 1974). Another significant achievement for which Gwadiso expressed gratitude to William Strachan was his successful mediation between Gwadiso and the British Government, in order to prevent military retaliation by government forces against the amaMpondo over their refusal to hand over an escaped prisoner during what became known as, 'The war of the fish' (Rock, 1974). It emanated after an argument between an Mpondo man and a White trader over the sale of a fish. The argument ended when the angry Mpondo hit the trader on his head with a stick and knocked him out. He was sentenced to imprisonment by the magistrate as well as several cuts with the cat of nine tails. The prisoner escaped twice to his home in Khonjwayo, but on seeing his bad lacerations, the local people refused to let authorities arrest him a third time. The Cape Mounted Rifles were despatched to arrest him and Chief Gwadiso was given an ultimatum to release the prisoner. The Khonjwayo prepared for war but William Strachan mediated and resolved to have the prisoner's sentence reduced (Rock, 1974).

Figure 7.3: Graham Strachan shows the cleft stick used by Chief Gwadiso to call 'uBili' Strachan for meetings (D. de Villiers, 30/08/2019)

Strachan's Grant is depicted on historical maps of the Transkei and Hluleka area. When Pondoland was finally annexed by the British, all European holdings were surveyed and

reduced in size (Emdon, 2013). There are conflicting reports in the literature regarding the exact size of the reductions. Rock (1974) states that Strachan's Grant was reduced to 12 000 morgen (10 280 ha) and Holt (1973) states that it was eventually reduced to approximately 253.27 morgen (217 ha), while Dennison (2008) gives a figure of 750 hectares. The site was used by Strachan and his relatives as a holiday resort, although it took two days' travel by ox-wagon from Umtata (Dennison, 2010).

Emdon (2013) found old men and women in Hluleka who remembered 'uBili' fondly. Although this is contrary to the Land Claims Commission's finding, the researcher's discussions with Chief Gwadiso and meetings with the traditional leadership reflected the same sentiments. It is significant to note that 'uBili' intervened in the torturous killings of people accused of witchcraft and looked after hundreds of people who fled to him for refuge as a result of such accusations (Holt, 1973). Appendix 5 in Dennison (2008) is a copy of a letter dated 10th November, 1900 from Strachan to the Chief Magistrate in Tembuland, wherein he reminds the magistrate of grants made to Europeans by Paramount Chief Ndamase. Strachan writes that he placed natives on sites granted to him along the uninhabited Umtata River to protect them from being murdered in connection with witchcraft. When Pondoland was annexed, Strachan had about 300 natives living on his grants (Dennison, 2008).

According to Emdon (2013), when 'uBili' died in 1919, the Department of Forestry and the executors of the Strachan estate struggled over the boundaries of the grant and the state forests. The dispute about the Strachans' boundary and Hluleka Forest was fought throughout the 1920s. The Strachans claimed that the state was encroaching onto land in their grant. They also felt that the Forestry Department was wrongfully claiming community land. The Department's claim to the forest land was based on fears of 'native cultivation' of forested land. The Strachans in turn, feared state prosecution for removing trees or grazing cattle. When the Strachans and the magistrate eventually came to an agreement, the Chief Conservator of Forests was unhappy with the decision and insisted on locating the original beacon of Strachan's Grant to enable the creation of a single forest boundary rather than islands. The boundary disputes led to considerable confusion for law enforcement. There was further confusion over who controlled the resources on small pockets of lands appropriated by the state (by 1936 there were 44 demarcated forest patches in Ngqeleni). State control over certain forests not only removed rights of access, but also supplanted the earlier regulation of forests and their resources by chiefs. In 1929 the dispute between the Strachans and the state was

settled, and 807 morgen (691 ha) from Strachan's Grant was declared government state forest (Emdon, 2013).

Strachan's Hluleka property was sold in 1927 to a Johannesburg stockbroker, Leonard Heard (ECPTA, 2012b). Heard and his wife, Mona, renamed Strachan's Grant, Hluleka Farm (Dennison, 2010; Emdon, 2013). They employed a stonemason, Mr Benting, to construct the stone house that forms a central feature of the Hluleka infrastructure (Hawkes, no date). The Heards used the house as a holiday home for a few months every year (ECPTA, 2012b). Emdon (2013, p. 13) states that: 'the older people of Hluleka remember the Heards fondly and had a good relationship with the family. Men and women were free to pass through the farm to gain access to the coast and natural resources. Older fishermen remember being able to camp at Hluleka to go fishing. Mrs Heard would even bring them food.'

The researcher's interviews with traditional leaders revealed similar feelings (HL1, HL2, HL3). Mr Heard assisted local people with cattle farming and traded his cattle with them (N. Dwayana, pers comm., 18/11/2019), while Mrs Heard lived on the farm with her workers (HL1; HL2; HL3; HL4; HL5; HL6; HL7; HL8; HL9; HL10; HL11; HL12).

Mona Heard was a 'grand old dame' who protected 'her' beach (G. Strachan, pers comm., 30/08/2019). She was an avid gardener and created a magnificent garden around the stone house (Hawkes, no date). She even tied herself with rope to the pillars around her house to lower herself down steep krantzes in order to allow her to landscape her gardens (Hawkes, no date; Dennison, 2010; De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Unfortunately, some of the exotic species that she planted negatively impacted on the vegetation of the reserve by spreading and becoming invasive (Butchart, 1989).

Emdon (2013) explains the consequences of the Natives Land Act of 1913 on HNR. When it came into effect, it declared certain areas to be reserved for Black Africans only. White people who had farms in 'Native Areas' had to vacate. When the Heards were faced with this predicament in 1935, Leonard Heard pleaded with the magistrate that he be permitted to remain on the farm because it had been given as a gift from Chief Gwadiso, and he had an excellent working relationship with the surrounding community (Emdon, 2013). Like Emdon (2013), the researcher only heard favourable oral narratives about the relationships between the Hluleka community and the Heards. Holt, (1973), Rock, (1974) and Dennison (2010) similarly reflect

on the mutually positive nature of the relationships. It therefore appears that the historical narrative presented by the Department of Land Affairs in its Memorandum submission to finalise the land claim for Hluleka was poorly researched in that it sketches a history of the Heard family encroaching on people's land and inhibiting the community's access to grazing areas. This is untrue according to historical reports and recent narratives from local people and traditional leaders of Hluleka.

After considering Heard's pleas, the magistrate allowed him and his wife to remain on Hluleka where they built three holiday camps for the use of friends and relatives (ECPTA, 2012b). Leonard Heard continued farming with Afrikaner and Hereford cattle (G Strachan, pers comm., 30/08/2019). The references by some community members to having had healthy fat cattle on Hluleka before the area was declared a nature reserve (Emdon, 2013) could possibly be attributed to this because Heard provided the local men with cattle and assisted them with dipping (G. Strachan, pers comm., 30/08/2019). After Leonard Heard's death, Mona Heard lived permanently at Hluleka and developed the garden further. In an email to the researcher (01/07/2019), Graham Strachan writes: 'Mona Heard continued farming with her faithful servants from Ngqeleni – siblings Frank and Kate – who lived with her on Hluleka until she left.'

In 1971, when she became too old and infirm, Mona Heard sold the land to the Transkei Government on condition that it remained a Wildlife Sanctuary (ECPTA, 2012b; Emdon, 2013). The Cape Provincial Administration later changed the boundaries to roughly the current nature reserve boundary alignment (ECPTA, 2012b). Together with the areas of State Forest (Congwane-Mtombo Forest Reserve and Ndabeni-Hluleka Forest Reserve), the area was declared a protected area in 1976 (GN No. 31 of 26/3/76. Gov. Gazette No. 12; Transkei Nature Conservation Act, 1971 (Act 6 of 1971)). The boundaries are defined as: The area in the District of Ngqeleni comprising (a) the farm Strachan's Grant 194,4 Hectares inclusive of the coast; (b) Congwane to Mtombo Forest reserves, approximately 137 Hectares; (c) Hluleka (Ndabeni) and Hluleka (Petimani) Forest Reserves.

The local people were not against the formation of the nature reserve, but did not expect the restrictions that would be imposed on their use of the area (M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018.). They had relative freedom in grazing their cattle and traversed the farm to collect shellfish and firewood during the Heards' tenure and could not have anticipated the prohibition

of this when the HNR was proclaimed. It is likely that the implications of a nature reserve were discussed with the chief, but it is doubtful whether any consultation was done with local communities. As V. Makhafu (pers comm., 18/11/2019) says, 'In those days the state only spoke with the chief, not with the local people. "Nature" lied to him about providing lots of jobs and sharing 10 percent of profits with him. The community has never seen a cent of that 10 percent.'

Emdon (2013) argues that the location of Lucingweni and the small villages surrounding the Hluleka farm and government state forests witnessed nature conservation in a form never before experienced when the HNR was proclaimed in 1976. Kepe (2014) argues that an independent Transkei used South African conservation policies to establish new nature reserves where sustainable use was not acknowledged or permitted, resulting in little support from local people. Matose (2009) is of the opinion that the granting of independence to Transkei in 1976 allowed for conservationists to finally gain their objective of having forest resources closed to surrounding communities. Palmer, Timmermans and Fay (2002) argue that new regulations in the wake of self-rule for Transkei made it clear that the authorities intended increasing control of natural resource use. According to Kepe (1997), people were barred from access to forests and from using resources almost overnight following the declaration of independence for the Transkei Bantustan.

Cooper (pers comm., 16/05/2018) recollects that the Wildlife Society campaigned to government for the proclamation of Hluleka as a nature reserve, following requests from Mona Heard. Cooper recalls the motivation for the nature reserve being the aesthetic beauty of the coastal landscape and the ecological importance of the indigenous forests. In 1971 Dr Woodridge made representations to the Director of Nature Conservation in Cape Town for the conservation of Hluleka (Kobokana, 2007). The HNR was eventually proclaimed by the Transkei Minister of Agriculture and Forestry in March 1976 (Emdon, 2013). Reference to officers in charge of Wild Coast and Transkei nature conservation being primarily White bureaucrats (Emdon, 2013; Sunde, 2014) are not correct in the case of HNR where there has never been a White reserve manager.

There appear to be no written records of early meetings about the establishment of HNR, only oral accounts (Emdon, 2013). Emdon's research focussed on the oral recollections of local community members whereas this research focusses on what past nature conservators and

traditional leaders recall. While all past conservators cited the main reason for the establishment of HNR as being to conserve the forests, the traditional leaders had differing views. They were of the opinion that job creation, economics and increased tourism were the main reasons for the reserve being declared. Headman Bongani Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) states that HNR was established to attract tourists to the area. Velile Qweneshe (pers comm., 08/02/2019) is adamant that jobs were going to be provided for local people (Figure 7.4). To prove that economic benefit would have been promised, Chief Mpumalanga Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) reflects that Strachan paid rental of one cow a year to the then Chief Gwadiso, and Heard supported the people with cattle. When Mona Heard sold the land for a game reserve, the state promised a percentage of the profit to Matanzima (Transkei government) and the Khonjwayo people because cattle would no longer be provided as 'rental'.

Figure 7.4: Headmen Gwadiso (right) and sub-headmen debate the reasons for the establishment of Hluleka Nature Reserve (J. Costello, 18/11/2019)

Emdon (2013) records that local people interviewed also spoke of promises of increased employment and a 10% share of profits from tourism. They were told that the men would no longer have to be migrant workers on the mines of the Transvaal. The promise of 10% profit sharing was regularly cited throughout the interviews for this current study as well (HL1; HL2; HL3; HL4; HL8; HL9; HL10). An interesting observation from Emdon (2013) was that the state promised education of children in forest management. Headman Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) admitted that he had been educated about conservation by 'Nature'. However, Emdon's respondents were adamant that the reserve was proclaimed through false promises. In the researcher's meeting with the headmen and sub-headmen of Hluleka (18/11/2019), every

one shared the same opinion that the state had made unkept promises about job provision and profit sharing when obtaining traditional leadership's support for establishing HNR.

Once the HNR was proclaimed, local men returned to Hluleka from the mines to find fences preventing access to the forests and the sea (Emdon, 2013). They were told that the reserve was only terrestrial and would have no effect on fishing or shellfish collection. The past reserve managers interviewed for this study were unanimous that the reserve was proclaimed for forest conservation alone, and never with the intention of conserving the marine resources. In support of this, the initial proclamation of the HNR does not include the marine protected area.

Lennox Ndude was the first reserve manager at Hluleka. He had this to say about the early days regarding HNR and local communities: 'I left Dwesa in 1976 to start the Hluleka Nature Reserve. My first task was erecting the boundary fence. I employed local people to do this. We paid 10 people to fence. Others helped voluntarily. There were no people living in the area that we fenced off at the time. It was a process of give and take. The farm we took was a small area, but I took some forest area too. I agreed not to fence to the Mnenu (River) so that they would allow me to fence the boundaries as we have them now. I also agreed to allow Advocate Junod to keep his huts on the Mnenu. Chief Ferguson Gwadiso was very helpful. I met with him and the traditional leadership regularly. I even met with the local people. Some lived very close to the boundary that we fenced. There were no cattle grazing on the reserve. All of Mrs Heard's cattle were off. The local people liked Mrs Heard. There was no such thing as racism in those times in Transkei. Hluleka was a very nice and peaceful place. It was easy to take over and manage the reserve. There was no fighting' (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018).

Ndude's frank account of how he worked with the traditional leaders and local people during the establishment of the HNR provides important insight into the expectations of the different actors of the time. Only 10 people were paid to erect a fenceline, but other locals voluntarily assisted. This indicates that they were probably in support of promises made that the reserve would bring tourists and jobs and that they would eventually get salaried employment. The 'give and take' during the fencing shows that there was communication and negotiation. It also explains why there is still confusion to this day about the correct boundary of the reserve. Ndude clearly had a good relationship with the chief and local people. This was verified through interviews during this study. He was employed by the Transkei Department of Agriculture and Forestry in the Nature Conservation section. Indigenous forests were

considered important by conservationists (Cooper and Swart, 1992) and Ndude was proud in announcing that he expanded the reserve to incorporate more forest than what had been declared. Despite his official work designation, he also had sympathy for local people's needs and agreed, of his own accord, to leave the Mnenu River unfenced so that locals would have access to the sea. He speaks of how he also agreed to allow Advocate Junod to keep his huts on the Mnenu River, when he no doubt could have demolished these and forced Junod to vacate. Advocate Junod and his son were granted a life right by Chief Ferguson Gwadiso to have a small holiday camp at the mouth of the Mnenu because Junod had saved a young umXhosa girl from drowning in the waves (F. Gwadiso, 1979; M. Gwadiso, 1996). In allowing Junod to remain, Ndude showed respect for the chief's wishes and must have gained further support from the traditional leader. In fact, during the researcher's interviews with Chief Gwadiso (08/02/2018) he stated that he had a good working relationship with early conservators.

While Ndude recalls working well with the chief and receiving support from local people at Hluleka, Emdon (2013) heard different accounts from some community members that she interviewed, as she quotes: 'We had homes just by the sea, and we were told to move' (Emdon, 2013, p. 80). Ndude (pers comm., 01/09/2018) says nobody resided on the reserve at the time of fencing. Chief Gwadiso and Headman Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) also confirm that there were no forced removals from within the nature reserve at the time of its proclamation. Some people lived close to the boundary and farmed there. Ndude states that he fenced around local inhabitants, thereby excluding them from the nature reserve. Similarly, according to Chief Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018), the area beside the Mnenu River was not fenced because it was being used for mealie fields by local people and also provided them with access to the sea.

There appears to have been a good relationship between the early residents of the Hluleka area, traditional leadership and state officials. Ndude (pers comm., 01/09/2018) recalls receiving a lot of help and support from the chief when the reserve was proclaimed and describes the Hluleka community as '*respectful*'. Emdon (2013) refers to a symbiotic relationship between the Strachans and the Heards, and the local community. Without exception, the traditional leadership acknowledged this during this present research. The community was free to access the land and sea during these times (HL1; HL2; HL3; HL4; HL8; HL9; HL10). However, although it was not immediately realised, the restrictions created by Transkei Nature

Conservation fencing off the area as a nature reserve created conflict. This was a foreign concept to people who had been using the natural resources provided by the land and the sea. It is clear that people lost access to an area that played an important role in their livelihoods, and received no compensation at the time.

7.6.1 Marine Conservation and the Establishment of the Hluleka MPA

Prior to 1991 there was no marine sanctuary adjacent to HNR (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). Fishing and shellfish collection was controlled by the Department of Sea Fisheries (Fielding, 2018). A marine sanctuary along the Hluleka coastline was initially declared in 1991 under the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). Provision was made in the Decree to allow for fishing by holiday makers staying over at the reserve for more than one night, as well as for local communities (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). The Hluleka Marine Protected Area (HMPA) was declared a no-take area in 2000 under the MLRA 18/1998 (Emdon, 2013) and more recently under the National Environmental Management Protected Areas Amendment Act (No 21 of 2014) (Tom and van der Bank, 2017).

The HMPA lies adjacent to the terrestrial part of the HNR and extends a mere 4.5 km along the predominantly rocky coastline and 11.1 km out to sea (Fielding, 2018). It is bound by the Mnenu River in the East and the Hluleka River to the West and is 40.9 km² in size (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). Hluleka is the only nature reserve along the Wild Coast where the entire MPA is a no-take zone (Fielding, 2018).

The Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism took over management from Transkei in 1994 (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). The Eastern Cape Parks Board, a semi government funded agency which would theoretically have less bureaucracy and therefore more efficient management, was assigned to manage the HNR in 2005 (Emdon, 2013). The Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA) was assigned to be the management authority of the MPA as per a signed Memorandum of Agreement with the Department of Environmental Affairs: Oceans and Coasts (DEA: Oceans and Coasts) in 2011, as it shared common boundaries with the terrestrial reserve which was at the time already managed by ECPTA (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). Upon its appointment as management authority, the ECPTA increased law enforcement in the MPA (Emdon, 2013).

The Hluleka MPA is located within the Natal Bioregion and includes the Natal inshore and Natal shelf ecozones which are both regarded as vulnerable with less than 80% of this habitat in a good or fair condition (Sink et al., 2012). The MPA also includes Natal inshore reef habitat classified as endangered with less than 35% in good or fair condition (Sink et al., 2012). The main function of the HMPA is to provide a sanctuary for over-fished, slow growing Sparid reef fish. It is also a sanctuary for spiny lobsters (*Panulirus homarus*) and intertidal invertebrates such as mussels (*Perna perna*), many limpet species and red bait (*Pyura stolonifera*) (Fielding, 2018). The inshore and offshore reefs of Hluleka support a myriad of reef fish species, of which many are endemic, endangered, or have depleted stocks (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). The HMPA provides critical coastal protection for fish species such as blacktail (*Diplodus capensis*), strepie (*Sarpa salpa*), pinky/piggy (*Pomadasys olivaceum*), stonebream (*Neoscorpis lithophilus*), bronze bream (*Pachymetopon grande*), zebra (*Diplodus hottentotus*), banded galjoen (*Dichistius multifasciatus*) and a variety of rockcod species (*Epinephelus spp*.) (Tom and van der Bank, 2017; Fielding, 2018).

A large diversity of flora and fauna are associated with the pelagic habitat, ranging from the smallest phytoplankton to humpback whales (*Megaptera novaeangliae*). Numerous species of bony fish, sharks, sea birds and marine mammals undertake seasonal migrations through the Hluleka MPA. The most well-known of these migrations is the annual 'sardine run' when large shoals of pilchard (*Sardinops sagax*) undertake an annual winter migration from the Southern Cape to the warmer waters of central KwaZulu-Natal. Ongoing research has shown that Hluleka is a hotspot for resident pods of common dolphins (*Delphinus capensis*) and bottlenose dolphins (*Tursiops aduncus*) (Tom and van der Bank, 2017).

Endemic line fish species (mainly from the Family: Sparidae), many of which are heavily overexploited in other areas, are particularly abundant in this region (Fielding, 2018). Important species in this regard include black musselcracker (*Cymatoceps nasutus*), scotsman (*Polysteganus praeorbitalis*), englishman (*Chrysoblephus anglicus*), slinger (*Chrysoblephus puniceus*), and bronze bream (*P. grande*). Offshore reefs, deeper than 30 m, support line fish species such as seventy-four (*Polysteganus undulosus*), red steenbras (*Petrus rupestris*), dageraad (*Chrysoblephus cristiceps*) and yellowbelly rockcod (*Epinephelus marginatus*) (Tom and van der Bank, 2017; Fielding, 2018).

Sink et al. (2012) argue that there is poor awareness of the role of MPAs in biodiversity conservation, fisheries management and delivery of socio-economic benefits. The interview that the researcher had with traditional leaders on 18th November, 2019 highlighted this. Velile Qhwemeshe said he did not know the reason for the establishment of Hluleka's MPA. When the researcher explained the benefits all the leaders grasped the concept and expressed dismay at never having been informed about it. They requested the researcher to facilitate a workshop for the community at large where the values of MPAs could be explained.

7.7 Natural Resource Use by Hluleka's Local Communities

The local communities living around the HNR have relied on the natural resources provided by the forests and the sea for centuries (M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018). The community had access to these resources when Chief Gwadiso granted William Strachan the land and when Leonard and Mona Heard farmed it until the early 1970s (HL3; HL5; HL6; HL7; HL8; HL9, HL10; HL11). Community members told Emdon (2013) that their problems with Hluleka began when 'Nature' took over management. The management style became authoritarian and access was denied to the forests and the sea. Past reserve managers deny that this was as clear cut as expressed (HE1-HE7). According to Dlulane (pers comm., 16/09/2017), there were only a few requests for thatch grass and reeds because there were sufficient resources outside the reserve while he was reserve manager in the 1990s. Tom (pers comm., 08/02/2018) states that this situation has persisted over the years. According to her, the HNR allows free access through the reserve to Mdzwini Village and free thatch grass and bamboo if community members want it. However, there is currently a very different view amongst most of the traditional leaders who are of the opinion that they hardly benefit from the HNR at all (HL3 – HL12).

7.7.1 Resource use of Forests and grasslands

Chief Mpumalanga Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) explained the historical use of forests in and around Hluleka as being important for building houses and kraals. He has seen decreasing demand for traditional building materials as the mudbrick houses, and grass huts of old, are being replaced by modern cement-block houses. Forests are still used for manufacturing furniture and sticks and pipes. There is still demand for grass for thatching

although corrugated iron roofs are replacing thatch. Grass and reeds are collected to make baskets and mats. Despite electricity having been provided in recent years, firewood remains in demand. Chief Gwadiso has noticed that cultural practices are no longer as prevalent as in the past, but there are still *imigidi* (celebrations). In his words: '*Amaqirha* (traditional healers) and *amaxhwele* (herbalists) continue to require plants and herbs from the forests and grasslands. Modernity is affecting customary practices. Forests used to sustain the livelihoods of communities – food, medicines, firewood, roots for food, cultural ceremonies – *imigidi*, *siyalima* (ploughing), *imincwabo* (funerals), *imitshato* (weddings). There have always been sufficient resources for people to use outside of Hluleka Nature Reserve. It is a very small area that should be kept closed to resource extraction. There is an area at Mtakatyi that we have put aside for *abaKhwetha* so it is not necessary to enter the nature reserve. The reserve needs to expand wisely without impacting on people's agriculture. It needs more animals to attract tourists and there is a need for a restaurant and a bar. Young people are moving away from Hluleka, but many return. They get jobs outside the area, but build homes within it' (M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018).

Figure 7.5: Chief Gwadiso (left) shows the Khanyayo forests and proposed conservation projects (J. Costello, 08/02/2018)

There is consensus amongst all the traditional leaders interviewed that the indigenous forests surrounding the HNR are not well managed and that they are being negatively impacted upon by unsustainable utilisation (HL1-HL12). According to Phuhlisani (2005b), local communities report a lot of indigenous forest clearing. One member stated, 'Yes, it is happening very, very much, but now what I see you cut and plant and the person will produce and after that you will have soil erosion' (Phuhlisani, 2005b, p. 14). There are repeated claims of increasing soil

erosion. This has encouraged some people to open up previously forested areas for cultivation (Phuklisani, 2005b).

Emdon (2013) cites the population increase in Ngqeleni since the 20th century as the reason for intensified forest use. The extension of cultivated lands through ox-drawn ploughs encroached on forests and into forest areas as people required more land for crops. Magistrates and chiefs tended not to take harsh action against this practice (Beinart, 1982). Cooper and Swart (1992, p. 36) state, 'Without doubt the greatest long-term threat to the forests of Transkei is the rapidly increasing human population.'

Historically there have been sufficient resources outside of HNR for people to use (M. Gwadiso; B. Gwadiso; pers comm., 08/02/2018). Hluleka has only recently been used for certain cultural ceremonies like *amagidi* and weddings (B. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018). Many people still follow traditions and make use of forest resources. Headman Gwadiso put it this way: 'Poorer people still use thatch and poles for building traditional style houses. People do not ask permission to gather material as they did in the past. There is less respect (for traditional leadership). I also enforce the laws but ask Forestry to assist if there are contraventions. We do not give cuts like in the past.'

According to Headman Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018), hunting is popular. He acknowledges that it is not allowed anywhere in terms of the law, but admits that it is widespread throughout the area. Chief Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) agrees that hunting is a regular practice in the forests, both for sport and for food. Although hunting is illegal, fishing can be done with permits as long as it is outside of the HNR. It has become a popular activity with local men (B. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018). This is discussed in the following section.

7.7.2 The Use of Marine Resources at Hluleka

Local people have been using shellfish for thousands of years along the Wild Coast (Lasiak, 1993; Dye et al., 1997; Fielding et al., 2003; Mann et al., 2003; Feely, 2012; Sunde, 2014). Emdon (2013) states that generations of men and women around Hluleka have relied on the sea for shellfish collecting and fishing. Monica Hunter (1936, p. 35) describes how coastal

people often preferred fish to meat, while most people living inland would not even eat it if it was offered to them. The early colonial authorities expressed concern about over exploitation of the marine resources. According to Emdon (2013), the Magistrate of Ngqeleni in 1935 responded to a written plea from the Magistrate of Komgha for control of marine resource use by local Africans, that the marine resources were important in the people's diets. He had assessed the impact on shellfish and concluded that it was negligible as there were sufficient stocks out of reach of the 'natives'. He further argued that shellfish had been used for generations. There was subsequently no restriction on the use of coastal marine resources in the 1920s and 1930s in the Ngqeleni District. This is counter to the Department of Land Affairs Memorandum for submission to finalise the Hluleka Land Claim which states that the Sea Shore Act 21 of 1935 was used to evict people from the Hluleka coastline and prevent their access to marine resources. The researcher could find no written evidence of this and the traditional leadership interviewed for this study had no recollection of it having occurred.

At the time of the first proclamation of a marine sanctuary at Hluleka in 1991, the Transkei Decree allowed fishing by local communities, as well as tourists staying at the reserve for more than one night (Tom and van der Bank, 2017). When there was large-scale retrenchment from the mines in the 1990s and migrant labour returned to Hluleka, many men resorted to fishing to provide food for their families and to sell to tourists (Emdon, 2013). They acknowledged that fish resources had declined. Women, too, noted a reduction in the quantity and size of mussels on the rocks, but depended more on this resource as a result of the retrenchments (Emdon, 2013).

According to Emdon (2013), the decision to declare an MPA was a top down one. The reasons provided by ECPTA for the proclamation of the MPA mainly revolved around the protection of the natural resources so that they could spill over into resource use areas outside of the reserve. In establishing the MPA, the authorities did not consult widely (A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2019). Some local leaders are aware of the reasons for establishing the MPA (M. Gwadiso; B. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018), but the community around Hluleka have never been informed (Emdon, 2013).

Emdon (2013) records community claims of having practiced conservation since time immemorial including measures such as throwing back undersized fish and only taking large mussels. Traditional leaders do not know of any community member who had or has an interest

in nature conservation, other than those taught by 'Nature' about looking after resources (HL1 – HL12). M. Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) and B. Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/ 2018) recall that officials from the conservation departments taught them about conservation. Lungile Nodwala, who has been in Fisheries enforcement since 2003, has never seen local people practicing the conservation methods cited by Emdon. Nodwala (pers comm., 29/04/2019) says, 'They always strip rocks of even the smallest mussels and discard them on the beach. They never return small fish. They keep everything.' The researcher's personal observations of more than 37 years of law enforcement that include more than 25 years of coastal patrols along the Wild Coast verify Nodwala's observations. Emdon's accounts may have to do with her recording some local people believing that the ocean regulates itself and is not there for the state to regulate. There is resistance to authorities like ECPTA enforcing restrictions because the sea is God's and God will provide (Emdon, 2013; J. Peires, pers comm., 31/01/2019). Whatever the reason, women continue to collect grain bags full of mussels and shellfish when the tides allow them access (personal observations).

According to Emdon (2013), women at Hluleka recall going to collect mussels with their mothers from the age of about eight. This was a social event that was enjoyed. Spoons or crow bars were used to remove the shellfish. They would collect all sorts of shellfish from the rocks, but mussels were the most popular. They would return with big maize bags full of mussels. There was a specific spot at Hluleka that produced a lot of mussels. The meat would be boiled and served with *pap* (porridge). The women remember there being bigger and many more mussels than in present times (Emdon, 2013). Fisheries Conservation Officer Lungile Nodwala (pers comm., 29/04/2019) has observed that women remove all the shellfish that they can from the rocks they have access to. During Emdon's interviews (2013), women told her that they were taught to only harvest large mussels and not to remove all from a rock, but Nodwala says they take any size and leave the rocks bare.

Men at Hluleka regard fishing as an important livelihood strategy (Emdon, 2013). (Hunter, 1936, p. 96) refers to men spearing fish along the Wild Coast. According to N. Dwayana and V. Qhwemeshe (pers comm., 18/11/2019), spearing was done along the Hluleka coast at night with pronged spears in the light of torches made of sneezewood. Fishing with a line and hooks was learned from Europeans (Hunter, 1936).

Chief Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) supports Emdon's (2013) accounts that teenage boys would fish in rivers. Unlike Emdon, he does not agree that the young boys traditionally followed the lead of older men by progressing to fishing in the sea. Emdon (2013) records the use of sticks as rods with line made of bark (*uluzhi*) and a sharpened piece of wire (*umchekulo*) attached thereto. The rod was short so they would have to wade into the water to throw their line. Men recall fish being more plentiful and larger than today. They only fished to feed their families (Emdon, 2013). There was a favourite spot inside the nature reserve for fishing known as Nobhola (Emdon, 2013, p. 30). Holiday makers introduced the locals to modern rods and as they could cast further they began selling fish to tourists. Contrary to Emdon's findings, Chief Gwadiso disputes that fishing was an important part of culture and claims that only a few men fished. Although young boys would fish in rivers, men never fished until about 50 years ago. Fishing in the sea was not done historically (M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018).

Holt (1973) records that around 1901, an African named Mtyida walked into a store in Gqeleni (Ngqeleni) and offered a fish for sale to the white trader. The trader took it, salted it, and hung it up in his shop but refused to pay the two-shilling price asked because he felt this was too much. A maize sack full of oysters cost less than a shilling at the time. An argument ensued that led to Mtyida hitting the trader and being arrested. The story indicates that Mtyida may have been a fisherman, meaning that as far back as 1900, local people may have been catching fish.

Sink et al. (2012) argue that fishing is the greatest pressure on marine biodiversity and a key driver of change in marine and coastal ecosystems. When the Hluleka MPA was proclaimed the intention would have been to restrict fishing pressure adjacent to the HNR area and encourage fishing outside (A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020). The Marine Living Resources Act legislates restrictions outside the MPA relating to fish sizes and bag limits such as a maximum of five linefish per person per day and 50 mussels per person per day. Emdon (2013) states that headmen tried persuading 'Nature' to review the restrictions outside of the HMPA as they were too restrictive for livelihoods, but their pleas were to no avail.

Since 2017, subsistence fishers have been given exemption permits to collect marine resources outside of the MPA (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2018). Phuhlisani (2005b) cites an unpublished study conducted in 2002 by Gwadiso and Plumstead of fish utilisation at Mtakatyi where it was found that adult fishermen primarily target Kob (*Argyrosomus japonicus),* Spotted

grunter *(Pomadasys commersonii),* Leervis *(Lichia amia),* Perch (*Acanthopagrus berda)* and elf/shad (*Pomatomus saltatrix)* while children were targeting Cape Stumpnose (*Rhabdosargus holubi),* Blacktail *(Diplodus sargus),* Pinky grunter *(Pomadasys olivaceum)* Crescent perch*, (Terapon jarbua)* and mullets. The study reported that the catch composition at Mtakatye is primarily composed of Pinky grunter and Cape Stumpnose (67% and 29%, respectively).

Although neither Chief Gwadiso nor Headman Gwadiso appeared overly concerned with the fishing restrictions at HNR and the effects on local fishermen, the researcher's interviews with the headmen and sub-headmen in November 2019 provided a different perspective. The overwhelming sentiment was that fishing is important to the Hluleka community and that the nature reserve should be opened to allow fishing. Emdon's research findings bear this out. She records worsening relations between fishermen and ECPTA, with the management authority being regarded as authoritarian in strictly enforcing regulations. This resulted in the establishment of underground fishing networks that operated at night to evade officials. Fish were often smuggled out in taxis to areas where illegal buyers would collect the stock (Emdon, 2013). The following section explores further tensions and conflicts that have arisen between local people utilising natural resources on HNR and the management authorities who have been mandated to protect the area.

7.8 People-Conservation Tensions: Challenges around Compliance

7.8.1 Conflicts as a Result of Forestry Legislation

In Chief Gwadiso's opinion (pers comm., 08/02/2018) there has never been a need to access forest resources from within the HNR because there are sufficient resources in the forests on the outside. Dutton (pers comm., 16/05/2018) says that people will only realise the need for conservation when their resources become scarce. The Hluleka area was historically thickly forested, but between 25 and 60% of the indigenous forests have been cleared for cultivation during the past 50 years (Berliner, 2011) (Figure 7.6). According to Cooper and Swart (1992), the Hluleka forests present amongst the worst examples of forest destruction in the former Transkei region. Despite increased deployment of forest rangers in the 1960s, people still encroached on forest land (Emdon, 2013). Even today, uncontrolled encroachment occurs into remaining patches of indigenous forest for cultivation of lands or new settlements (Puhlisani,

2005a; H3-H12). Despite this, there is very little enforcement action from the Department of Forestry (M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018). During interviews with traditional leaders and past and present HNR managers, no reference was made to any conflicts relating to forest use. This is in all likelihood the result of perceptions that sufficient forest resources remain for utilisation by local people, and due to the fact that enforcement of forest legislation is seldom carried out.

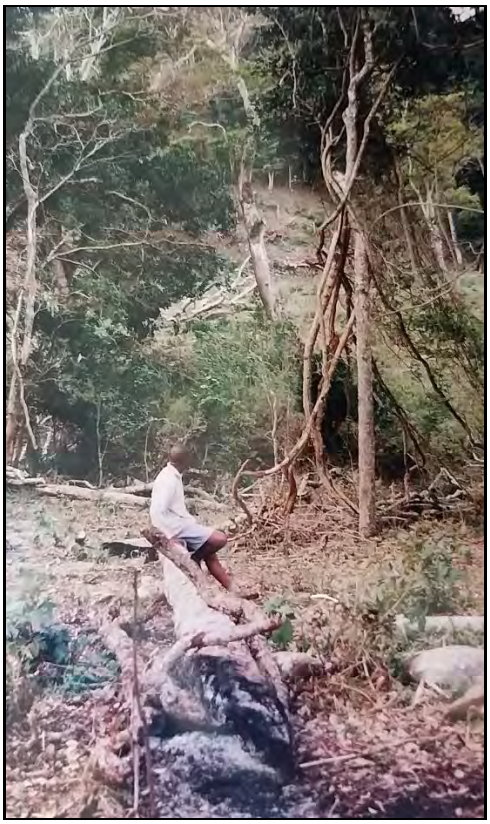

Figure 7.6: Hluleka Nature Reserve Manager, Mzondeleli Dlulane, sits on a burning tree stump in a forest being cleared for crops around Hluleka (D de Villiers, 1999)

7.8.2 Conflicts Created by the Betterment Scheme

Whilst the Betterment scheme devised by the colonial government of the 1930s was not rejected outright in Western Pondoland as it was in Eastern Pondoland, there was resistance from some local people, particularly men who valued their customary practices of accumulating cattle as an indication of wealth (Emdon, 2013). The traditional leadership of the time, particularly Victor Poto Ndamase, largely prevented conflict from occurring between the communities of Western Pondoland and the colonial and apartheid governments (Hendricks and Peires, 2012; Emdon, 2013). Ndamase had the ability to convince the government as well

as his people that he was supporting their views and interests. He also had a great interest in agriculture and supported some of the principles of the Betterment schemes. The women of Ngqeleni often supported Betterment because they wanted their sons to rather obtain education from schooling than to herd cattle as was customary at the time (Emdon, 2013).

7.8.3 Conflicts as a Result of the Proclamation of the Hluleka Nature Reserve

By all accounts there was no conflict at Hluleka between local people and William Strachan when he occupied the land granted to him by Chief Gwadiso (Holt, 1973; Rock, 1974; Emdon, 2013; HL1, 2018; HL2, 2018; HL3-HL12, 2019). Leonard Heard and his wife, Mona, had a similar symbiotic relationship with the local people until Hluleka was sold to Transkei in 1971 (Holt, 1973; Rock, 1974; Emdon, 2013; HL1, 2018; HL2, 2018; L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018; HL3-HL12, 2019; G. Strachan, pers comm., 30/08/2019).

When the HNR was established in 1976, the traditional leaders supported it and local people respected it (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018). The local people were not against the formation of the nature reserve, but did not expect the restrictions that would be imposed upon their use of the area (M. Gwadiso, pers. comm., 08/02/2018).

During the 1980s restrictions on access to HNR increased (Emdon, 2013). Local people began raising their concerns, but during Matanzima's rule people could not resist oppression and had to accept the laws or face the consequences (V. Makhafu, pers comm., 11/09/2019). With the release of Nelson Mandela from prison in 1990, the political landscape began to change. People around Hluleka openly started questioning management decisions. According to Emdon (2013), men from Hluleka organised a peaceful sit-in protest inside the reserve during 1993 against the requirement for permits for local people passing through the reserve. The protest is not recorded in any written documentation and none of the past managers who the researcher interviewed recall the incident or have any knowledge thereof. According to Emdon (2013), the reserve changed the policy and allowed thoroughfare for locals without the need for a written permit. When Alfred Matsheke managed HNR in 2007 he recalls the gate permit system being 'hated' (A. Matsheke, pers comm., 28/01/2018). Currently local people still require a permit to cross through the reserve to the Mdzwini village, but it is not always strictly

implemented (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2018). The HNR PAMP (ECPTA, 2012b) states that the open gate policy resulted in uncontrolled access and litter on the reserve.

It appears that there was minimal conflict between HNR management and local people in the 1970s. M. Mantliti (pers comm., 18/11/2019) says, 'The early reserve managers were good to work with, like Ndude, but some of the later managers made their own rules.' G. Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) recalls early management at HNR and states that there was no conflict with local people when he was reserve manager in 1980. In his own words, 'At the time conservation was a sub section of the Department of Agriculture and Forestry. Nature Conservation was a sub section of Forestry. There was a director of Forestry but none for conservation. Natural forests outside Hluleka Nature Reserve were managed by Forestry - by Bill Dutton. Inside Hluleka there was no pressure on the forests. A few Umzimbiti were stolen from Hluleka, but minimal. Hunting was severe outside, but not inside. There was no management plan. We managed in a haphazard manner. Head Office officials like Paul Dutton, Andrew Grobicki, Vido Nakani and Winston Qaba advised from Botha Sigcawu Building. We used the Transkei Nature Conservation Act as our only guide. Budget was very poor because Forestry were in charge. But local people accepted the reserve. The chief and headmen knew the law and respected it. I had no trouble in managing Hluleka Nature Reserve.'

Buntu Mzamo (pers comm., 09/04/2018) recalls when he was manager during the transition phase from the Provincial Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism and the Eastern Cape Parks Board (2001 to 2004). He states, 'The main source of conflict was from wildlife poaching. There was lots of poaching. Most of the introduced animals were poached out, like blesbok. Only a few eland remained. I had no appointed field rangers to work with though. I used general assistants to patrol and they were not trained. Law enforcement was not very successful. Workers on Hluleka came from the surrounding community and knew when there were patrols. On paydays all staff left and the reserve was open. There was no support from the Mthatha office. Tourism was so poor – huts were collapsing – this is why I left Hluleka. To resolve conflict, I met with the headman, Mathintela Gwadiso. His wife worked with us on the reserve. Although we never met regularly, we had ad hoc meetings to discuss problems like poaching or fence theft.'

Victor Yazini managed the HNR between 2004 and 2006. He recalls increasing levels of conflict with local people. In his words, 'Poaching was a huge problem. Mainly with dogs and rifles. Not much marine poaching. The traditional leadership would help when I approached them, but they side with their subjects. But now ward councillors have become the biggest problem on the Wild Coast. They want votes so will promise anything to get votes even at the expense of the environment. ECPTA have not managed well. They destroyed all the blue wildebeest because they were alien species. With all the illegal hunting and culling by ECPTA I am sure all wildlife has been wiped out by now. There was some conflict when I shot nine pigs in the reserve. I resolved it without going to head office though' (V. Yazini, pers comm., 10/05/2019).

Alfred Mthetheleli Matsheke assumed the post of Reserve Manager in 2007. He recalls, 'Hluleka was well protected when I started there, but there were signs of the community poaching in the forests - I am referring to the surrounding communities. We used the Decree (Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree 9/1992) to enforce the law. Management plans were in draft stages. Implementation was minimal. There were no financial resources attached to the plan. Budget was very poor. Most of the budget was directed to tourism. Chalets were in a bad state. The Eastern Cape Parks Board had recently taken over. Transitional problems manifested themselves. Assets were still under the Department and management was not as effective as it could have been. New field rangers were trained and appointed. This beefed up enforcement and resulted in challenges with the community because it was no longer as easy for them to poach' (A. Matsheke, pers comm., 25/01/2018).

Emdon (2013) reports that community members were angry that HNR rangers killed goats that trespassed on the reserve. According to Tom (pers comm., 08/02/2018), the community sometimes still raises the matter of HNR officials having shot their goats in the early 2000s. The researcher explored this with interviewees and there were interesting recollections:

'I took goats to Mthatha SPCA once for grazing on HNR after consulting the community headman and community forum. They said I should have taken it to a stock pound that was closer. The goats were auctioned' (B. Mzamo, pers comm., 09/04/2018).

‘There was a case where community members said their goats were killed in the reserve. This was not true. The norm was to drive livestock out and close the fence. We only used to shoot stray dogs. EPWP (Expanded Public Works Programme) were replacing the fence, but in a bad manner, leaving gaps, and thus livestock entered. Because of this we chased them out and then closed the fences’ (A. Matsheke, pers comm. 25/01/2018).

‘We resolved the matter of the goats that were killed by meeting the headman and goat owners. No evidence of gunshot wounds was found. There were dog bites and wounds caused by dogs. Matidelo Gwadiso assisted in resolving the matter and agreed they were not shot and should not have been in the reserve in the first place’ (A. Matsheke, pers comm., 25/01/2018).

Chief Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) recalls an incident where some community members alleged that HNR staff had shot their goats. He consulted widely about the complaint and, following investigations, dismissed the allegation as it appeared that poachers had shot the goats inside the nature reserve. The poachers apportioned the blame to the reserve staff.

Matsheke (pers comm., 25/01/2018) recalls that employment of outsiders was an issue that created conflict. The community wanted more locals employed, especially at managerial level. They also wanted skills to be taught to them to enable them to manage. Eastern Cape Parks Board employed outsiders as well as locals. This was the result of staff transfers. The ECPB deployed some of the better qualified locals to Bhisho and East London. Excess workers were transferred to other reserves. In Transkei times there was a Special Employment Programme (SIP) that provided for job creation and resulted in excessive labour numbers that had to be absorbed by the new government.

Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) confirms that the SIP allowed employment on the Transkei nature reserves at ‘reduced rates’, therefore many people were appointed as unskilled labourers. Staff were not necessarily employed from the Hluleka area, but on a first come first served basis. Initial employment figures were for 20 permanent posts. Jobs were in such demand that some local people waited at the gate for temporary employment by tourists (G. Mpuhlu, pers comm., 07/02/2018). Even in present times, employment of local people is the main priority (B Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018). In the opinion of traditional leaders and HNR managers alike, provision of jobs is crucial for the future protection of HNR.

Coetzee (2016) notes the importance of boundary fences as unsightly barriers to keep wildlife within conservation areas, and to demarcate property boundaries. Without good fences, neighbour relations may be compromised. This has been the case at Hluleka where the actual boundary of the HNR is a source of conflict. The exact boundary is not clear (ECPTA, 2012b; Ranger and du Plessis, 2013) and Ndude (pers comm., 01/09/2018) admits that the fence was erected on a 'give and take' basis in 1976. The gazetted boundary extends to the Mnenu River but the fence does not include this area. In 1995, the Heath Commission of Enquiry Special Investigation Unit investigated unlawful occupation of land at the mouth of the Mnenu within the HNR (ECPTA, 2012b). On 30th July, 1996, Chief Gwadiso wrote to the Heath SIU explaining that he had allocated a portion of land to Advocate H.F Junod of Pretoria to erect six huts at this site with life rights to holiday there. This was in gratitude to Adv. Junod for building a clinic for the Khonjwayo community and for having saved a young local girl from drowning in the sea (Gwadiso, 1996). Chief Gwadiso considered the portion of land as being under the Khonjwayo Tribal Authority (Gwadiso, 1996), but in a letter to the Heath SIU on behalf of the DEAET, Feely states that there is no record at the Deeds office of the land that had been declared as HNR being altered in any way, and thus the reserve boundary extends to the Mnenu estuary (Feely, 1996).

The senior magistrate of Ngqeleni, Lamla Makaba, wrote to the Heath SIU in February 1997 that the site was not allocated as prescribed by law and was therefore illegally occupied (Makaba, 1997). Whilst both Feely and the magistrate are correct, it should be recalled that Ndude agreed with Chief Gwadiso that Adv. Junod could remain at the Mnenu as part of the 'give and take' agreement (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018). The role of individuals in making decisions, rather than their adherence to strict policy, has created a contentious situation. The reserve boundary needs to be surveyed and correctly demarcated to finally put an end to conflicting ideas of where it should be (ECPTA, 2012b; Ranger and du Plessis, 2013; N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2018).

It appears that the major sources of conflict between local people and HNR management began sometime after the proclamation and fencing of the protected area, when it dawned upon the surrounding community that the promised jobs and benefits were not materialising. Restrictions on the trespassing of their domestic animals became contentious and the killing of their goats and pigs, allegedly by reserve officials, created tension that persist until present times. Furthermore, restriction of their free movement through the reserve and prohibition of

their customary practice of hunting with dogs led to conflict. Resolution of these tensions has largely depended upon the personalities of individuals employed by the conservation department at any given time. Intervention by the traditional leadership has often assisted in calming the tension, not unlike the historical incidents where Chief Victor Poto Ndamase played such an important role in keeping the peace in Ngqeleni.

7.8.4 Conflicts as a Result of the Proclamation of the Hluleka Marine Protected Area (HMPA)

Conflict over marine resources commenced after 1991 when the coast at Hluleka was declared a marine reserve under Transkei Decree 9/1992 (Emdon, 2013). Tom (pers comm., 08/02/2018) believes that the HMPA is *the* major source of conflict between communities and reserve management. Poor consultation prior to its declaration and the lack of tangible benefits from the MPA have contributed to the conflict (Tom and van der Bank, 2017).

Matsheke (pers comm., 25/01/2018) argues that MCM (Marine and Coastal Management) decided to close the MPA to all fishing without any consultation – not even with him as reserve manager at the time. The assumption by MCM was that locals were not fishing; therefore, there was no need to consult. This was incorrect and immediately created tension. Prior to the closure, ECPTA had the mandate to implement the MLRA, and field rangers policed this. Certain areas were open to fishing at the time, but total closure led to conflict. The people then wanted access to marine resources like when it was a farm and they were allowed to use the sea (A. Matsheke, pers comm., 25/01/2018).

The creation of the HMPA has not stopped fishing and collection of marine resources (Emdon, 2013). Illegal fishing, and bait and rocky shore invertebrate collection regularly take place along the Hluleka shoreline and intertidal invertebrate populations have been severely impacted (ECPTA, 2012b). East Coast rock lobsters are caught in large numbers from the shore (ECPTA 2012b) and the poaching threatens marine biodiversity, resource sustainability and the livelihoods of legitimate fishers (Sink et al., 2012). There have been arrests of fishermen and shellfish collectors within the HMPA (HE 1; HE2; HE5; HE6; HE7). Tom (pers comm., 08/02/2018) states that they often issue admission of guilt fines, which creates conflict.

The HNR staff continually embark on environmental awareness programmes in an attempt to reduce unlawful fishing. In their assessment of environmental education on HNR, Ranger and du Plessis (2013) refer to the existing education and awareness programme that is implemented in partnership with WESSA, SANBI and the Department of Education. There is also an awareness centre on HNR which schools and the community visit. Tom (pers comm., 08/02/2018) says that a newsletter is distributed to schools and community members, and local schools participate in an awareness competition. In her opinion, environmental education efforts have assisted in reducing poaching of marine resources.

To further minimise conflicts, the reserve manager actively participates in the Chief and Headmen's meetings (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2018). Whilst Ranger and du Plessis (2013) record that Headmen meetings are regular and are used to communicate both protected area and community issues, the traditional leadership dispute this, saying the meetings are rare and sporadic (HL1-HL12).

7.8.5 Conflicts Regarding Tourism

Tourism is recognised as one of the most important reasons for the establishment of HNR (M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018) and is key to securing the future of the reserve (M. Dlulani, pers comm., 16/09/2017). Tourism provides employment and has not been a source of conflict between HNR and local people. It was therefore a shock to the community when two tourists were stabbed whilst asleep in a chalet on HNR during September 2019 (HL3-HL12). There is speculation that the stabbing of Matthew and Karen Turner was a revenge attack by local people who wanted to make a statement against reserve staff (Nair, 2019).

Ian Crouch, the brother of Karen Turner, who died as a result of the stabbing, was quoted as saying, 'There are a lot of issues between the staff and the locals at the moment. A couple of days prior to the killing, the resort had actually shot some illegal poaching dogs on the resort, and they are in an argument with illegal cray-fishermen that come into the resort at night.' The ECPTA refused to comment on the claim but a SAPS spokesperson said there had been no recent reports of poaching on the reserve (Nair, 2019). The traditional leaders all expressed the view that it was highly improbable that the stabbings were the result of a revenge attack to

make a statement against HNR management as they were unaware of conflict at the time (HL1-HL12). Chief Gwadiso (pers comm., 27/09/2019) confidently stated that this heinous crime was not committed by anyone from the Hluleka community.

7.8.6 The Hluleka Land Claim and the Effects thereof on Natural Resource Use and Conservation

In 1998 the Hluleka community lodged a land claim for compensation for land taken from them by 'Nature' (Emdon, 2013). According to the resulting draft settlement agreement (2019, p. 3), 'the Hluleka community lost their land rights in three different phases to the Hluleka Nature Reserve starting from 1926 when a certain Mr HEARD fenced off their grazing land and claimed to have bought it from Mr Strachan. The land was re-surveyed and re-demarcated and Hluleka Forest was established and proclaimed as a Forestry Reserve through Declaration No. 111 of 18 January 1929 in accordance with Forestry Act No. 16 of 1913. The second phase was when their homesteads and their arable land were reduced into smaller extents through what was termed "betterment planning" that was effected by the Transkei's Department of Agriculture through Transkei Agricultural Development Act No. 10 of 1966. The third phase was where the Sea Shore Act No 21 of 1935 was passed. This Act provided for the removal of people who reside near the high-watermark. Through the legislation the claimants were totally forbidden from residing next to the sea and from using the sea resources and fishing' (Rural Development and Land Reform, 2019).

Despite there being glaring inaccuracies in the history and timeline of the draft settlement agreement, it continues by making reference to 467 households who were dispossessed of their beneficial occupational rights, with an increase to 1 126 households as a result of family expansion. The claim is in respect of the portions of land commonly known as the Hluleka Nature Reserve stretching from the Umtakatye River and comprising the 547,534 ha Nature Reserve as well as the 691,2213 ha Hluleka Forest. The areas are respectively managed by ECPTA and DEFF (Forestry). The departments agreed to restore the land back to the Hluleka claimant community in accordance with the Restitution of Land Rights Act 22 of 1994 as amended. The land is to be held in ownership by the Communal Property Association (CPA) on behalf of the Hluleka community. It will be managed for the purposes of conservation in perpetuity as part of the Hluleka Nature Reserve. The CPA together with the ECPTA or any

Successor in Title shall manage this land in terms of the co-management agreement and the co-management committee established in terms thereof shall ensure that the community benefits from the land they have dedicated to conservation. The Hluleka Forest portion shall be donated from DEFF (Forestry) to the Hluleka community for the purposes of indigenous forestry conservation in perpetuity (Rural Development and Land Reform, 2019).

The Memorandum Submission from the Department of Land Affairs acknowledged Chief M.G. Gwadiso's claim lodged on behalf of the Hluleka community. According to Emdon (2013), Chief Gwadiso asked for an amount of R21 240 000 in financial compensation for 'rights lost in respect of residential structures that were demolished at the time of dispossession'. The claim further requested R6 924 750 to be paid to claimants in the form of restitution grants and R1 024 325 for management of the Hluleka settlement. The land claim settlement eventually agreed that R31 809 620.94 be paid to the 467 claimant households who were directly affected by dispossession (Tom and van der Bank, 2017).

According to Emdon (2013), the claim was finally settled in 2005 with the settlement package including options to use some of the land for development purposes. Tom (pers comm., 08/02/2018) states that there has been no development on the HNR as envisaged by the land claim, nor have any investors entered into any agreements with the management authority. At the interviews with the traditional leaders on 18th November, 2019, they unanimously agreed that few benefits have accrued to the Hluleka community since the land claim. Some families were paid R68 000 compensation in a once-off lump sum (B. Gwadiso, pers comm., 18/11/2019). Others have been promised payment. A few people from the community have jobs on the HNR. Other than that, no benefits are derived (B. Gwadiso, pers comm., 18/11/2018).

A CPA was registered on behalf of the community as the legal entity to own and manage the land. Emdon (2013) reports that the CPA initially worked to build relationships between the community and ECPTA; however, it fell apart when the Traditional Authority ultimately disbanded it. Many people in the community prefer the more democratic CPA to the Traditional Authority. Some accuse the Traditional Authority of failing to acknowledge their dependence on marine resources (Emdon, 2013). This has some truth to it as, according to Chief M. Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018), local people have used marine shellfish for as long as he

can remember, but only a few men have ever fished and then only since White people brought the practice to the area.

Following the awarding of the land to the Hluleka community, a condition of the settlement agreement is that the Hluleka community will, through the CPA, agree to manage the HNR for the purposes of conservation in perpetuity. Emdon (2013) emphasises that the agreement says that the protected area is to be co-managed by the state and the community with benefits to be shared. The settlement agreement states that the ECPTA jointly with the CPA shall endeavour to enter into an agreement with a private investor to bring HNR to its full socio-economic potential for the benefit of the community. However, disagreements between the Traditional Authority and the CPA have created difficulties for the ECPTA in implementing co-management (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2018). A political stalemate prevents the community from moving forward with the land claim settlement. Successful implementation of the land claim and future development are embedded in political power play (Emdon, 2013). Although the community made inputs into the development of a reserve management plan and Chief Mpumalanga Gwadiso signed off on the adopted plan of 2012, no settlement and co-management agreements have been signed between the ECPTA and the community (ECPTA, 2012b; Ranger and du Plessis, 2013; Tom and van der Bank, 2017). There have also been no agreements with investors in tourism ventures on HNR since the finalisation of the land claim (N. Tom, pers comm., 18/11/2019).

There are vastly differing opinions between HNR management and traditional leadership regarding community benefits since the land claim. The 2013 METT states, '**The PA delivers considerable benefits** to the local community through employment opportunities (funded projects and ECPTA Staff), training and capacity building programmes, advertising of projects within communities and requiring PA contractors to employ local people. The training programmes associated with these projects further build capacity within the community' (Ranger and du Plessis, 2013). The traditional leaders (HL3-HL12) argue that besides the R68 000 compensation paid to some families and a few jobs provided on HNR, **none of the promised benefits have accrued** to the local community since the land claim.

7.9 The Predicted Future for Hluleka Nature Reserve and its Rich Natural Resources

Despite their disappointment with ECPTA management and their mistrust of the organisation, the traditional leaders are adamant that HNR must continue to exist (HL3-HL12). V. Qhwemeshe (pers comm., 18/11/2019) says that the nature reserve is important in order to retain the beauty of the area. O. Hlutshwa (pers comm., 18/11/2019) comments: 'It is important for preserving our culture and traditions, especially as young people are losing these.' Although the HNR PAMP (ECPTA, 2012b) states that there are no cultural heritage sites at Hluleka, it acknowledges that community members flock to the coast in large numbers on major holidays. According to Dlulane (pers comm., 16/09/2017), this has become a cultural event. Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) recalls opening the HNR to free access to local people on these traditional Christmas and New Year beach days. The privilege of using Hluleka's coast over this time is appreciated by the leaders. As Chief Gwadiso reflects, 'It has become customary for the people to spend Christmas and New Year at the sea.'

Headman Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) suggests that the protected area should be expanded, perhaps to the Mnenu and Mtakatyi Rivers, but he insists that this will have to be the chief's decision. He is very positive towards the HNR stating: 'With my grandfather we always worked together with Hluleka Nature Conservation. If there were problems the officials would come to my grandfather or father. I know the history of uBili and Strachan's Grant. Nature taught me about environment. The reserve must remain protected.'

Chief Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) wants co-management to work. In his opinion there should be a reserve management board including the Traditional Authority and ECPTA. He says that the owner of the land is the Traditional Authority, but the ECPTA has expertise in managing protected areas. He would like to see more tourist development on the reserve, including a restaurant and a bar. More animals need to be introduced and any expansion in size would need to be done wisely without impacting on people's agriculture.

Although tourism is highlighted as a driver of local economic development in the integrated development plans of the OR Tambo District Municipality, inexplicably, HNR does not feature in this plan (ECPTA, 2012b). The HNR is, however, recognised as having high tourism potential in the Nyandeni Spatial Development Framework (SDF) with recommendations for

the provision of improved infrastructure. The SDF proposes the expansion of the HNR with construction of a hotel or accommodation on a site between Hluleka and the Mthatha River mouth (ECPTA, 2012b). Unfortunately, efforts to attract investment in tourism in the area have failed (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2018). The tourist accommodation in the HNR was in extremely bad condition (ECPTA, 2012b) and the 12 self-catering chalets had to be entirely demolished. Despite no outside investment, ECPTA built new chalets with sea views. These have proven popular (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2018), but the unfortunate stabbing of two tourists in one of the chalets in September 2019 resulted in mass cancellations of bookings, some of which were made up to two years in advance (N. Tom, pers comm., 19/11/2019).

Besides the perceived safety factor that taints the Wild Coast (De Villiers and Costello, 2013), a major hindrance to tourism is the state of the roads to the coast (ECPTA, 2012b). The Hluleka roads have been notoriously poor with only 4-wheel drive access during wet weather and high clearance recommended to avoid damage from potholes (Butchart, 1989). The 45 km of gravel from the turn-off near St Barnabas took the better part of an hour every time the researcher drove it whilst undertaking field work for this study. The community protested in 2019, demanding that the road is tarred and the Department of Transport promised that it would be prioritised for 2020 (B. Gwadiso, pers comm., 18/11/2019).

While the traditional leadership seemingly looks past the obvious challenges and reflects positively on their support for the continued protection of Hluleka, former reserve managers predict a less optimistic future outlook for the nature reserve. V. Yazini (pers comm., 30/05/2019) states: ‘I see no hope for the future conservation of HNR or the Wild Coast. All species will be destroyed. The area used to be beautiful. Now it is polluted and there are buildings and people everywhere. The problem is that many people are still illiterate and poorly educated. They misinterpreted democracy since 1994. They do not understand the need for conservation. My grandchildren will not see the beautiful Wild Coast as I have seen it. The government cannot and will not stop the destruction.’

M. Dlulane (pers comm., 16/09/2017) is also concerned about the future of the nature reserves. He is concerned that land claims are not properly implemented and worries that unlawful land grabs will result in unsustainable and inappropriate development in sensitive areas along the Wild Coast, thereby destroying its beauty and attraction. His recommendation is that, ‘Hluleka

has to increase in size and have more tourism to provide community benefits. There must be local input and involvement in management. Otherwise I am worried about its future.'

Alfred Matsheke (pers comm., 25/01/2018) states: 'In my opinion the sense of community ownership and their involvement in the management of protected areas is key. If you don't meet halfway and engage them, you will never effectively manage the reserve. People rely on resources. There will never be enough for all the people of Hluleka – they will finish it in two days. But certain activities must be allowed like allowing them to enter for free on certain days. There is hope for the future but with community involvement – population increase has put a strain on resources. Therefore, we need economic activities outside the reserve, like aquaculture to provide jobs.'

Buntu Mzamo (pers comm., 08/04/2018) is somewhat more positive and states: 'There is a good chance of the Hluleka Nature Reserve remaining protected. The community never wanted a change in land use. They only wanted more benefits like employment. Several conservationists have come from the Hluleka education programmes.'

G Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) is also worried about the small size of HNR and the attitude of the younger generation: 'It worries me about the future of Hluleka. Locals pretend they are unaware of conservation and the law. There needs to be stricter enforcement and continual education. Since 1980 we have been doing awareness, there is no excuse. Hluleka must be extended in size as there is too much pressure on it. If it is larger there can be more tourist facilities. This is important for it to exist.'

N. Tom (pers comm., 08/02/2018), the current reserve manager, states: 'The future depends on the budget. There is a severe shortage of funds to manage HNR. Tourism maintenance is compromised and roads are bad. Alien vegetation control depends on budget. They (alien species) are impacting on natural vegetation. We need well trained conservators to manage – we concentrate on tourism, not conservation. More chalets must be built. Expansion plans must be implemented to Mnenu and Mtakatyi (Rivers). This reserve is too small.'

7.10 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that HNR was not established following scientific or ecological assessments, but rather through the desire of a few individuals to retain the aesthetic beauty of a small coastal farm and to protect a few indigenous forest patches. It showed that, in all probability, the nature reserve began without major resistance from local people, brought about by a relatively harmonious relationship between traditional leadership, state officials and local communities of the time. However, it has experienced numerous conflicts and tensions, mainly as a result of poor communication and unkept promises from the state. The role of leadership and individual managers in dealing with such conflict was highlighted.

The chapter demonstrated the importance of domestic stock, particularly cattle, to the culture and livelihoods of the people of the area. It reflected on the use of indigenous forests and marine resources and questioned whether such a small protected area can sustain the continued pressures of resource utilisation from a growing human population. It concluded, however, with positive sentiments expressed by traditional leaders and the hope from former managers for continued protection, increased sustainable development and economic opportunities for local people.

CHAPTER EIGHT: MKAMBATI NATURE RESERVE

8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the case of the Hluleka Nature Reserve that was developed from state forest areas and land that had been granted to a colonial settler by a local traditional leader. It showed that there was initially no major resistance to the proclamation of this small nature reserve. However, over time, management of the nature reserve impacted on local people's livelihoods, and sentiments changed towards the authorities when access to natural resources was denied. The chapter discussed the lack of communication from the management authorities and their failure to fulfill promised benefits. It explored the resultant conflicts between local people and conservation authorities and examined whether the successful land claim improved relations between them. The chapter concluded with a discussion on the future of HNR and whether the small protected area can play a role in conserving important biodiversity while contributing to local people's livelihoods.

The present chapter discusses the Mkambati Nature Reserve (MNR), which was declared largely to attract tourists to Transkei. The main points of discussion in this chapter relate to the social dynamics triggered by five decades of exclusion of local people from their traditional grazing land by a leprosy institution, and how the communities were again ignored when wild animals were introduced, without any consultation, to create a game ranch. The chapter also discusses how state commercial agricultural projects on Mkambati[15] land prevented traditional livelihood practices, including grazing. It goes on to discuss how passive resistance by local people eventually gave way to active protests, reminiscent of the Mpondo Revolts of 1960. In essence, this chapter analyses the effects of the protests and the resultant land claim on the livelihoods of surrounding communities and on management of the nature reserve. It also explores the area's importance in terms of biodiversity conservation, as well as its continued importance to grazing and traditional livelihoods. Conflicts relating to biodiversity management, tourism and natural resource use are examined. Finally, the chapter discusses

[15] The area referred to as 'Mkambati' includes approximately 18 000 hectares of land that was declared as a leper institute in the early 1900s and later divided into TRACOR (Transkei Agricultural Corporation) and Mkambati Nature Reserve. The name of the area, including the local river, is presently spelt Mkambathi or Mkhambathi; however, this thesis refers to it as Mkambati in line with the gazetted spelling of the protected area.

whether there has been a perceived increase in benefit sharing and co-management following the land claim settlement agreement, and what the traditional leaders and conservation managers foresee for the future of the MNR.

8.2 The Mkambati Study Area

Mkambati Nature Reserve is a provincial protected area in the Lusikisiki District of north-east Pondoland, in the Eastern Cape Province of South Africa (De Villiers and Costello, 2013; ECPTA 2018). It is situated along the Wild Coast between the Msikaba River and the Mtentu River (31°13' - 30°20' S and 29° 55' – 30° 04' E) (Shackleton, 1989a; b; De Villiers and Costello, 2013; Venter, 2014) (Figure 8.1). Prior to its proclamation, the MNR was a leper colony and hospital for tuberculosis patients (Kepe, 2002).

The reserve was proclaimed as 'Mkambati Nature Reserve' in 1977, in terms of the Transkei Nature Conservation Act of 1971 (Act No. 6 of 1971), and gazetted under Government Notice 45 (GN 45). According to the gazette, it is 6 120 ha, but subsequent estimates of the terrestrial size estimate it to be approximately 7 700 ha (Venter, 2014). It was later gazetted under Transkei Environmental Decree No. 9 of 1992 and then proclaimed as a Provincial Nature Reserve under the National Environmental Management Protected Areas Act 57 of 2003 (NEMPAA) (ECPB, 2009). While the width of the terrestrial nature reserve is approximately eight kilometres from the sea (ECPTA, 2018), the reserve includes approximately 12 km of coastline (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). The coastal zone is bounded by the Mtentu River to the north and the Msikaba River in the south. A marine protected area was established off MNR in 1991 and reproclaimed as part of the Pondoland MPA under the Marine Living Resources Act in 2004 (Fielding, 2018).

The Pondoland coast, of which Mkambati is part, generally has an equable temperature regime with regard to both diurnal and seasonal variation. Differences in mean temperature at 08h00 and 12h00 are less than 6° C for all months of the year. The average summer temperature is 22.3° C while in winter it is 18° C (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). The mean annual temperature is 20° C. Mean relative humidity ranges between 85% in summer and 60% in winter. These values indicate the profound influence of the warm Agulhas current on the

climate (Feely, 2013). Mean annual rainfall is 1 200 mm with a minimum of 50 mm expected every month of the year (Shackleton and Mentis, 1992).

The geology of Mkambati is mainly comprised of pale grey quartzitic sandstone formations formerly known as Table Mountain Series and Natal Group Sandstones. The name was changed to the Msikaba Formation because the Natal Group Sandstones are fluvatile in origin while those at Mkambati and along the Pondoland Centre are considered to be marine sediments and are appreciably younger (Feely, 2013). Soils are generally acidic, sandy and distrophic. Lithosols of the Mispah form are the most extensive type occurring on Mkambati (Tinley, 1978; Shackleton, 1989a). High rainfall and temperature have promoted the development of weathered and leached soils with very little clay and mineral diversity. It is thought that these soils created the unique conditions for a group of specialist endemic plants to evolve (Abbott, 2001; De Villiers and Costello, 2006).

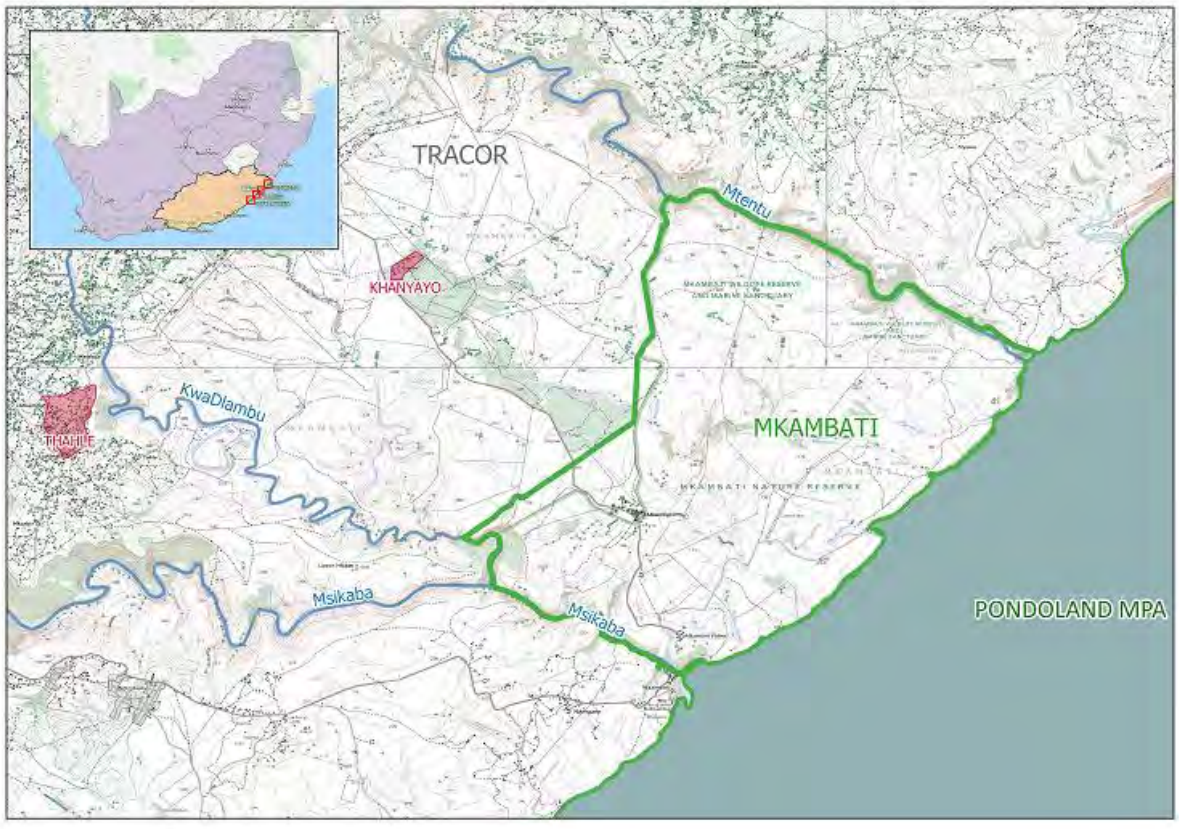

Figure 8.1: Mkambati Nature Reserve, TRACOR and surrounding settlements (ECPTA 2020)

8.3 Human Population and Settlements around Mkambati

8.3.1 Early occupation

It is now conventional wisdom that the current Wild Coast landscape is derived from years of modification by humans through the use of fire (McKenzie, 1984a, b; Feely, 1987; Shackleton, 1989a; b; Vernon, 1998; Feely, 2013). Cawe et al. (1983) are of the opinion that there were hunter-gatherers in Transkei for thousands of years. It is speculated that early and middle stone-age hunter-gatherers occupied the Mkambati area in low densities with little impact on their natural surroundings since they were not active farmers (Shackleton, 1989b). Feely (1987) argues that they would have had an indirect impact on the vegetation because they initiated fires in the grasslands for as long as 100 000 years.

Archaeological sites around Mkambati mainly comprise shell middens (Shackleton, 1989b; De Villiers and Costello, 2006) with stone artefacts and pottery indicative of first and second millennium farmers. Feely (1987) suggests that hunter-gatherers exploited intertidal resources in the area as recently as the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries, albeit at very low density. Shell middens along the Pondoland coast show that the marine life formed part of the diet of early inhabitants of the area (Feely, 1987; Vernon, 1998; Fisher et al., 2020).

De Villiers and Costello (2006) record rock shelters within the Mkambati area containing Bushmen paintings which Frans Prins (pers comm., 2006) estimates to be less than 400 years old. According to Feely (2005), there are no records of San in Pondoland after 1830 and there is no evidence at all of Khoi pastoralists north of Hole-in-the-Wall.

During the Iron Age, Mkambati's human population density was lower than other areas in coastal Transkei (Feely, 1987). Shackleton (1989b) provides the following reasons for this: (i) the scarcity of woody plants; (ii) well developed B horizon soils which were thought to be less fertile and more difficult to cultivate with available tools of that time; (iii) sour grasslands; (iv) high levels of stock disease; (v) the exposed windy terrain and (vi) the low incidence of sub-surface dolerite. Poor grazing, high levels of stock diseases and inadequate conditions for digging grain pits meant that the area was unsuitable for agri-pastoralists and was mainly used seasonally by pastoralists living inland (Wood and van Schoor, 1976; Feely, 2005).

Feely (2005) discovered few sites of early farming along the Mkambati coast, which he attributes to the poor soils and prevalent wetlands. Most archaeological sites are either coastal middens in open sites and caves, or settlement locations 15 km inland. The shell middens contained pottery and stone artefacts dating back to the first millennium and some to the second, suggesting that while some farmers were exploiting intertidal resources, the coastal belt for approximately 15 kilometres was avoided for settlement. This 15 km is the full length of the Msikaba Formation (Feely, 2005).

Until the turn of the 20th century the land between the Mtamvuna and Mzimvubu Rivers belonged to the amaMpondo who had occupied the country before 1680 (Vernon, 1998). Beinart (1982) states that amaMpondo linguistically and culturally resemble other Nguni peoples who inhabited the east coast of South Africa. Mpondo pre-colonial settlements were mainly in the form of huts on hilltops and ridges. According to Feely (2013), northern Pondoland is covered in mainly sour grassland which was used by amaMpondo, primarily for livestock grazing. They practiced regular autumn and winter burns to maintain grass palatability for stock. Farming settlement has always been low, with widely dispersed homesteads and a small proportion of lands under cultivation. The southern Pondoland zone is more extensively cultivated with higher farming density and settlement. This situation has prevailed for more than 1 400 years. It began with the first appearance of farming people in the perennial river valleys of Qawukeni during the 7th and 8th centuries AD. They avoided the narrow gorges across the Msikaba Formation that lack a fertile valley bottom (Feely, 2013). Kepe and Scoones, (1999) further suggest that the poor soils of sandstone origin found along this coastline deterred people from living here.

In the pre-colonial era the amaMpondo kingdom, ruled by King Faku, was one of the four kingdoms of the Eastern Cape (Emdon, 2013). King Faku ruled from 1820 until his death in 1867. His sons, Ndamase and Mqikela clashed to such an extent that Ndamase crossed the Mzimvubu River to establish a new chieftaincy, thus splitting the amaMpondo kingdom at the Mzimvubu River (J. Peires, pers comm., 31/01/2019). The amaMfengu and the amaBhaca moved into Transkei in the early 19th century as a result of the Mfecane, but it is doubtful that these refugees settled in Mkambati (Feely, 2013). Brownlee (1916) writes that, ‘Pondos under Tahle were settled on the coast on both banks of the Umzimvubu before Chaka’s career of conquest when the Pondos under Faku were driven across the Umzimvubu and settled on the

West bank about the Umgazi. Little is known of the Pondos until the arrival of the first missionaries who settled amongst them in 1828 when they were in most abject poverty' (Brownlee, 1916, p. 100). Faku had a friendly disposition towards the colonial government and Europeans. Having been favourably spoken of by missionaries, he was recognised by the colonial government as paramount chief of all the country between the Umzimkulu and Umzimvubu from the sea to the Drakensberg through a treaty in 1844 (Brownlee, 1916). According to Beinart (1982), it was through Faku's reign that the amaMpondo chiefdom emerged as the largest and most powerful south of the Zulus. Kepe (2002) states that the impact of colonisation on the amaMpondo was felt less than in neighbouring states. The reasons, according to Beinart (1982), were that Africans directly adjacent to the colonial strongholds of Natal and the Cape Colony, bore the brunt of confrontation with colonial powers. Furthermore, the leadership style of Faku prevented confrontation. Faku adopted a strategy of non-aggressive resistance to European influences. By allowing trade between the amaMpondo and the Europeans he created a trusting relationship with the colonial government. Faku also allowed missionaries to work in Pondoland thereby establishing a communication channel between the amaMpondo and the Cape Colony and Natal. Through Faku's leadership, the economy of Pondoland grew. He adopted many colonial agricultural innovations and accumulated vast herds of cattle from smaller chiefdoms to whom he provided protection after they had fled from Shaka. Pondoland therefore never entirely lost its independence. Even when the Rinderpest of 1897 and East Coast Fever between 1912 and 1913 destroyed most of their cattle, the amaMpondo worked as migrant labourers and were able to purchase cattle to replenish their herds (Brownlee, 1916; Beinart, 1982).

Despite the recognition of Faku by the British as the paramount chief, three clans – the Baca, Xesibe and Pondomise – would not recognise him as their leader. This resulted in bloody conflicts and repeated struggles over boundaries (Brownlee, 1916). This study will show that the struggle for land and recognition of boundaries has continued until present times. The struggle plays itself out at Mkambati where a leper colony was proclaimed shortly after Brownlee's writings.

According to Kepe (2002), the Khanyayo people have inhabited the Mkambati land since fleeing from Shaka in the 19th century. They are descendants of chief Bumbantaba, who was given refuge by King Faku. The Khanyayo settled on the banks of the Mtentu River and over time came to speak an isiXhosa dialect known as isiMpondo. After the annexation of

Pondoland in 1894, the Khanyayo chiefdom was split into two with the Mtentu River dividing the districts of Mbizana and Lusikisiki (Kepe, 2002). The communities that currently occupy land adjacent to the MNR are the amaDiba to the north, the Lambasi communities to the south and the Mkambati communities to the west (ECPTA, 2018).

8.3.2 The Arrival of the Whites in Pondoland and the Associated Impacts on Local Traditions and Economy

The accounts and experiences of survivors of Portuguese ships that were wrecked along the Wild Coast provide some of the earliest written historical records of the area and its people (Vernon, 2010; 2013). These shipwreck survivors were the first Europeans to traverse the area. Hunters, missionaries and traders followed around 1834 (Vernon, 1998). Shackleton (1989b) records the finding of a ceramic potsherd in one of the shelters at Mkambati as having originated from the *Sao Bento*, the 1554 Portuguese shipwreck at the mouth of the Msikaba. Vernon (2013) states that the survivors of the *Sao Bento* found no people living around Mkambati. They sent a search party 10 kilometres up the Msikaba River, but still found no signs of land occupation. The first local people that the survivors observed were eight Black men who watched them from a distance on their return from their search (Taylor, 2004; De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Vernon (2010) suggests that the local people were iron workers because they descended to the coast to burn the wood from flotsam to extract the iron and copper nails. The survivors' accounts of meeting with the local people indicate that they were peaceful, but not particularly helpful given the dire situation that the survivors found themselves in (Vernon, 2013).

Shackleton (1989b) states that the human population density around Mkambati was low for the past 2 000 years. The survivors of the *Sao Bento* shipwreck walked north through Mkambati towards Delagoa Bay and recorded thick forests and steep gorges, but no settlements along the Pondoland coast. There was one deserted homestead high up on the Mtentu River (Vernon, 2013). Taylor (2004, p. 97) refers to the shipwreck survivors' accounts of prosperous Black families dwelling on the inland hills while the poorer ones lived on the coast, along with outcasts who had neither access to cattle nor crops but lived by foraging for wild fruit and molluscs. The diary records from the *Sao Bento* survivors specifically mention the local people eating roots and fruits from the woods at Msikaba (Taylor, 2004). There were diary records of cattle, but no signs of cultivation (Vernon, 2013).

Callaway (1939) says that the first White pioneer to actually settle in Pondoland was the elephant hunter, Henry Fynn. Colonial traders only visited Pondoland in the 1820s and 1830s after the Cape had abolished its policy of non-intercourse with African chieftains, largely to exchange beads and cattle for ivory (Beinart, 1982). Whilst traders, hunters and missionaries were present in Pondoland since the early 1800s, Bramwell (2015) believes that sustained European intervention in Pondoland was first achieved through the port established on the Mzimvubu River – Port St Johns. It was this port, established by Natal traders in the 1840s, that the Cape had coveted to enable British and colonial officials to rationalise and regulate the system of Mpondo governance through the introduction of new political boundaries. In this manner, the British created 'tribal' distinctions and in 1878 partitioned Pondoland into West and East (Bramwell, 2015). In 1894 Pondoland was annexed when the Cape Prime Minister, Cecil John Rhodes, forced the King of the amaMpondo, iKumkani Mqikela ka Sigcawu, to finally submit to colonial rule (Clarke, 2014; Bramwell, 2015). Hunter (1936) states that Pondoland was one of the few formerly independent African kingdoms of the Eastern Cape that had not been subordinated by military force. The amaMpondo were the last tribe to come under British administration and therefore the chiefs had more power than any other in the Cape province (Hunter, 1936). Callaway (1939) states that as soon as Pondoland was annexed it was divided into six magisterial districts, four on the East side of the Umzimvubu River and two on the West. The total population at the time was about 200 000.

The north-eastern Pondoland region was never as densely populated as other parts of Transkei (Feely, 1987; Shackleton, 1992b; Briers et al., 1996). Brownlee (1923) attributes this to the socio-economic disruptions of the Mfecane of the 1820s. Cawe et al. (1983) add that the rinderpest and east coast fever livestock epidemics of 1897 and 1910 further contributed to the depopulation. Feely (2013) argues that soils are so acidic that cultivation of healthy crops is not possible across most of the northern Pondoland coastal region, making this another reason for the sparse number of people living there. After the arrival of the first Christian missionaries in 1839, the population increased as a result of improved health care and an influx of isiXhosa speaking people evicted by the Cape government from south of the Kei River (Beinart, 1982; Feely, 2013).

By the 1930s the Pondoland economy could be favourably compared with other parts of South Africa (Beinart, 1982). Landlessness was rare and soil erosion was limited. amaMpondo were

generally self-sufficient, remaining independent of migrant wage labour that other parts of South Africa depended on. However, they shared in the relative poverty of African rural communities (Beinart, 1982). Many features of pre-colonial society persisted into the 20th century with the amaMpondo sticking to traditions. Broster (1981) found that some new traditions also crept in, such as circumcision which never had been part of amaMpondo culture.

Callaway (1939) believed that the greatest treasure amongst the amaMpondo was *Ubuntu* – more than humanity, a deep value of human life and respect for a human being. Callaway warned that the spirit of *Ubuntu* may be lost for three reasons – Europeans hired amaMpondo as servants, Europeans had a feeling of superiority, and the principles of social life differed between amaMpondo and Europeans with amaMpondo placing community needs above those of the individual. Callaway (1939) cited the example of it being foreign to an Mpondo to wall a homestead or divert a river for individual benefit.

With the creation of the Transkei homeland (Bantustan), Mbana (1991) suggests that the social and administrative structure remained similar to the traditional systems. The tribal system of land tenure predominated in Transkei, although it was modified by colonial rule to create different forms of tenure like quitrent and certificates of occupation (Mbana, 1991). The homestead containing one, though sometimes an extended family, was the basic unit of settlement. Homesteads were grouped into administrative areas headed by a chief, if one was in residence, or by a headman. The chiefs were advised by their own councils. Land pressure increased as the population grew. Forty percent of households across Transkei were landless. Those with arable plots had small allocations of about two hectares, or less. These were becoming smaller resulting in overstocked and poorly managed commonage with associated soil erosion. Transkei's population was large and dominated by children, women and old men. The illiteracy rate was high. Mbana (1991) argued that the population increase was one of the most crucial factors determining whether sufficient resources would be available for future basic needs. He stated that there was a critical need to reduce fertility rates to ensure sufficient resources and employment prospects for the region. The mainstay of Pondoland's economy was the export of labour to other parts of South Africa where more than 500 000 men and boys were employed. Besides migrant labour income, reliance grew on remittance pensions to sustain livelihoods in the region (Mbana, 1991). Feely (2013) argues that dependence upon social grants and migrant income eventually became more prevalent in Pondoland than livelihoods from livestock and farming. He reflects on the rapidly expanding population of a

once sparsely populated region and attributes this to the development of the Wild Coast Sun Casino and Hotel in the amaDiba Area in the 1980s, together with the building of the road between Mbizana and Port Edward and Durban which led to a large influx of settlement beside the hotel and along the road.

Kepe and Scoones (1999) suggest that since the demise of the Transkei Bantustan, local tensions about who legitimate leaders are have had major impacts on settlement patterns and resource management. The ANC government developed alternative leadership structures to the traditional leadership, creating confusion and tensions in Pondoland (Kepe and Scoones, 1999; Clarke, 2014; S. Gabula, pers comm., 24/08/2020). Despite all the political wrangling, labour migrancy, cattle and agriculture have remained very important to the amaMpondo (Kepe 2002). The struggle for resource use and management around Mkambati reflect this.

8.4 The Vegetation of Mkambati

8.4.1 The Pondoland Centre of Endemism

Early botanists explored Transkei since 1832 and recognised its exceptional plant diversity (Jacobs, 1996; Abbott, 2006). The richness of the flora is largely the result of the migration of sub-tropical elements southwards. This has resulted in the greater percentage of the 399 tree species found in Transkei occurring in the Pondoland region (Jacobs, 1996). A temperate element also extends along the coast and is prevalent in the sandstone outcrops. This element includes a host of endemic species and Cape genera like 15 species of *Erica* and five species of *Leucodendron* (Jacobs, 1996).

The sandstone outcrops of the Msikaba Formation harbour endemic species of plants that are only associated with the island of sandstone that extends in a narrow band from the Mzimkhulu River in KwaZulu-Natal to the Egossa Fault in the Mbotyi region of Pondoland. Together with the vegetation on Mount Sullivan and Mount Thesiger at Port St Johns, this sandstone area is known as the Pondoland Centre of Endemism (van Wyk, 1994; Abbott, 2006). It is one of three centres of endemism within the Maputoland-Pondoland-Albany region and is one of the principal centres of plant diversity in the world (van Wyk, 1994; Abbott, 2006). According to

Myers et al. (2000), 25 global biodiversity hotspots contain the sole remaining habitats of some 44% of the Earth's plant species and approximately 35% of its vertebrate species. The Pondoland Centre falls within one of these hotspots (Abbott, 2006). More than 1 400 different plant species have been recorded in the Pondoland Centre of which 196 are endemics (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). According to Abbott (2006) Pondoland endemics are noted for their narrow distribution, normally close to the sea. The large majority of these species are palaeoendemics. Woody endemics mainly occur in stream and river forests, roughly confined to within 10 kilometres from the sea (Abbott, 2006). The Pondoland Centre is the area with the highest concentration of rare woody plant species in southern Africa (Davis and Heywood, 1994).

Mkambati Nature Reserve is one of only three small proclaimed protected areas in the Pondoland Centre. The Umtamvuna (32.6 km²) and Oribi Gorge (18.4 km²) are the other two and are both situated in KwaZulu-Natal (Prinsloo, 2000). Besides these formally gazetted protected areas, the plant communities that are found on the adjoining former TRACOR (Transkei Agricultural Corporation) property are very important. The extensive grasslands, streams and wetlands on this 11 000-hectare property harbour numerous endemic species (Prinsloo, 2000; Abbott, 2006). The former TRACOR property also has a distinct presence of the Cape Floristic element, including the families Proteaceae, Ericaceae and Bruniaceae. The Pondo ghost bush (*Raspalia trigyna*), probably the rarest shrub in South Africa, is a member of the Bruniaceae family and the Mkambati area is the only place outside of the Western Cape where a species of this family occurs (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

8.4.2 The Mkambati Forests

Mkambati is predominantly a grassland landscape, but there are a few important forest patches, notably in the KwaDlambu gorge (Abbott, 2006). Von Maltitz (2004) describes the Pondoland scarp forests as arguably the most unique type of forest in Africa because they support an endemic family – Rhychocalycaceae. At least 30 endemic species occur within these forests. The most common trees in the Pondoland Centre are Natal mock banana (*Strelitzia Nicolai*), red beech (*Protorhus longifolia*), mock cabbage tree (*Schefflera umbellifera*), wild mulberry (*Trimeria grandifolia*), forest fever-berry (*Croton sylvaticus*), and Natal milkplum (*Englerophytum natalense*) (Abbott, 2006). The Mkambati forests are dominated by

umzimbeet (*Millettia grandis*) and forest mahogany (*Trichilia dregeana*) while Pondo whitepear (*Apodytes abbottii*) and Pondo turkeyberry (*Canthium van wykii*) are rare endemics (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). The endemic Mkambati palm (*Jubaeopsis caffra*) occurs only in the forests on the banks of the Mtentu and Msikaba Rivers, and during the years of the Mkambati 'Game' Reserve, this palm was the unofficial emblem and logo of the reserve (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

Behind the high-water mark along much of the coast in northern Pondoland there runs a white, vegetated sand dune, formed and even still forming in geological recent time (Feely, 2013). The dune sands on MNR are of Quaternary age and parabolic form. They are covered in forest thicket with plants such as Natal mock banana and the wild date palm (*Phoenix reclinata*) (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). The unvegetated sand dune near Mkambati main camp is a small Berea Formation red dune, part of the Berea formation that started to form about four million years ago. These red dunes contain deposits of heavy minerals titanium and zirconium. The Xolobeni area north of the MNR, between the Kwanyana and Sikombe Rivers, has more extensive red dunes which form the basis of the proposed controversial titanium mining application (Feely, 2013) which is discussed in Section 8.9.6 of this chapter. A notable feature of these red sands is that where their surface is eroded they do not naturally become covered again by plants for a century or more (Feely, 2013). Joggie Ackerman, who worked as a nature conservator on MNR between 1987 and 2003, started a project to revegetate the eroding coastal dunes but the efforts proved futile (J. Ackerman, pers comm., 17/05/2020).

Swamp forests are at their southern-most distribution in Africa at Mkambati (Feely, 2013). The largest patches occur between the Butsha and the Daza Rivers. Endemic plants occurring in these forests include *Clivia robusta* which is conspicuously orange when in bloom (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). All indigenous forests in Mkambati have high conservation value. Besides containing plant endemics, there are a high number of endemic invertebrates within them too (Hamer and Slotow, 2017). Indigenous forests are well protected on MNR, but the major threats to them are uncontrolled fires (Prinsloo, 2000) and invasions of alien species. The nature reserve has managed to control the spread of alien vegetation which is mainly *Lantana camara* and guavas (*Psidium guajava*), widely spread by monkeys, baboons and birds (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). The *Eucalyptus* plantations have been removed from within the reserve's boundaries, but the extent of these exotic timber plantations has increased on the adjacent

TRACOR land. Escaping alien vegetation along watercourses pose a threat to the vegetation on MNR (L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2020).

8.4.3 The Mkambati Grasslands

While Pondoland is recognised for its indigenous forests, the biodiversity importance of its extensive coastal grasslands is sometimes forgotten (Prinsloo, 2000; Feely, 2013). The most common grasses in Pondoland include *Themeda triandra* (red grass), *Tristachya leucothrix* (hairy trident grass), *Diheteropogon filifolius* (thread-leaved bluestem), *Monocymbium ceresiiforme* (boat grass) and *Eulalia villosa* (silvery velvet grass) (Abbott, 2006). These species are well represented on MNR where sour grassland with high productivity potential covers more than 80% of the land surface (Shackleton et al., 1991; Prinsloo, 2000). Mucina et al. (2006) describe Mkambati's vegetation as being predominantly Natal Sandstone Coastal Sourveld grassland. The most extensive grassland communities on MNR are *Tristachya leucothrix-Loudetia simplex* Short Grassland (71% of the reserve), *Cymbopogon validus-Digitaria natalensis* Medium Grassland (7% of the reserve) and the *Themeda triandra-Centellaasiatica* Dwarf Grassland (3% of the reserve) (Shackleton, 1989a; b).

Prinsloo (1991) records that between 1984 and 1992 the MNR was divided into six management blocks, with 50% of the reserve burnt each year in July or August. He questions these fire management protocols and is of the opinion that there was no integration between woody and grassland species management through use of fire. Shackleton et al. (1991) state that poor fire management resulted in frequent burning of *Prionium serratum* wetlands, swamp forests and coastal dune forests.

Annual fires, heavy grazing pressure and different land uses have influenced the grasslands in communal areas around Mkambati (Kepe and Scoones, 1999). The settlements and intensive grazing inland of TRACOR, resulted in a 1990s grassland composition of over 45% being the relatively unpalatable *Aristida junciformis,* whilst the palatable *Themeda triandra* only comprised 5%. In fact, Kepe (2005a) argues that communal areas throughout Pondoland are dominated by an extensive, poor quality *Aristida junciformis* (*Inkonkoni* in isiXhosa) which scientists and local farmers recognise as being undesirable.

8.5 Fauna Occurring in the Forests and Grasslands of Mkambati

Transkei is perceived to be relatively limited as far as indigenous fauna is concerned (White, 2004); however, the diversity of habitats is still home to a wide variety of animal species (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Little research has been conducted on the fauna of the region and consequently there is speculation around the historical and current incidence of various species (Skead, 1987; De Villiers, 2002a). The larger mammals that occurred in Pondoland were well recorded by early travellers and hunters. The elephant and hippopotamus hunts described by Fynn in Pondoland in the 1820s (Stuart and McK Malcolm, 1951) indicate that these must have been plentiful. Skead (1987) argues that the fact that elephant and hippopotamus survived so long in Transkei, was because Blacks had no value for their ivory. Buffalo and lion also occurred in large numbers but there were no records of either black or white rhinoceros in Transkei (Skead, 1987). By the end of the 19th century all the large mammal species had been hunted to extinction in the region (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

In 1979 the restocking of the then Mkambati Nature Reserve with all manner of wildlife was embarked upon by a private company known as JALC, together with the Transkei government. The intention was to establish a game ranch for the purpose of attracting international hunters (Murdoch, 1980; De Villiers and Costello, 2006). No consideration was given to the historical incidence or suitability of the habitat for the animals (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). No consultation was done with traditional leaders or local people (S. Jama, pers comm., 29/03/2018). Hundreds of animals died after being introduced from Namibia (then South West Africa). Alien species that were introduced included blesbok (*Damaliscus dorcas phillipsi*), blue wildebeest (*Connochaetes taurinus*), kudu (*Tragelaphus strepsiceros*), impala (*Aepyceros melampus*), springbok (*Antidorcas marsupialis*), gemsbok (*Oryx gazelle*), Hartmann's zebra (*Equus zebra hartmannae*), Burchell's zebra (*Equus quagga burchellii*) and giraffe (*Giraffa camelopardalis*). The giraffe died from stress and starvation and together with more than 400 other head of game were bulldozed into a quarry on the game ranch (Murdoch, 1980).

Keith Cooper (pers comm., 16/05/2018) recalls his horror at seeing the state of the Mkambati land in 1980. 'I had lobbied for the establishment of Mkambati as a nature reserve in the mid-1970s when there was only a hospital there. When I visited there again in 1980 it was a mess. Monty Ntloko's arm had been twisted by an unscrupulous company to lease the area as a private

hunting ranch. The Wildlife Society objected. There was poor management – alien species, dying animals – it was such a disaster that we got Arthur Koningkramer of the *Daily News* in Natal to publicise it.'

Peter Ruddle (pers comm., 07/01/2019) recalls that, 'The game ranch owners ran off with all the money and a Board was established, but no game management was being carried out.' Montgomery Ntloko from the Department of Agriculture and Forestry remained as a member of the Board together with Peter Cressey from the Transkei Department of Finance and Dr Ed Granger from the University of Transkei, who was an ecologist. The Board appointed Hugh Pope as General Manager and he employed Ruddle in 1984 as the game ranger. In Ruddle's words, 'Ed Granger visited the reserve only once during the two years that I worked there. People had no clue of conservation. There was no fire management, no alien control. The place ran itself. All sorts of game occurred there. But Hugh Pope would not hunt or cull. Mkambati was just a big welfare organisation – sheltered employment with government handing money to locals. Most did no work at all. It was huge frustration' (Ruddle, pers comm., 07/01/2019).

In 1990 when the Transkei Agriculture and Forestry Department's Directorate of Nature Conservation took over from the Department of Finance, Gladwell Mpuhlu was appointed as the reserve manager. According to Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018), the policy at the time was to prohibit all hunting and culling and to capture and redistribute game to the other Transkei nature reserves. He recalls, 'When I started at Mkambati, the staff were still getting wild meat as rations. We stopped this. The staff never complained because our salaries were much better than what the company had paid.' Stanford Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) recalls Burchell's zebra being introduced to graze course grass shortly after he assumed the position of reserve manager. This was on the instruction of the Chief Professional Officer in Umtata at the time, Andrew Grobicki. Spotsi has no recollection of any other game management during his tenure as MNR manager between 1991 and 1997.

Shackleton (1992) states that during the late 1980s, MNR supported approximately 1 600 wild herbivores, mostly concentrate grazers imported from Namibia. He suggests this was close to the ecological carrying capacity for herbivore numbers. Only naturally occurring species such

as bushbuck, common duiker and southern reedbuck were not introduced, as small numbers of these species were still present in the area at the time of wildlife introductions around 1979.

Prinsloo (pers comm., 06/11/2018) states that veld management occurred between 1997 and 2000 while he was reserve manager, but according to him, 'No active wildlife management was done. Poaching and natural dispersion kept numbers in check. Jumping species such as eland and kudu constantly moved out of the reserve and were utilised by the locals. They never came back.'

De Villiers (2002a) recorded the occurrence of the following larger mammals at Mkambati from surveys and personal sightings: leopard, bushbuck, blue duiker, bushpig, common duiker, eland, kudu, gemsbok, springbok, Burchell's zebra, Hartmann's zebra, blue wildebeest, red hartebeest, common reedbuck, vervet monkey, samango monkey, aardvark, porcupine, large-spotted genet, tree hyrax, rock hyrax, Cape clawless otter, large grey mongoose, water mongoose, baboon, caracal, and black-backed jackal. Evidence of a brown hyaena scavenging on a blesbok carcass on the MNR was recorded in June 1997 (De Villiers and Lowry, 2006).

Venter et al. (2014) state that there are several large herbivores still present on MNR, but no large predators remain. The brown hyaena recorded in 1997 was probably a vagrant as these animals are known to wander over long distances (Boshoff and Kerley, 2013). Brooke et al. (2020) found that besides poaching, the main predation of herbivores on MNR comes from a small population of black-backed jackal. Venter et al. (2014) describe the dominant grazers as being plains zebra and red hartebeest. With more than 80% of the MNR comprising Natal Sandstone Coastal Sourveld grassland (Mucina et al., 2006), the large herbivores have capitalised on the sour grassland species (Venter and Kalule-Sabiti, 2016). The regular burning of grassland by poachers attracts grazers to certain areas where they are easily hunted (Venter et al., 2014). Bond and Parr (2010) found that fauna in grasslands exhibit a striking resilience to these regular fires. Unlike flora where species composition may be altered, resilience is shown by faunal groups to both singe-fire and repeat-fire events. Richness and abundance of insects appear unaffected by fires. Similarly, birds make use of fire for feeding during the burn, and nesting after the fires (De Villiers, 2004d; Bond and Par, 2010).

The rich diversity of bird species found on MNR is due to the wide range of habitats. 326 Bird species are listed by Davidson in De Villiers and Costello (2013). The endangered Cape griffon (*Gyps coprotheres*) has nesting colonies on the cliffs above the Mtentu and Msikaba Rivers (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). Pfeiffer et al. (2015) found 175 breeding pairs at the Msikaba site, making this area vital for vulture conservation. The ECPTA is concerned about the potential impacts of the N2 which will cross upriver from both vulture nesting sites (Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). The decrease in cattle ownership among Msikaba local communities and the subsequent reduction of food supply from dead cattle carcasses is potentially additional cause for concern for the future of the vulture populations on MNR (Pfeiffer et al., 2015).

Reptiles and amphibians are understudied in Pondoland and on MNR, but regional endemics have been discovered (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). These include the bush squeaker (*Arthroleptis wahlbegii*) and the forest tree frog (*Leptopelis natalensis*). At least 26 species of frog and 60 species of reptile are estimated to occur in the MNR (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). According to Hamer and Slotow (2017), MNR grasslands also have a high conservation value for endemic invertebrates that have been discovered there. A hundred and thirty-two species of spider have been recorded, including at least eight new species and 15 endemics (Dippenaar-Schoeman et al., 2011).

8.6 The Marine Environment at Mkambati

The marine environment of the Pondoland Coast between the Mtamvuna and Mzimvubu Rivers has been described as part of a broad transition zone between the subtropical biogeographical province to the north and warm temperate province to the south. The area is characterised by a high diversity of marine flora and fauna with a rich endemic component (Mann et al., 2006). The warm temperate qualities of the sea offshore of the Wild Coast add considerably to the diversity of fish species and other forms of marine life that occur there (Feely, 2013). Whereas both warm and cold water regions of the sea tend to have a fairly stable variety of animals throughout the year, the Wild Coast benefits from the immigration of both tropical fish during summer and temperate fish during winter. In total some 800 species of fish occur off the coast (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). The marine environment of Pondoland is exceptionally rich

in diversity and, besides the abundant species of fish, has a particularly high proportion of endemic algae (Celliers et al., 2007).

The MNR has two of South Africa's most highly rated estuaries, the Mtentu and Msikaba (ECPB, 2009, Fielding, 2018). The Mtentu estuary on Mkambati's north-eastern boundary is approximately three kilometres long and between 50 and 150 metres wide. It is located in a deep gorge flanked by cliffs up to 80 metres high. Mainly because of the rocky shore on either side of the estuary mouth and the lack of beach sand in the area, the mouth remains permanently open to the sea. The estuary has rare plant communities including mangrove and swamp forests. It provides unique habitats in the form of rocky ledges, deep channels and mangrove communities near a waterfall. Thirty-two species of fish have been recorded in the river. The annual kingfish (*Caranx ignoblis*) migrations into the river are of particular conservation importance (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

The Msikaba estuary which forms the MNR south-western boundary is approximately 35 metres deep, making it the deepest estuary in South Africa (ECPB, 2009). Other estuaries on the reserve are small, and include the Butsha, Mgwegwe, Mkambati and Mgwetyana (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

8.7 Conservation and Natural Resource Use in Eastern Pondoland and the Mkambati Area

8.7.1 Before Mkambati Nature Reserve: Early Conservation in Eastern Pondoland

While MNR was proclaimed in 1977, the grasslands had been conserved for grazing of cattle for centuries by the chiefs who ruled the area (S. Jama, pers comm., 29/03/2018; B. Gumbuzo, pers comm., 17/05/2018). In Chief Jama's words, 'Cattle were our only concern. We did not have knowledge of nature conservation. We hunted and collected plants and used sand to build. There were always enough resources. We gathered medicines, fruits and foods from the forests. We used poles for building and thatch grass for roofs. The indigenous forest wood was used for making our cattle kraals.' Chief Gumbuzo of Tahle confirms this (pers comm., 17/05/2018) and adds that the chiefs had the authority to take disciplinary action against perpetrators who

hunted or collected plants without permission. ‘I still have the authority to do this. If people are hunting in Mkambati Nature Reserve, I can take action’ (B. Gumbuzo, pers comm., 17/05/2018). Chief Mkwedini states that he still has a tribal court in the Lambasi area. He says, ‘I can still fine someone a goat for illegally hunting or setting fire’ (M. Mkwedini, pers comm., 29/03/2018).

The headmen that the researcher interviewed all acknowledged an environmental awareness among chiefs, past and present. Victor ‘Vitamin’ Mkiwane (pers comm., 17/03/2020) states that they conserved grasslands for cattle grazing. Cattle were rotated in order to prevent overgrazing. Herdsmen also ensured that thatch grass was not grazed because of its importance for roofing. Hunting was commonly practiced, but had seasons that were agreed upon. Forests were used sparingly and only when necessary. They were not destroyed for the sake of destroying them. Wood was cut when needed, and dry wood (*theza*) was collected for making fires (V. Mkiwane, pers comm., 17/03/2020).

Keith Cooper (pers comm., 16/05/2018) recalls the Mkambati grasslands, forests and coastline as being ‘pristine’ when he first walked the area in 1968, and again during his Wild Coast survey of the 1970s. ‘There were no people living in that part of Pondoland. It had been a leper colony since around 1920. But elsewhere along the Pondoland coast local people were practicing conservation without actually knowing that they were doing so. There were plenty of fish and rich marine life to prove this’ (Cooper, pers comm., 16/05/2018).

Pat Goss, owner of Umgazi River Bungalows near Port St Johns and a former chairman of the Natal Parks Board, grew up in Pondoland. He has a camp at Grosvenor and was awarded a land claim after 1994 for his home at Mkweni, just south of Mkambati. He believes that exploitation of natural resources, especially marine life, was mainly done by commercial operators. ‘Historically the amaMpondo never exploited marine life. They used what they needed to sustain themselves. But by the 1990s the exploitation of the coast by outsiders became so bad that I supported WESSA in taking the state to court for not implementing environmental laws. I was appalled at the illegal camping and fishing and land grabs for cottages by Whites who had no connection to Pondoland at all’ (P. Goss, pers comm., 15/05/2019).

Paul Dutton (pers comm., 16/05/2018) is of the opinion that the local amaMpondo were doing a better job of conserving their resources than when the state interfered without consulting

them. ‘There were many government employees who were really passionate about conserving the area, but there were others, like Andrew Grobicki, who were clueless. He was Polish, but was appointed in Transkei Nature Conservation as a chief professional scientist. He had the idea that Transkei had been denuded of forests and that grasslands needed to be afforested. Jim Feely told me how he would scatter *Acacia* seeds on the grasslands of the nature reserves where ever he drove’ (P. Dutton, pers comm., 16/05/2018).

Kepe (1997a) argues that grasslands were considered important by the amaMpondo for grazing and for thatch. The villages around MNR had areas that were reserved for *Cympopogon validus* and *Hyperrenia* spp. and protected from grazing or fire. Any offenders caught damaging the protected grasslands were fined by chiefs. Unfortunately, with population increase and reduced legitimacy of chiefs, protection of these resources has effectively ceased (Kepe, 1997a) but it does show that there were community conservation measures prior to state interventions at Mkambati.

8.7.2 The Leper and Tuberculosis Hospital

There are conflicting opinions about whether the land that became known as Mkambati Game Reserve was ever populated. Vincent (1984), wrote that the Mkambati Game Reserve was never settled. According to Feely (pers comm., 04/03/2013) all available aerial photographs post the 1930s show no structures belonging to local people amidst the large swathes of grassland, other than the buildings erected for the leper hospital and staff from the health department. Shackleton (1989b) attributes this to the fact that paramount chiefs of the region (in particular Chief Faku) used the Mkambati area as sacred grazing lands. However, Kepe (1997a, b; 2002) argues that Mkambati was certainly settled before 1920. It is also important to note that archival research conducted by government around the local communities’ land claim for Mkambati, forms the basis for the restitution settlement.

There are also conflicting accounts of the establishment of a leper institution in the early 1900s. Green (1974), Vincent (1996) and Vernon (1998) state that in 1902, the Paramount Chief of east Pondoland (probably Mqikela as he was the father of Sigcawu) offered land at Mkambati to create a leper colony. The offer was not accepted but it was remade in 1920 by Paramount Chief Sigcawu and subsequently accepted by the government (Vincent, 1996). Green (1974, p.

177) records of the Leprosy Institution at Mkambati: 'The idea was Chief Sigcau's, who suggested giving 20 000 morgen for the purpose; the space actually enclosed represents Seven thousand morgen of Separateness.' Vernon (1998) speculates that this offer of land may have been made because the area was unoccupied by people, or because of a prevalence of lepers in the area as a result of the well-known environmental deficiencies, such as an absence of trace elements essential to human growth. Archival photographic records show the area around Mkambati and Holy Cross Mission nearly devoid of human settlement in 1915, save for the development of the Anglican churches, hospitals and small amaMpondo settlements (Green, 1974; De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Kepe (2012, p. 248), however, argues that Khanyayo people were evicted in 1920. Kepe (2002) states that paramount chief Sigcawu of the Mpondo kingdom agreed to a government proposal to allocate land in Eastern Pondoland for use as a leper colony. In July 1919, over 18 000 hectares along the coast between Mtentu and Msikaba rivers was identified as suitable land. The Khanyayo, under chief Mtono, occupied the area. Any Khanyayo people who resided within the demarcated area were removed from the land and resettled approximately 16 kilometres from the coast. A small number of people returned to the Mbizana side of the Mtentu (Kepe, 2002).

On 18th December, 1922, the Minister of Native Affairs formally authorised the reservation of the area as a leper institution under section 5 of Proclamation 143 of 1919 (Kepe, 2002). The institution was named The Mkambati Leper Reserve after the Mkambati River that runs through it, culminating in a waterfall that drops directly into the ocean (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). The first buildings at the Mkambati Leper Hospital were opened in 1922. Green (1974), records 250 lepers gathering at the hospital. Dr Frank Drewe undertook the post of Superintendent on condition that a hospital and Sisters' Home be erected. The hospital complex was built to house 400 lepers. By 1950 the drug, Dapsone, had been discovered as a cure for leprosy. Patient numbers declined until, in 1959, only 150 remained. The hospital was then converted for the treatment of tuberculosis patients (Vincent, 1996; Kepe, 2001a) and the last lepers were transferred from Mkambati to Westfort near Pretoria (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Following the closure of the hospital, the Transkei Agricultural Corporation (TRACOR) took over the land to start various farming enterprises on it (Mbana, 1991).

Although Shackleton (1989b) suggests that the area was mostly protected from the pressures of subsistence agriculture during the time that it was a hospital, there is evidence from aerial photographs of old plantations and cultivated lands, especially around the hospital buildings.

This was probably to promote self-sufficiency and reduce contact between lepers and surrounding communities (Shackleton, 1989b). Kepe (2002) states that the grazing of community cattle, hunting and collecting of grasses and other plants were forbidden. However, large numbers of cattle were stocked on the area to provide for the health institution. Vincent (1998) states that it was recorded that 8 000 head of cattle grazed at Mkambati at one time. Shackleton (1989a; b) suggests that this is five times the recommended stocking rate for the area, and may have led to a change in specific grassland communities. According to Kepe (2001a; 2005a) the Khanyayo people were unhappy with the situation. While large herds of cattle grazed the area, they were denied grazing for their own livestock. In their attempts to gain access to grazing, the Khanyayo people embarked on years of passive conflict until in 1959, after the leper hospital closed, 5 500 ha of grassland was eventually returned to them (Kepe, 2001a). Sub-headman Gumbuzo (pers comm., 17/05/2018) remembers that people were upset when the hospital closed because it had employed many locals. He recalls that the establishment of TRACOR, and later Mkambati Game Reserve, did not provide the numbers of jobs that the hospital did.

According to Kennedy (2015), TRACOR was one of many attempts by the state to modernise amaMpondo agriculture. TRACOR attempted to replace smallholder practices with commercial farming techniques to increase production. The amaMpondo, however, have a history of resistance to top-down approaches and there was resistance to the planting of sugarcane and *Eucalyptus* plantations. The amaMpondo preferred their traditional crops of maize (*umbona*), sweet potatoes (*ubhatata*) and taro yams (*amadumbe*). More than this was their desire to graze the TRACOR area (Kennedy, 2015). Kepe (2005a) argues that local people became very angry about the exclusion of their cattle from the TRACOR land. TRACOR had unsuccessfully planted sugarcane in 1983 and subsequently attempted to establish *Eucalyptus* in 1990. This together with a small Nguni herd was guarded from community cattle, even though 5 500 ha of land had been granted for grazing in 1959 (Kepe, 2001a). The community eventually abandoned passive conflict strategies and began using fire as a weapon of resistance. They burned the TRACOR area using the rationale that if they could not benefit from the grasslands, then nobody else should be able to either (Kepe, 2005a). TRACOR eventually released 3 500 ha of grazing to the community before it closed down in 1997 and was liquidated in 1999 (Kepe, 2001a).

Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) remembers herds of cattle grazing on TRACOR when he was manager at MNR; however, there were no cattle in the protected area during his time. Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) recalls a similar situation, 'In 1991 there were many cattle grazing on TRACOR, and at the old clinic area, and around the accommodation at TB1 and TB2. None grazed in Mkambati though.' The clinic area that he refers to was at the boundary of TRACOR and the MNR. TB1 and TB2 were the buildings surrounding the clinic where tuberculosis patients had been accommodated. The dilapidated buildings were subsequently occupied by hundreds of staff members from the Department of Health and some staff members working on the MNR. This arrangement would be a huge source of inter departmental conflict and land claimsing in the 1990s. While the clinic was a kind of no-man's land, the researcher recalls that herds of cattle and domestic stock grazed amidst the buildings.

The occupation of the approximately 18 000 hectares since the early 1900s by the Mkambati Leper Institution, hospital, Transkei Agricultural Corporation and nature reserve ensured that there was no need for the Betterment, Rehabilitation and Stabilisation schemes that were implemented across Transkei and Pondoland to be rolled out on the Mkambati lands. Beyond the Mkambati borders of Eastern Pondoland, these schemes were being implemented and would have a profound effect on Mkambati in later years as is discussed in the next section.

8.7.3 Soil Conservation, Betterment and the Mpondo Revolts

According to Mbana (1991), Betterment, Rehabilitation and Stabilisation were the predominant conservation and land-use planning schemes of Transkei from the 1930s until the Transkei homeland era (See Chapter Five). However, the practical problems of implementation of these schemes, combined with the pursuit of apartheid policies and the migrant labour system after 1948, put paid to the notion that soil could be saved in Transkei. The National Party was against the creation of an African agricultural class that could own land under title deeds and was not prepared to do away with tribal tenure (Hendricks and Peires, 2012). Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019) is of the opinion that the Nationalist government used the schemes to implement their desire of separate development and to retain Transkei as a labour pool for industry and mining in urban areas. He believes that human residence rather than agricultural production and land conservation became the state's priority.

Resistance by the people to Betterment was tied to resistance to Tribal Authorities. This was a major contributor to the Pondoland Revolts (Hendricks and Peires, 2012; Emdon, 2013). The Pondoland or Mpondo Revolts, were the culmination of struggles that began in the 1950s. The main reason was rejection of the introduction by the apartheid regime of Bantu Authorities and the implementation of Betterment planning and Rehabilitation schemes through unaccountable chiefs (Kepe, 2002; Kepe and Ntsebeza, 2012). The amaMpondo adopted many of the innovations that came with colonisation, but were always concerned about the effects of government intervention on their patterns of land occupation (Kepe, 2002). It is important to recognise that there was not a unified resistance towards the Betterment schemes in Eastern Pondoland. However, by the late 1940s resentment towards chiefs, headmen and administrators responsible for implementing the Betterment and Rehabilitation Schemes was on the rise (Drewe, 2012). In 1948 the National Party came to power in South Africa and introduced apartheid which intensified racial segregation and oppression. Transkei's tradition of resistance to colonisation was eroded with the imposition of the Council System (*Bhunga)* established under Cecil Rhodes' Glen Grey Act. Over time, chiefs were squeezed between government on one side and *Bhunga* councils on the other (Drewe, 2012).

Following the launch of apartheid, the government restructured political authority into what was known as the Bantu Authorities system. This was imposed on Transkei in 1955 with the *Bhunga* disbanding. By creating Bantu Authorities, government was retribalising rural Africans. Govan Mbeki, a member of the Transkei Territorial Authorities General Council until 1950, and leading member of the ANC and South African Communist Party, believed that the time for chieftainships was over. He argued that if Africans had had chiefs it was because all human societies had them at one stage or another. However, he maintained that when people had developed to a stage that discards chieftainships, when their social development contradicted the need for such an institution, to force it on them was not liberation, but enslavement (Drewe, 2012).

Drewe (2012) described the Bantu Authorities as a pyramid structure with Tribal Authorities comprising chiefs and headmen at the base. Above these were District Authorities and above these were Regional Authorities, then Paramount Chiefs and finally Territorial Authorities. Territorial Authorities were given expanded powers to serve as the basis for eventual independence of separate African states – the Bantustan or Homeland system. Chiefs were the intermediaries between government and people. They were appointed to obtain silent

acquiescence for policies that might not have been popular. In this way certain chiefs who implemented the Rehabilitation Schemes were rewarded. Chiefs controlled land and trading licenses and were able to fine peasants who opposed policies.

According to Kepe and Ntsebeza (2012), the Mpondo revolts of Eastern Pondoland were the strongest statements made by rural people against social, economic and political forces that came together to deny them their right to democracy and equality. While Western Pondoland enjoyed political stability for over 50 years under the rule of Paramount Chief Victor Poto Ndamase, the converse was true of Eastern Pondoland after King Sigcawu died in 1905 (Hendriks and Peires, 2012). Following his death, several of his sons reigned unsuccessfully before Botha Sigcawu was awarded the throne in 1939. The crucial difference between Western and Eastern Pondoland was that another contender to the throne, Botha Sigcawu's brother, Nelson, actually had better claim according to customary law. This divided the people of Eastern Pondoland, many of whom claimed that Botha Sigcawu was illegitimate (Hendriks and Peires 2012). In 2010 the Commission for Traditional Leadership Disputes and Claims decided that Nelson Sigcawu ought to have been named *iKumkani* instead of Botha Sigcawu (Clarke, 2016a).

When Chief Botha Sigcawu agreed to the Rehabilitation schemes and Bantu Authorities of the 1950s, the amaMpondo expressed their dissatisfaction through violent protests in what became known as the Mpondo Revolts (Kepe, 2002). Protestors met on the hills of Eastern Pondoland, including on Ngquza and Ndlovu. The gathering on the hills was significant because of amaMpondo beliefs of hills being areas where their ancestors dwell. Beinart (2012) states that people traditionally regarded hills as important because things could be discussed peacefully there with the blessings of the almighty.

The highlight of the revolts was 6th June, 1960 when rural people gathered on the Ngquza Hill to protest *en masse*. The government reacted swiftly and crushed the revolt. Security forces killed, injured and arrested scores of defenceless people. Eleven people were killed on the day and at least 30 were sentenced to death (Kepe, 2012).

Before the Mpondo Revolts, the amaMpondo had a history of avoiding direct confrontation with the colonial powers. They traded with coloniers and allowed missionaries to live in their midst. In this manner they escaped many of the negative impacts of colonial take-over suffered

in other areas of South Africa. However, they considered laws governing forest use, grazing and land occupation as threats to their livelihoods. The Mpondo Revolts proved that they would fiercely resist interference in distribution of their land (Kepe, 2012). Kepe (2002) argues that the reasons for the amaMpondo having rejected Betterment ranged from the alleged restrictions to movement of livestock to the reduction of grazing areas and cropping lands. Ultimately, it was a reflection of the Mpondo history of struggles against outsiders interfering in their livelihoods and freedom to manage their natural resources (Kepe, 2002).

The Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes eventually ended, having largely failed to improve soil conservation in Transkei. Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019) believes that they were initially devised with genuine intentions of improving land use, but the real death blow to the schemes was the Nationalist government's apartheid policies. In the post-apartheid era there is a new geographic dispensation of nine provinces, but the former Transkei remains differentiated by the previous form of land tenure and the accompanying form of local government which also involves traditional (tribal) authorities. Kepe (1997a) argues that the 20th century colonial government gave legitimacy to chiefs and headmen to represent the local communities of Pondoland. The legitimacy of some appointed tribal leaders was, however, questioned. This came to a head with the rise of civic organisations. With changes in national politics the question of who has legitimacy and authority in rural areas has become increasingly difficult to answer. Today's rural communities are no longer cohesive groups with the firm and effective traditional leadership of the past (Kepe, 2012; S. Gabula, pers comm., 24/08/2020).

The Mpondo Revolts are remembered by current traditional leaders as a struggle for land and resources (S. Jama, pers comm., 29/03/2018; B. Gumbuzo, pers comm., 17/05/2018; M1-M11). The conflicts that occurred at TRACOR and MNR in the 1990s were reminiscent of the Mpondo Revolts. The resultant negotiations led to agreements for consultation and co-management. However, this has been fraught with difficulties as reserve staff, past and present, have indicated confusion because of uncertainty about who the legitimate leaders are (L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018; V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). The following section discusses the establishment of the MNR and the processes that unfolded to culminate in co-management agreements between local communities and the state.

8.7.4 The Creation of Mkambati Nature Reserve

The Wildlife Society of South Africa lobbied for the establishment of a nature reserve in Pondoland on land that the Department of Health was utilising for a TB Hospital in the 1970s (K. Cooper, pers comm., 16/05/2018). At that stage the area was virtually unoccupied and the land lay unused. The botanical importance was not known and only in later years would the Pondoland Centre of endemism be discovered. The initial reasons for wanting to establish the nature reserve were based on the aesthetic beauty and seemingly pristine environment (K. Cooper, pers comm., 04/05/2020).

All traditional leaders and present and past conservationists whom the researcher interviewed agree that the reserve was initially established to attract tourists to Transkei. Herb Bourn (pers comm., 21/05/2020) states that the MNR was totally government run in 1977. He had been seconded to Transkei as the Principle Conservator by the Department of Development Aid in Pretoria and was in charge of all the nature reserves, but focussed on Dwesa and Hluleka because they seemed best suited to tourism. Mkambati Nature Reserve was officially proclaimed in 1977 under the Transkei Conservation Act (No. 6 of 1971) and later under the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree No. 9 of 1992. It is currently regarded as a Provincial Protected Area in terms of the National Environmental Management Protected Ares Act No. 57 of 2003 (ECPTA, 2018). According to the original Transkei Gazette, the nature reserve is approximately 6 120 hectares but recent estimates suggest that it is about 7 700 hectares (Venter et al., 2014a, b). The MNR was named after the endemic Mkambati palm (*Jubaeopsis caffra*) which occurs on the banks of the Mtentu and Msikaba Rivers (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). According to the ECPTA (2018), the name Mkambati is a misspelling of Mkambathi. De Villiers and Costello (2006) state that Mkambati is actually a family name from the region and not the isiXhosa word for the palm, which is in fact, *Mkomba*.

It is doubtful that Mkambati's rich biodiversity was even considered or known at the time of the reserve's proclamation (K. Cooper, pers comm., 04/05/2019). Willem van Riet (pers comm., 22/05/2020) recalls being appointed by Herb Bourn to assess the conservation and tourism potential of the Transkei nature reserves in 1977. He and Ken Tinley produced reports for the Transkei government, but the idea of a game ranch to cater for high-end hunters was that of Chris van Rensberg and the directors of a company called JALC Holdings (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). JALC was named after its directors: John Strong, Athis, Laurie Painting

and Chris van Rensberg (Gibbs, 2014, p. 142). It was a construction company in Transkei with dubious ties to the South African security establishment (Peires, 1992). Also involved in JALC and the establishment of Mkambati Game Ranch were Andries Venter, Craig Duli and Vusi Mbotoli. During the Truth and Reconstruction Commission it was alleged that JALC had been involved in a 70 million Rand housing contract in Transkei and had paid bribes to Prime Ministers Kaiser Matanzima, George Matanzima and Stella Sigcawu for the rights to various projects (Gibbs, 2014). The proposal to create the game reserve was put to the Transkei government by the group of businessmen. They would manage it together with government which held 51% of the shares. The Transkei government fully financed the development of the game reserve. The objectives were to encourage influential tourists to visit Mkambati; operate a game lodge and provide hunting safaris; trade in wildlife; market and export venison; trade in curios, skins and leathers; arrange transport to and from Mkambati and to use the services of qualified conservation officers to manage the game reserve (Vernon, 1998).

Although respected ecologists, including Ken Tinley and Professor Bigalke, had already evaluated the feasibility of Mkambati for the introduction of wildlife, it appears that little cognisance was taken of their reports (Shackleton, 1989a; b; Vernon, 1998). During 1978 and 1979 wildlife was introduced to Mkambati Game Reserve from all over southern Africa (Shackleton, 1989b; Venter et al., 2014a) with plans to even import exotic species such as bears and grouse (Shackleton, 1989b). The objective was to lure wealthy trophy hunters and create a safari mecca in Pondoland. The welfare of the game was never considered and there was no regard for whether they ever occurred in Pondoland or whether they had any chance of long-term survival (Shackleton, 1989b; Vernon, 1998). Large numbers of animals died shortly after being introduced (Murdoch, 1980). Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) recalls that wildlife enterprises were often conducted without permits. ‘I once confiscated a truckload full of animal heads and skins and carcasses from a culling exercise during a roadblock in Flagstaff. We reported this to Bert Shone (then Director of Agriculture and Forestry in Umtata) who reported the incident to Matanzima (Prime Minister of Transkei). Nothing further happened about the incident.’ In order to bolster the natural resources required by alien species of game, supplementary feeding was provided (Vernon, 1998). Shackleton (1989b) reports that this supplementary feeding stopped in the early 1980s. Following public complaints to the Wildlife Society of Southern Africa about the mismanagement of Mkambati, environmental assessments were conducted by various ecologists (K. Cooper, pers comm., 16/05/2018).

According to Shackleton (1989a; b), by the 1980s Mkambati was largely abandoned as a game reserve. De Villiers and Costello (2006) state that more than R700 000 was unaccounted for by 1981 and the intervention of the South African Department of Foreign Affairs and Information was sought. An appraisal team including members of the South African National Parks Board and the Natal Parks Board was appointed to investigate the mismanagement of Mkambati. Part of the team's brief was to evaluate the merits of a game ranch as a form of land use for Mkambati (Collinson, 1981). The final recommendations were that overstocking with game to the extent that had occurred, especially with alien species, would impact negatively on the unique habitats that occur in Mkambati. Particular concern was expressed about the potential destruction of the grasslands, the pristine condition of which impressed the ecologists who undertook the evaluation (Collinson, 1981). The game ranch scheme had failed and the Transkei government lost substantial financial investment. Mkiwane (pers com., 17/03/2020) states that the Khanyayo community was well aware of the shady deals between JALC and the Transkei government at the time. 'We were never consulted about the idea of a game reserve with all these wild animals. We wanted to know what benefits were coming to us from the land and from these people from Johannesburg' (V. Mkiwane, pers comm., 17/03/2020).

The final analysis of the Mkambati Game Ranch showed that between 1979 and 1981 over R2.5 million Rand had been pumped into the scheme, with little accounted for (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). Collinson (1981) and Shackleton (1989b) attribute the failure of the game reserve venture to the lack of a management policy and absence of staff with ecological experience. In September 1981 the Transkei Department of Finance took full control of the company and the Mkambati Game Reserve, which by then had fallen into a state of disrepair and debt (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). The JALC venture finally ended in 1983 where after the Transkei government established a Board of Directors to manage the nature reserve (Shackleton et al., 1991). In 1983 the hospital area was also transferred to the MNR (Shackleton, 1989a; b; Prinsloo, 2000). In 1984, Mkambati was taken over by the Transkei Department of Forestry and Nature Conservation with Peter Ruddle appointed as a qualified nature conservator there (Vernon, 1998). According to Shackleton (1989b), this phase marked a shift towards proper ecological management of game to prevent environmental degradation. Dr E. Grainger was appointed as director of a management board comprising scientists from the University of Transkei.

Ruddle (pers comm., 07/01/2019) disagrees with the statements about proper ecological management. In his own words he says, 'The people had no clue of conservation. There was no fire management, no alien control. The place ran itself.' Between 1989 and 1990 the reserve had no appointed ecological manager (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). Val Schmid acted as the reserve manager during this period, although she had been appointed by Peter Cressey, of the Department of Finance, in 1988 as an administrative manager and had no environmental background (Schmid, pers comm., 17/05/2020). There was virtually no game or veld management and the tourist facilities deteriorated further (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). During this time a Joint Monitoring Committee (JMC) was appointed to assist with the 'management' of the reserve. It comprised of nurses from the clinic and local people from surrounding communities (Schmid, pers comm., 17/05/2020). Only when Gladwell Mpuhlu from the Nature Conservation Department of the Transkei Department of Agriculture and Forestry was appointed as the reserve manager in 1991, did some form of conservation management resume. Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) recalls, 'When I took charge the veld was in good condition, but the tourist facilities were very poor. I had a very limited budget and could not repair anything. I used a short management document that Ken Tinley had drafted to guide me in managing the reserve.'

Shortly after Stanford Spotsi was appointed as reserve manager in 1992, the community marched onto the MNR to demand access to grazing and the return of the land to them. They occupied the reserve until politicians intervened and allowed management to resume (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). This incident is discussed in greater depth in Section 8.9.1 of this chapter. The Transkei Department of Agriculture and Forestry continued to manage the MNR until after the 1994 democratic elections. Thereafter, the Transkei Department amalgamated with the Ciskei and Eastern Cape to eventually become part of the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism (De Villiers and Costello, 2006).

An inadequate operational budget is a key complaint from all interviewed managers who worked on MNR between 1991 and 2004 (ME2, ME4, ME6, ME7). The continually shrinking budget created perpetual challenges in maintaining tourist infrastructure. De Villiers and Costello (2006, p. 61) record: 'Mkambati's budgets were small and even cut on numerous occasions, while other government departments overspent on theirs. This was extremely frustrating for the reserve staff as projects that had been started eagerly could not be completed. Tourist and staff accommodation was terribly run down, and at one stage the only means of

transport was a 1979 Steyr tractor. Staff were transported on the back of an open trailer, regardless of the weather. To compound problems, the government system of ordering equipment was so cumbersome and time-consuming that it sometimes took two months and several written motivations to receive simple items such as light bulbs or nails. The fact that Mkambati had no form of telecommunications made management of tourist operations even more difficult.'

Since 2004, the MNR has been managed by the Eastern Cape Parks Board (ECPB, 2009), which became the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency after a merger with the Eastern Cape Tourism Board in 2010 (ECPTA, 2018). The transfer of MNR to a Parks Board was expected to facilitate less cumbersome procurement procedures and retention of income for expenditure on tourism upgrades (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

The state's poor management of MNR was recognised by the traditional leaders of Khanyayo (S. Jama, pers comm., 29/03/2018). In 1998 the communities surrounding MNR lodged a land claim on the area (Kepe, 2004). The claim was settled in October 2004 in favour of an Mkambati Land Trust that represents seven communities and descendants of the families that were removed from the land when it was declared a leper institute. The agreement is that the MNR will remain a protected area into perpetuity. According to Ranger and du Plessis (2013), there is largely support for MNR from the communities who have agreed in principle to a proposed expansion of the protected area by 3 600 ha and possibly more. This will increase the distance from the current boundary by between seven and eight kilometres. The distance to the closest community will be a further seven or eight kilometres (Ranger and du Plessis, 2013). While working for the Wild Coast Project, Berliner (2012) reported on widespread community support for the expansion of the reserve into the former TRACOR area, with the emphasis on the Kwadlambu gorge and the Msikaba gorge which will include the vulture colony. The community near TRACOR wanted the area fenced but the Mtentu community was adamant that they wanted no fencing if the MNR was expanded across the river towards Sikombe. The conflicting opinions are discussed in Section 8.9 of this chapter.

8.7.5 Marine Conservation and the Establishment of the Pondoland MPA

Prior to 2004, less than 3% of the coastal Natal Bioregion (Cape Vidal to the Mbhashe River) fell within a no-take marine protected area (Mann et al., 2006). In 1991, a marine reserve was established off Mkambati which protected a small portion of this bioregion. The area abutting MNR was first established as an MPA in terms of the regulations under the Sea Fisheries Act No. 58 of 1973 which was later replaced by the identical provisions in regulations under the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree No. 9 of 1992 (ECPB, 2009). These regulations prohibited the use of any marine resources in a zone extending some 12 km along the coastline from the western bank of the Msikaba River to the eastern bank of the Mtentu River and extending six nautical miles out to sea. Provision was made to allow angling from the shore between the Msikaba and Mkambati Rivers, but no shellfish or bait collection was permitted (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). The MPA was reproclaimed under the Sea Fishery Act of 1988, with effect from 1st November, 1997. In 1998, the MPA was declared under section 43 of the Marine Living Resources Act (ECPB, 2009; Fielding, 2018). Despite the numerous proclamations, this MPA remained small and inadequate to conserve marine biodiversity. Furthermore, there was a lack of marine management capacity to enforce legislation relating to it (Mann et al., 2006).

In June 2004, a new Marine Protected Area known as the Pondoland MPA was declared under section 43 of the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998. This MPA extends from the southern head of the Mzamba River to the northern head of the Mzimvubu River and out to sea to the 1 000 m depth contour, approximately 10 km offshore (De Villiers and Costello, 2013; Fielding, 2018). The Pondoland MPA is an important transition zone from the Agulhas ecoregion to the Natal ecoregion (Fielding, 2018). It is divided into several inshore and offshore zones which either restrict fishing or control it. Fishing may only be undertaken in controlled zones with permits issued in terms of the MLRA (Mann et al., 2006; De Villiers and Costello, 2013; Fielding, 2018). Forty-three estuaries occur within the 90 km long MPA, including the Mtentu and Msikaba which are declared Restricted Zones where no fishing is allowed (Fielding, 2018). These two estuaries, together with the Ntafufu further south, have been recognised as being amongst the most pristine in South Africa (Fielding, 2018).

The most prolific reef areas in the MPA surveyed by Mann et al. (2006), judging from size and abundance of endemic species, were between Sikombe and Mbotyi. This included the original

Mkambati MPA of 1991, the least fished area along the Pondoland coast. Fielding (2018) states that 139 fish species from 49 different families have been identified from underwater visual surveys, with a high proportion of endemics being discovered. The MPA is also important because many resident over-exploited linefish such as red steenbras occur there, with some species spawning in the area. There is significant exploitation of marine resources in the southern parts of the MPA and the restricted zones provide a refuge for heavily exploited intertidal invertebrate species and spiny lobster populations (Fielding, 2018).

The Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency was assigned as the management authority of the Pondoland MPA as per the signed Memorandum of Agreement with the Department of Environmental Affairs: Oceans and Coasts (DEA: Oceans and Coasts) (Fielding, 2018). Ranger and du Plessis (2013) found the management of the MPA to be inadequate with severe understaffing and an inadequate budget. Despite this, Maggs et al. (2013) argue that the Pondoland MPA has proven to have increased abundance as well as presence of larger specimens of certain fish species in the no-take zones.

8.8 Natural Resource Use by Local Communities Adjacent to Mkambati Nature Reserve

Land, trees, grasslands for cattle and natural resources have been important to the amaMpondo for hundreds of years (Kepe, 2005a). Their passion for their livelihoods and traditional rural way of life is reflected in their historical willingness to defend their culture and natural resource use at all costs. Their resistance to state interference in their management and use of their land is considered a just cause (Kepe, 2005a).

Although the local communities living around the MNR have relied on the natural resources for centuries, there have always been sufficient resources outside of the protected area so that local people have not had to enter it to collect what they require (B. Gumbuzo, pers comm., 17/05/2018). Chief Jama agrees with Chief Gumbuzo and in his words (pers comm., 29/03/2018) states: ‘The greatest concern for the people has been for grazing for cattle. There are no other environmental concerns. People just collect whatever they need.’ While there appears to be an attitude of plentiful resources, Berliner (2011) found that overall habitat

transformation for Pondoland is surprisingly high, with only about 54% of habitat considered as still natural. According to him, approximately 30% of Pondoland consists of either cultivated lands or previously cultivated lands. Chief Jama (pers comm., 29/03/2018) admits that some resources are becoming scarce in the villages surrounding the MNR.

8.8.1 Resource Use of Forests and Grasslands by Mkambati's Communities

Cattle have historically been an important part of amaMpondo custom (Saunders and Derricourt, 1974; Beinart, 1982; Ainslie, 2002) and therefore grasslands have been essential to livelihoods (Kepe, 2005a). According to Kidd (1904), cattle, beer and women, were the most important aspects of an Mpondo man's life during the late 1800s and early 1900s. McAllister (1985) confirms these priorities with great emphasis on the *umsindleko* (beer drink). Kepe and Scoones (1999) found that cattle remain an important investment for local people. Beinart (1982) states that Pondoland used to swarm with cattle, with the cattle population of the Lusikisiki district remaining at about 80 000 since the 1930s. In order to look after the cattle, herding outposts were established in the district, rather than permanent settlements (Beinart, 1982).

Overstocking of Transkei with cattle was seen as problematic even before 1900, but by the end of the 1920s it had become of central importance to agriculturalists (Beinart, 1982; Mbana, 1991). The Transkei Department of Agriculture was established in 1924 and immediately stated that cattle numbers had to be reduced. Goats were considered of little economic value and had to be eliminated from Transkei entirely, whilst sheep were encouraged (Beinart, 1982). Lambasi, just south of Mkambati, was considered an important grassland area for winter grazing (Beinart, 1982). Chief Mkwedini (pers comm., 29/03/2018) states that cattle and horses remain of immense value to the people of Lambasi. He is concerned about the increase in human population in the area, and the consequent increase in stock numbers which may impact on the availability of grazing. He is not particularly concerned about soil erosion because the Lambasi area has never had this problem.

Kepe (2005a) states that communal areas outside of MNR are dominated by extensive, poor quality *Aristida junciformis* (*Inkonkoni* in isiXhosa) grassland. He argues that standard recommendations of light grazing and seasonal burning to retain more palatable grass species

are almost impossible to apply because of intensive land pressures and high stocking rates. Burning is a means for locals to create and manage a diversity of patches and maintain a young, palatable grass sward of *inkonkoni* (Kepe, 2005a). Chief Mkwedini (pers comm., 29/03/2018) acknowledges that fire is an important management practice to ensure suitable grass for cattle.

Kepe (1997a) argues that grasslands have not only been important for grazing, but have been central to local people's livelihoods. They are important for providing thatching and, especially since the 1990s, for medicinal plant collection. Shona Shackleton (1989) found that local people were very dependent on the MNR as a source of thatch, and predicted that dependence would increase in future. She encouraged sustained utilisation of *Cymbopogon validus* as part of a multiple-use management programme for the reserve to promote good relations with the local communities of the area. Kepe (1997a) states that *Cymbopogon validus* (*umqungu* in isiXhosa) and *Hyperrenia spp*. (*iDobo* in isiXhosa) are the most sought after grasses. Thatch grass is not only important for poor people to build roofs on their huts, but even rich people have at least one thatched hut in their homestead as they believe it connects them with their roots (Kepe, 2001a). Prinsloo (2000) found that in terms of community benefits from MNR, one of the most important issues was the harvesting of thatching grass. He argues that thatch grass is a very important resource and many self-employed people survive on money generated from harvesting and selling it.

According to traditional leaders that the researcher interviewed around MNR, thatch remains an important commodity for local people (M1, M2, M3, M4). While there is general agreement that sufficient thatch grass species occur outside MNR, Kepe (1997b) believes that *ukujola* occurs at times, where community members 'steal' thatch grass from within the protected area. Reserve managers do not see the reason behind this as thatch collection has been permitted for as long as they can remember (ME2, ME4, ME5, ME6).

Kepe (2002) found that the collection of plant material was an important livelihood cluster for the rural poor, particularly women, living around MNR. Medicinal plants, thatch grass, sedges, fuel wood and edible wild leaves are all collected. The edible wild leaves are known as *imifino* and comprise at least 15 species that are regularly used for cooking, or supplementing meals. *Amaranthus* sp., *Bidens pilosa*, and *Urtica urens* are most highly regarded (Kepe, 2002). Fearon (2010) records 113 plants that are used by local people from Mkambati (Table 8.1). Amongst the plants being collected, those for medicinal purposes are especially popular (Kepe,

2002; 2007). According to Zukulu et al. (2012), traditional Mpondo medicines and charms are called *amayeza* and include many plants from the grasslands and forests of Pondoland, which treat a wide range of illnesses. *Amayeza* are also used for cultural and religious purposes such as ritual purification, protection against witchcraft and execution of religious ceremonies. The amaMpondo have a broad, holistic approach to health care. Illness is not only treated by attending to physical symptoms. Diseases and misfortune may be attributed to metaphysical powers, which can be controlled with the correct use of *amayeza*. Ill health and misfortune are often believed to have been caused by a breach of customs and traditions or by supernatural powers. Herbal remedies and charms are used in rituals to appease ancestors, to protect against evil forces and to remove ritual impurity (Saunders and Derricourt, 1974; Zukulu et al., 2012).

Fearon (2010) states that each village outside of MNR has a patch of forest that they use for collecting plants. Medicinal plant species are, however, becoming rare outside of the protected area. Kepe (2002) found that the medicinal plants were mainly collected from within the TRACOR and MNR areas. He recorded 23 species that were predominantly used (Kepe, 2007). Jama (pers comm., 29/03/2018) speaks of two prominent medicinal plant collectors, Sikonza and Piwayo, who have indicated the dwindling plant resources to him and the need to protect these species within MNR. Vumba (pers comm., 17/03/2020) believes that chiefs around MNR have traditionally been conservation minded, but local people have fed them information about the state of the environment and natural resources. Joint decisions are taken thereafter regarding management and use of the available resources. Mkiwane (pers comm., 17/03/2020) expresses concern that there are more traditional doctors (*amagqirha*) and healers (*amaxhwele*) than he can ever remember. This is resulting in regular collection of plants in large quantities. According to him, many grain bags full of plants are exported from the area, and people are making money from this business. Gumbuzo (pers comm., 17/052018) agrees that large amounts of medicinal plants are being collected, mainly by women, and being transported to Durban *muthi* markets. Kepe (2002) referred to the high demand for Pondoland's medicinal plants from markets in KwaZulu-Natal, based on the perception that the quality of the plants was exceptionally good.

Jama (pers comm., 17/03/2020) states that it is mainly young people who are becoming traditional healers in recent times. In his opinion, the lack of employment opportunities is driving them to pursue this. The traditional leaders have little control over the exploitation of the resources because if they try and limit collection of plants, they are accused of trying to

starve the people who are exploiting the resources (V. Mkiwane, pers comm., 17/03/2020). According to Chief Jama (pers comm., 29/03/2018), there are still sufficient resources outside of MNR for healers to collect.

Table 8.1: Top ten indigenous plant species used by communities around Mkambati Nature Reserve (Fearon, 2010)

isiXhosa name	**Botanical name**	**Growth form/Habitat**	**Use category**
Umvuthuza	*Ranunculus multifidus*	Herb, forest	Medicinal
Umpumeleli	*Macaranga capensis*	Tree, forest margins	Medicinal
Ilabatheka	*Hypoxis rigidula*	Geophyte, grassland	Medicinal
Ubani	*Agapanthus campanulatus*	Geophyte, rocky outcrops in grassland	Medicinal
Isthethemfazi	*Polygala myrtifolia*	Tree, forest margins	Medicinal
Imphepho	*Helichrysum odoratissimum*	Herb, open grasslands	Medicinal
Umzaneno	*Vepris undulata*	Tree, forest	Medicinal
Uvelebahleke	*Lotononis corymbosa*	Herb, grassland	Medicinal
Inthuthe	*Protorhus longifolia*	Tree, forest	Medicinal
Umatshiqolo	*Osteospermum imbricatum*	Herb, open grassland	Medicinal

Despite environmental legislation to protect plant species, local people still collect in large quantities. Fearon (2010) states that some people admit to bribing MNR field rangers to gain access to the plants on the reserve. Thondhlana et al. (2016) argue that open and honest deliberations are required between conservation agencies and local communities about the realistic benefits that the nature reserve can offer local people. The ecological limits of 18 plant species desired by local communities around Mkambati were found to be insufficient in all but two of the species (Thondhlana et al., 2016).

During the researcher's first interview with Chief Jama in 2018, he reflected on how people were becoming more Westernised and consequently relying less on the natural resources of the area. He explained his reason for saying this by his observations of reduced incidents of traditional stick fighting being practiced by boys and young men. He further cited the changes in *labola*, with money often being preferred to cattle, when men 'take a wife'. Kepe (2002) also refers to this tendency, despite cattle still influencing people's perceptions of wealth. However, the chief changed his ideas somewhat about the adoption of Western culture during the researcher's later interviews with his headmen in 2020, stating that young people are returning to Pondoland and increasingly recognising their own culture (S. Jama, pers comm., 17/03/2020).

The use and significance of forests was debated to at length with Chief Jama and his headmen. Beinart (1982) argues that forests of Pondoland were important retreats for the amaMpondo during wars with the Zulu impis. Jama (pers comm., 29/03/2018) reflects on their importance for providing kraal wood and fighting sticks. He suggests that there has been a cultural shift towards a preference for gum poles for building since the establishment of *Eucalyptus* plantations on TRACOR land. According to him, the straight poles are preferred to indigenous forest timber. Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) recalls selling large quantities of gum poles and firewood to local people. However, the MNR began systematically removing all the gum plantations from within the protected area during the late 1990s because the species are alien to the area (D. Prinsloo, pers comm., 06/11/2018). When questioned about any prominent forest conservationists who live, or have lived, in the community, the name Mgqobho was immediately raised. According to Mkiwane (pers comm., 17/03/2020), Mgqobho was very knowledgeable about forests and the plants that grew within them. He loved forests to such an extent that the chief appointed him to guard their use.

The use of indigenous forests for *abaKhwetha* circumcision practices is well known in amaXhosa culture. Mertens and Broster (1973) state that the amaMpondo do not practise circumcision and there is no initiation into manhood or womanhood. However, they contend that many traditions have lapsed and other traditions are creeping in. Indeed, the use of forests for *abaKhwetha* is a recent phenomenon in the Mkambati area according to the traditional leaders that the researcher interviewed (M2-M15). Chief Mkwedini says that it is practiced in the Msikaba and Lambasi areas. It is only the past 10 years or so that boys are being circumcised (S. Jama, pers comm., 17/03/2020). There were no *abaKhwetha* before that (V.

Mkiwane, pers comm., 17/03/2020). There are two areas within the TRACOR land and two areas outside of it where the ceremonies are performed (S. Jama, pers comm., 17/03/ 2020). According to Mkiwane (pers comm., 17/03/2020), elders are not permitted in these areas because they were never *abaKhwetha*. Fathers of boys who are being circumcised may not take part in the ceremonies if they themselves were not *abaKhwetha*. In the words of Chief Jama (pers comm., 17/03/2020), 'There is poor control. The young men driving this do not practice it properly and there is poor hygiene. It has become a money-making scheme.' It is clear that the new tradition is regarded with some circumspection by the traditional leadership. They have historically controlled land and resource use, but the initiation ceremony is a modern tradition that is manifesting itself in the Mkambati area without their input. It is not a practice that is familiar to them. Similarly, they are not familiar with fishing and collection of marine resources. As the following section shows, these were not traditionally practiced activities, but may be becoming important as livelihood resources.

8.8.2 The Use of Marine Resources by Mkambati's Local Communities

The data from the interviews with traditional leaders and conservation managers suggest that the local people of Khanyayo and Tahle have not fished historically. There is no culture of seafood collection as communities reside too far from the coast. The cattle based pastoral lifestyle sees meat and crops as a more important diet. Chief Jama (pers comm., 29/03/2018) states, 'I am known as the one who is first and the one who is last because I am the last village in Khanyayo, and the sea is still far away – almost 20 km. It is too far to go fishing.' Mkiwane (pers comm., 17/03/2020) believes that, 'Coloured and White people fish, not Blacks. Black people don't bother about fishing.' Chief Gumbuzo (pers comm., 17/05/2018) argues that fishing is not part of the people from Tahle's culture. He cites the distance from the sea as the reason. N. Qeda (pers comm., 17/03/2020) says the sea is far and people do not know it. M. Vumba (pers comm., 17/03/2020) states that many local people fear the sea. He does know of some that have collected mussels.

Spotsi, Mpuhlu and Prinsloo (pers comm., 2018) recall no fishing or shellfish collection at all by local people during their times as managers on MNR. Mapiya (pers comm., 05/07/2019) states that the amaDiba and Lambasi communities to the north and south of MNR fish and collect intertidal marine resources. Chief Mkwedini (pers comm., 29/03/2018) suggests that

collection of marine shellfish has been an important food source for his people, but Kidd (1904) states that, unlike Thonga men, Mpondo men never ate fish.

With the establishment of MNR, fishing became popular along this part of the Wild Coast. De Villiers and Costello (2006) record subsistence and recreational fishermen exploiting the giant kingfish (*Caranx ignobilis*) migrations in the Mtentu River during the 1990s. The presence of large schools of these sought-after angling fish in the Mtentu River attracted fishermen and poachers for many years, even prior to its declaration as part of the MPA in 1991. Law enforcement proved difficult because of easy access to the area and MNR managers battled to get community support to conserve the estuary (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). In the mid-1990s, commercial poachers capitalised on opportunities to harvest the fish for sale in Durban markets. To gain support from local people a non-consumptive fly-fishing venture was proposed for the Mtentu Estuary. An eco-lodge and tented camp was established and in 2000 the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism granted permits to the Amadiba community to allow non-consumptive fly-fishing in the Mtentu River. The community leased their camps and fishing rights to fly-fishing operators at lucrative concession fees. The idea was to bring the community on board from the earliest stage of the venture and ensure that they benefited from the utilisation of the resource (A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020). The community not only assisted in drafting an estuarine management plan, but received training in camp management and fishing guiding. Jobs and financial benefits to local community members resulted in a major drop in poaching of fish (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). Unfortunately, the model for sustainable eco-tourism failed amid allegations of corruption and mismanagement of income among community beneficiaries (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). This was exacerbated by conflicts between community members who were pro mining for mineral sands in the area north of Mtentu and those who were pro tourism (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Efforts to renegotiate the fly-fishing venture have not been successful to date.

8.9 People-Conservation Tensions

8.9.1 Land Conflicts

Khanyayo village is situated about 50km from the town of Flagstaff in Eastern Pondoland and borders on the former TRACOR land. The villagers have a long history of conflict regarding the land excised from them for the leper colony and later the MNR and TRACOR agricultural projects (Kepe, 2012). Between 1924 and 1956 the Khanyayo people were involved in a protracted campaign of passive resistance against the Mkambati Leper Reserve. This began shortly after its proclamation, when the grazing of community cattle, hunting and gathering of plants was prohibited on the 18 000 hectares that were reserved for the facility. Whilst the community was denied access to the natural resources, thousands of head of cattle were introduced onto the leper colony's vast grasslands to supply the needs of the health institution (Kepe, 2002; De Villiers and Costello, 2006). The Khanyayo people were not satisfied with this arrangement. Consequently, some people cut the leper institute's fences to allow their cattle to graze the grasslands, while others 'stole' brushwood, timber and grass (Kepe, 2002; 2012).

While most resistance was passive, there is a record of an altercation between a cattle owner and Frank Austin, who had been appointed as farm manager on the land in 1948 (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). According to Kepe (2002), Austin impounded cattle that had been herded by some herdsboys onto the leper institution's land in 1956. When the boys told their fathers, one man became so angry that he confronted Austin and wrestled a firearm from him before repossessing his cattle. Paramount Chief Sigcawu had to intervene to restore calm and ensure that the incident was not repeated (Kepe, 2002).

The cattle grazing and stealing of wood and grass triggered the leper institute to propose the return of 5 500 hectares of grazing land to Khanyayo. When Transkei became an 'independent' state in 1976, the leprosy institution was closed and the seaward part of it became the Mkambati Game Reserve. The inland grasslands that had been promised to Khanyayo became a state farm, managed by TRACOR. Agricultural projects that were initiated such as the sugar cane project of 1983, and *Eucalyptus* plantation of 1990, were largely unsuccessful (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). Khanyayo cattle found grazing on TRACOR land during these projects were impounded, resulting in persistent conflict (Kepe, 2002).

In 1990, after the unbanning of political organisations by the apartheid government, there were significant acts of defiance in the Khanyayo area (Kepe, 1997b). Some villagers confronted TRACOR managers over their grazing rights and in so doing, secured the return of 3 500 hectares of grazing land (Kepe, 1997b; 2002). The political changes that swept through the country manifested in Khanyayo in a radical form (Kepe, 2002). Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) does not recall the conflict spilling onto MNR. 'When I was manager at Mkambati, there were no community issues. The community was supportive of the nature reserve. But when politics changed and they were given a chance to speak, they overdid it. They lost respect for management and for law and order.' Mpuhlu's recollection of peaceful interaction with the communities during the time that he spent managing MNR may be a misinterpretation of the passive resistance that local people embarked upon. There definitely were conflicts on the adjacent TRACOR land (Kepe, 1997b) and it was soon to spill over onto the nature reserve as well (S. Spotsi, pers comm., 16/08/2018).

Mpuhlu departed from MNR in 1991. History shows that, having achieved the successful release of some land for grazing from TRACOR, about 100 villagers occupied MNR in 1992 (Kepe, 2002). The occupation lasted nine days with demands for land rights and fair treatment of reserve workers (Kepe, 1997b; 2002; 2012). In the researcher's interview with Victor 'Vitamin' Mkiwane (Figure 8.2) he acknowledges that he was the main initiator to get the land back: 'On the 3rd and 4th of August 1992 we *toyi toyi'd* (protested) at Mkambati Nature Reserve. We wanted to know what was happening on that land. We never received any benefit from the reserve. We never knew what the company (JALC) had agreed with the Transkei government. The company disappeared and the Transkei government took over. Spotsi began at Mkambati in 1991. He put up a fence to keep us out. We wanted to graze our cattle but Nature came with too many laws' (V. Mkiwane, pers comm., 17/03/2020).

Figure 8.2: 'Vitamin' Mkiwane and the researcher sharing information (J. Costello 17/03/2020)

Stanford Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) recalls the *toyi toyi* of 1992 when, according to him, 'hundreds' of community members descended on the MNR demanding to know whose land it is. 'They occupied the reserve for four weeks. Matanzima (Ngangomhlaba Matanzima, Transkei Minister of Environment) flew in to Mkambati and negotiated with the villagers and agreed to create employment and restore land rights. He opened an EE (Environmental Education) centre there and agreed on a clinic (on the MNR land). A JMC (Joint Monitoring Committee) was formed with Health officials and DPW (Department of Public Works) and Nature Conservation and representatives from the community.' Prinsloo (1997) reports of the 1992 *toyi toyi* having demanded the return of the hospital buildings for occupation by local people; hence, the presence of Health officials on the JMC.

Val Schmid was the administrative manager at the time of the 1992 protests. 'I was held hostage in the conference room for three days. Thousands of local people danced and sang outside and lit fires. Vitamin (Mkiwane) and the chief were in charge. They wanted the land back – I can't remember exactly what land as I was not part of the negotiating – and they wanted grazing for their cattle. Matanzima (Ngangomhlaba) and Monty Ntloko flew in on the third day from Umtata and I was finally released to go and shower and to get back to my work. I remember Vitamin being very nice to me. Despite the *toyi toyi*, he was a gentleman throughout the drama' (V. Schmid, pers comm., 19/5/2020).

Kepe (2005b; 2012) argues that promised benefits to communities seldom materialise in Transkei. At Mkambati, promises of jobs mollified people into not adopting more militant strategies to express their discontent about non-implementation of promised land reform (Kepe, 2012). It is therefore not surprising that little happened following the 1992 reserve occupation and demands. Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) recalls the follow up protests: 'The people were not satisfied and in 1994 there was a follow-up *toyi toyi*. They demanded the repair of the road (from Flagstaff to Mkambati) the upgrading of the clinic, and the handing back of TRACOR land for grazing. They did not demand the nature reserve land.' In a report to 'Bisho Environmental Affairs' in June 1995, Spotsi appealed to the department to 'take a clear stand' because of conflict between nurses and reserve staff. He recounts the events of 28th March, 1995 where, 'a very big group of local people headed by Holly (sic) Cross nurses and Joint-Monitoring Committee came to invade the buildings.' The MNR staff were chased from the buildings and had to be accommodated amongst tourists staying on the reserve (Spotsi, 1995).

Mkiwane (pers comm., 17/03/2020) recalls the Premier, Raymond Mhlaba, intervening to settle the tensions.

The history of failed promises in Transkei is reflected in the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI) that the government embarked upon shortly after the 1994 and 1995 protests. Kepe (2005a, b) argues that SDIs were launched by government in 1996 to lure private sector investment and provide jobs in poverty stricken areas of South Africa, but these hardly succeeded beyond expensive studies and plans. Mkambati Nature Reserve formed one of the SDI nodes. Investors proposed projects including glass hotels at the waterfalls, charcoal manufacturing from alien plantations and luxury beach lodges for high-end tourism (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). Nothing materialised, except for the glossy plans and expensive studies that Kepe (2005a) refers to. The conflicts arising from SDI promises are discussed in Section 8.9.4.

In 1994, seven communities lodged a claim for the restitution of the land rights for MNR and the surrounding area in terms of the Restitution of Land Rights Act (ECPB, 2009). By 1996 village leaders had established, through their own research, that 49 households had been evicted from Mkambati in 1920. A formal land claim was lodged in July 1997 in terms of the Land Restitution Act (Act 22 of 1994) on behalf of all Khanyayo for both the MNR and TRACOR state farm on the basis that the land was part of the Khanyayo village and that the area had been used for grazing and collection of natural resources (Kepe, 2012). De Koning (2010) states that seven villages make up the Thaweni Tribal Authority that lodged the claim, although she argues that it was only the Khanyayo villagers who were forcibly removed from their land at Mkambati in 1920. Other villages also wanted to be part of the claim as they insisted that they were one tribal authority. They claimed to have used the area for winter grazing. However, de Koning (2010) reflects on the history of mistrust between the different communities and cautions that this could impact on the future successful implementation of the land claim settlement.

Mkiwane (pers comm., 17/03/2020) says that he was the main actor that instituted the land claim. ‘My main aim was to get jobs for the people and to get grazing for our cattle. Nature had too many laws. This prevented our access to the reserve and its resources. We wanted it back’ (Mkiwane, pers comm., 17/03/2020). During the course of the negotiations the communities agreed to commit the use of the reserve area in perpetuity to conservation on the

understanding that management of the reserve would be a participatory process under the guidance of a co-management committee (CMC) (ECPB, 2009). In October 2004, the disputed land was finally returned to the Khanyayo people (Kepe, 2012) (Figure 8.3). Following resolution of the land claim, the state's conservation authority (Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency) is still designated as the management authority. This was a requirement of the land claim's Settlement Agreement (Kepe, 2008). In terms of the Settlement Agreement, the land was awarded to the Mkambati Land Trust (MLT) to be held in ownership by the MLT under the proviso that the nature reserve would be managed by the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) or its agent, ECPB (ECPB, 2009).

Figure 8.3: The October 2004 handing over of the land ceremony at Mkambati Nature Reserve (D de Villiers, 2004)

Ranger and du Plessis (2013) state that, according to the land claim agreement, 15% of all revenue from MNR is supposed to flow to the community. The money is supposed to be deposited into the Mkambati Land Trust account on a quarterly basis. ECPTA remains accountable for the funds. The community is supposed to further benefit from externally funded projects by becoming employees. There appear to be problems with disbursement of funds and transparency relating to the disbursement of these funds is questionable (Ranger and du Plessis 2013).

Chief Jama says that he has not seen any financial benefits accruing from the land claim settlement. 'Since 2013, I have never been invited to a meeting of the CMC. Members of the MLT represent us (chiefs and headmen), but I think we need to be more involved in managing Mkambati' (S. Jama, pers comm., 29/03/2018). The leadership are all of the opinion that MNR managers do not consult with them sufficiently (M1-M11). Mkiwane (pers comm., 17/03/2020) believes that the managers are called to ECPTA head office in East London far too frequently He recalls communication being particularly good when Mapiya managed MNR, but argues that even he was away from the area too often.

Khuzwayo (pers comm., 28/03/2018) argues that the CPA meets quarterly in accordance with the co-management agreement. 'All villagers are represented by two individuals. The MLT has 16 members – two from each village and two representing the claimants. There are various other committees within the MLT like the Employment Committee and the Finance Committee. There is seldom conflict between the MLT and MNR. But there are significant power struggles and poor communication within the community structures. The main conflicts are between communities and amongst individuals. Land Affairs forced the seven communities to benefit from the land claim. This is not practical' (L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018).

De Koning (2010) believes that it is unlikely that co-management will work at MNR, largely because of the history of community conflict and past mistrust between communities and conservation management. Unrealistic expectations have also been created by the land reform process. MNR is only a 7 000-hectare reserve with more than 6 000 households on its borders wanting benefits (de Koning, 2010). Kepe (2012) found that there were few community benefits following the successful land claim and resultant apathy and resignation amongst Khanyayo villagers who had originally used militancy to fight for their land. Government officials from the Department of Land Affairs convinced villagers to withdraw their original land claim for the entire village with the descendants of the original 49 evicted families the only claimants. On 17th October, 2004, 326 household heads received financial compensation of R38 000 each. More than a thousand other Khanyayo villagers received nothing but were promised jobs from future eco-tourism projects at Mkambati. According to de Koning (2010), there appears to be a lack of enthusiasm from government and potential investors to make tourism work and as a result, few benefits are accruing to communities.

The lack of jobs and benefits is high on the list of concerns among traditional leaders. Qeda (pers comm., 17/03/2020) states that rental and benefit sharing has never occurred from the days of the 'company' in 1979 until now. He questions whether local people get preference for employment. Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) recalls that MNR employed people from Holy Cross, Tahle and Khanyayo in particular. However, in the early 1990s skilled employees had to be sought from as far afield as Flagstaff, Mbizana and Tsolo, especially for carpentry and building and nature conservation management. Mapiya (pers comm., 05/07/2019) states that it is ECPTA policy to preferably employ local people. He notes that the current reserve manager, Lwazi Khuzwayo, was born in Khanyayo area.

Bell (2019) reflects on the 40-year history of the MNR and argues that local people have mainly been employed for basic and poorly paid jobs, with little prospects for career development. He believes that high-end tourism is the only model that can provide significant benefits to a large proportion of the local people surrounding MNR. However, his ideas on tourism are not shared by everyone and are vehemently opposed in some quarters. This is expanded upon in the following section.

8.9.2 Conflicts about Tourism

Mkambati Nature Reserve was initially established with tourism as one of its main focus areas (Vernon, 1998). More than 40 years later, the Mkambati Nature Reserve Protected Area Management Plan states that the ECPTA has adopted a 'Recreational Reserve' concept for MNR with a primary focus on ecotourism (ECPTA, 2018). This should not be surprising because the Wild Coast is recognised as a prime tourism destination due to the relatively unspoilt coastline (Queiros, 2000).

The Transkei government's initial efforts to establish a high-end game ranch to attract international big-game hunters had failed by 1981 (Kepe, 1997a; De Villiers and Costello, 2006). Subsequent efforts by government to revive tourism on the nature reserve were unsuccessful. As a result of its potential to provide jobs through tourism, the Wild Coast, and MNR was delineated as a SDI by government in 1998 (Taylor, 2000). The SDI programmes across South Africa were strategic initiatives to unlock the underutilised economic

opportunities of certain areas (Queiros, 2000; Kepe, 2001b). The Wild Coast SDI focussed mainly on environmental and tourism projects with the European Union (EU) setting aside R80 million for community-driven tourism projects. The Triple Trust Organisation was appointed to develop the capacity of Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises to take advantage of tourism opportunities. One of these was Pondocrop (Pondo Community Resource Optimisation Programme) (Queiros, 2000). Pondocrop coordinated the establishment of the Amadiba Adventures Horse Trail between the Mzamba and the Mtentu Rivers. The NGO also played a major role in establishing the Amadiba Fly Fishing Adventures and building of the Ufudu camp on the Mtentu estuary. Together with the community ACCODA Trust, it built a small eco-lodge on the north bank of the Mtentu which was extended by a few rustic chalets in 2004 (De Villiers and Costello, 2013). The Amadiba Horse Trail was widely touted as a successful community tourism venture, but community infighting relating to the proposed Xolobeni mining resulted in the closure of the camp and the trail (De Villiers and Costello, 2013; Clarke, 2014). The Mtentu Lodge reopened in 2011 but the horse trail has never been revived (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

Poor physical infrastructure has long been considered the major downfall of tourism at MNR (Figure 8.4). Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) recalls the hardship of trying to manage the tourism side of Mkambati during the early 1990s without any telephones, an unreliable radio network and extremely poor roads. Bookings could only be made by radio contact with Keval Travel Agency in Kokstad, some 150 km away (De Villiers and Costello, 2006). These constraints resulted in limited occupation of facilities, especially outside of holiday seasons (S. Spotsi, pers comm., 16/08/2018). The lack of jobs and realisation of promised benefits from tourism was a key factor that led to the invasion of MNR in 1992. Mkewani (pers comm., 17/03/2020) argues that the community knew that the original investors in the game ranch had taken money and disappeared with it. In the meantime, the community derived no benefits from tourism. The subsequent protests of 1994 erupted for similar reasons - there were few work opportunities and the roads and infrastructure were in a terrible state (Spotsi, pers comm., 16/08/2018). Mkewani (pers comm., 17/03/2020) argues that he was the driver of the land claim on MNR with his main purpose being to obtain jobs for the people living in the communities around MNR.

The Mkambati communities won their land claim in 2004 (Kepe, 2012). In terms of the resultant Settlement Agreement, the DEDEA and ECPTA must attempt to implement long-

term lease agreements with private sector companies in the hospitality industry to develop MNR's ecotourism potential and thereby create employment opportunities for local people (ECPB, 2009). Queiros (2000) argues that a primary constraint to tourism pre the establishment of the parks board, was that the reserve was state run and relied solely on a budget from government. Procurement of even basic items followed a bureaucratic procedure that often took months. In theory, the creation of the ECPB in 2004 as a parastatal of the Provincial Department of Environmental Affairs, should have allowed for a more fluid procurement system. However, according to Mapiya (pers comm., 05/07/2019) this did not occur immediately. Furthermore, the retention of income generated from tourism did not boost the allocated budget for the management of the MNR and attracting suitable private sector investors proved difficult (V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019).

South Africa has promoted ecotourism as a key strategy to ensure both conservation and improved rural livelihoods (Cock and Fig, 2000; Kepe, 2002). This was the strategy for MNR when the SDI focussed on tourism projects (Queiros, 2000), and subsequent to the unsuccessful SDI (ECPTA, 2018). However, Kepe (2002) warns that ecotourism as a policy discourse makes unrealistic assumptions about the realised value of the environment and its link to rural livelihoods. He argues that biodiversity conservation projects often fail to live up to their promise of improving rural livelihoods. To support this, Chief Jama (pers comm., 29/03/2018) states that there have been very few benefits to the local people from MNR, even subsequent to the land claim. In his words, 'It has been taking too long for ECPTA to get investors. In the past there was a bar and pools (referring to the Pink Banana pub and restaurant during the Game Reserve era, and to two large swimming pools at the restaurant and lodge). Now there is nothing. Only ruins!'

Figure 8.4: Gwe Gwe camp in ruins (D. de Villiers 17/03/2020)

Ranger and du Plessis (2013) argue that it is important for ECPTA to find suitable funding streams including NGOs, private sector donors and investors to raise the dwindling government budget provided for management of the MNR. Queiros (2000) reflected on the lack of incentives for private sector developers to enter into arrangements that facilitate local community participation, benefit and empowerment. She cautioned against MNR following a tourism model that would focus on backpackers who are inherently content to accept inferior service and facilities. She argued that operators appointed through this tourism model would consequently have little incentive to develop and improve facilities, do regular refuse removal, repair potholes and ensure that communication and water systems function effectively.

The DEDEAT and ECPTA decided to embark on a high-income, low impact tourism model for the MNR (De Villiers and Costello, 2013; Terreco, 2014). Controversy arose over this decision and over the development of a high-end lodge on the reserve. Carnie (2019) writes of the 'selling of the "Wild Coast" by privatising resorts'. Colin Bell, a shareholder of Mkambati Matters, the concessionaire that won the tender to develop a resort on the MNR, argues that a high-end lodge will provide revenue and jobs for the community while still conserving the land and in addition expanding the reserve by at least 2 000 ha. According to Bell (2019), current income for the community is from minimal rental of self-contained cottages and hiring of a few cleaners. The agreement with the new lodge will be for a basic rent of over R200 000 per annum plus 9% of turnover. He emphasises this is not 9% of profits. To quote Bell (2019), 'When 9% is added to the 15% VAT; it means that government, conservation and the community will earn 24% of gross turnover of all revenue. In a very good year it translates to

around 50% of net profits of the lodge, without communities or government having to invest a cent.'

While Bell argues that this is a win-win model for a community-private partnership that may see local people receiving millions of Rands annually, several conservationists question the exclusivity of such high-end lodges. Bishop Geoff Davies, a long-time campaigner for conservation in Pondoland (Clarke, 2014) expresses particular concern at the location of some lodges along the previously undisturbed 'Mosquito Beach' site (G. Davies email, Proposed Development at Mkhambathi, 14/10/2018). Mosquito Beach is described in De Villiers and Costello (2006) as being in the 'Wilderness Area' of the MNR and a favourite part of the coast for naturalists to explore. Bell (2019) counters these arguments by stating that the footprint of the development is less than 1% of the declared protected area. He maintains that the benefits outweigh the environmental costs and cites the alternative socio-economic benefits of proposed heavy mineral mining on the borders of MNR as far more dangerous to the environment. In Bell's opinion, mining and tourism cannot co-exist and the success of the high-end tourism model will provide a strong argument against state authorisation of mines at Xolobeni (Bell, 2019).

The reality is that income generation at MNR is down and communities are irate at the lack of jobs and benefits (M2-M15). Ranger and du Plessis (2013) estimate a decline in revenue from over R1 000 000 to R600 000. This is ascribed to the degradation of tourist facilities in light of delays in the investor coming on board and beginning refurbishment of concessioned facilities. Bell (pers comm., 13/03/2020) states that delays in building new lodges were the result of extended EIA processes and a land dispute with the Department of Agriculture which still had to provide permission to build, even though the MNR was declared a protected area in 1977. The CEO of ECPTA, Vuyani Dayimani, is quoted in the media as stating that the delays were due to converting a portion of land, that was zoned for agriculture, for tourism purposes (Dayimani, 2018). The COVID lockdown in March 2020 further delayed progress in the envisaged commencement of construction (C. Bell, pers comm., 27/07/2020).

According to Bell (2019), there is conflict between a small group of local South African holidaymakers and the tourism plans for MNR. He questions whether the rights of holidaymakers are more important than those of 40 000 neighbours who own the reserve and want to gain meaningful socio-economic benefits from it, while still conserving the land. Kepe

(2001b) suggests that the local South African market should not be ignored as it has historically constituted the majority of tourists and repeat visitors to MNR. Most of these tourists visit for the tranquillity and beauty of the surroundings, with only 2% citing game viewing as the attraction. This would in all likelihood be different if the focus were to be on the foreign tourism market. Prinsloo (pers comm., 06/11/2018) recalls that, 'local tourists liked the rustic facilities and crappy roads as these kept other visitors away.' Whatever decision is taken regarding the tourism model for MNR, traditional leaders are at one that tourism will have to provide decent jobs to local people. Chief Jama (pers comm., 17/03/2020) summarises this in the following manner, 'There are only piece jobs at Mkambati: EPWP (Expanded Public Works Programme), Working for Fire – these are not sustainable jobs. We have been promised tourism jobs for many years, but nothing comes from it. They are empty promises.'

Chief Jama has a valid point. The first efforts to increase tourism following the land claim settlement occurred in 2005 when the Eastern Cape Parks Board received R52 million from the National DEAT for labour intensive projects as part of the Expanded Public Works Programme (EP Herald, 2005). MEC Andre de Wet is quoted in the media as promising that, 'the emphasis will be on the socio-economic development of the Mkambati area.' De Wet added that the intention was to fast-track finalisation of the R75 million investment for the MNR's eco-tourism facilities (EP Herald, 2005). In 2021 this had yet to be finalised.

Reserve managers share a reluctance to admitting to Mkambati's history of tourism failures. Khuzwayo (pers comm., 28/03/2018) states that tourists are disappointed with the dilapidated condition of the facilities. They do, however, want more accommodation units. The concession has been promised for more than a decade with constant delays to progress and the blame shifted from one department to another. Seemingly, although the EIA was approved, the Department of Agriculture had to approve the sub-division of the land. This process took more than two years to finalise (Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018). Chief Jama expresses dismay at the continual wrangling between state departments and tourism investors. 'Traditional leaders are not consulted by these investors and the Departments. Only the Land Trust knows some things. The Departments consult with the Land Trust. But we need to be spoken with too' (S. Jama, pers comm., 17/03/2020).

8.9.3 Conflicts as a Result of Inter-Departmental Turf Wars

Inter-departmental conflict is not new to Mkambati. When the researcher began working as the Regional Manager for Environmental Affairs in the East Griqualand Kei Region in 1996, there was a protracted battle between the Department of Health and the Department of Economic Affairs Environment and Tourism (which initially fell within the Department of Agriculture) for the management of the MNR accommodation (De Villiers, 1996b).

Dirk Prinsloo (pers comm., 06/11/2018) refers to 'the constant battle being waged by Sister Langa (Zoleka Capa of the Department of Health) and her militant crowd (of the JMC).' This was the researcher's initial impression on witnessing the militancy displayed by members of the JMC when he attended his first meeting with them in October 1996. However, on further examination, the conflict was much deeper than inter-departmental politics, and involved a struggle for meaningful jobs. It was also an attempt by individuals to improve their political power (Cousins and Kepe, 2002).

The last tuberculosis patients vacated the hospital in 1981 (De Villiers, 1996b) and the Health Department officially signed over the deserted hospital complex to the Mkambati Game Reserve on 1st November, 1983 (Spotsi, 1997). A condition of the handover was that the MGR had to absorb all hospital staff. Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) recalls the reserve staff component exceeding 300 people because this agreement was honoured. However, tensions remained about ownership of the accommodation (De Villiers, 1996b). In March 1995, immediately after refurbishment of the accommodation for use by reserve staff, the buildings were invaded by local people headed by nurses from Holy Cross Hospital (Spotsi, 1995).

In 1996 the Department of Health reopened a clinic on what had become the MNR without consulting the managing authority - the Ministry of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism (MEAET) (De Villiers, 1996b). There was immediate conflict between hospital staff and reserve officials, which the MEAET attempted to resolve by meeting with the JMC (De Villiers, 1997; Mkambati Minutes, 1997). The continual tensions not only affected departmental staff, but impacted on tourism, and spilled over into the neighbouring community villages where workers resided (Spotsi, 1997). Letters and reports requesting intervention from senior management from the different departments, were met with silence or unfulfilled promises (De Villiers, 2002b). As a result of uncertainty and lack of decision-making, the staff

accommodation facilities deteriorated to such a degree that they became a health hazard to those living in them (De Villiers, 2002b; Mapiya, 2002). Throughout the duration of the conflict, the MNR had to accommodate staff amongst tourist chalets in order to provide them with decent living conditions. This was not ideal for tourism and met with the expected complaints (De Villiers, 1996b; 1997; 1998; 2002b). The staff accommodation issue was only resolved after the land claim was formally settled in 2004 and the MNR officially took possession of the former hospital buildings.

8.9.4 Conflicts around the Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) and Pondoland National Park

The SDI was initiated by the Department of Trade and Industry in 1996 and based on earlier development plans for Transkei (Kepe, 2001c). The main focus of the SDI was the plan for a national coastal road from Port Edward to East London (Clarke, 2014). In addition to the road, development nodes were identified across Transkei where it was hoped that infrastructural improvements in anchor projects would stimulate investment from the private sector. The Wild Coast SDI focus was largely on eco-tourism (Kepe, 2001c). Following a meeting in Mount Ayliff in June 1998, an Mkambati SDI Cluster Node was established. This comprised the MGR, TRACOR, Msikaba Forest and campsite, Mtentu River and the communities surrounding these areas (De Villiers, 1998b). Consultants were appointed to investigate development opportunities, but De Villiers (1999c) reported to the Deputy Permanent Secretary, Ms Maria Mbengashe, and a Regional Managers' Task Team of DEAET that they were 'haphazard' in their approach to consulting with conservation staff and local people. Chief Jama (pers comm., 29/03/2018) states that the SDI never succeeded at Mkambati and was another failed scheme from the state to provide work.

Kepe (2001c) argues that the conflicts between local government officials and traditional leaders in the Mkambati area at the time of the SDI resulted in divided support for the process with suspicions about the alliances and intentions of the facilitators. Kepe (1997b) warned of the pitfalls of attempting to fast track development in the Mkambati area. These warnings went unheeded and were a contributing factor to the failure of the SDI (Mitchell et al., 2008). The Pondoland National Park is a case in point. One of the key SDI projects for the Mkambati Node

was for the creation of a Pondoland National Park (Minutes Mkhambati Nodal Cluster Meeting, 12/08/1999). The concept was widely supported by environmentalists, but not by local people, who had not been widely consulted (Kepe, 2001c; K. Cooper, pers comm., 16/05/2018). The proposal was handled inefficiently by people who were bombastic and lacked knowledge of Pondoland (P. Goss, pers comm., 15/05/2019). The idea was also not supported by DEAET because it was seen as an effort by the national department to undermine the province's capabilities (P. Mzazi-Geja, pers comm., 24/08/2020). The Pondoland National Park never materialised and the SDI largely failed to provide investment and jobs in the Mkambati area. Mitchell et al. (2008) found that there was little evidence of community benefits from the SDI in any of the anchor projects across the entire Wild Coast. There was no significant increase in employment in the anchor nodes and there was a dramatic fall in food production with a corresponding increase in dependence on remittances from migrant workers. Regardless of the failure of the SDI, the state continued to pursue the drive to build the controversial coastal road through Pondoland with the initial concept plan directing it straight through the MNR. These controversies are discussed in the next section.

8.9.5 Conflicts around the Wild Coast N2

There is no doubt that the National Road (N2) that is being built through Pondoland will have a major detrimental effect on the conservation of the internationally recognised Centre of Endemism. The EIA stated this as a key finding (DEA, 2010). It is fortunate that through lobbying and extensive negotiations the route was moved to north of the TRACOR land (K. Cooper, pers comm., 16/05/2018). Jim Feely and the researcher were both called to Bhisho in 1997 by the Permanent Secretary of DEAET, Monde Tom, because they were publically advocating during SDI meetings for the moving of the road outside of MNR and the Pondoland Centre of Endemism. No amount of explanation from the researcher's side that it was his duty as an employee of the Department of Environmental Affairs to highlight the potential negative impacts on biodiversity, was accepted. Both Feely and the researcher were threatened with immediate dismissal if they ever again spoke out against the N2. This indicates the intention of the government of the time to proceed with the Wild Coast N2 regardless of any opposition raised by state officials, NGOs or affected communities, based upon environmental grounds. The state intended to exert its power to ensure approval of the road through an internationally

recognised biodiversity hotspot and centre of endemism. After years of resistance from environmental lobby groups and communities opposed to the road, authorisation was granted by the National Department of Environmental Affairs (DEA, 2010). The route had been altered to exclude MNR and the former TRACOR area. In addition, Condition 6.2.7 of the Environmental Authorisation states that a Biodiversity Offset Agreement (BOA) must be entered into prior to commencement of construction of the N2. The BOA earmarked the TRACOR land as part of an expanded protected area network to compensate for the environmental damage that the construction of the N2 would have on the Pondoland Centre of Endemism (BOA, 2016, p. 26). The impacts of the road on community livelihoods, way of life and culture were arguably given less attention. It is for this reason that conflicts surrounding the building of this road have been greatest in the amaDiba area north of the MNR as discussed in Chapter Five of this study. The conflict resulted in the termination of the building of the bridge across the Mtentu River Gorge in 2019 (Figure 8.5) and the engineering firm that had been awarded the tender to construct the bridge, Aveng Strabag, withdrew from the contract. The Amadiba Crisis Committee (ACC) refer to an *imbizo* of 23/01/2020 at Xolobeni where over 400 community delegates told SANRAL to leave the Amadiba area until Amadiba decide on the N2 route (ACC email, 27/01/2020).

Figure 8.5: The abandoned bridge site at Mtentu following amaDiba protests and the withdrawal of Aveng Strabag from the project (D. de Villiers, 2020)

8.9.6 Conflicts around Mining

The link between the building of the coastal N2 national road and the proposed mining for titanium north of Mkambati has been suspected since the projects were proposed (Clarke, 2014). The coastal dunes between the Mzamba and Mtentu Rivers potentially have substantial heavy mineral sand deposits of ilmenite as well as rutile and zircon potential (MRC, 2013). TEM applied for a prospecting right for five blocks making up what is known as the Xolobeni project. In June 2008 the DMR granted the right but it was immediately appealed and the Minister withdrew the right in 2011 following protests from certain communities (MRC, 2013).

Xolobeni has received much publicity for the conflicts that it has created amongst local leaders and community members. This is discussed in greater depth in Chapter Five. However, it should be noted here that the Mkambati traditional leaders who the researcher met with support the mine because they believe it will bring work. They also support sand mining outside of MNR. They admit to knowing that they require permits and do not have such, but they argue that they require sand to build with. They ask where else they will get sand if not from the streams and wetlands around Mkambati. They claim that DMR never responds to their requests for meetings or permits. Furthermore, they state that sand mining provides jobs to local people and brings money to the community (M1-M11) (Figure 8.6). The main sand mining occurs on the former TRACOR land in the KwaDlambu streams and wetlands which are recognised as being rich in endemic plant species (Prinsloo, 2000; Abbott, 2006).[16] Sand mines also exist on the MNR boundaries in Tahle where the local traditional leadership see it as essential for building (B. Gumbuzo, pers comm., 17/05/2018).

The financial gains from the exploitation of the mines mainly accrue to outside business owners who have hardware shops and trucking companies in Mtontsasa and Flagstaff (personal knowledge). Despite the insistence of the local traditional leaders that the community makes money from sand and the argument by Mngeni et al. (2017) that local economies can benefit through sand mining, local people merely receive low wages for loading sand onto trucks (L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018; V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). There is conflict between MLT members and traditional leaders relating to sand mining. The traditional leaders

[16] On 27th January, 2020, a controversial mining permit no. 34/2019 was issued by DMR to the Masimanyane Trucking and Plant Hire Co-operative Limited for sand mining in the KwaDlambu. There was no consultation with the National Department of Environmntal Affairs, Forestry and Fisheries or DEDEAT.

benefit by getting paid by truckers, while the MLT do not want the mining to continue. People who do not benefit financially are against the mining (L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018; V. Mapiya, pers comm., 05/07/2019). There was no mining in the Mkambati area in the 1990s (S. Spotsi; D. Prinsloo, pers comm., 2018).

Figure 8.6: A community meeting about sand mining at Khanyayo in 2018 (D. de Villiers, 17/05/2018)

8.9.7 Conflicts around Afforestation

While the SDI, and the coastal road specifically, was the state's focal area to encourage development in Transkei from around 1996, the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry simultaneously embarked on an afforestation plan. The DWAF believed that an estimated 120 000 hectares could be planted with timber, mostly in communal areas (Kepe, 2001a). The TRACOR land was identified as a key area for plantations. Although the BOA that was signed for the N2 earmarked TRACOR for expansion, the DEDEAT also approved an afforestation plan for the same area (EIA). Khanyayo leaders appear satisfied that the afforestation is providing work (M1-M11). Jama (pers comm., 29/03/2018) states, 'It is only since SAPPI came to Mkambati in 2011 that we have benefitted from jobs at TRACOR.' However, Khuzwayo (pers comm., 17/03/2020) says that there are tensions between leaders who want afforestation and communities who want the land for grazing. Bell (pers comm., 27/03/2019) insists that MLT has also agreed to expand the protected area to include the TRACOR grasslands.

The supporters of afforestation have not waited for disputes to be resolved. They have proceeded with planting plans in accordance with the approved EIA and have furthermore expanded beyond the authorised areas. In March 2020 the DEDEAT issued the MLR and SAPPI with a pre-compliance notice for unlawfully planting *Eucalyptus* on more than 75

hectares of pristine grassland in the TRACOR area (De Villiers, 2020b). Allen Mhatu, the contract manager from SAPPI, acknowledged the contravention (email, 28/04/2020). He cited the reasons for planting in the unauthorised area as, 'conflict amongst communities about where we can plant. When planting was done on the ground we never adhered strictly to the planting plan. We planted wherever the community showed us' (A. Mhatu, pers comm., 18/03/2020). Khuzwayo (pers comm., 18/03/2020) agrees that the communities are divided about where planting should take place. The Tahle communities in particular are against plantations on their grasslands because they want the TRACOR land for grazing for their cattle (Figure 8.7). However, given that many people of Khanyayo also want grazing, conflict is bound to result from the recent *Eucalyptus* planting (Khuzwayo, pers comm., 17/03/2020). The DEDEAT issued a compliance notice to the MLT on 5th August, 2020 to rehabilitate the planted area and the MLT made a counter offer to donate 150 ha of pristine grassland for conservation.

Figure 8.7: Lwazi Khuzwayo and the researcher at the Tahle grasslands on the former TRACOR area (J. Costello, 17/03/2020)

8.9.8 Conflicts about Cattle

As discussed earlier in this chapter, grazing for cattle has been a source of conflict since the establishment of the Mkambati Leper Institute in the early 1900s. The 1956 altercation between the Leper Institute's farm manager, Frank Austin, and a local farmer who wanted his impounded cattle returned, may be the first recorded incident of aggression by an Mpondo man demanding his right to grazing, but it was perhaps a catalyst for further protests against restrictions on access to livelihoods (Kepe, 2001a; 2012). The demand for grazing formed the basis of the land claim that resulted in TRACOR and MNR being returned to the local communities (V. Mkiwane, pers comm., 17/03/2020; V. Schmid, pers comm., 17/05/2020). The TRACOR area, in particular, is very important to many local people for their cattle. If it is

not managed properly there will be conflict (L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 17/05/2020). In Khuzwayo's words, 'The Tahle people refuse to allow more plantations onto their part of TRACOR. They do not want the nature reserve to expand into the land either. They only want grazing land for cattle. They say "cattle are the soul of the people".' An interesting observation made by Khuzwayo is that, despite their desire for grazing for their cattle, the people from surrounding communities also value the MNR because they see it as providing security for their livestock and diminishing the chances of stock theft.

8.9.9 Conflicts about wildlife and *ukujola* (legitimate poaching)

Before the declaration of the Leper Reserve, hunting grounds were open to all men living around Mkambati (Kepe, 1997a). Indigenous wildlife to the area would have included bushbuck, common duiker, common reedbuck and oribi (Shackleton, 1992; De Villiers, 2002a). Since the proclamation of MNR, the fencing of the area, and the introduction of many species of game, hunting has been justified by the neighbouring villages by reference to the term '*ukujola*', which loosely translated means legitimised stealing (Kepe, 1997a). In terms of this notion, hunting is not a crime as it has always been practiced in the area. Local hunters are aware of the legislation prohibiting it, but hunt secretively so that field rangers are unaware of their activities. They know that they may be caught, arrested an even injured should they be seen, but many take a chance. To limit detection, they burn grassland close to the reserve boundaries thereby attracting herbivores to areas where they can easily be killed (Brooke et al., 2018; 2020). This facilitates a faster hunt and easier escape back to the villages (Prinsloo, 1998; Kepe, 2005a).

According to interviewed conservators who previously managed MNR, illegal hunting was not always a problem. Ruddle (pers comm., 07/01/2019) recalls no poaching of wildlife when he was conservation manager at MNR between 1984 and 1985. Mpuhlu (pers comm., 07/02/2018) confirms that when he managed the reserve in 1990 there were a few isolated cases, but he had six field rangers appointed and they responded to incidents whenever they occurred. By the time Spotsi managed between 1991 and 1997 there were numerous incidents. 'We just did law enforcement. We did no environmental education. I think that made the people angry' (Spotsi, pers comm., 16/08/2018). De Villiers (2004d) records the first field ranger training that was

conducted in 1997 by Frikkie Rossouw. Prior to this, the rangers were not properly trained and had limited success in apprehending poachers.

Prinsloo (pers comm., 06/11/2018) argues that there were many incidents of poaching in the late 1990s, but the reserve was too big to manage with the few trained field rangers that he had at his disposal. Fourteen rangers were appointed during his time as manager. Despite their efforts, poaching was rife and kept the number of game species down. Prinsloo submitted many reports to his manager, Div de Villiers, highlighting the problems associated with illegal, uncontrolled fires started by poachers and resulting in hundreds of hectares of MNR grasslands being burned (D. Prinsloo, pers comm., 06/11/2018). Extracts from reports by Prinsloo include the following: 'On the 11 May 1998 our senior field ranger reported that there was a runaway fire in the eastern section (Mtentu River Boundary) of Mkambati Nature Reserve. We do not have any vehicles (bakkies) to gain access to that area. The area that was burnt is about 1 000 ha in size. The same area has been set alight by poachers for the past 4 or 5 years. This is done to get a flush of green growth during winter to lure animals to the area' (Prinsloo, 1998).

Anthropogenic ignitions by poachers affect the fire regime at MNR (Brooke et al., 2018). These frequent fires have an impact on the grassland species composition (Shackleton et al., 1991). Poaching not only removes wildlife from MNR but also impacts on the ecological stoichiometry. Fires intentionally set to attract animals to areas where they may more easily be poached alter the vegetation ages, thereby manipulating the chemical composition, biomass and digestibility of plant material used by herbivores (Brooke et al., 2020).

Poaching affects the number of animals, as well as the behaviour of target species. Large herbivores on MNR spend less time in areas where poachers frequently operate. They rapidly learn which the risky areas are and leave these areas relatively quickly, thereby exploiting certain resource patches less vigorously than others (Brooke et al., 2020).

During the time that the researcher worked in Pondoland between 1996 and 2007, it was clear that there were two forms of poaching at MNR - that done by local people on a small scale, and that done by outsiders on a larger scale with more sophisticated equipment, sometimes for commercial purposes. Kepe (1997a) reports that local people hunt to supplement their maize-based diet. Some supply the medicinal trade; for example, the tails of blue wildebeest are highly prized by traditional healers and reap lucrative financial reward (Kepe, 1997a). Commercial

poaching is done by outsiders. De Villiers and Costello (2013) record an incident in 1997 where poachers used fire, dogs and firearms to drive herds of game over the Mtentu cliffs. Nineteen blesbok and one blue wildebeest were killed but only one carcass was retrieved by the poachers. Organised poaching with automatic firearms was rife at one point in the late 1990s but joint operations with the police task force led to arrests of people from Lusikisiki, and for a few years poaching incidents dropped to almost zero (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

Regular poaching still occurs on MNR, mainly in the Mtentu area (Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018). 'Fire is still used to lure animals towards the Mtentu cliffs and the main hunting methods remain dogs, sticks and pangas (machetes).' Illegal hunting is not encouraged or condoned by traditional leaders (M1-M15). According to Kepe (1997a; 2008) commercial poaching on MNR is despised by local people. It is undertaken by people who do not live nearby and no permission is granted by traditional authorities. However, in his opinion *ukujola* will continue until conservation officials engage local hunters to establish a form of co-management. He believes that cooperation between the parties will assist in preventing commercial, large-scale poaching which threatens the wildlife on MNR. Hunting by outsiders was not supported by any of the participants interviewed by the researcher. However, hunting is a regular occurrence (Khuzwayo, pers comm., 17/03/2020). According to Colin Bell (pers comm., 01/06/2019) it appears to be out of control. He cites illegal hunting as having had a major negative effect on wildlife numbers, with the eland population especially impacted upon.

8.10 The Future of Mkambati Nature Reserve

There were no outright demands for the abandonment or deproclamation of MNR from any interviewees during this study, but a consistent theme amongst traditional leaders was the lack of employment opportunities. 'We are not concerned if Mkambati Nature Reserve is deproclaimed. There is little tourism. There are few benefits for us. We don't care about its future' (M. Siyabulela, pers comm., 17/03/2020). While other headmen nod in support of this statement, Chief Jama reflects that it is a common sentiment in Khanyayo because of the history of failed promises by the state (S. Jama, pers comm., 17/03/2020). Chief Gumbuzo (pers comm., 17/05/2018) argues that it is difficult to convince the youth to look after nature while they have no work. 'The future will be a national road with huge bridges and easy coastal

access. We hope there will be more tourism and more jobs, like the South Coast. This is what the people want. They want the coast to look like Margate. They want houses by the sea.'

Unlike Gumbuzo, Chief Jama does not want Mkambati to look like the KwaZulu-Natal coastline, but he wants tourism to speed up on MNR. He also wants to be consulted about developments. 'I never even knew when the Parks Board (ECPTA) put up the new entrance gate. And they never told me they were going to cement the road. I only knew when they wanted people for the labour. Mkambati must stay a nature reserve. And TRACOR area is important for poles and sand and grazing. We must keep the area looking like Pondoland. This is not Durban' (S. Jama, pers comm., 29/03/2018).

Pat Goss is concerned about the future of MNR. He believes that with dwindling state funds there is a need for outside support – possibly from the World Bank. 'The entire Wild Coast should be a World Heritage Site. Only with some form of formal protection will it be conserved. Locals need incentives to support its protection. They must benefit from it. An investor into the tourism at MNR will assist. But ultimately I support the Kenyan group ranches model as a conservation strategy for the Wild Coast.' Goss believes that cattle and game should be allowed to co-exist. He cautions that there will be a danger of overgrazing but believes that with proper management this can be controlled. His major fear is the rapidly increasing human population and associated urban sprawl. Wherever roads are built and electricity provided there is an influx of developers, many from outside Pondoland. This sentiment is shared by John Costello who has lived and worked in Transkei all his life. 'The greatest threat to the environment is the uncontrolled building of large concrete block mansions that are being erected along every road in Transkei' (J. Costello, pers comm., 05/08/2020). Mbana (1991) already warned that Transkei's population increase was arguably the greatest factor determining whether there would be sufficient resources for future basic livelihood needs. He cited the large population dominated by women and children with low literacy rates as being the greatest challenge to prosperity. Chief Mthuthuzeli Mkwedini (pers comm., 29/03/2018) expresses concerns that the population influx into Lambasi since the upgrades of the roads and provision of electricity is difficult to control (Figure 8.8). He alleges that houses have been built in unsuitable areas like wetlands without there having been any discussions with traditional leaders. The sprawl is threatening the traditional lifestyle of the amaMpondo of his area. He wants Pondoland to stay as it is. The traditional way of life is important and should be retained. He says, 'Pondoland is our diamond. It must not be taken away from us.' Like Goss, Mkwedini believes in a future

where cattle and game roam the grasslands between Msikaba and Lambasi (Mkwedini, pers comm., 29/03/2018).

Sizakele Gabula (pers comm., 24/08/2020) fears that there is insufficient political and senior management support for MNR and for the BOA. He says that Chief Mkwedini is being pressurised to release land earmarked for the BOA protected area. Even councillors are asking for coastal plots to build houses. Gabula argues that during the land struggles politicians regularly visited MNR. He cites Premier Stofile and MECs Ngonyama, Godongwana and Jonas who regularly met with chiefs and communities. However, for the past few years there has been a perceived lack of interest. Mkwedini (pers comm., 29/03/2018) shares this sentiment. He states that he is waiting for direction from the government about what is envisaged for the coastal land.

Figure 8.8: Chief Mkwedini values Pondoland's traditional way of life and believes it must be retained (A. de Villiers, 29/03/2018)

Discussions on the future of Mkambati often became emotional as the researcher interviewed traditional leaders and conservationists. Kepe (2014) states that, historically, much attention has been paid to Mkambati, which is surprising as it is a very small area. He suggests that this is because of its unique biodiversity, the extremely poor population and related political tensions, and the continual arguments around an expanded protected area – once referred to as 'The Pondoland National Park'.

Kepe (2014) reflects on four dominant themes that have made new headlines over the past few decades in relation to Pondoland and MNR specifically. These are the Xolobeni mining, the N2 toll road, land claims since 1994 and the proposed Pondoland National Park. He argues that all these themes will affect the future of MNR and the surrounding households, 80% of whom live below the minimum poverty level of South Africa.

There have been numerous arguments about the most suitable land-use for Mkambati and the area surrounding the nature reserve. Kepe (2014) identifies five crucial studies between 1968 and 2006 that influenced current conservation discourses. In his opinion conservation scientists have, through these published studies, imposed their preference for an expanded protected area on the poor communities of Pondoland and wider society. The proposals appear to have global connections and he fears that they could make the Wild Coast a fortress conservation area, which may not benefit local people. The current reserve manager at MNR, Lwazi Khuzwayo, says there are divided opinions amongst community members about the expansion of the protected area. Some people support it, but others want plantations, while others want sand mines. According to him, Khanyayo and Tahle are most supportive of cattle farming (L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 28/03/2018).

Like all the past and present conservationists who worked at MNR that the researcher interviewed, Stanford Spotsi believes that the protected area must be expanded, 'I keep meeting with Chief Mlindamazwe of the amaPhisi and reminding him that he agreed to extend the reserve east of the Mtentu' (S. Spotsi, pers comm., 2018). However, the envisaged model for future management amongst conservationists differs markedly. Prinsloo (pers comm., 06/11/2018) believes that as long as a provincial government entity manages MNR it will not be a feasible economic unit and will not be managed in the correct ecological manner. In his opinion SANParks is not perfect, but 'at least they do a reasonable job with managing protected areas and have the resources to ensure that the ecological integrity is retained, and in the process may even make a Rand or two.' Boyd (pers comm., 31/01/2020) believes that the Pondoland MPA is excellently designed and considers sustainable livelihoods as well as protection of marine life. He suggests that it should remain as is, but that the Mtentu non-consumptive fly-fishing project should be revisited to provide benefits to local people.

Keith Cooper (pers comm., 2018) is of the opinion that Mkambati is too small to make a meaningful difference in conserving the rich biodiversity and all the endemic species of

Pondoland. He states that he is an optimist and says, 'I believe in miracles. Mkambati and large parts of the Wild Coast can be conserved, but it will need good, dedicated Black people to drive the process. It needs a Black Ian Player. Someone like Queen Sigcawu.'

The process of expanding the nature reserve has been very slow and thus far unsuccessful. The Wild Coast Project which operated between 2007 and 2014 with $6.5 million of GEF funding, ended in June 2014. A focal area of this project was to prepare expansion plans for the Wild Coast protected area network and consult with communities and their leadership throughout this process. At the conclusion of the project, the coordinator wrote that a memorandum of understanding had been signed between the ECPTA and the Lambasi CPA to expand the MNR to include 8 000 ha of grasslands at Lambasi. Further agreement had been reached to incorporate 3 500 ha of grasslands from TRACOR into the MNR (Tyldesly, 2014). This has yet to come to fruition and it continues as part of the Biodiversity Offset Agreement of the N2.

Kepe (2001a) warns of the pitfalls of fast-tracking development on the Wild Coast. Nowhere is this more relevant than at Mkambati. The amaMpondo are renowned for their resistance to changes in their traditional way of life. They chased away the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Marthinus van Schalkwyk, when he came with a delegation of officials from Pretoria, and told them of his intention to proclaim the Pondoland National Park (P. Mzazi-Geja, pers comm., 23/08/2020). They stopped the building of the N2 road across the Mtentu River (Fuzile, 2019). They won a court case against the Xolobeni mining company with a judgement giving them the right to decide what can be done on their land (Ngubeni, 2019). It is no wonder then that the expansion of the protected areas has taken so long to materialise.

The Wild Coast Project close-out report highlights the poor implementation of the Settlement Agreements, including that of MNR. It states that the Settlement Agreements have contributed to community conflicts by failing to clarify the role/function of traditional leaders and to all intents have excluded them from the Agreements (Tyldesly, 2014). Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019) believes that the prolonged court battles for the right to the throne are a severe stumbling block to any co-management in Eastern Pondoland. He warns that where traditional leadership is uncertain it is difficult to obtain decisions. Progress with the expansion of MNR in accordance with the Wild Coast Project agreements, and latterly the BOA, is a case in point. The ECPTA is finding it exceedingly difficult to get consensus about extension into TRACOR

and to create a protected area in Lambasi because of traditional leadership disputes (S. Gabula, pers comm., 24/08/2020; SANRAL, 2018; 2019). The battle continues for the recognition of the rightful king of Pondoland. Queen Sigcawu (pers comm., 24/03/2020) told the researcher telephonically, 'You know, Mr de Villiers, some people still fail to recognise my late husband as king. We are still fighting in court.'

The future of MNR will depend on politics and on the leadership of traditional authorities who still retain administrative power in the area. Modern conservationists would be naive to ignore this (S. Gabula, pers comm., 24/08/2020). The influence of politicians and the socio-economic situation in an area has historically been ignored by environmental managers. Herb Bourn (pers comm., 25/05/2020) states that the conservation officials of the former Transkei did their best to conserve nature. In his words, 'We did not bother ourselves with politics or racial matters. We just practiced conservation.' In line with Bourn's statement, the researcher found that none of the interviewees, whether traditional leaders or conservators, reported any incidents of racism in the field. Dutton (pers comm., 16/05/2018) was of the opinion that Grobicki was racist, but Spotsi (pers comm., 16/08/2018) says he was bombastic and rude to everyone – Black and White. Referring to his rude manners, one interviewee said, 'We called him the Polish pig.' Pat Goss (pers comm., 15/05/2019) states, 'All whom I have worked with in Pondoland have shown empathy and passion for people and the environment. I worked a lot with Paul Dutton. He was a real gentleman. They all just wanted to look after the animals and plants of Pondoland.' Throughout his career along the Wild Coast, the researcher has found that there is a common desire among most traditional leaders and conservation managers working on the ground to look after the environment and the natural resources that remain. None of the interviewees want the MNR deproclaimed. There are a few who are frustrated with the current management and the slow pace of tourism development and differing opinions on protected area expansion and land use options outside of the current declared nature reserve. The clear consensus amongst everyone that was interviewed, is that there has to be better communication with traditional leaders if effective conservation and natural resource management is to be realised.

8.11 Conclusion

This chapter has shown that Mkambati is an internationally acclaimed biodiversity hotspot that is revered by local people, conservationists and tourists. This is the reason for developments in and around the MNR conjuring up emotive and passionate responses, and receiving unprecedented attention in the media considering its small size. The chapter discussed the establishment of a leprosy institution early in the 20th century where local people were removed from Mkambati and prevented from utilising the natural resources upon which they depended. This was particularly disruptive to their cattle-centred culture and consequent reliance upon grazing land. It further discussed the state's continued disregard for the local people and traditional leadership once the hospital closed and decisions were taken about future utilisation of the land. It reflected on the impacts that agricultural projects and a game ranch had on the communities who lived in the area and who were not consulted about any of these state-driven projects. The chapter showed how passive resistance against the state-imposed land-use patterns turned into mass protests and conflicts that culminated in a land claim. It revealed that the MNR that was declared to be a tourist attraction for the Transkei Bantustan, became pivotal in the struggle for community land rights and the right to livelihoods. It discussed the consequences of the land eventually being awarded to seven communities that did not necessarily share a connection with one another, or the land. Finally, the chapter debated the future of the MNR and its surrounds based on the opinions of traditional leaders and conservationists who have worked and resided in the area.

CHAPTER 9: DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

9.1 Introduction

The aim of this thesis was to understand how local indigenous people living along the 280 kilometre Wild Coast of the Eastern Cape have historically managed and used their natural resources, and to document and analyse the conflicts that arose from Western-style conservation methods that were imposed from colonial times to the present. To achieve this, and to address the objectives of this study (See Chapter 1), the research design adopted comprised three main aspects. First, given the globally acknowledged tension between natural resource use by poor communities, particularly in developing countries, and Western-style conservation, the study adopted a political ecology framework. This approach aimed to help curate the study towards acknowledging issues of (in)justice and power within conservation (See Section 2.2, Chapter Two). Second, consistent with the tradition of using a political ecology lens, through extensive review of the literature on conservation of the Wild Coast, the study emphasised historical understandings and insights. Each of the case study areas has a rich history of conservation, in both a far distant past, as well as more contemporary times. These were seen as important to gain broader insight into the past, that can contextualise any current challenges and future prospects for natural resource use and conservation on the Wild Coast. Third, the study utilised a case study approach, where three nature reserves (Dwesa-Cwebe, Hluleka and Mkambati) were selected as conserved areas that interact with neighbouring communities. In addition to detailing the histories of use and conservation for each case study area, the research took the approach of seeking the understandings of community leaders (traditional authorities) and present and past nature reserve managers. The rationale for interviewing these stakeholders, rather than community members, is that much of the research on the interaction between community natural resource use and conservation has yielded a wealth of information already, which is incorporated in this thesis. Understanding the views of leaders and managers, who are people that wield power and influence, allowed for an understanding of natural resource use – conservation tension from a different perspective. Together, these three approaches to the study, have hopefully introduced an additional lens to understanding conservation on the Wild Coast, which takes place in the context of dire poverty, yet historically necessitated the use of local resources by local communities.

This present chapter brings the theoretical and empirical aspects together by drawing out areas of conflict or consensus about natural resource management and developing key issues for debate. The chapter is divided into six sections where the key issues that emerged from the literature review and the interviews are discussed. Each issue that has been identified is explored and argued separately. Following this introduction, the next section deals with the first key issue emerging from the study, namely, the debate on whether natural resources are still important for local livelihoods. As discussed in detail in Chapter Two of the thesis, political factors influence how natural resources are used and managed. The emphasis of this first key issue is on whether there is a need for local people on the Wild Coast to utilise natural resources to sustain their livelihoods and, if so, how the allocation of these resources is managed. This is explored on a case by case basis, considering the unique scenarios presented in and around each protected area study site.

The second key issue in the study is the exploration of Western-style conservation methods as they have unfolded along the Wild Coast over time. An extensive body of literature was analysed and discussed in Chapter Five, from 19th century reports of early colonial forest conservators, to the most recent management plans for the Wild Coast protected areas. The thesis discussed the different circumstances that led to the proclamation of the three nature reserve case study sites and analysed the tensions that emanated following the creation of each protected area. This second key issue highlights and discusses the different conflicts that occurred as a result of various conservation methods, including the proclamation of nature reserves. It is here that the use of power by the state and concurrent injustices of restrictions on historical natural resource utilisation and livelihoods unfolds. The third key issue examined is the cost-benefits of the protected areas along the Wild Coast. The costs of prohibited or restricted access to natural resources are explored as are the benefits of permissible natural resource use, participatory management, private sector investment, Spatial Development Initiatives, tourism ventures and associated employment opportunities.

The fourth key issue that is analysed is the outcome of land claims that were lodged on each of the case study areas. It debates whether local communities have benefitted from the return of the land and whether sufficient justice has been served for the once unilateral decisions of forced land-use, or whether the conservation management authority still retains the power of

decision-making and control. The fifth key issue that is discussed is the prognosis for the future conservation of the Wild Coast and its natural resources considering the views expressed by different interviewees. It discusses the three protected area case study sites specifically, and further breaks down the predicted future into the perceptions of traditional leaders in comparison to conservation managers. The final section of this chapter presents an overall conclusion to the study. It highlights the most important findings and discusses the implications for further research, policy formulation and future management of the Wild Coast.

9.2 Natural Resource Use along the Wild Coast

Chapter Two showed that it is not a unique situation that local resource use and conservation along the Wild Coast present difficult challenges. It revealed that globally, and especially in third world countries, this scenario repeatedly manifests. The debates and merits of preservation versus conservation have never been more relevant than the present time, especially with a COVID-19 pandemic that brought tourism to an abrupt halt in 2020, and thereby dealt a significant blow to non-consumptive natural resource use. Conservation, as proposed by the progressive environmentalist of the 19th century, Gifford Pinchot, refers to attempts to make human relationships with the environment sustainable while still utilising natural resources (Elliott, 1996; Robbins et al., 2010). It was advocated for by early conservation planners as the preferred option for the Dwesa-Cwebe and Mkambati Nature Reserves along the Wild Coast (Moll, 1974; Tinley and van Riet, 1975). However, the Transkei Bantustan largely ignored these recommendations, and embarked to a greater extent on the John Muir type preservation model (Elliott, 1996) by setting aside areas of land and coast that were managed in a manner that prohibited resource utilisation by people (Kepe, 2008; Sunde, 2014).

Rural people's livelihoods and conservation of biodiversity are the core concerns of this thesis. Chapter Four discussed the impacts of occupation of the Wild Coast by different people on natural resources of the area. It is commonly acknowledged that all people who have lived on the Wild Coast have used its resources, from the early hunter-gatherers who gathered marine life but had minimal impacts on the coastal ecosystems, to the colonial occupiers who

commercially harvested indigenous forests close to annihilation of their valuable timber, to the Nguni people who hunted extensively and allowed large herds of cattle to graze the grasslands (Feely, 1987).

Both the theoretical and empirical aspects of this thesis are structured around the core argument that local communities need to utilise natural resources to sustain livelihoods. Specific needs were set out in detail in the protected area case study chapters of the thesis (Chapters Six to Eight). The data presented in these chapters, and supported by research elsewhere in South Africa, such as Shackleton (1989), Kepe (2002), Timmermans (2004), Emdon (2013) and Sunde (2014), show that natural resources are important to rural people, and that protected areas can play a vital role in providing for the livelihoods of communities living next to, or near their boundaries.

A key focus of this study is traditional leaders and conservationists' perceptions of the impacts of resource use on biodiversity conservation. The traditional leaders acknowledge that the Wild Coast's natural resources remain vital to the livelihoods of local rural people, even today. Various studies have highlighted the different plant and animal species that are utilised from forests, grasslands and the ocean (Shackleton, 1989; Fielding et al., 1994; Cawe and Ntloko, 1997; Kepe, 2002; Fearon, 2010; Dold and Cock, 2012). The importance of natural resources is not in question; however, the adequacy of control of their utilisation is. Pre-colonial Transkei had a tribal system from paramount chiefs, to chiefs, to local headmen, which ensured allocation of resources to local families (Mbana, 1991; Palmer, 1998). This leadership system was corrupted by the colonial and apartheid governments to support the ideals of the state (Beinart, 1982; Hendricks, 1990). Consequently, the legitimacy of chiefs and headmen who had become government employees was often disputed (Palmer, 1998) and remains so in present times (Kepe and Ntsebeza, 2012). The chiefs and headmen still see themselves as having the power to allocate resources, but acknowledge that they are not respected by all their subjects. This is discussed throughout the thesis, where personal communication is referenced to the chiefs and headmen who were interviewed. Traditional leaders believe that they have been side-lined by government in managing protected areas following the land claim resolutions agreed upon in each of the case studies. There is consensus that they no longer have the powers or support to enforce laws where natural resources are being over exploited. This

is particularly so with reference to outsiders who come into their areas, usually for commercial harvesting of resources such as high-value timber, wildlife, linefish and shellfish. Amongst their greatest concerns is their reduced power to manage and allocate land within the declared Coastal Conservation Area, indigenous forests and nature reserves along the coast. The confusion created about who has the legislative right to allocate land and resources along the Wild Coast has contributed to the uncontrolled exploitation of the natural resources (M. Coleman, pers comm., 22/08/2020). There have been incidents where traditional leaders have ignored legislation to show that they still wield power in relation to land and natural resource management.

9.2.1 Early Environmental Impacts Caused by Resource Utilisation

Chapter Four argues that human utilisation of natural resources along the Wild Coast probably had insignificant effects on the environment until the mid-1800s based on the low population density at the time. While there would have been localised impacts from subsistence use, it was only after the arrival of White colonists who began commercially exploiting wildlife and forests, that major environmental destruction became evident (Henkel, 1889; 1890; Sim, 1906). This is not to say that White people were solely responsible for the demise of wildlife and devastation of indigenous forests as there are many records of regular hunts by hundreds of Black people armed with sticks, spears, firearms and dogs where every animal encountered was killed (Henkel, 1889; 1890; Hook, 1905; Sim, 1906; Skead, 1987). The indigenous forests themselves were initially used sustainably, but from the late 1800s White and 'Hottentot' sawyers indiscriminately felled timber for commercial utilisation (Henkel, 1903; Sim, 1906; King, 1941; Cooper and Swart, 1992). This was followed by Blacks who destroyed forests further by burning them and planting crops (Sim, 1906).

Historically, grasslands along the Wild Coast were important for providing thatch for roofs (Shackleton, 1989; 1990) and for wild foods (*imifino*) (Kepe, 2002) and medicines (Dold and Cocks, 2002; 2012). They were also highly valued for the grazing they provided for cattle (McKenzie, 1984; Ainslie, 2002; 2005). The desire for large numbers of cattle resulted in high stocking rates during the early 1900s, and soil erosion occurred in many parts of the Wild Coast (Mbana, 1991), while productive grasslands became dominated by *Aristida junciformis*, a less

palatable species (Kepe, 1997). What the government saw as overstocking, led to various forms of restrictions being imposed on livestock management, including Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes which were much despised by most amaXhosa and amaMpondo men along the Wild Coast (Peires, 1989; Hendricks, 1990).

While men tended their much-valued cattle and worked as migrant labourers on mines, women remained around their homes performing their traditional role of cultivating fields (Beinart, 2001) and collecting forest produce and medicines (Cocks and Dold, 2006). Considering this, it could be argued that the custodians of land in Transkei and along the Wild Coast were actually women, but irrespective of them being successful farmers, they were restricted from buying land by legislation, including the 1913 Natives Land Act. Instead, Transkei became an overcrowded Bantustan where poverty, created by displacement, often forced people to destroy their own environment in efforts to try and survive (Hendricks, 1989).

The region's marine resources, particularly shellfish, have been an essential source of sustenance and protein for people living along the Wild Coast (Derricourt, 1977; Lasiak, 1989; 1992) Traditional harvesting methods of these resources were sustainable (Dutton, 1988) but since modern harvesting tools and techniques have been used, overutilisation has been a concern (Dye et al., 1997). It is widely disputed that fishing was customary before the arrival of White people on the Wild Coast. This was debated in Chapters Four and Six and, based on available facts, appears unlikely to have been widespread practice amongst local indigenous people. However, irrespective of the arguments, this research has shown that fishing has become an important part of livelihoods along the Wild Coast, especially at Dwesa-Cwebe.

In assessing contemporary utilisation of natural resources along the Wild Coast and the sustainability thereof, the following subsections briefly examine each case study separately. The discussions are largely the result of the semi-structured interviews conducted with traditional leaders and conservation managers.

9.2.2 Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Resource Use

Traditional leaders from Dwesa and Cwebe acknowledge the importance of the indigenous forests and grasslands for the wealth of natural resources that they have provided for hundreds of years. They cited the necessity of the nature reserves for providing firewood, building materials, medicines, and foods, and for cultural reasons. However, the most important benefit was said to be for grazing and safekeeping of their cattle. This was especially so for the Cwebe traditional leaders who even threatened to cut the reserve boundary fences to allow their cattle access if the resource was denied to them. Cattle currently graze in the protected areas, although reserve managers make occasional efforts to drive them out because they are not permitted there according to the legislation and management plan. There is very little wildlife left on Dwesa-Cwebe with most of the previously introduced species having been poached. Cattle are therefore the main grazers of the grasslands.

The traditional leadership of Dwesa-Cwebe are very critical of the commercial exploitation of indigenous forest timber and hunting on the nature reserve. They do, however, want local people to benefit more from the forests through selective timber harvesting and medicinal collection. They are supportive of the *Eucalyptus* woodlot plantations, but express concerns about the ECPTA's inability to manage any of the forests as they are of the opinion that no qualified foresters have been appointed since the establishment of the protected areas in the 1970s. There is, according to traditional leaders, little control over the exploitation of indigenous forests within the nature reserve. Furthermore, hunting occurs on a regular basis with outsiders using large packs of dogs and heavy calibre firearms. Chief Jonginkosi (pers comm., 28/05/2019) argues that there is no effective management occurring on the Cwebe Nature Reserve. He goes as far as stating that Cwebe needs its own office and reserve manager as it cannot rely on being managed from the Dwesa side.

Dwesa-Cwebe traditional leaders are particularly concerned about control of marine resource use. Although they acknowledge the need for bag limits and size restrictions, they do not want a marine protected area. Even the greatly reduced MPA of 2015 with various resource use zones, is not acceptable as they believe that it is their customary right to use all the marine resources. Past and present reserve managers agree that the MPA is the greatest source of

conflict between the communities surrounding the protected area and the management authority. Marine resources are being exploited along the entire Dwesa-Cwebe coastline, including within the MPA and Mbhashe River.

9.2.3 Hluleka Nature Reserve Resource Use

Hluleka Nature Reserve is much smaller than Dwesa-Cwebe. Traditional leaders confirm that limited collection of wood occurred from within HNR in the past and still happens, but they argue that there are sufficient resources outside the protected area that do not necessitate use of the nature reserve's forests. The use of the nature reserve for grazing by cattle and goats is seen as important to some community members. Although this was historically allowed by the previous farmers to whom the land had been granted, the traditional leaders do not support this because of the small size of the protected area. Notwithstanding this stance from traditional leaders, the reserve managers reported that there are regular invasions into the HNR by community livestock. This is often accompanied by boys with dogs who also hunt wildlife on the nature reserve as a form of sport and recreation. Berliner (2011) argues that the indigenous forests and natural resources outside of the nature reserve are heavily over exploited with more than 60% of forests totally transformed. Reserve managers believe that this is the reason for encroachments onto the nature reserve. Headmen and sub-headmen acknowledge over-use of resources but blame it on the youth who allegedly lack respect for authority, and do not listen to their chief and traditional leaders.

The traditional leadership at Hluleka do not view the MPA with the same hostility as those at Dwesa-Cwebe, although they acknowledge that it was established without consultation with them. The HNR has a much smaller coastline under protection than Dwesa-Cwebe. What the research highlighted is that the first reserve manager, Lennox Ndude, made allowance for the Hluleka communities to access the Mnenu River and the coastal area adjacent to it by deviating the fence line at their request (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018). The traditional leaders acknowledge this (M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018) and consider it to be an example of good management and neighbourliness. Making provision for local people to access natural resources from an area that they historically used has assisted in minimising conflicts between communities and conservation managers around HNR.

9.2.4 Resource use on Mkambati Nature Reserve

The MNR mainly comprises grasslands where communities have been prohibited from grazing cattle since the early 1900s when it was a leper institute. There has been allowance for the collection of thatch grass, wild spinach and wild leaves (*imifino*) from the nature reserve and within the surrounding TRACOR area (Shackleton, 1989; 1989a; b; Kepe, 2002). The traditional leaders acknowledge the importance of this as well as the collection of medicinal plants, which may not always be legal. They also admit that hunting takes place on the MNR. Kepe (1997a; b) distinguishes between *ukujola* (legitimised stealing) hunting practices by local people and commercial hunting by outsiders. While *ukujola* is secretly accepted, the traditional leaders are particularly clear about their disapproval of illegal hunting by outsiders; however, there appears to be little control over this practice.

Outsiders do come onto the TRACOR land to mine for building sand. The chiefs support this practice although it is unlawful and they are aware of the need to acquire permits from the Department of Mineral Resources. They say they have no alternative but to provide sand for developing roads, schools, clinics and houses. Traditional leaders also support the use of timber from woodlots. While there are few indigenous forests in the Mkambati area, *Eucalyptus* plantations were established on the TRACOR land (Kepe, 2002) and expanded extensively into the grasslands (De Villiers, 2020b). The timber is mainly for the commercial market, but poles are sought after by the local communities for building, and firewood (*theza*) is collected. Traditional leaders refer to the importance of afforestation, not only to provide an essential natural resource for building material, but also as a provider of jobs. According to them, it is one of the only sources of meaningful employment in the Mkambati area.

Marine resources do not play an important role in the livelihoods of Mkambati communities. There is no history of recent shellfish use by people living inland of MNR. The traditional leaders say that the settlements are too far from the coastline. They do not believe that fishing is a customary practice of the amaMpondo who reside there. Rather than relying on marine resources, amaMpondo have a cattle-centred culture with the most important natural resource identified by the Mkambati traditional leaders being grass for their cattle. Grazing land has been a source of conflict since the time of the leper institute. The chiefs want more land to be

made available for livestock production. In the words of Lwazi Khuzwayo (pers comm., 18/03/2020), 'Cattle are the soul of the people.'

9.3 Biodiversity Conservation along the Wild Coast and Conflict Resulting Therefrom

There are distinct periods of conservation practices along the Wild Coast – the pre-colonial era, the colonial era between 1888 and 1930, the Betterment era between 1930 and 1948, the Rehabilitation era of the apartheid National Party between 1948 and 1976, the Transkei Bantustan era until 1994, and the democratic South Africa from 1994 to the present. This section discusses these periods and debates the impacts that conservation practices of these specific times had on the Wild Coast environment and its people.

It has been argued that it would not have been necessary for the early inhabitants of the Wild Coast to practice conservation because the population was small and resources were plentiful. By and large, these peoples used natural resources as and where they wanted (Henkel, 1889; Sim, 1906). In harvesting of marine resources, their traditional implements would have intentionally or inadvertently, allowed for conservation of targeted species. Similarly, early hunters using sticks and spears before the arrival of colonists with firearms would have arguably had less impact on wildlife, although they did use fire and large packs of dogs to assist in killing their quarry. Jeff Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019) argues that pre-colonial conservation amongst the Nguni was based on the principle that universal harmony reigns. They believed that natural resources were the Creator's gift to humanity. Where the West developed scientific reasons to replace the Creator, many amaXhosa retain their belief in a Creator. Moral behaviour is important to the amaXhosa. If things go wrong, it is because 'bad people have created the trouble' or 'the people have messed up and are being punished'. Considering these arguments, there appears to have been no need or desire for early inhabitants of the Wild Coast to have practiced conservation The question arises as to why some traditional leaders such as King Sarhili and Chief Umhlangaso decided to protect certain indigenous forests within their areas. It has been suggested that it may have been for their personal exclusive hunting rights, but it may have been for the sheer grandeur and beauty of the forests

(Cawe, 1992). Whatever the reason, the first protected areas established along the Wild Coast were forests set aside by traditional leaders.

Despite some forests having been protected by chiefs who recognised the consequences of overuse and destruction of timber (Henkel, 1889; 1890), conservation of the Wild Coast has generally been acknowledged as having started after the promulgation of the 1888 Forest Act and appointment of Forest Conservators by the colonial government shortly thereafter (Sim, 1906; King, 1941; Cooper and Swart, 1992). Chapter Five discussed the early conservation of the Wild Coast and the legislation that declared forests and provided protection for wildlife and marine resources. It is clear that, in implementing this legislation, most foresters were driven solely by their commitment to forestry and forest conservation (Fay, 1998; Tropp, 2006; H. Bourn, pers comm., 21/05/2020) but had little consideration for the welfare and livelihoods of local people who had been living in and around the indigenous forests (Sunde, 2014). This sometimes led to conflict between foresters and communities.

To secure protection of state forests, local people were removed from within them, and even from grasslands that had potential for afforestation to serve the colonial needs of the Cape (Henkel, 1895; Cooper and Swart, 1992). While local people were permitted to utilise smaller forests under the control of appointed headmen, they were prohibited by law from utilising timber from the larger more important declared state forests. This displacement of people and restrictions on their resource use is the first indication of the injustices imposed on local Black communities living along the Wild Coast under the auspices of Western-style conservation methods.

Forestry conservation was the main focus of the colonial government until the 1930s when the state began controlling livestock and cultivation on grasslands in an apparent effort to prevent rampant overgrazing and soil erosion, allegedly being caused by overstocking of the lands by local people's cattle. There followed Betterment and Rehabilitation schemes which Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019) argues were well-intended. Emdon (2013) refers to these schemes as the most important conservation efforts of the time. Hendricks (1989; 1990), however, argues that the schemes were a top down approach with hardly any community consultation. Fay (1998;

2002) argues that people on the ground viewed it as unnecessary state interference. The schemes were a form of land use planning (Mbana, 1991) and compromised the traditional headmen's authority and power in land allocation (Ntsebeza, 1999). These were amongst the main reasons that Betterment and Rehabilitation were never widely supported from their inception.

A key finding from this research is that there has been a clash of cultures stretching back to the colonial era where aboriginal inhabitants were considered as uncivilised and in need of education (Saunders and Derricourt, 1974). Missionaries acknowledged a common brotherhood with the local people living in Transkei, but did not demonstrate similar respect for the traditional culture. They attacked their ancestor worship, witchcraft, polygamy, styles of dress, and circumcision and *labola* customs. *Labola* was equated to the selling of woman for cattle and likened to a form of slavery. In fact, the cattle-centred culture of the amaXhosa has been slated from early times (Kidd, 1904; Brownlee, 1916; Brownlee, 1923; Saunders and Derricourt, 1974; Mostert, 1992). While colonial people considered the traditional culture as uncivilised, the local people considered Westernised controls imposed on their cattle in forests and grasslands as unnecessary interference in their traditional way of life (Saunders and Derricourt, 1974; Fay, 2002). Missionaries, and colonial leaders saw education as the key to 'civilising' the natives, but the imposition of Western education and culture on African society was not always accepted. The Betterment and Rehabilitation attempts to improve farming and conserve the soil and grasslands demonstrates this. Chapters Five and Seven of this thesis detail the differing attitudes of traditional leaders towards colonial influence and education, which included conservation (Hendricks and Peires, 2012; Emdon, 2013). On the whole, Betterment failed to achieve the goal of conserving grasslands and soils, largely because of limited local support, the outbreak of World War 2 and a lack of funding for implementation of the scheme (Hendricks, 1990).

Whereas it may be argued that Betterment genuinely intended to improve agriculture to conserve the soils and grasslands of Transkei and may have succeeded had circumstances allowed, it is indisputable that the National Party that came to power in 1948 revised the scheme to meet its ideals of resettling Black people who were living in White areas on Transkei land. Hendricks (1990) believes that conservation measures were never properly implemented

during the National Party era because the government actually had no interest in conserving the land. Peires (pers comm., 31/01/2019) argues that the Nationalist government no longer concerned itself with conserving soil and catchments, but rather focussed on relocating Black people and fencing off residential areas and small agricultural plots; hence the reference to the Betterment and Stabilisation schemes of the time as '*iCingo*'[17]. Even recommendations made by the government-appointed Tomlinson Commission of 1955 to provide sufficiently large economic farming units to Blacks who displayed an interest in farming and to allocate them title deeds to this land, were blatantly ignored by the National Party (Hendricks, 1990). Resistance to Betterment in Eastern Pondoland became so intense that it led to the 1960 Mpondo Revolts (Kepe, 2002) which are detailed in Chapter Eight. Most interviewees have no memory of Betterment. It is a bygone era that has left a lasting legacy where local leaders are still resistant to zoning and fencing and restrictions on cattle on coastal grasslands. The Mpondo Revolts are, however, still recalled and were referred to during interviews with traditional leaders who like to remind one of the history of the amaMpondo in fighting for their land.

While very little was done to conserve the environment during the National Party era, there are conflicting opinions on the success of conservation during the Transkei 'independence' years. The Transkei government embarked on the proclamation of a number of protected areas along the Wild Coast, mainly to encourage investment, attract tourists and legitimise the establishment of the new state (Campion, 1976; Mbana, 1991). Progressive ecologists recommended innovative conservation measures that may have resulted in sustainable utilisation of natural resources (Carruthers, 1995) but these were ignored by the state authorities in favour of a fences and fines approach to manage the protected areas; hence, colonial notions of conservation persisted (Ntsholo, 2014).

In contrast to other studies about the establishment of nature reserves along the Wild Coast, this research found that there had been consultation between the state and some traditional leaders prior to the proclamation of the protected areas. It was acknowledged that this may have been insufficient and, in accordance with the undemocratic procedures of the time, did not involve consultation with the broader communities. Conservation managers of the early Transkei era argue that the fortress conservation methods worked in protecting the forests and

[17] ucingo is the isiXhosa word for wire, and often refers to a fence.

nature reserves. Trained foresters and conservators were employed to manage the reserves (Campion, 1976; H. Bourn, pers comm., 23/05/2020). According to some interviewees, people respected the law and it was easy to manage the protected areas. There was discipline and law and order (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018; G. Mpuhlu, pers comm., 07/02/2018). However, the intense fear of the people for the Transkei government is recorded in the case study chapters of this thesis. Ruling through dictatorship, as was the case in the Transkei era, was not supported by all the people residing in the region.

The Transkei government employed numerous people in an effort to portray a thriving economy (Mbana, 1991). Nature Conservation and Forestry were important economic drivers (H. Bourn, pers comm., 21/05/2020), with training in these fields provided at tertiary institutions and colleges built and staffed in Transkei (Campion, 1976). The nature reserves became overrun with workers on the state's payroll (De Villiers and Costello, 2006) but Manona (pers comm., 10/01/2019) argues that this may not have been a bad strategy because the provision of jobs created support for the existence of the protected areas.

Provision of work on the nature reserves not only served to solicit support for the protected environments but also for conservation. While people surrounding the Wild Coast protected areas benefitted from employment, there was some support for the nature reserves, although there was still demand for utilisation of natural resources within these areas. It was when work opportunities diminished that the demand for the return of the land really escalated (V. Mkiwane, pers comm., 18/03/2020). This is a lesson that should be considered in future models for Wild Coast conservation because provision of work is a top priority for all traditional leaders.

Although traditional leaders generally support terrestrial nature reserves, the protection of the coast and the marine resources is considered by them as the most contentious of government conservation initiatives. The establishment of a Coastal Conservation Area along the entire length of the Wild Coast is seen to be interfering with traditional authorities' rights of land allocation. This is discussed in detail in section 5.6 of Chapter Five. Many conservationists are of the opinion that the declaration of this CCA has been the most important legislation that has

ensured some form of control over rampant uncontrolled coastal development. Similar to the establishment of the CCA to conserve the coastline, the promulgation of MPAs to conserve living marine resources has resulted in animosity towards the state authorities responsible for the management of these areas. While MPAs were established by scientists in a sincere effort to protect marine resources, the main arguments against them have centred around the complete lack of consultation or explanation prior to the proclamation of these areas.

Following the first democratic elections of 1994 some people mistakenly perceived that they were able to have access to natural resources in protected areas. They understood that the land belonged to them. This led to the MPA and land invasions at Dwesa and Cwebe in 1994 (Timmermans, 2004). Ultimately, all the protected areas along the Wild Coast were subjected to land claims. Local communities surrounding these areas demanded access to the natural resources, jobs from tourism and development, and input into all decisions taken relating to management of the nature reserves. In the settling of the land claims, co-management agreements were signed where the nature reserves would remain protected into perpetuity, but various forms of Land Trusts and Community Property Associations would manage the areas together with an elected management authority.

Outside of the formally gazetted nature reserves, the Coastal Conservation Area continued to exist in accordance with the provisions of the Transkei Environmental Decree. The prohibition of building in this area without authorisation from the Department of Land Affairs and permits from the provincial Department of Environmental Affairs was despised by traditional leaders, who felt that they had the power to allocate land. Although more than 100 unlawful developments were demolished by the state, hundreds more were built, initially by White holiday cottage owners, but later by Black Transkeians wanting to return to their 'homes' and wishing to invest in their areas. This uncontrolled linear sprawl of concrete mansions has been cited as a major threat to the environment along the Wild Coast (J. Costello, pers comm., 11/09/2020), but may be explained by the desire of amaXhosa to have a cultural identity and sense of 'belonging' (Njwambe et al., 2019). Urbanisation occurred rapidly following the demise of apartheid and newfound freedom for Black people to legally reside in urban areas. There was a need to move to cities where greater prospects of work existed. However, the landscape of home remains central to migrants' cultural identity, belonging and well-being.

Childhood experiences in nature, and activities that continue to take rural inhabitants into these landscapes, remain key to this relationship (Cocks et al., 2018). While it may be true that big houses will alter the landscape of the Wild Coast, Njwambe et al. (2019) argue that building large Western-style houses in rural areas is done to signify success. Considering this, it is evident that the entire Wild Coast will eventually be developed along similar lines to the South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal unless protected areas are declared and supported by traditional leaders and the local people in the affected localities.

The human population increase and corresponding rise of pressures on natural resources, particularly for commercial purposes, has placed immense pressure on the Wild Coast environment. Hunting, forest clearing, sand mining, shellfish harvesting, new roads such as the N2, and fishing are all impacting heavily on the environment. It may be argued that the proclaimed protected areas should conserve a portion of the biodiversity and natural beauty of the Wild Coast, but they constitute only about 3% of the coastline. It is inconceivable that these small areas can ensure that biodiversity is conserved and that local people will all be able to benefit from the natural resources contained within their boundaries. Added to this is the history of conflict between local traditional leaders and conservation managers that does not bode well for the management of the protected areas.

This research showed the sharp contrasts between the perceptions of conservation managers and traditional leaders relating to relationships and conflicts. Most reserve managers perceived there to be little conflict and positive relationships. On the other hand, most leaders expressed concern at the lack of communication. The following sections explore this in greater detail on a case by case basis.

9.3.1 The Conservation of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve

Dwesa and Cwebe are amongst the most important indigenous forests in South Africa and have a long history of conservation. Little credit is given to King Sarhili, who originally set aside the Dwesa forests as a protected area. Sarhili was ahead of his time and should be mentioned alongside respected South African conservationists such as C.C. Henkel, James Stevenson-

Hamilton and Ian Player. Instead, only the efforts of the various Forestry Departments in managing Dwesa and Cwebe are acknowledged. During the time that the Forestry Department managed the areas there would have been some conflicts, particularly at the turn of the 20th century when people were displaced from their homes, but the traditional leaders interviewed for this study cite effective management by well qualified foresters. Utilisation of forest resources was allowed under permits and there were no restrictions enforced relating to fishing and use of marine resources along the coast adjacent to the state forests.

The Transkei proclamation of the Dwesa and Cwebe forests as nature reserves and the subsequent fencing and introduction of wildlife quickly resulted in conflict. Had the recommended models of community consultation and resource utilisation been implemented, there may have been greater cooperation between reserve managers, traditional leaders and communities. The establishment of an MPA with almost no consultation was particularly problematic. In the opinion of Alan Boyd (pers comm., 31/01/2020), if fisheries scientists had consulted with traditional leaders and supported limited community access to the resources, there would have been less of a stand-off about the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA. However, scientists stuck to strict principles relating to fish stocks and made the decision to prohibit access based entirely on science.

This research indicated that the greatest concerns relating to Dwesa-Cwebe were the restrictions of access to local people to utilising of marine resources, and for grazing of their cattle (especially on the Cwebe Nature Reserve). These restrictions were only imposed following the proclamation of the nature reserves. They were not problematic during the periods that the Forestry Departments managed the forests. Prohibited access to these resources was the main reason for the land invasion and land claim which was found in favour of the Dwesa-Cwebe community.

Access to marine resources is the cause of most of the conflicts around Dwesa-Cwebe (Fabricius and de Wet, 2002; Pienaar, 2003). According to interviews with reserve managers and traditional leaders, this is still very much the situation. The current reserve manager, Khaya Ncube (pers comm., 25/02/2019) says that the communities are very aggressive when they

encounter field rangers enforcing the marine laws. The thesis examined past tensions including cases relating to the killing of an alleged abalone poacher and trespasser by Dwesa-Cwebe field rangers and the subsequent murder of a field ranger on the reserve by poachers. The traditional leaders admit that poaching is out of control – not only marine but forest produce and wildlife too. They believe that enforcement is necessary to assist them in controlling the natural resources, especially from exploitation by outsiders. However, they do not think that ECPTA has the ability to manage the reserves. They cite the regular illegal hunting in the forests by people with heavy calibre firearms and refer to the extermination of the white rhino population by poachers who ECPTA were unable to apprehend. They refer to the uncontrolled utilisation of indigenous forests for commercial purposes that allegedly occurs on a regular basis. Two prominent Dwesa-Cwebe fishermen, Kuzile Juza and David Gongqose, agree that there has to be control of utilisation of marine resources and fishing, but argue that ECPTA employs people who have no expertise in fishing. Juza (pers comm., 22/03/2019) refers to them treating the appointment of personnel as a 'beauty pageant'. It is clear from interviewing traditional leaders that there is extreme unhappiness with the historical appointments of ECPTA managers and field rangers at Dwesa and Cwebe nature reserves. It is interesting that they acknowledge the need for law enforcement because in the recent past it was resented (Terblanche and Kraai, 1997). The key here is that they request the assistance of the authorities, meaning that they would like to be involved when law enforcement is undertaken.

Reserve managers acknowledge that there are problems in managing the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Whilst early managers refer to the support from the Transkei Department of Nature Conservation, later managers believe that they did not necessarily have the backing of the department after democracy when ECNC sided with vocal community members. At the insistence of local community members, ECNC transferred Dwesa managers and appointed Mzikabawo Mbete from Ciskei as reserve manager. Mbete (pers comm., 10/07/2018) recalls that he was instructed not to focus on law enforcement but rather to keep the peace with the communities. Reserve managers believe that community relations at Dwesa-Cwebe have taken precedence since the mid-1990s, and this may be at the expense of environmental management. This is shown in mismanagement of indigenous forests where alien species run rampant. It is reflected in the reserve staff's inability to effectively conduct patrols to curb wildlife and marine poaching. The reserve managers therefore agree with traditional leaders that environmental management is not efficient, but they blame the lack of resources and political

support. Regional Director Sizakele Gabula (pers comm., 24/08/2020) asks the question, when last did a premier or MEC visit the Wild Coast nature reserves? They were prominent during the volatile era of land invasions and land claims, but have since been conspicuously absent. Reduced interest in monitoring Dwesa-Cwebe management was already noted in the early 2000s (Fabricius and de Wet, 2002).

With regard to the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA, reserve managers feel that they inherited the problem and its associated conflicts when the Department of Fisheries declared the entire coastline closed without sufficient consultation with the managing authority and without considering the inputs provided relating to the importance of open fishing zones. Restrictions on the utilisation of shellfish was one of the reasons for the mass invasions of the reserves in 1994. This eventually led to the institution of the Dwesa-Cwebe land claim. Subsequent to this, the 2000 amended MPA created a no-take fishing zone mere months before the settlement agreement of the finalised land claim (Sunde, 2014; Wicomb, 2015). It was incumbent upon ECPTA field rangers to enforce the provisions of this legislation, but when local fishermen were arrested for fishing in the new MPA they argued in court that it was their historical practice. Following several court cases discussed in Chapter Six, the Supreme Court of Appeal eventually ruled in their favour, arguing that the state never considered customary rights when declaring the MPA (Snijman and Feris, 2013). Although the MPA was later reviewed and amended in 2015 under the NEMPAA (which considers customary rights), effectively opening 60% of the coastline to use, local communities still do not respect the zones (K. Ncube, pers comm., 29/04/2019). While this is discussed in detail in section 6.7.6 of Chapter Six, it is important to note that reserve managers have indicated that they require support from their legal advisors and senior managers at ECPTA in implementing the law. They reflect on the aggression of the Mendwane community in particular, and fear that implementing the law does not bode well for community relations. This is a challenging predicament. Already 60% of the MPA is open to exploitation and there are arguments that this is too much to meaningfully conserve the resources (A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020). If further concessions are made and if law enforcement is not conducted, the MPA will be a mere paper park which will serve no purpose. The state will need to decide whether it warrants being declared. The MPA is critically important for the conservation of sparids and spawning of the endemic white steenbras (Fielding, 2018), but is it worth the conflict that has already resulted in the loss of human lives?

9.3.2 Conservation of Hluleka Nature Reserve

Hluleka Nature Reserve is only about 492 ha and arguably too small to make a meaningful contribution to biodiversity conservation along the Wild Coast. It was proclaimed at the insistence of Mona Heard who acquired the farm that had originally been granted to William Strachan by Chief Gwadiso. Mona Heard sold it to the Transkei government in 1971 when she became too old to manage it, on condition that it remained a wildlife sanctuary. By historical accounts, and based on interviews from this research, the establishment of HNR was generally supported by local people. William Strachan was respected and liked by the amaXhosa, as were Leonard and Mona Heard, and the early nature reserve managers. This is important information when one compares the history of conservation of HNR with other Wild Coast protected areas where there has been greater conflict between local communities and management authorities.

The first Hluleka Nature Reserve manager, Lennox Ndude, liaised with the traditional leader, Chief Gwadiso, and communities at the time that he established and fenced the reserve in 1976 (L. Ndude, pers comm., 01/09/2018; M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018). Ndude fenced the boundary in a 'give-and-take' manner to exclude community homesteads and cultivated lands. He also allowed for access to the sea near the Mnenu River, although the area is proclaimed as part of the protected area. This style of management was appreciated by the local leaders and people (M. Gwadiso, pers comm., 08/02/2018). It is probably one of the major reasons that HNR has had relatively little conflict over the years in comparison with other Wild Coast protected areas.

The greatest source of conflict between reserve managers and local communities relates to access issues. The first tensions probably arose when migrant workers, who had not been present when the fencing began, returned from the mines to discover that the land where they had been allowed to graze their cattle, had been enclosed. Not only were their cattle prevented from accessing the reserve, but they were restricted from going to the coast by a fence and they could no longer use a shortcut route to the Mdzwini settlement where some of them lived, unless they had a permit to do so.

Traditional leaders interviewed during this study, say that they were never against the HNR, although it was a foreign concept and they never realised what the consequences would be. Livestock had been allowed to graze on the unfenced farm and coastal forests, but when HNR was proclaimed, no domestic stock was permitted within the fenced off area. They recall being told how fat and healthy cattle were that grazed on the coastal grasslands when 'uBili' Strachan and Leonard Heard farmed the area, and traded cattle with the local people. Some locals still chase livestock into the nature reserve and reserve managers recall incidents where trespassing goats have been impounded and pigs have been shot. The traditional leaders state that such incidents are regularly raised by local people who claim that the reserve is not well managed.

According to the current reserve manager, access to marine resources and the proclaimed MPA is the biggest source of conflict with local people (N. Tom, pers comm., 08/02/2018). When the reserve was initially created, the boundary fence would have restricted access to the coast, but it is the restrictions on use of marine resources through the proclamation of an MPA that triggered most resentment toward the reserve. The establishment of the MPA was done without adequate consultation with traditional leaders and local communities. Interestingly, Chief Gwadiso is of the opinion that few people relied on marine resources because they historically resided far from the coast. He does not consider fishing to be a traditional practice; however, some headmen disagree with him. The restricted access caused by the boundary fence has on occasion resulted in the cutting of the fence and heated exchanges between reserve managers and community members. Traditional leaders and reserve managers agree that the majority of conflicts have been resolved through meetings at the Great Place.

All the traditional leaders support the existence of HNR. They believe that it is important to reflect their culture – the way that things used to be along the Wild Coast. Most agree that the nature reserve needs to be expanded. Chief Gwadiso is excited about planned conservation projects and trails through inland Khonjwayo forests but is cautious about expanding HNR along the coast. He would prefer upgrades to the nature reserve and the development of a restaurant, bar and golf course. The reality is that the reserve is too small to make a meaningful contribution to biodiversity conservation, or to attract large numbers of high-end tourists who will be prepared to pay for a Wild Coast experience.

9.3.3 Conservation of Mkambati Nature Reserve and the Mkambati Area

Mkambati Nature Reserve is the only protected area along the Wild Coast that conserves a predominantly grassland biome. The land was never heavily populated by people because it is generally not suitable for settlement. It was therefore set aside as a leper institute in the early 1900s following an agreement between the paramount chief and colonial government. Approximately 18 000 ha of grasslands formed part of the leper institute which later became a tuberculosis hospital until its closure in 1957. The land was not returned to the amaMpondo at this stage - instead the government developed agricultural projects on the inland portion. Conservationists, seeing the vast unoccupied coastal grasslands, lobbied for the establishment of a nature reserve there (K. Cooper, pers comm., 16/05/2018). The Transkei government obliged in 1977 by setting aside 7 700 ha of the land as the MNR. The main aim was to attract tourists to the newly established independent homeland (Vernon, 1998). There was no consultation with local traditional leaders or communities despite the fact that they had long been requesting access to land that had been used by the leper institute and TRACOR for grazing their cattle on (Kepe, 2002).

Initial projects revolved around the stocking of wildlife to create a game ranch to attract foreign hunters. The venture proved to be a corrupt deal between dubious businessmen and Transkeian politicians. Local communities recognised this at the time and raised questions about why they were not benefiting from their land (V. Mkiwane, pers comm., 18/03/2020). Through mismanagement and corruption, the game ranch failed. When hundreds of wild animals, alien to the area, began dying and had to be bulldozed into mass graves, the government stepped in to take full control over the management of the nature reserve (Shackleton, 1989a). It was only realised later that the Mkambati area contains numerous unique endemic plant species in what has become an internationally acclaimed zone of endemism (Abbott, 2006). This, together with the exceptional beauty of the landscape, formed the attraction to tourists when the MNR was managed by Eastern Cape Nature Conservation and later the Eastern Cape Parks Board (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

The Transkei government provided several hundred jobs to local people on the MNR in an effort to create employment (G. Mpuhlu, pers comm., 07/02/2018). Promises were made that

tourism would bring many work opportunities, but traditional leaders recall the loss of jobs when the hospital closed. The nature reserve was not able to provide sufficient employment. This created interdepartmental conflict between the Departments of Health and Environmental Affairs which is discussed in Chapter Eight.

Besides the conflicts around jobs for local people, the main source of discontent amongst traditional leaders around the proclamation of MNR, was about the denial of access to natural resources, in particular the grazing for cattle. Collection of thatch grass and even some medicinal plants was permitted, but cattle were prohibited from grazing on the nature reserve and on the adjacent, inland grasslands of TRACOR. This led to the institution of the land claim (V. Mkiwane, pers comm., 18/03/2020).

9.4 The Wild Coast Protected Area Cost-Benefits

All interviewees understood the reasons for creating the Wild Coast nature reserves as having been for protecting landscapes and biodiversity, and for attracting tourists. Traditional leaders leaned more towards the reasons being for creation of jobs from tourism, while conservationists leaned more towards biodiversity protection and aesthetics. While there are many references by interviewees that Transkei had no racial motivation for creating nature reserves and several respondents spoke of 'equality' during the Transkei Bantustan era, the reality is that politics in the higher echelons dictated natural resource use and conservation, from the colonial era to the present. Race was a key issue in securing and distributing benefits from protected areas along the Wild Coast, as it was throughout South Africa. This is discussed in Chapter Five, showing the genuine commitment of foresters and nature conservators on the ground, but highlighting the politics behind decisions to declare forests, restrict resource utilisation, allocate small fenced agricultural plots to local people, and manipulate chiefs and headmen.

Henkel (1889; 1890) reports of local people being compensated to move from the Dwesa forest as it was declared a State Forest, along with all other large and important forests of Transkei that could be used by the colonial government. When the Wild Coast nature reserves were declared, the cost to communities was that several homesteads were also moved (Terblanche

and Kraai, 1997; Palmer, 1998; Palmer et al., 2002; Timmermans, 2004; Matose, 2009). This may have been where families had been residing whilst employed by the Department of Forestry at Dwesa or Cwebe (Feely, 2010), they may have been historical homesteads (K. Juza, pers comm., 22/03/2019), and it may have been to create a buffer area between the reserves and community plots (Timmermans, 2004; Fay, 2009). The fact is that there were upheavals to families who historically resided in and around the protected areas and unjust displacements without consultation or compensation. Further costs included restrictions on utilisation of natural resources that they had relied on for generations (Matose, 2016). In the case of Dwesa-Cwebe, this included grazing of cattle and access to marine resources. Although at a much lower scale, this was also the case for Hluleka.

Several of the initial recommendations for managing the Wild Coast nature reserves suggested consultation with traditional leaders and communities (Tinley and Van Riet, 1975; Tinley, 1978). This was to solicit support for the establishment of the protected areas and to ensure benefits from natural resources that were required by local people (Tinley, 1978). There is no record suggesting why these recommendations were not accepted and implemented as was the case in other Bantustans such as Bophuthatswana with the successful Pilanesberg National Park (Carruthers, 2011). Instead, the focus was, and remains, denial of access to natural resources in anticipation of benefits accruing from tourism ventures and revenue (Pienaar, 2003; Matose, 2016; ECPTA, 2018). Traditional leaders, foresters and reserve managers provided different insights into what they believe the costs and benefits are for each case study.

9.4.1 Dwesa-Cwebe Cost-Benefits

The costs to local people of having Dwesa-Cwebe declared as nature reserves included denial of access to utilisation of indigenous timber and non-timber forest products, prohibition of cattle from the protected areas and prevention of utilisation of the marine resources in demarcated areas. These were all essential livelihoods that had been available to local people, albeit controlled through permits, during the time that the Forestry Departments managed the areas. In contrast, the promised benefits of the nature reserves from their inception related to provision of jobs through tourism and associated developments, but according to traditional leaders, the number of jobs has diminished since the Transkei days, as has tourism. The nature

reserve, hotel and cottages are still the only formal employment providers in the Dwesa-Cwebe area, but the promised tourism investments and benefit sharing agreements following the settlement of the land claim have not materialised.

Traditional leaders acknowledge that there are indeed some benefits from natural resources since the finalisation of the land claim. Woodlots provide poles, and collection of firewood, thatch grass and medicinal plants is allowed from within the nature reserve under permit. The restrictions imposed on fishing and shellfish collection by the original MPA have also diminished through the opening of control zones, but not sufficiently according to traditional leaders. Although Fielding et al. (1994) argue that Dwesa and Cwebe marine resources are not inexhaustible and are too limited for heavy exploitation, local leadership want access to the entire coastline, as well as the Mbhashe estuary. They also want less restrictions on the number of fish and shellfish that are allowed to be caught or collected.

Although the prohibition of livestock on Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is noted as a cost to local people, herds of cattle permanently graze in both protected areas. This is attributed to cutting and theft of the boundary fence that allegedly occurs each time the ECPTA repairs it (M. Gxashi, pers comm., 06/07/2018; K. Ncuba, pers comm., 2019). Some traditional leaders actually remark that the nature reserve serves as a benefit to the cattle because it provides for their safety. Further advantages of the nature reserve, which were highlighted across all three case study areas, related to non-consumptive benefits. Reserve managers reflect on church groups regularly coming to pray or baptise congregation members in the sea. The sea is a major attraction during the Christmas and New Year period where community members flock to the beach and are allowed free access onto the nature reserves.

9.4.2 Hluleka Cost-Benefits

Unlike at Dwesa-Cwebe, traditional leaders and reserve managers do not recall the removal of people from the land when Hluleka was declared a nature reserve. This may explain the relatively harmonious relationship between the state, traditional leaders and communities in

the area. There has arguably been less displacement and the injustices and dehumanisation associated therewith. Furthermore, the boundary fence of the HNR was erected in a manner that excluded homesteads and maize fields from being incorporated. The give and take situation indicates more consultation and power sharing when the protected area was initially established. The main cost to local people is seen as the eventual prohibition of cattle from the grasslands. Traditional leaders lament the loss of what they believe to be the best grazing in the area. There is some concern about restricted access to marine resources within the MPA but this is a small area and not significant. The consensus is that, besides a few jobs provided by ECPTA, there are few benefits for local people from the HNR.

9.4.3 Mkambati Cost-Benefits

A common theme across all the case studies was the identification of prohibition of livestock, particularly cattle, as a cost to having protected areas along the Wild Coast. The traditional leaders around MNR were especially vocal about inaccessibility to the grasslands for grazing of cattle. As with Dwesa-Cwebe and Hluleka, they noted that the benefits include jobs from ECPTA; however, they stated that this is low-paid work that is not meaningful. The cultural importance of MNR is becoming a more important recognised benefit. The collection of thatch grass and medicinal plants remains an essential source of livelihoods and it is apparent that youth are collecting medicines on a commercial scale to sell to markets in KwaZulu-Natal. They are also starting businesses to circumcise amaMpondo boys through *abaKhwetha* practices. This tradition has only developed amongst amaMpondo over the past ten years or so, but the seclusion and landscape in and around MNR may be important for future cultural practices. This should be considered in conservation expansion initiatives around Mkambati and is in line with Wangari Maathai's argument that traditions and cultures require constant interrogation and changes so that they speak to a people's realities and futures (Musila, 2020).

As with Dwesa-Cwebe and Hluleka, traditional leaders express extreme disappointment at the failure of tourism at MNR. The promises of development since the finalisation of the land claim and the SDI have not materialised. The MNR land claim settlement agreement promised benefit sharing but there are so few benefits that traditional leaders are indifferent to the future of the

reserve. Instead, they are supporting sand mining, afforestation and the development of the N2 where 'real' jobs are provided (S. Jama, pers comm., 29/03/2019).

9.5 The Successes of the Land Claims

The fact that local people were historically denied access to the Wild Coast nature reserves, received few benefits from utilising the natural resources contained within them, and were provided with few employment opportunities from tourism, resulted in land claims being lodged on each case study protected area covered in this study. It may be argued that local people would not have lodged land claims had they been co-managing and benefiting from the nature reserves. For example, as Vitamin Mkiwane (pers comm., 17/03/2020) states, the main reasons for his initiating the Mkambati land claim was to gain access to the land, especially for cattle grazing on TRACOR, and to obtain jobs. The Dwesa-Cwebe land claim was lodged after the ECNC refused access to cattle to graze on the nature reserves during a prolonged drought. At Hluleka, Chief Gwadiso (pers comm., 08/02/2018) lodged the land claim so that the traditional leadership and local people could have a say in the management of the nature reserve after having been denied access to it since its declaration. This implies that the lodgement of the land claims on the Wild Coast nature reserves was not necessarily to change the land use from conservation and tourism, but rather to gain access to the land and to have an input into its management, thereby sharing in the benefits that it provided.

While there was extensive consultation with communities throughout the land claim processes, traditional leaders feel that they were largely ignored. This is acknowledged by Pienaar (2003) who further argues that this resulted in them not supporting the land claim findings (G. Pienaar, pers comm., 04/07/2019). Past reserve managers that were interviewed for this research are of the opinion that they were also not consulted. There are still different opinions as to the validity of the Dwesa-Cwebe land claim. Feely (2010b) believes that the Department of Land Affairs conducted poor investigations and rushed decisions to finalise the land claims. The focus leaned toward the impoverished communities and vocal 'leaders'. Government officials from outside the areas had too much power to decide on the future. The ECNC never disputed the claims but merely provided support as long as the nature reserves were protected into perpetuity

(Feely, 2010b). In their attempts to rapidly finalise the land claims, the Department of Land Affairs created 'false' communities, such as the amalgamated Dwesa and Cwebe communities (Palmer et al., 2000). Similarly, land claimants from the Mkambati area were forced to join hands with larger communities far removed from the nature reserve (Cousins and Kepe, 2002; L. Khuzwayo, pers comm., 17/03/2020). Chief Jonginkosi of Cwebe is not satisfied that his community was lumped with those at Dwesa. He alleges that he still has not seen the Settlement Agreement, and argues that his people have received no benefits from the land claim (Jonginkosi, pers comm., 28/05/2019). Chief Fudumele of Hobeni has a copy of the Settlement Agreement but argues that it has not been implemented. Chief Ndlumbini of Dwesa is of the opinion that the land claim was a failure and states that there have been no benefits accruing to the local people as a result thereof. The Dwesa-Cwebe traditional leaders agree that financial compensation for their communities has still not been finalised. Chief Ndlumbini alleges that local government stole the money and cannot be trusted. Chief Fudumele says that local people hold him accountable for the money that is missing but Amathole District Municipality still has it, 20 years after the land claim was settled. The same scenario was reported at Hluleka and Mkambati Nature Reserves where only some beneficiaries were paid compensation while others have not yet received their money.

The absence and silence of the Department of Land Affairs since the finalisation of land restitution is of major concern to the traditional leaders and reserve managers. The settlement agreements were supposed to provide justice and compensation for the mistreatment of local people, historical displacement from areas that they resided in, and for denial of access to resources that they used for livelihoods. Payments that were supposed to be made to beneficiaries have not been forthcoming. Manona (pers comm., 2019) believes that it is unfair to expect the ECPTA and the reserve staff to address the issue of financial compensation when it is actually the responsibility of the Department of Land Affairs. The community directs their frustration and anger at reserve staff who are the only government officials on the ground – even though they are not responsible for the failed implementation of all the agreements. Although the ECPTA cannot be held accountable for the non-payment of financial compensation in terms of the land claim settlement, the agency does have the mandate to manage the natural resources on the nature reserves. Traditional leaders do not feel that sufficient benefits from these resources have accrued to local people since the resolution of the land claims. They are all of the view that there is limited consultation with them by the CPAs

and insufficient meetings with reserve managers. While they believe consultation is poor, reserve managers are of the opinion that it is adequate. Traditional leaders argue that reserve managers make decisions without communicating with them. These contrasting opinions between local community leaders and protected area managers regarding the successes of land restitution are not unique to the Wild Coast, but are an international trend (Fabricius et al., 2007). Fabricius and de Wet (2012) believe that there has been no shift in power since the finalisation of the land claims along the Wild Coast. Concerns about lack of consultation that are common amongst all the interviewed traditional leaders support this argument and bring into question the successes of the land claims. The power to make decisions and manage the protected areas still lies predominantly with the state and, in the case of the Wild Coast nature reserves, with ECPTA.

9.6 The Future Prognosis for the Wild Coast

An unexpected finding of this research was that there was no demand or desire to deproclaim any protected area along the Wild Coast. At worst, some traditional leaders in Khanyayo were indifferent to the future of the MNR because they alleged that no benefits accrued to the communities. In essence, this research has shown is that both traditional leaders and conservation managers want the same thing – to look after the Wild Coast. However, there are very apparent different focal areas. The interviewed reserve managers, foresters, fisheries officers and conservationists are mainly focussed on the conservation of biodiversity and landscapes. On the other hand, traditional leaders would like to have increased tourism, jobs, access to natural resources, grazing and preservation of culture and customs.

A major concern expressed by reserve managers is the increasing population that is encroaching onto the coastal zone and the protected areas. Mbana (1991) had already raised concerns of the impacts of a rapidly increasing Transkei population on natural resources and on the ability of the government to provide employment. The influx of people to the coast has resulted in a rapidly changing landscape and greater demand for natural resources. The uncontrolled linear development of large houses, approximately 200 sand mines, clearing of indigenous forests, rampant poaching of wildlife and marine resources and proliferation of road

networks caused some respondents to predict a bleak future for conservation on the Wild Coast. Victor Yazini (pers comm., 28/05/2019) says his children will never see the Wild Coast as he saw it. He does not believe that the government will be able to prevent the destruction because there are too many poor, uneducated people who do not understand the need for conservation. Most of the other reserve managers agreed that the protected areas will continue to exist if the settlement agreements are adhered to and if resources are made available to manage the nature reserves effectively. Prinsloo (pers comm., 06/11/2018) does not feel that the provincial government or the ECPTA will succeed in effectively managing the protected areas. He argues that SANParks with their resources and expertise will be the only organisation capable of managing the parks. Cooper (pers comm., 16/05/2018) regards a joint management model along the lines of the Isimangaliso World Heritage Site model as being most suitable. The sole consensus amongst all interviewees is that traditional leaders need to be part of future management structures.

With regard to areas outside of the parks, the prognosis is not as positive. Conservation of the Wild Coast cannot be secured by only protecting the four relatively small nature reserves. As Muchapondwa, Biggs and Matose (2009) argue, areas outside of reserves are crucial for conservation because land use pressures from outside their boundaries can alter the ecological functioning within them. The Wild Coast nature reserves are small components of much larger ecosystems. Stegmann (pers comm., 27/07/2020) argues that the greater Wild Coast will only be protected if environmentalists work together with traditional leaders who control the land outside of protected areas and state forests. Mzazi-Geja (pers comm., 23/08/2020) is of the opinion that traditional leaders have been excluded from conservation decisions but are eager to engage with the authorities and must be brought back on board.

Traditional leaders express concern that they are not respected and consulted in managing the Wild Coast. They argue that they are the true leaders despite what different governments have said and irrespective of legislation that is promulgated. They were born into the area. Some, as in Pondoland, are of Royal blood. Ward councillors in local government structures are only appointed for a few years and leave, while they as traditional leaders have a lifelong role to look after their people and the environment. Some, like Chief Mkwedini, request direction from government. ‘The government must tell me what they want to protect along the coast and I will

abide with this' (Mkwedini, pers comm., 29/03/2018). All the interviewed traditional leaders indicated that they want to assist in protecting the Wild Coast but require direction and support. They reflected that the state, ECPTA and environmental officials do not communicate with them on a regular basis.

Traditional leaders recognise environmental problems such as uncontrolled and increased use of natural forests. While some apportion blame upon outsiders, there are those who admit that a growing human population is resulting in unsustainable use of certain trees and non-timber forest products. Their proposed solution to this is the appointment of appropriately qualified and experienced forest managers. Traditional leaders are unanimous in stating that the ECPTA has failed to manage the indigenous forests in the manner that former foresters and forest guards were able to do. To be fair, they also acknowledge that indigenous forests outside of declared protected areas are not well managed by the current Forestry Department that has totally collapsed since 1994. Traditional leaders see themselves as marginalised in the management of forests and would like their roles as land managers reinstated.

Regarding conservation of the coastal grasslands, the cattle-centred culture of the amaXhosa and amaMpondo remains a reality and needs to be considered when making any management decision about these areas. For conservation of grasslands to succeed along the Wild Coast, it is essential to recognise that local indigenous people desire grazing. Traditional utilisation of grassland resources is largely an inherent form of conservation. Cutting of grass for thatch and to make baskets and mats is a sustainable form of utilisation. These traditional uses should be encouraged along the Wild Coast and the local culture should be respected and conserved. The Transkei Environmental Decree needs to be repealed but the provisions of the Coastal Conservation Area should be retained and adapted through regulations developed under NEMA and the ICMA.

Preservation as proposed by John Muir (Meyer, 1997) will never be feasible along the Wild Coast. There has been too long an interaction between humans and the environment. The pristine wilderness envisaged by colonial environmentalists is long gone. Even Pinchot's ideas of conservation through wise utilisation (Meyer, 1997) need to be taken to another level

because along the Wild Coast, nature needs to be managed for the benefit of a burgeoning human population. People must see nature as relevant to their livelihoods and culture. The traditions and culture of the amaXhosa and amaMpondo hold the key to future conservation along the Wild Coast. Not only the culture of the past, but new cultural practices such as initiation from boyhood to manhood (*ulwaluko*) need to be taken into account when expanding the protected area estate. In this way, this research shows, conservation will be more meaningful to local people, and will have greater support.

The need for development along the Wild Coast cannot be over-emphasised. Confusion over land tenure has limited investment since 1994 (Pienaar, 2003; M. Coleman, pers comm., 22/08/2020), paving the way for unlawful developments that threaten the coastal environment. Arguments about land tenure will possibly continue for many years as they have a long history and do not appear to be close to resolution (Coleman, 2020). Taking cognisance of this, environmental departments and officials must work with traditional leaders to develop identified nodes and protect sensitive environments. It is a fallacy to believe that the entire Wild Coast can and will be conserved. People need jobs and development, and if their land is to be set aside for conservation, there have to be incentives and trade-offs to encourage them to accept and support the land use (Dahlberg and Burlando, 2009). Phumla Mzazi-Geja (pers comm., 23/08/2020) believes that this could be achieved through the Green Economy and by establishing Biosphere Reserves (P. Mzazi-Geja, pers comm., 23/08/2020). Pat Goss goes further and argues that the coast merits declaration as a World Heritage Site, like Isimangaliso, with accompanying financial backing from the World Bank (P. Goss, pers comm., 15/05/2019). Consideration must be given to Sinthumule's (2017) warning that land is important to people and even the attraction of money is not always a means to secure it for conservation. The failed Pondoland Park government initiative (Nicholson, 1997) is a case in point. Any efforts to conserve the Wild Coast and manage its natural resources will have to be done in conjunction with the traditional leaders as well as local government structures and the local people. This is what makes any progress so challenging. It is almost impossible to consult everyone and achieve consensus amongst all people (Pienaar, pers comm., 04/07/2019).

The majority of respondents argue that, in reality, in order for the Wild Coast to be conserved and for natural resources to be effectively and sustainably managed for future generations, the

protected area network will have to be expanded. Pat Goss (pers comm., 15/05/2019) proposes a model based on the Kenyan ranching initiative where cattle and wildlife co-exist. This appeals to traditional leaders who are unanimous in their desire for coastal land to be set aside for grazing purposes. Sizakele Gabula argues that the Biodiversity Offset Agreement, reached during the authorisation of the Wild Coast N2, is the final roll of the dice to conserve significant parts of the Wild Coast (S. Gabula, pers comm., 24/08/2020). Core protected areas should serve as the key conservation nodes, but most of the Wild Coast should be managed for sustainable utilisation of natural resources. This includes forests, grassland and marine resources. This requires political will and the appointment of qualified environmental managers, preferably from the Wild Coast region. Such managers must not only protect nature reserves but need to be capacitated and resourced to implement CBNRM and PFM. Conservation and effective natural resource management of the Wild Coast will not be possible without the appointment of qualified, well-trained law enforcement officials who will assist in ensuring compliance with forestry, marine and environmental legislation. There is a severe shortage of such officials along the Wild Coast. Traditional leaders argue that when appointments are made, qualifications and knowledge are not considered. This concern is expressed in numerous research articles on Wild Coast natural resource management, and was emphasised during interviews for this thesis.

While there is consensus on the need to conserve forests and grasslands, some traditional leaders do not support MPAs. However, reserve managers and conservationists recognise their importance in ensuring that there are sufficient marine resources for future sustainable utilisation in controlled use zones. Challenges will be encountered in promoting the idea of MPAs, especially at Dwesa-Cwebe where there is greatest resistance. While traditional leaders believe that more areas need to be opened to utilisation at Dwesa-Cwebe, fisheries scientists argue that there are already too many concessions to allow exploitation. In addition, the Gongqose SCA judgment was poorly recorded and needs to be rectified because customary rights and subsistence fishing have been taken into account since the initial arrests of the fishermen. This was not stated in the judgment and needs to be clarified as it is resulting in confusion (A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020).

There is agreement that the Dwesa MPA must be reworked, but the Pondoland MPA is regarded as being excellently designed, with consideration for sustainable livelihoods and protection (Fielding, 2018). Alan Boyd (pers comm., 31/01/2020) believes it must remain as is, but suggests that the Mtentu flyfishing project should be revived. The project was abandoned following allegations of corruption within the community structures that administered funds and after alleged interference by the pro mining lobby from Xolobeni. It was initially a successful community conservation project with proven financial and conservation benefits (De Villiers and Costello, 2013).

Unlike the other Wild Coast MPAs, the Hluleka MPA is considered too small (A. Boyd, pers comm., 31/01/2020) and should either remain closed or be expanded and zoned to allow for utilisation. This was the overwhelming recommendation for the entire Hluleka Nature Reserve with strong suggestions of expansion towards the Mtakatyi River.

9.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented a discussion on the study's findings and the conclusion of the thesis. It showed that there is a common desire amongst traditional leaders and conservation managers to conserve the Wild Coast whilst ensuring that its natural resources are sustainably utilised by local people. Conservation of the Wild Coast will, however, not succeed without consideration of the traditions, culture and natural resource use that amaXhosa and amaMpondo value and depend upon. The key differences between Western-style conservation and traditional conservation have centred around the methods and extent of utilisation of resources. Western-style conservation has also focused on setting aside protected areas that conjure up images of a romantic, wild Africa and cater for rich tourists whilst ignoring the livelihood needs of local people. Poor communities often live adjacent to these protected areas, relying on low-paying jobs from tourism and eking out a survival from dwindling natural resources that occur outside of the protected areas. For conservation of the Wild Coast to succeed, the livelihoods of these marginalised local communities will have to be considered.

The Wild Coast conservation model has focussed on tourism rather than livelihoods, but this is a fickle industry. The COVID-19 pandemic of 2020 brought this reality to the forefront. Tourism dropped to virtually zero across the world, driving the South African tourism economy to the point of bankruptcy and resulting in millions of job losses (Nyambe et al., 2020). The income that protected areas relied upon dried up. People who had jobs in nature based tourism had to find other work (Lindsey et al., 2020). Thousands left cities to return to their rural homes, often in former Bantustans like Transkei. Here, they had to rely on natural resources to sustain their livelihoods. The researcher was granted a special permit under the strict COVID-19 Disaster Regulations that allowed him to work during the lockdown because wildlife management was deemed an essential service. He flew along the Wild Coast in an Alouette helicopter on the 16th and 17th April, 2020 at the beginning of the legislated lockdown. Between East London and the Great Kei River, the coast and all the holiday resorts were completely deserted. Across the Great Kei River there was slightly more activity, with three subsistence fishermen on the rocks along the stretch to Hluleka Nature Reserve on the 16th and a few more on the 17th. The nature reserves and Wild Coast hotels were closed with no tourists or guests at all. There was evidence of sand mining, but nowhere near the scale prior to lockdown. Under COVID-19 Regulations, nobody could work unless they were deemed to be providing essential services and there was therefore no demand for building sand. However, forest produce was being collected. The researcher landed at Shixini to the south of Dwesa where branches were being cut from trees in the state forest along the dunes. The old man whom he found with a machete apologised for contravening COVID-19 Regulations and the National Forest Act, but said he needed firewood and had to repair his cattle enclosures. He had spoken to the *Nkosi* and had the headman's permission. In his words, he was 'aware of *iCorona* but life has to continue. People need food and wood to survive and the cattle need to be tended to.' The scene sums up this thesis perfectly. Of greatest importance to traditional leaders is the provision of grazing for cattle and the setting aside of forests for cultural purposes. It is clear that Western-style preservation will not work along the Wild Coast. It is also clear that, despite the efforts of various governments to erode their powers, traditional leaders still have a vital role to play in land-use management along the Wild Coast. Future conservation of the Wild Coast depends on strengthening the partnership between government structures and traditional leadership because efforts to protect the area will fail without their support.

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ANNEXURE 1: INTERVIEW PARTICIPANTS

1.1 Dwesa-Cwebe Area

1.1.2 Dwesa Traditional Leaders

In text reference	Interviewee	Title/ position	Date of interview
D1	S. Ndlumbini	Dwesa Traditional leader (Chief)	20/03/2019
D2	C. Magqaza	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D3	C. Ndlumbini	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D4	S.G. Ncaphag	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D5	M. Ndzya	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D6	W. Mgiollixna	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D7	M.S Tandamisa	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D8	Z Gxarisa	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D9	R.J. Mapukata	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D10	B. Mbola	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D11	S. Masekelana	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D12	Mancobandeya	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019
D13	Illegible	Dwesa Traditional leader	20/03/2019

1.1.3 Cwebe Traditional Leaders

In text reference	Interviewee	Title/ position	Date of interview
C1	Geya Jonginkosi	Cwebe Traditional Leader (Chief)	28/05/2019
C2	P. Nyalambisa	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C3	V. Mayezana	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C4	N. Nomyayi	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C5	M. Soga	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C6	E. Nfayamfu	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C7	L. Sokhala	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C8	J. Nombong	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C9	N. Kwayi	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C10	Mgadavu	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C11	T. Madiki	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C12	J. Mahilihili	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019
C13	S Nombona	Cwebe Traditional Leader	28/05/2019

1.1.4 Hobeni Traditional Leaders

In text reference	Interviewee	Title/ position	Date of interview
H1	P. Fudumele	Hobeni Traditional Leader (Chief)	08/07/2018; 22/03/2019
H2	K. Juza	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H3	Z. Mekile	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H4	Zwelenkosi	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H5	Nobandla	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H6	N. Mpukwana	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H7	F. Matthews	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H8	P. Sidumba	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H9	B Mahlabane	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H10	T. Mbulaleko	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H11	D. Gongqose	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H12	Z. Sonaye	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H13	D. Qangwe	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H14	T. Hitshu	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H15	P. Mlilo	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H16	Fudumele	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H17	Mgqogewa	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H18	Z. Mdlayo	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H19	L. Gqweta	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H20	L. Mobhenu	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019

H21	M. Mpukwana	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H22	M. Jachile	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H23	N. Sidelo	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H24	P. Mlilo	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H25	M. Jono	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H26	M. Buthizama	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H27	B. Phile	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019
H28/H29	Illegible	Hobeni Traditional Leader	22/03/2019

1.1.5 Dwesa-Cwebe Environmental Officials

In text reference	**Interviewee**	**Title/ position**	**Date of interview**
E1	B.G. Mpuhlu	Dwesa-Cwebe Manager	07/08/2018
E2	L. Khuzwayo	Dwesa-Cwebe Manager	28/03/2018
E3	M. Gxashe	Dwesa-Cwebe Manager	06/07/2018
E4	M. Mbete	Dwesa-Cwebe Manager	10/07/2018
E5	M.L. Ndude	Dwesa-Cwebe Manager	01/09/2018
E6	V. Mapiya	Dwesa Reserve Manager	05/07/2019
E7	T. Gwiji	Cwebe Reserve Manager	04/06/2019

1.1.6 Dwesa-Cwebe Specialists

In text reference	Interviewee	Title/ position	Date of interview
S1	P. Dutton	Scientist (Transkei)	16/05/2018
S2	K. Cooper	Director WESSA	16/05/2018
S3	P. Goss	Wild Coast Hotel and Land Owner	15/05/2019
S4	G. Rayment	Haven Hotel Manager and Nqabarha Cottage Owner	21/03/2019
S5	G. Pienaar	Regional Manager	07/08/2018; 04/07/2019
S6	A. Boyd	Fisheries Scientist DEFF	31/01/2020
S7	H. Bourn	Principal Nature Conservator Transkei	29/05/2020

1.2 Hluleka Area

1.2.1 Hluleka Traditional Leaders

In text reference	Interviewee	Title/ position	Date of interview
HL1	M. Gwadiso	Hluleka Traditional leader (Chief)	08/02/2018
HL2	B. Gwadiso	Hluleka Traditional leader	08/02/2018; 18/11/2019
HL3	V Makhafu	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019
HL4	S. Maqhiya	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019
HL5	T. Gwadiso	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019
HL6	Hlutshwa One	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019
HL7	J. Gwadiso	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019
HL8	V. Qhwemeshe	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019
HL9	M. Mantlik	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019
HL10	N. Dwayana	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019
HL11	P.E. Mkoba	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019
HL12	Z. Makhosonke	Hluleka Traditional Leader	18/11/2019

1.2.2 Hluleka Environmental Officials

In text reference	Interviewee	Title/ position	Date of interview
HE1	M. Dlulani	Hluleka Reserve Manager	16/09/2017
HE2	A. Matsheke	Hluleka Reserve Manager	25/01/2018
HE3	G. Mpuhlu	Hluleka Reserve Manager	07/02/2018
HE4	L. Ndude	Hluleka Reserve Manager	01/09/2018
HE5	N. Tom	Hluleka Reserve Manager	08/02/2018
HE6	V. Yazini	Hluleka Reserve Manager	28/05/2019
HE7	B. Mzamo	Hluleka Reserve Manager	09/04/2018

1.3 Mkambati Area

1.3.1 Mkambati Traditional Leaders

In text reference	Interviewee	Title/ position	Date of interview
M1	B. Nojavu	Traditional leader	17/05/2018
M2	S. Jama	KhanyayoTraditional leader (Chief)	29/03/2018
M3	M. Mkwedini	Lambasi Traditional Leader (Chief)	29/03/2018
M4	B.N. Gumbuzo	Tahle Traditional Leader (Chief)	17/05/2018
M5	V. M. Mkiwane	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M6	Songezo	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M7	B.H. Giyose	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M8	M. Bebu	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M9	O.M. Jwili	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M10	N.T. Sipoco	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M11	N.M. Zitha	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M12	S Jama	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M13	A Jama	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M14	M. Siyabulelo	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020
M15	M. Ngenge	Traditional Leader	17/03/2020

1.3.2 Mkambati Nature Reserve Environmental Officials

In text reference	Interviewee	Title/ position	Date of interview
ME1	P. Ruddle	Mkambati Reserve Manager	07/01/2019
ME2	G. Mpuhlu	Mkambati Reserve Manager	07/02/2018
ME3	J. Ackerman	Mkambati Nature Conservator	17/05/2020
ME4	S. Spotsi	Mkambati Reserve Manager	16/08/2018
ME5	D. Prinsloo	Mkambati Reserve Manager	06/11/2018
ME6	V. Mapiya	Mkambati Reserve Manager	05/07/2019
ME7	L. Khuzwayo	Mkambati Reserve Manager	23/08/2019; 18/03/2020

1.3.3 Mkambati Specialists

In text reference	Interviewee	Title/ position	Date of interview
MS1	P. Dutton	Scientist (Transkei)	16/05/2018
MS2	K. Cooper	Director WESSA	16/05/2018; 04/05/2020
MS3	P. Goss	Wild Coast Hotel and Land Owner	15/05/2019
MS4	A. Boyd	Fisheries Scientist DEFF	31/01/2020
MS5	H. Bourn	Principal Nature Conservator Transkei	29/05/2020

1.4 Personal Communication with Wild Coast Specialists (Not Semi-Rigid Interview)

Siyabulela Manona (Researcher and Environmental Consultant); Lungile Nodwala (Fisheries Officer and Manager: DEFF); Khaya Ncube (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Manager); Michael Coleman (Director Land Affairs); Nkosinathi. Tyabashe (Field Ranger Dwesa-Cwebe); Jim. Feely (Scientist Transkei Nature Conservation, DEAET); William (Bill) Dutton (Forester, Transkei); Derek Berliner (Scientist; Environmental Consultant); Jeff Peires (Historian); Ian Player (Conservationist); Val Schmid (Administrative Officer and Acting Reserve Manager: Mkambati Game Reserve); Albert Mfenyana (Chief Director Environmental Affairs: DEDEAT); Phumla Mzazi-Geja (Director of Biodiversity and Coastal Management: DEDEAT); Robert Stegmann (Manager of Compliance and Enforcement: DEDEAT); Sizakele Gabula (Regional Director DEDEAT); Christian Martin (San Activist, Politician); Mike Dennison (WESSA member); Izak van der Merwe (Scientist DEFF Forestry); Ken Tinley (Scientist Transkei); Willem van Riet (Environmental Consultant); Eugene Moll (Scientist Transkei); Bruce Mann (Scientist, Oceanographic Research Institute); Athol Cocks (Chairperson Wild Coast Cottage Owners Association); Pete Fielding (Marine Scientist); Graham Strachan (‘uBili’ Strachan Relative: Hluleka); Colin Bell (Environmentalist; Author; Tourism Entrepreneur); Sizwe Cawe (Walter Sisulu University Lecturer/Botanist); Allen Mhatu (SAPPI Manager); Jaap Pienaar (Manager of Compliance and Enforcement DEDEAT); Bheki Mbundwini (Investigator: Special Investigations Unit: DEDEAT); Her Majesty Masobhuza Sigcawu (Queen of Pondoland).