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**PARTICIPATION DYNAMICS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF PROTECTED AREAS:
THE CASE OF DWESA-CWEBE NATURE RESERVE AND ITS ADJACENT
COMMUNITIES, EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA**

BY

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A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS OF
THE DEGREE OF

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN SOCIAL SCIENCE (SOCIOLOGY)

University of Fort Hare
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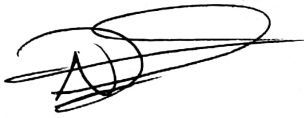
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MARCH 2023

DECLARATION

I, James Donald Nyamahono, student number 200909519, hereby declare that this research for Doctor of Philosophy in Social Science (Sociology) is my original work and has not been submitted previously for any degree at this or another university or institution of higher learning. The thesis does not contain other persons' writing unless specifically acknowledged and referenced accordingly.



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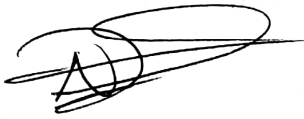
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DEDICATIONS

I dedicate this thesis to my late father, Nyamahono Basil Sr (10/06/1951 – 17/12/2013), and my late brother Nyamahono Basil Jr (22/05/1999 – 24/06/2020). May your souls rest in eternal peace ☹



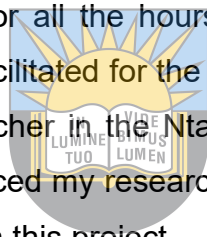
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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

“Our deepest fear is not that we are inadequate. Our deepest fear is that we are powerful beyond measure. It is our light, not our darkness, that most frightens us. We ask ourselves, ‘Who am I to be brilliant, gorgeous, talented and fabulous?’ Actually, who are you not to be? You are a child of God.....”
(Marriane Williamson).

I would like to acknowledge God, who has made me powerful beyond measure. God has made me who I am today. HE has strengthened me to wake up with a fresh mind every day to work on this thesis. HE has surrounded me with supportive colleagues and networks that have played important roles in completing this thesis.

My greatest gratitude goes to my research promoter, Professor Wilson Akpan, who has taught me the ‘art of writing’ and the critical thinking needed to qualify for a doctorate. I am forever grateful for all the hours of consultation spent and all the financial assistance that he has facilitated for the success of this project. I also thank him for recruiting me as a researcher in the Ntabelanga Dam Project. This project assisted me financially and enhanced my research skills. No one will ever take away the research skills I gained through this project.



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My gratitude also goes to my co-supervisor, Professor Ike Umejesi, who has always been available to assist me whenever I needed his services. I thank him for introducing me to the Local Indicators of Climate Change Impact (LICCI) exchange programme in Barcelona, Spain. This initiative enabled me to have broad views on environmental conservation beyond small confinements.

This research would not have been successful without the financial assistance from Mr Zenith Tsengwa, CEO of the Maths and Science Infinity Organisation, South Africa. Zen came in as a major sponsor in my PhD studies and did not hesitate to provide assistance whenever I needed it. His financial assistance covered all fieldwork related costs including car rental, accommodation, food allowances, fuel and honorarium for fieldworkers, stationery and a little to spare. To Zen, your assistance meant a lot to me, and I'm forever grateful to you. I credit this research to you and all the participants who participated in primary research.

My deepest gratitude goes to my right hand man, Kelvin Tinashe Pikirai, who has been with me since day one. Kelvin was my co-worker way before I started my Master's degree. We grew up together and concurrently did our PhDs under the same supervision. We even left our work together on the same day, so that we could focus more on our studies. Kelvin has been my research assistant since day one and he never left me behind or dropped me when I needed his help. Kelvin my guy, we're going to do this together and we will be Dr(s) together, and may it be like that until we take our last breath.

I would also like to thank my colleagues in the Department of Sociology who were with me during my tenure: Professor Sonwabile Mnwana in particular, who allowed me to work as a volunteer in the Department and later as a paid Assistant Lecturer. I thank Ms. Jaffrey Penny, who has always provided me with piece works for my sustainability, and Dr. Kwizera for her kindness and free spirit. My gratitude also goes to Ms. Nosi Jikwa for all the administrative roles she has played towards to completion of my research.

To Tanya Mazzie, you have always stood by me from the beginning of this project until the end. Your support, encouragement, patience and devotion has enabled me to see that there is light at the end of the tunnel. For that, I am truly grateful.

Finally, I would like to say a big thank you to my fellow PhD candidates (who are not Ph.D holders) in the Sociology Department, namely:

- Dr. Elmon Mudefi, Dr. Tafadzwa Mambiravana and Dr. Yusuf

Your presence made me realise that I am living among other people. Thank you very much colleagues.

ABSTRACT

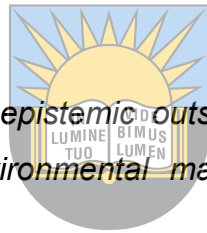
In many parts of the developing world, participation in the management of 'protected areas' is among the most tangible indices of how the rural population encounters formal conservation policies, strategies and ideologies. However, some scholars have argued that the sharing of the burdens and benefits of participation is devoid of equity. While some analysts have emphasised the imperative of multi-stakeholder participation in nature conservation, citing this as a crucial socio-ecological investment, others have highlighted the inherent contradictions in the process, describing it as an avenue for manipulation, tokenism and exploitation.

This study is located in this debate and focuses on narratives around the participation of different stakeholders in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its adjacent communities in the rural Wild-Coast, Eastern Cape, South Africa. The researcher notes that research on the degrees and participation dynamics among various role players involved in the management of protected areas in South Africa, Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve in particular is limited. Against this background, this study contributes to ongoing discussions on protected area management in South Africa but seeks to expand this discussion by interrogating the nature and degrees of participation within the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve - to deepen intellectual understanding on the significant role played by protected areas in engendering participatory democracy, equity, justice as well as meeting the needs of marginalised communities.

Primary data for the thesis were collected using in-depth and key-informant interviews with officials from government institutions and parastatals, politicians and traditional authority figures. Focus group discussions were held with 'youth' participants as well as 'elders' in the Reserve's adjacent communities. An analysis of policy and other government documents sought to outline the institutional attributes of protected areas management in South Africa and the underpinning ideas. A thematic analysis of the corpus of empirical information helped to show how these institutional attributes inhere in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve as well as the epistemic challenge these attributes pose vis-à-vis indigenous ecological ideas and practices in the adjacent 'indigenous' communities.

The study revealed that participation is perceived differently by various stakeholders due to multiple, mutually contradictory impulses. While institutional stakeholders attached great importance to the structural role of institutional frameworks, hence the vigorous reliance on formal conservation strategies, narratives from community members drew attention to 'equity deficits'. The study also found that while the selected Reserve may have fostered cooperation between government and the adjacent communities, conflict and distrust ran deep between these stakeholders. From these and other findings, the study concluded that ecological participation in the study area was characterised by clusters of stakeholders who regard one another as 'epistemic outsiders' and related to one another as such, with practical consequences – especially for the long-term sustainability of the Reserve. In the main, the thesis rests on the argument that in the face of epistemic differences, dominance and marginalisation could become a defining feature of protected area management that cannot be readily resolved through the mere process of participation.

Key Words: *Epistemic insiders, epistemic outsiders, Participation ladder, Nature Reserves, Protected Areas, Environmental management, Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, South Africa*



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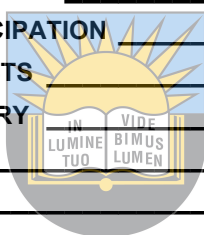
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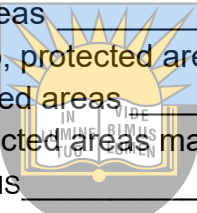
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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND SYNONYMS

<i>Ad infinitum</i>	To infinity; again and again in the same way; forevermore
AZES	Alliance for Zero Extinctions Sites
CAA	Community Action Agencies
CACs	Citizen Advisory Committees
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
<i>Ceteris Paribus</i>	Assuming other factors constant
CONNEPP	Consultative National Environmental Policy Process
CPA	Communal Property Association
CPD	Centres of Plant Diversity
DCLT	Dwesa-Cwebe Land Trust
<i>De facto</i>	In fact, whether by right or not.
DEA	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DRDAR	Department of Rural Development and Agrarian Reform
DWS	Department of Water and Sanitation
ECPTA	Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency
ECSECC	Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council
EPWP	Extended Public Works Programme
FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation

IBA	Important Bird Areas
ICCA	Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IKS	Indigenous Knowledge Systems
<i>Inter alia</i>	Among other things
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature
IVR	Institute for Volunteering Research
KBA	Key Biodiversity Areas
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
<i>Modus Operandi</i>	Mode of Operation
MPA	Marine Protected Areas
NCVO	National Council for Voluntary Organisations
NDP	National Development Plan
NEMA	National Environmental Management Act
NEMBA	National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act No. 10 of 2004
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
PoWPA	Programme of Work on Protected Areas
PPAs	Private Protected Areas
PTP	Pathways through Participation
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals



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The Constitution	Constitution of the Republic of South Africa No. 108 of 1996
<i>Uberrima Fides</i>	Utmost Good Faith
UN ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council
UN	United Nations
UNCED	United Nations Conference on Environment and Development
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNCSD	United Nations Commission on Sustainable Development
UNECE	United Nations Economic Committee for Europe
UNEP	United Nations Environmental Programme
UNEP-WCMC	United Nations Environmental Programme – World Conservation Monitoring Centre
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNFF	United Nations Forum on Forests
WCPA	World Commission on Protected Areas
WSSD	World Summit on Sustainable Development



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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction and motivation for the study

Natural resource management is one of the critical initiatives that underpin people's livelihoods, as well as the preservation of indigenous, exotic, and wildlife habitats. Scholarship on environmental management relates natural resource management to formal or informal participatory efforts by diverse stakeholders using multiple methodologies such as renewable technology, civic participation, and emissions / waste control, among other steps (Smith, 2019; Groce, Ferrelly, Jorgensen & Cook, 2019; Kim, Kim & Phetyaroon, 2019; Dudley, 2008). In this light, Dyer, Keppel, Watling, Tuiwana, Vido and Boerhmer (2019), Haines, Cano, Hislop and Williams (2019), Sarkki, Parpan, Melnykovich, Zahvoyska, Derbal, Voloshyna and Nijnik (2019) and Dudley (2008) acknowledge the role of formalising natural resources management and state that it enables the application of formalised and structured ideas in conservation. Other scholars however contend that the formalisation of natural resource management is not always successful because institutional stakeholders and the use of so-called 'expert or formalised ways' often correlate certain stakeholders with a lack of 'connectedness' with the natural environment (Boiral, Heras-Saizarbitoria & Brotherton, 2019). As a result, there is a lack of agreement about which environmental process has the greatest effect on conservation.

Nonetheless, South Africa, through the then apartheid government and the current government's commitment to championing the 'cause of environmental sustainability', has been actively participating in the the creation and management of protected areas. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa No. 108 of 1996 (from now onwards referred to as the Constitution) incorporates the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Act No. 21 of 2014 in support of the agenda. Literature reveals many instances of dominant natural resource control where the government takes possession and administers private property for the interests of the general citizens (Kim, Lee & Somin, 2017; Lanza, Miceli, Sirmans & Diop, 2013; Lehavi & Licht, 2007b; Stoekbuck, 1972:553). State interference, however, culminates in what may be referred to as the 'human-nature separation approach' which results in the dislocation of people from their traditional ecological spaces, as well as their cultural, religious and spiritual roots leading to loss of sense-of-place or even high levels of stress-

related depression and possible distortion of their collective memory (Halbwachs, 1925, 1950, 1994; Brownlie & Botha, 2009; Tomicevic, Shannon & Milovanovic, 2010; Fischer, Muchapondwa & Sterner 2011; Petrova, 2014; Fischer, Abson, Butsic, Chappell, Ekroos Hanspach, Kuemmerle, Smith & von Wehrden, 2014; Brownlie, von Hase, Botha, Manuel, Balmforth & Jenner, 2017; Neelakantan, DeFries & Krishnamurthy, 2019; Anguelovski, Irazábal-Zurita & Connolly, 2019; Neelakantan, 2019; Griffiths, Bull, Baker & Milner-Gulland, 2019). This approach is seen by Dowie (2009), Lewis (2010) and Stevens (2010) as a sort of 'soft eviction' as it makes local communities to become 'conservation refugees' who are given the right to live on land but without exclusive rights to use it at their own will.

Nonetheless, officials continue to advocate for a multi-stakeholder approach to natural resource management where local communities and institutional stakeholders such as governments and other organisations coordinate their efforts to achieve a shared environmental goal (Haines et al., 2019; Sarkki et al., 2019). Legislation on protected areas management regulates how local communities should interact with the natural environment through what may be referred to as the 'human-nature reconnection strategy' (Fischer et al., 2014). This approach ensures that local communities are reconnected with their environment and they participate as primary participants in the sustainability of natural resource management (Hodgett, 2018; Finlayson, Arthington & Pittock, 2018; Andersen, 2018; Rossini, 2019; Suresh & Shinoj, 2018; Clay, 2019; Koch, 2018; Belle, Collins & Jordaan, 2018). The approach has been applied in different ways, including community participation in water conservation projects (Onyenankeya, Caldwell & Okoh, 2018), protection of marine protected areas (MPAs) (Sowman & Sunde, 2018), and cross-border grassroots ecotourism and wildlife-related enterprises (Zinamwe, Gandiwa, Muboko, Kupika & Mukamuri, 2018).

However, while legislation places emphasis on active participation between local communities and reserve management to engender equity, justice, participatory democracy and to ensure that the needs of local communities are met - this has not been the case in many nature reserves. The term participation, a highly contested and disputed term has been found to mean different things to different stakeholders which has consequently raised several inconsistencies and questions on its fairness and equity, especially its ability to address local community needs. One of the seminal

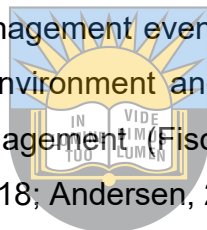
works on community participation, Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (1969), which is explored in more detail in this thesis (see chapter four section 4.2), argues that participation processes are mostly devoid of justice and equity. This is supported by a research done by Akpan, van Tol, Malambile, and Mqalo (2017), which was based on participation and concluded that certain individuals obtain concrete benefits from the participation process by manipulating other stakeholders. Thus, certain participants have the potential to affect participation outcomes, whilst the voices of other participants only begin to be heard in the 'citizen power' stages.

Against this background, the focus of this study is to interrogate the nature and levels of participation between various stakeholders around Dwesa Cwebe Nature Reserve collaborative efforts. The researcher notes that research on the degrees and participation dynamics among various role players involved in the management of protected areas in South Africa, Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve in particular is limited. This study therefore aims to fill this gap in literature and to increase intellectual understanding on the role played by protected areas in meeting local community needs and goals. This thesis will also highlight the dominant discourses and contestations surrounding the term participation. In particular, the dimensions to be unpacked, expound on the study's argument, which rejects the notion that the participation of various stakeholders in protected area management contributes to equity and justice. In line with this, the Ladder of Citizen Participation theory will be used to elucidate on the process of participation among the various role players involved. The aim of the theory is to therefore, explicate the nature and degrees of participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The Indigenous Standpoint Theory has been used as a complimentary theory to highlight the importance of giving a voice to local communities by allowing them to articulate important opinions based on their incarnated experiences. It is also important in that it crystallises the dynamics and challenges that arise in engendering participation in protected area management.

1.2 The research problem

Protected areas have been advocated by scholars and institutional stakeholders as crucial environmental management spaces that play important institutional functions in ecological preservation (Dyer et al., 2019; Dudley, 2008; WCPA, 2010). As a result,

there have been increasing calls to move away from apartheid's top - down, exclusionary style to multi stakeholder partnerships - which prioritize varied collaborations between local communities, management agencies, non-governmental organisations, resource users and the government among others (Dovers et al., 2015). In South Africa, the creation of many natural protected areas was on the backdrop of forced removals – where local communities were moved from their homes to remote and unproductive areas (Moyo, Cele and Marvelous, 2021). Considering South Africa's history of apartheid, the country found it necessary to prioritize and highlight participation to redress apartheid's injustices – and to establish a more equal and just society. The centrality of public participation was accentuated as a basic need and democratic right in every sphere. In this context therefore, scholars and government officials argue that a multi-stakeholder approach to natural resource management in which many stakeholders must coordinate their efforts is necessary for accomplishing a common environmental objective (Haines et al., 2019; Sarkki et al., 2019). The legislation on protected areas management even prescribes how local communities should interact with the natural environment and play a key role in the long-term viability of natural resource management (Fischer et al., 2014; Hodgett, 2018; Finlayson, Arthington & Pittock, 2018; Andersen, 2018; Suresh & Shinoj, 2018; Koch, 2018; Belle, Collins & Jordaan, 2018; Clay, 2019 & Rossini, 2019).



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While the intended outcome of participation is equity and justice, the unintended consequences have been inequity and injustice. Nature reserves are particularly vulnerable to unintended consequences and in line with this, Musavengane and Leornard (2019) found that even if various stakeholders are involved in the management of protected areas, this does not guarantee that equity and justice exist. Musavengane and Leornard (2019) argue, for instance, that most local black population groups in South Africa are still excluded from the participation processes irrespective of the government's proposal for the inclusiveness of various stakeholders at all levels.

The researcher notes that there are several studies focusing on the management of protected areas in South Africa. Vinti (2019)'s study explores the right to mine in a protected area within the regulations of s48 of the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas 57 of 2003 (NEMPAA). Goosen (2021), discusses the

challenges of efficient management of protected areas, the long-term sustainability of protected areas and the role of management in addressing these challenges. Moyo, Cele and Marvelous (2021)'s paper investigates the possibility of the engagement of higher education institutions (HEIs) in capacitating local communities to unleash their development potential towards alleviating their own poverty. A limited number of studies have examined the dynamics and challenges in participation in the management of protected areas in the Eastern Cape. These studies have however, not provided a detailed analysis of the degrees and nature of participation and their impact on equity and social justice – consequently, literature on the subject remains understudied. A better understanding of these is essential. The paper therefore contributes to ongoing discussions on protected area management in South Africa but seeks to expand this discussion by exploring participation dynamics in the management of protected areas with a particular focus on the degrees and nature of participation in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its adjacent communities in the Eastern Cape Province. Additionally, the study contests the notion that the participation of various role players and stakeholders in protected area management engenders equity and justice.



1.3 Research questions

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Based on the research problem described above, this study is conducted to answer the following key questions pertaining to the participation dynamics in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve:

- i. What are the main institutionalised attributes of protected areas management in South Africa and what are the underpinning ideas? In other words, what are the institutional perspectives as expressed through policies guiding the management of the nature reserves nationally and internationally?
- ii. How are such formalised attributes and conservation ideas epitomised by Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and the adjacent communities?
- iii. How do formal, institutionalised conservation practices in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve intersect with indigenous ecological narratives and practices in the adjacent communities, and to what consequences? In other words, to what extent is there a 'collision' of perspectives between the 'formal' and the

‘indigenous’ with regard to conservation narratives and practices in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve?

1.4 Research aim and objectives

The main aim of the study is to understand existing participation dynamics in the management of protected areas from the perspectives of the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its adjacent communities, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa.

The specific objectives of the study are:

- i. To determine the main institutionalised attributes of protected areas management in South Africa and the underpinning ideas – in other words, to determine how the institutional perspectives are expressed through policies guiding the management of the nature reserves nationally and internationally.
- ii. To ascertain the extent to which such formalised attributes and conservation ideas are epitomised by Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and the adjacent communities
- iii. To understand how formal, institutionalised conservation practices in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve intersect with indigenous ecological narratives and practices in the adjacent communities, and the consequences of such intersection. In other words, the objective here is to understand the extent to which there a ‘collision’ of perspectives between the ‘formal’ and the ‘indigenous’ with regard to conservation narratives and practices in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.

1.5 Significance of the study

This study is undertaken inside the Eastern Cape nature reserves to determine the participation dynamics in management frameworks; hence, it makes an important empirical contribution. The study begins by identifying the institutional frameworks for managing protected areas and then triangulates these with the general ecological practices used by local groups. This reveals certain dynamics that can play a role in what are known as ‘ecologies of exclusion.’ The ecologies of exclusion deconstruct

participation of stakeholders in the management of nature reserves from different perspectives, where certain persons are viewed as more significant than others and hence prioritized in the participation process. As a result, a framework is provided that defines many points of view and methods in which natural resources might be handled inclusively by various stakeholders. Such findings provide policymakers with appropriate management frameworks that address the differences and similarities of participating stakeholders in order to create a more inclusive, culturally sensitive conservation management, particularly in Africa's rural communities and protected-areas endowed governments.

The study also potentially contributes to tackling challenges embodied in some of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), for example; SDG 10 (Reduced Inequalities) and Goal 15 (Life on Land). SDG 10 speaks of reducing inequalities by adopting and promoting policies that are 'universal in principle' and favours the needs of the 'disadvantaged and marginalised populations'. For this study, focus is not only on economic and social equity, but also on epistemic inequity denoted by the suppression of indigenous standpoints on development issues. SDG 15 applies to Life on Land and underlines the imperative of managing forests sustainably, combating desertification, halting and reversing land degradation, and halting biodiversity loss. For this study, attention is paid to how formal conservation policies and strategies that appear to promote these goals often peripheralise indigenous conservation practices, often to the point where the creation of protected areas creates 'ecological refugees' from poor indigenous populations. The study brings an important perspective on how 'holism' can be made a key strategy for environmental policies and strategies, especially in cases where different participants such as institutional stakeholders and local people are involved.

1.6 Overall theoretical/conceptual framework guiding the study

This study is underpinned by two strands of theories, namely; Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation and the Indigenous Standpoint Theory.

1.6.1 Ladder of Citizen Participation

Sherry Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (1969) sees participation as more of a philosophy of political power. It considers community participation as a social 'ladder'

with rungs ranging from non-participation at the bottom, tokenism in the middle and degrees of citizen power at the top. There are successive rungs such as 'manipulation', 'therapy', 'informing', 'consultation', 'placation', 'partnership', 'delegated power' and 'citizen control' from the phase of manipulation to citizen power (Arnstein, 1969).

All of these rungs reflect the forms of participation, and the local participants' power over development. The lower rungs of the ladder are, in fact, non-participation although it appears as participation to the ordinary eye. These steps are further followed by three successive steps, namely informing, consulting and placation. Placation involves degrees of tokenism. Tokenism implies that some participants are made to feel that they do participate when though little participation actually happens. The last three rungs, namely partnership, delegated power and citizen control all signify degrees of citizen power where the local participants gain leverage over their contribution in the participation process (ibid.).

For this study, the Ladder of Citizen Participation's assumption is that, in the management of protected areas, certain 'powerful' individuals gain tangible benefits from the mechanism through the manipulation of other stakeholders, communities in particular (Akpan et al., 2017). For example, nature reserves management and other 'powerful' stakeholders might have the power to influence participation outcomes; as they are the participants whose voices are heard in the participation process. On the other hand, voices of other participants only start to be heard in the 'citizen power' stages. Since this study is conducted to understand the participation dynamics among different stakeholders involved in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, the Ladder of Citizen Participation will help to explain how these participants participate. The 'ladder' will, therefore, explain the nature and degrees of citizen participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.

1.6.2 Indigenous Standpoint Theory

The Indigenous Standpoint Theory, on the other hand, is used as a complementary theory to highlight the fluidity of the term participation. The theory considers how local communities express critical perspectives based on the embodied experience of indigeneity while navigating the dynamic intersections of injustice that arise from

colonialism (Foley, 2006; 2003). As Moreton-Robinson (2013) point out, the Indigenous Standpoint methodologically and epistemologically requires one to 'locate oneself' among the networks of relationships that comprise indigenous realities. The most important concept of Indigenous Standpoint Theory is that the individual's own perspectives are shaped by his or her social and political experiences and the value of a naturalistic or everyday experiential concept of knowledge (i.e. epistemology) (see Nakata, 2007). Thus, when conceptualizing indigenous realities – such as indigenous ecological practices – the participant must be guided by “daily realities ... from within that (lived) experience” rather than by the use of pre-determined concepts and categories to explain experience (Nakata, 2007; Moreton-Robinson, 2013).

Based on this context and under normal circumstances, only 'indigenous people' or 'epistemic insiders' can express indigenous perspectives as they are considered to have 'epistemic understanding' of the phenomenon in question (Moreton-Robinson, 2013). On the other hand, Indigenous Standpoint Theory also identifies 'epistemic outsiders' or 'outsiders-within' whose voices, significance, socio-cultural factors, participatory efforts, perceived benefits and/or 'other conditions' are not considered or are given insignificant consideration (Foley, 2006; 2003). For instance, the institutional stakeholders such as the government, due to its absolute powers over the creation and management of protected areas, may view themselves as the epistemic insiders and label the local communities as the epistemic outsiders. While, the local communities may feel like they are the outsiders-within due to the institutional and legal frameworks, whereas in actuality they are epistemic insiders. This theory will therefore help to explain the extent to which different indigeneity, standpoints and 'lived realities' in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve can shape the participation of various stakeholders in the management of the nature reserve under study.

1.6.3 Conceptual framework guiding the study

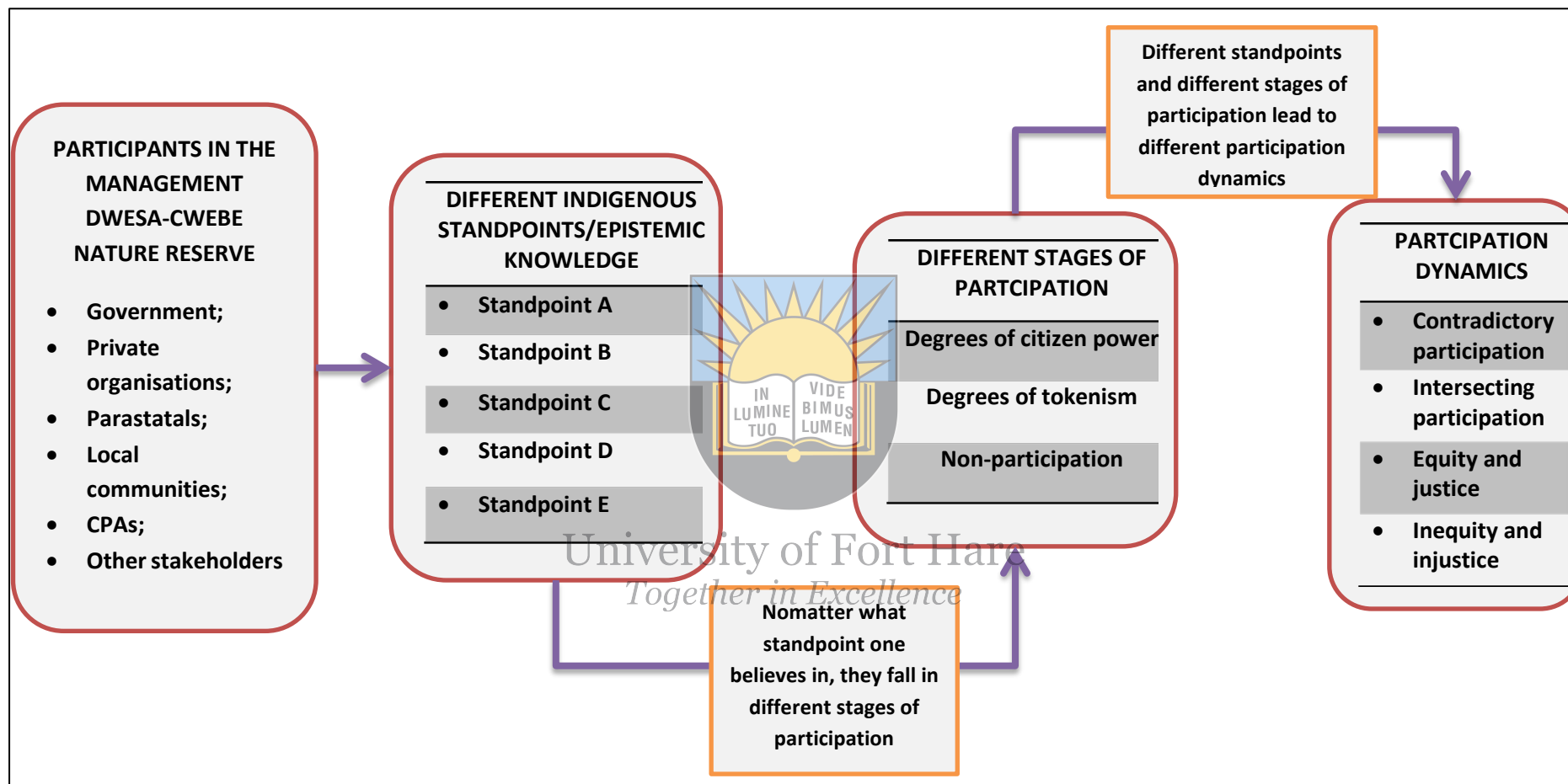
The conceptual framework mentioned below serves as the foundation for this research. The study is founded on the assumption that various stakeholders who have different social, cultural and institutional backgrounds are involved in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The participants fall in different stages of participation in the process based on Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation. Some are classified as having varying degrees of citizen power, while others are classified

as tokenism, and still others are classified as non-participants. Consequently, due to different standpoints and different participants' belonging to different stages of the participation process, different participation dynamics emerge. Participation may be viewed differently by participants, and can have different modes, and the participants themselves will have different perceptions on one another's mode of participation. It is therefore presumed that participation may be contradictory in some instances, or may be intersecting in others. In some instances, participation may lead to equity and justice or inequity and injustice.



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Figure 1.1: Conceptual framework guiding the study



Source: Conceptual framework developed by the author

1.6.4 Terminology used in the study

Terminology can sometimes be contentious and ambivalent, so it is necessary to indicate how this thesis employs certain problematic terms. South African English spelling is used in this thesis rather than the United States of America spelling. The reason for this is that South African English spelling is the acceptable standard in most South African universities including the University of Fort Hare. For the sake of clarity, some differences between the South African English and American English spellings need to be demonstrated. For example, in South African English spelling words like 'endeavour', 'honour', 'neighbourhood', 'organisation' and 'favourite' are spelled as 'endeavor', 'neighborhood', 'organization' and 'favorite' in American English spelling. There is also a difference of 's' and 'z' between South African spelling and American spelling. For example, 'familiarise' is used in South African spelling instead of 'familiarize' in American spelling.

The method of ellipsis used in this thesis also requires clarification. Ellipsis points are used to represent an omission from direct quotations when cited by another author. This series of five dots (.....) is inserted where a word(s), phrase(s) or sentence(s) is omitted. The use of ellipsis in this way is supported by contemporary writing styles of "major authorities such as APA, Oxford, Chicago and MHRA". The thesis uses double quotation marks (e.g. "") for short in-between direct quotes, while single quotation marks (e.g. ") are used for emphasis. Long quotes are indented 1.3 cm to the left and 1.3 cm to the right with single line spacing. Words that are not English are put in italics. The thesis uses Arial font size 12 and line spacing 1.5. For the footnotes, Calibri (body) font size 10 point and 1.15 line spacing is used.

1.6.5 Concepts used in the study

Other terminology which should be brought to the attention of the reader are outlined below.

Contestations – this term is used in this study to refer to the action or process of disputing or arguing. This term used in chapter two to review the main arguments around the ownership and management of natural resources, which then informs chapter three which further utilise this concept to review debates around participation.

In a nutshell, the term contestation is used in this study to make clear all the debates that are around the subject in question.

Discourses – By definition, the term discourse refer to “.....speaking or writing authoritatively about a topic” (Merriam-Webster Dictionary, online). In sociological terms, discourses refer to how knowledge, subjects, behaviour, and events are portrayed and described in claims, assumptions, conceptions, motifs, and common notions (Van Dijk, 1997). The easiest way to conceive of discourse is that it offers a framework through which we view the world (Torfing, 2005). The term discourse is used in Chapter Two to understand different views of natural resources ownership and management in terms of commonalities that exist in the process and contradictions. In Chapter Three, the term is used to provide an understanding of how participation is viewed across different stakeholders.

Epistemic differences – this term is used in this study to explain the different standpoints or perspectives among stakeholders based on their lived realities within a certain phenomenon. A differentiation is made between **epistemic insiders** and **epistemic outsiders**. Epistemic insiders consider themselves as the persons with first-hand knowledge about a phenomenon due to their lived experience with it. Epistemic outsiders, on the other hand, refer to the people who are believed to not be quiet informed about a phenomenon because they are ‘outsiders’ and they do not have lived experience with it.

Institutional stakeholders – in this study, institutional stakeholders refer to formalised organisations or persons in leading positions in management who have significant influence upon or importance within the organisations they represent. These stakeholders’ activities are referred to as institutional practices in this study. **Institutional practices** refer to the formalised practices implemented by formal organisations. Formalised in this case relates to processes that are instituted by the the organisations, other than the local communities, and that such processes are regarded as legally binding. The institutional practices referes to those that are formalised through the constitution, legislative frameworks, company policies that extend beyond the company, or other similar means.

Local communities – A local community is defined as a collection of individuals who interact and live in the same area. The term is frequently used to describe to a group that is organised around similar beliefs and has social cohesiveness within a shared geographical place, typically in social units bigger than a family (Murdoch & Abram, 1998). In this study, the term ‘local communities’ refer to the individuals who live in the study community, which is dispersed among seven villages. These individuals are viewed as distinct from institutional stakeholders.

Participation – this term participation as used in this study is based on three definitions. Firstly, this study adopts the World Bank definitions which states that it is “...a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decision and resources which affect them.” Secondly, the study uses the definition adopted from Chamala (1995) and Chamala and Keith (1995, p. 8) which state that participation refers to “...a social process whereby specific groups with shared needs living in a defined geographic area actively pursue identification of their needs, take decisions and establish mechanisms to meet these needs”. Lastly, the study uses Mulwa’s (1998, p. 52) definition of participation which states that it is “...a process whereby the marginalised groups in a community take the initiative to shape their own future and better lives by taking full responsibility for their needs and asserting themselves as subjects of their own history”.

Participation dynamics –The participation dynamics in this study refers to different aspects that have an effect on, or that are affected by participation. This is a broad term that explains participation as a concept and what makes up this concept. These participation dynamics may be in line with what they believe participation is, how do they view one another in the participation process, what modes of participation exist, how they perceive each other’s mode of participation, and any other dynamics that explain their involvement in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Overall, their participation may be in different ways (contradictory participation) or they may participate in similar ways (intersecting participation), or may be both.

Protected areas – the protected areas in this study are seen as geographical spaces which cover either forest, land, water, mountains and/or other natural, artificial or man-made resources. The areas are protected by the government, private individuals, organisations which include private and NGOs or any other stakeholders in order to

prevent human and/or livestock interference with the exception of those that meet particular criteria. They are governed through legislative and other institutional laws, treaties or agreements that detail the entire management system of the geographic space protected. They intend to protect various animal and plant species as well as other resources such as natural resources, minerals, heritage, and other products provided by the area being protected. These areas should also be information on corrective action or mitigation strategies in relation to the damages or hazards caused by nature, human interference, and the organisations managing the protected area or any stakeholders affected by the affairs of the geographical spaces in question.

The Association – This term is used to refer to the Dwesa-Cwebe Community Property Association.

The Constitution – This term is used to refer to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, No. 108 of 1996

The Land Trust – This term is used to refer to the Dwesa-Cwebe Land Trust.

Traditional ecological practices – Traditional practice is the total sum of the knowledge, skills, and practices based on theories, beliefs, and experiences that are, explainable or not, indigenous to various cultures and traditions. Traditional ecological practices in this study therefore refer to different traditional practices in the management of the natural environment implemented by the traditional communities of Dwesa-Cwebe.

Traditional leaders/authorities – Terms such as ‘tribe’, ‘chiefs’ and ‘tribal authority’ have fallen out of use in the ‘modern’ South Africa because of their potentially pejorative character and their connection with the colonial and apartheid history of racial segregation and oppression, and the word ‘traditional’ has become, for example, a more appropriate prefix. As such, ‘tribe’ is replaced by ‘traditional community’ and ‘chiefs’ are replaced by ‘traditional leaders’. Traditional communities are also used interchangeably with ‘local communities’ to refer to local people or ordinary people living in the villages adjacent to Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.

1.7 Synopsis of chapters

This dissertation is organised into eight chapters.

Chapter One: Introduction and overview of the study

The first chapter of this research overviews the phenomena under study. The chapter provides the introduction and motivation of the study where the research problem is built up from the silences and gaps in theoretical and empirical literature. The chapter then provides the research problem where the main gaps and silences are summarised to articulate the motive of this study clearly. This is preceded by the research questions, aim and objectives as well as the significance of the study. This is then followed by a preliminary review of the theoretical frameworks guiding this study. A conceptual framework that explains the main argument of this study is then developed and conceptualised in relation to the research problem. This chapter is concluded by an outline of the terminology and concepts used in the study.

Chapter Two: Global legislative framework guiding participatory democracy

Chapter two focuses on document analysis of the existing institutional frameworks for the management of protected areas. A global picture is provided on global instruments, drawing on the United Nations and other international agencies. In addition, a picture is painted of how they are adopted in South Africa through constitutions and other legal instruments.

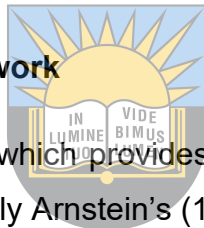
Chapter Three: Natural resources ownership and management – contestations and discourses

This is the first literature chapter devoted to reviewing the contestations and discourses around the ownership and management of natural resources. The chapter gives an overview of private and state ownership and management of natural resources and how these create a situation in which the entire management process can result in inequity and injustice as opposed to the dominant view that the process leads to equity and justice. The chapter also reviews the management of natural resources through protected areas by carefully separating different governance structures in the management of these conservational spaces. The chapter then

reviews several studies conducted within Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve as well as the research gaps in this scholarship that renders this study important.

Chapter Four: Participation in natural resources management: exploring the definitions, discourses and frameworks

This is the second literature chapter which is devoted to reviewing what is currently known about participation in environmental conservation. This is done by separating the silences and gaps in the theoretical and empirical literature on the 'acceptable' participatory frameworks. The chapter highlights the general debates over the existing knowledge base in protected areas management and its impacts in shaping participation processes. The overarching fact in this chapter is that the participation of different stakeholders in the management of protected areas does not always lead to equity and justice but may be a source of inequity, injustice and even exploitation of other stakeholders.



Chapter Five: Theoretical framework

This is the third literature chapter which provides an overview of the key theoretical framework used in this study namely Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation and the Indigenous Standpoint Theory. The Ladder of Citizen Participation unveils that participation has different dynamics explained through different rungs that range from non-participation to degrees of citizen power. The Indigenous Standpoint Theory, on the other hand, explains a situation in which epistemic differences on lived realities in environmental conservation are experienced among participants. Overall, the chapter shows that where there are epistemic differences among the participants involved in the management of the protected area, there may not be equity and justice, but high levels of marginalisation of some participants than others.

Chapter Six: Research methodology and methods

The key methodological decisions are set out in this chapter. It outlines the research design, how participants were selected, collection of information and analysis methods, and ethical considerations. Overall, the chapter unpacks how the researcher was involved in the research. This is done by analysing how qualitative research was applied in this study, how the study participants were selected including the selection

criteria, how information was collected using document review, key informant interviews and in-depth interviews, and how the information collected was analysed. The chapter also unpacks how the ethical considerations were observed throughout primary research, and how informed consent, confidentiality, and privacy shaped this study.

Chapter Seven: Institutionalised attributes of protected areas management in South Africa

Chapter seven discusses some of the South African frameworks on conservation that stemmed out of the global policies. These include the Constitution; National Environmental Management Act No. 107 of 1998; National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No.21 of 2014; National Development Plans; and Legislative Acts on Nature Conservation.

Chapter Eight: Conservation practices in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve: findings on participation



This is the second of the four chapters on research findings which is aimed at providing some of the research findings on the dynamics of participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The chapter firstly analysed the demographic details of the participants based on their family dynamics, land tenure and economic positions. The chapter then unveils that the participation process in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is fraught with high levels of non-participation which overall leads to high levels of inequity and justice among different stakeholders.

Chapter Nine: Conservation practices in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve – findings on tokenised participation

This is the third of the four chapters on research findings which aims to present some of the participation dynamics in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The chapter shows that participation is a tokenised process that is characterised by contestations of various stakeholders involved in the process. The chapter further unpacks the conflicting forces and epistemic differences among different stakeholders involved in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. All these contradictory empirical contestations render participation in environmental

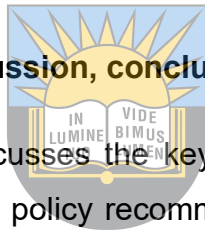
conservation as a system that result in inequity and injustice, particularly in situations where different stakeholders are involved.

Chapter Ten: Conservation practices in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve – findings on intersection participation

This is the last of the four chapters on research findings. The chapter is aimed at providing research findings on the extent to which formal conservation practices intersect with informal ecological practices and the consequences thereof. The chapter unveils that while there are different epistemic understandings and various modes of participation, underpinning ideas and perceptions around participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, there are some intersectioning processes. This chapter overall shows that the participation of different stakeholders with differing epistemic knowledge in the management of protected areas does not necessarily result in equity and justice.

Chapter Eleven: Summary, discussion, conclusion

The chapter summarises and discusses the key findings of the study, makes key deductions, makes theoretical and policy recommendations, and draws conclusions based on the findings. The chapter also sets out recommendations for further studies.



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CHAPTER TWO: GLOBAL LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK GUIDING PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to unpack the international legislative framework that underpins South African legislation (to be discussed in chapter 7). International legislation plays a guiding role in the elimination of the violation of human rights and the correction of policies and practices that result in marginalisation. Given South Africa's apartheid history, it is important to discuss the global framework that buttresses participatory democracy in South African legislation. The following section, therefore, reviews how the institutional frameworks below influence South Africa's policies. This chapter reviews global conventions and policies for the management of protected areas that all emanate from the UN. These include the SDGs, the CBD, the Stockholm Declaration, the Earth Charter and the World Charter for Nature, the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21.

2.2 Global conventions and policies for protected areas management

The following global conventions discussed in this chapter outline the institutional attributes for the management of protected areas in South Africa: SDGs and 2030 Agenda, Convention on Biological Diversity, Stockholm Declaration, World Charter on Nature, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio Declaration, Agenda 21, The conventions identified provide the underlying reasons for the objectives set for the global management of protected areas.

2.2.1 SDGs

In 2015, the world leaders set out on an ambitious path to end poverty, fight inequality and injustice and protect the planet with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development. United Nations member states unanimously agreed on the 17 SDGs, making them the blueprint for sustainable development for the world. The SDGs provide a clear, comprehensive, interconnected roadmap to tackle the world's most pressing environmental issues and create a better future for everyone. The success of the sustainable development agenda is expected to be based on the collaborative efforts of various stakeholders in the society, including governments and private

enterprises (Cairns, Hielscher & Light, 2019; Raub & Martin-Rios, 2019). An analysis of the SDGs agenda towards 2030 shows, however, that there are epistemic differences in the expectations of governments and other stakeholders and civic groups, particularly in relation to environmental and other socio-environmental objectives.

One of the goals that discuss equality, SDG 1.4, states that:

.....by 2030, (UN member states should) ensure that all men and women, in particular the poor and the vulnerable, have equal rights to economic resources, as well as access to basic services, ownership and control over land and other forms of property, inheritance, natural resources, appropriate new technology and financial services, including microfinance.

This objective is also similar to SDG 10.2 and SDG 10.3, which advocate for the reduction of inequality through empowering and promoting all members of society regardless of their differences in population groups, race, gender, culture, norms and values. It is predicted that the successful inclusiveness and access to economic and natural resources of all stakeholders lies in the efforts of the member states to eliminate discriminatory laws, policies and practices and strengthen appropriate legislation that leads to equity and fairness (SDG 10.3). International law and justice scholarship has also pushed the agenda of completely ruling out discriminatory laws as the major leverage for peace (Strand, 2019). There have also been intensive environmental justice campaigns involving the local communities in the equal distribution of wealth generated from natural resources (Flournoy, 2019). This has been experienced in the energy and environmental conservation arena towards equality in South Africa (Carruthers, 2019).

Even so, a critical analysis of these specific goals shows that the goals appear to be 'sugar-coated' and can be practically impossible to achieve, especially considering the contestations of land and natural resource ownership, particularly when the states are at the centre. With the implementation of environmental management policies as identified above, the respective governments in different states always have a top priority over ownership and management of natural resources, and hence the overall participation of different stakeholders in the environmental cause. On this note, it becomes almost impossible for all participants to have equitable access to, and participate in natural resources management such as through protected areas. This is

mainly attributed to the rigid bureaucratic hierarchical structures that in most cases give the individuals at the bottom of authority hierarchies little room for participation (Pakade-Yokwana, 2013).

Furthermore, besides the contestations in the ownership of these resources, participation in protected areas management appears to be controlled by the bottleneck system such that only a few individuals or stakeholders with societal privileges or those in the upper echelons of organisations will derive meaningful benefits at the expense of the poor and vulnerable (Ringer, 2013). In South Africa, for example, Musavengane and Leonard (2019) found that there is still lack of equality in the participation of people in the environmental management, due to racial differences where the white population group are believed to be dominant. This is a challenge given the push by the South African Government to reduce social and racial inequality in development initiatives.

Moreover, SDG 2, which talks about ending hunger by 2030, also appears virtually impossible and contradicts the hypothetical frameworks of institutional ownership and natural resource management advanced by the international community. For example, this objective focuses primarily on improving access to food resources for the poor, vulnerable and children (see SDG 2.1), doubling the agricultural productivity and income of good small producers (SDG 2.3), and ensuring sustainable food systems "...through ecosystems...that improve land and soil quality" (SDG 2.4). As discussed so far, many states' economic and political systems have, largely, no room for the poor and vulnerable, especially those in the lower hierarchies or rural communities, to freely and fairly access certain resources for their livelihoods (Pakade-Yokwana, 2013).

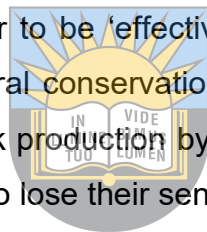
Furthermore, the doubling of agricultural productivity for small-scale farmers in the face of legislative frameworks for the governance of natural resources also appears to be impracticable. This is because the same farmers, particularly in geographical areas designated for the conservation of nature, are continually subjected to land losses to pave the way for the formation of nature reserves (Neelakantan et al., 2019; Neelakantan, 2019; Anguelovski et al., 2019; Sunde, 2013; Ntsebeza, 2000; 2005). On this note, it is highly likely that governments will regulate the participation of different stakeholders in environmental conservation in order to advance the institutional cause of environmental management. Thus, the rural communities,

especially those within and adjacent to the state-owned natural resources, are always subject to state control. Therefore their participation will also be compromised to the extent that they can even receive little or no benefits from the natural resources, let alone influence the participation process. In most cases, the ecological practices of governments in these areas differ from traditional ecological practices due to the lack of connection between the former and natural resources (Boiral et al., 2019; Musavengane & Leornard, 2019). Thus, placing the institutions such as states at the centre of stakeholder participation becomes a defining future or participation, which, in the end, may lead to inequity and injustice among the general populations.

In addition, SDG 4.7 states that “.....by 2030, (member states should) ensure that all learners acquire the knowledge and skills needed to promote sustainable development”. Similarly, SDG 13.2 talks about integrating climate change measures into national policies while SDG 13.3 talks about improving the education system to raise awareness of how to mitigate climate change and adapt to changes in the environment. The latter is directly related to formalising ownership of nature reserves and other conservation spaces where different environmental management ideas coincide. In most cases, institutionalising environmental management through protected areas increases the chances of contemporary education to sideline traditional ecological practices as primitive and identifies them as a threat to environmental sustainability (see Ballard et al., 2017; Spooner et al., 2019). This is because traditional ecological systems and sustainability measures contrast with institutionally proposed hypothetical conservation frameworks. This is also similar to the requirements of particular SDGs on integrated management of water resources and the preservation of world cultural and natural heritage. The proclamations of SDG 6.6, which states that “.....by 2020, (member states should) protect and restore water-related ecosystems, including mountains, forests, wetlands, rivers, aquifers and lakes” does not outline explicitly how this should be done without endangering the traditional land tenure systems.

Similarly, SDG 11.4 proclamations maintaining that the member states and their related institutions should ensure that they reinforce their “.....efforts to protect and safeguard the world’s cultural and natural heritage” appear to be skewed towards the requirements of the institutional stakeholders mandated with the role of managing

natural resources. For this and other reasons, the preservation of these water sources and natural resources continues to evolve through institutionalised means such as protected reserves at the expense of local communities. The latter, due to their epistemic differences with the institutional stakeholders, may not benefit from the institutional attributes of protected areas management. In the end, they will participate in the conservation of the resources by following legislations which requires them to contribute their efforts through zero-interference with natural resources. Literature also reveals that through zero-interference, the local communities tend to lose pasture fields for their livestock or even wetlands necessary for agricultural production and fishing purposes (Brownlie et al., 2017; Petrova, 2014; Sunde 2013; 2013; Tomicevi). Similarly, SDG 11.4's efforts to preserve the world's cultural resources are also controversial because relocating people or barring them from accessing certain resources in most cases distracts them from their culture (Sowman & Sunde, 2018) and distorts their collective memories (Halbwachs, 1925, 1950, 1994). Consequently, what formalised structure consider to be 'effective' participation in integrated water resources management and cultural conservation can in fact be a source inequity, injustice, loss of land and livestock production by local communities or development initiatives that cause local people to lose their sense-of-place.

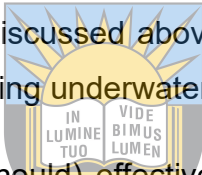


The SDGs also advocate for the establishment and promotion of sustainable tourism enterprises. SDG 8.9 for example stipulates that “.....by 2030, (member states) should devise and implement policies to promote sustainable tourism that creates jobs and promotes local culture and products”. This was actually done by creating ecotourism hotspots (Synman, 2012) and involving local communities in ecotourism project management (Zinamwe et al., 2018). Local communities have played significant roles in promoting tourism in Asian countries such as Thailand, India and Malaysia, and their impacts have been seen in the stewardship of tourism initiatives (Pandey & Sharma, 2019). There have also been some positive impacts in the African communities, for example; in Zanzibar, where low-density tourism has benefited local communities to participate collectively and share revenue in various initiatives (Carius & Job, 2019). Low-density tourism has impacted marginalised townships and low-income residential areas in South Africa (Booyens & Rogerson, 2019). Protected areas were also used as an advantage to create low-density tourism, allowing

participating shareholders to collectively share the generated revenue (Spenceley, Synman & Rylance, 2019).

What appears to be a challenge for local communities is the potential implications of ecotourism related to the natural environment, as these could lead to development-induced displacements / resettlements (Terminski, 2014; McDowell, 1996). In most cases, local communities tend to move out of their original lands to create tourism infrastructure. Not only do local communities lose their land and sense-of-place (Sowman & Sunde, 2018) and collective memory (Halbwachs, 1950), but they may even become environmental refugees (Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010) and end up doing odd jobs in the tourism sector as a last resort to replace their lost incomes. Furthermore, Ringer (2013) states that only a few people tend to reap more benefits at the expense of local communities who, in turn, continually revolve around the viscous cycle of poverty.

Besides the sustainability issues discussed above, other dynamics around SDG 14 advocate for the sustainability of living **underwater**. Under SDG 14.4:



.....by 2020, (member states should) effectively regulate harvesting and end overfishing, illegal, unreported and unregulated fishing and destructive fishing practices and implement science-based management plans, in order to restore fish stocks in the shortest time feasible, at least to levels that can produce maximum sustainable yield as determined by their biological characteristics.

Furthermore, through SDG 14.5, the international community advocates for the conservation of at least 10% of coastal areas in all shoreline countries. Scholars and officials mostly advance this through MPAs. Fukuda-Parr (2016) also states that some other international conventions were instituted in conjunction with the previous Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) to ensure sustainable management of fisheries. Among the various fisheries management frameworks are two conventions that relate directly to fisheries within the MPAs. These are Fish Stocks Agreement; and Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries

Fish Stocks Agreement is a U.N. Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS). This agreement requires various states to protect biodiversity and the marine environment with MPAs and fisheries. To comply with the provisions of the 1995 Agreement on the Conservation and Management of Straddling Fish Stocks and Highly Migratory Fish

Stocks, the Fish Stocks Agreement advocates for the sustainable use of straddling and other highly migratory fish species.

In terms of the Responsible Fisheries Code of Conduct, the institutional stakeholders and nations are expected to follow the principles of good governance with the intention of ensuring long-term sustainable fisheries exist. In the mid-1990s, the UN Food and Agricultural Organisation (FAO) adopted the Code of Conduct as a reaffirmation of sustainable fishing. The Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries has important principles¹ in this respect, which may be adopted by MPA officials and managers in respect of marine habitat and species preservation.

The objectives outlined above have had a direct and significant impact on local communities, which depend on fishing for their livelihoods. Sustainable fisheries projects were implemented within the United Kingdom states and had impacts on community development (McManus, Collins, Yates, Sanders, Townhill, Mangi & Tyllianakis, 2019). Other studies have also shown that commercial fishing of large fish in a sustainable manner can have a direct impact on nearly all SDG 14 targets, except when certain forms of fishing subsidies are prohibited (Haas, Fleming, Haward & McGee, 2019). In Durban, marine subsistence fishing was seen as one of the initiatives to generate employment for marginalised communities, although it is currently subject to restrictive legislation (Kalina, Mbereko, Maharaj & Botes, 2019).

Despite the positive implications, however, a critical analysis of SDG 14 targets shows that they focus mostly on the international community's expectations and neglect the needs of local communities that rely on aquatic resources to survive. Ironically, it seems that labelling local communities 'illegal fishermen' is a Westernised or institutionalised idea that is offensive to local communities. Thus, in the face of epistemic differences among the local communities and institutional stakeholder,

¹ Out of the different principles under the Code of Conduct for Responsible Fisheries, the ones that directly affect the MPAs are the following:

6.1 "States and users of living aquatic resources should conserve aquatic ecosystems. The right to fish carries with it the obligation to do so in a responsible manner to ensure effective conservation and management of the living aquatic resources". [...]

6.5 "States and sub-regional and regional fisheries management organisations should apply a precautionary approach widely to conservation, management and exploitation of living aquatic resources in order to protect them and preserve the aquatic environment, taking account of the best scientific evidence available" (FAO, 1995).

dominance and marginalisation could become a defining feature of protected area management that cannot be readily resolved through the mere process of participation. Thus, in as much as Armstrong (2017) and Risse (2012) claim that the people naturally have the right to access resources that complement their humanity, Venter and Mann (2012), Sowman and Sunde (2018), Sunde (2013) and Matose (2009) argue that the policies implemented are not inclined towards the expectations of the local displaced persons who traditionally relied on subsistent fishing.

There are also contradictions concerning SDG 15, which deal with life on land issues. This aim is probably one of the most immediate catalysts for creating protected areas and institutionalising the natural resources of the world. One of the targets, SDG 15.1, aims to:

.....ensure the conservation, restoration and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems and their services, in particular forests, wetlands, mountains and dry lands, in line with obligations under international agreements by 2020.

SDG target 15.2 is about promoting:

.....the implementation of sustainable management of all types of forests, halt deforestation, restore degraded forests and substantially increase afforestation and reforestation globally by 2020.



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These goals can be attributed to various forms of institutionalised environmental conservation and governance initiatives that include institutional control, shared ownership, community ownership, and state governance. Several UN Conventions and other key international agreements, including the Johannesburg Declaration on Sustainable Development, the Rio Declaration, the CBD, the Forest Principles, the Ramsar Convention, the Stockholm Convention, the Rotterdam Convention and the Aichi Biodiversity Targets, have already demonstrated their commitment to these targets (UN 1982; 1992; 2002; 2012). An analysis of the SDG 15 targets towards Agenda 2030 shows that their implementation mostly follows the top-down approaches emanating from the international community down to the national communities and ending at the local communities. The top-down approaches have an implication on the participation of the local communities whose participation is mostly based on indigenous conservation ideas. This is because the top-down approaches are mostly dictatorial in nature and they have bias towards the participants at the top

of the management structures (Matland, 1995; Najam, 1995; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975). The institutional policies therefore place emphasis on achieving the objectives of international stakeholders or institutional sustainability goals at the expense of the expectations of grassroots communities whose participation is not prioritised in most cases.

Concisely, although the SDGs were built on the MDGs as a measure of improvement, literature reveals that critics are associated with this development, particularly on their projected roles in environmental conservation on equality and equity. Esquivel and Sweetman (2016) state that the SDGs are worlds away from the livelihoods of the poorest and most marginalised people living in the Global South and may not be translated into actions that would unmistakably benefit the people they aim to help. Furthermore, Esquivel (2016) is of the opinion that the SDGs' vision is highly over-ambitious and is not supported by sufficient language and the proper processes, policies and mechanisms for achieving those objectives. Esquivel (2016, p. 18) also states that the setting of targets is similar to the MDGs and as has been proven:

.....an ineffective way to create an international agenda given that there is the risk of losing overarching policy coherence across and above the goals by instead creating 17 new policy and practice silos.

On this note, the quantification of the objectives, as set out in the SDGs, makes it seem as if progress can be easily achieved without any barriers or tensions between different targets. Therefore, as explained so far, there are many convergences and divergences in policy implementation especially between the institutional stakeholders and the indigenous peoples. In light of this, Esquivel (2016, p. 18) believes that the SDGs are set in such a way as to achieve development by means of technical fixes, and thus undervaluing that development requires a fundamental transformation of society.

Overall, the implementation process, which in many cases rests in the hands of governments and other civil society groups, can compromise the success of the SDGs. One of the crucial sentiments identified by Fukuda-Parr (2016, p. 50) about the questionable nature of SDGs is that:

.....it is most likely that countries will neglect those goals and targets that address the need to challenge power relations, reform institutions and achieve

other changes in the structures of political economic and social life, given that these will be the hardest to implement and achieve.

Based on such sentiments, Studies conducted by Fukuda-Parr (2016) concluded that there are high chances of losing the SDG's transformational and development agenda in the implementation phases because. As Esquivel (2016) has also noted, the fact that SDGs place more emphasis on achieving goals and overall outcomes rather than implementing policies implies that there are high chances of failure in the early stages of development.

2.2.2 Convention on Biological Diversity

In 2004, CBD parties converged in Malaysia's capital, Kuala Lumpur, to implement significant commitments for the management of protected areas (Techera, 2019; Cittadino, 2019). The Programme of Work on Protected Areas (PoWPA) was adopted at this convention. The PoWPA acts as a blueprint that allows CBD parties to develop participatory frameworks used in protected areas management (Meißner & Winter, 2019). Using PoWPA, it is envisaged that the success of environmental management works lies in the ability of different stakeholders such as the NGOs, governments, donors and local communities to collaborate their efforts towards this cause (Laffoley, Baxter, Day, Wenzel, Bueno & Zischka, 2019). PoWPA has four main elements that help CBD parties institutionalise national programmes for protected area management and evaluation. The four interlinked elements are further broken down into 16 goals, which are analysed in the following sections of the two elements, namely PoWPA Element 1 and PoWPA Element 2. These two elements are selected purposefully because of their relevance to the study at hand.

2.2.2.1 PoWPA element 1

This element states that member parties should implement “.....direct actions for planning, selecting, establishing, strengthening, and managing, protected area systems and sites” . This element is backed by five targets, of which Objective 1.1, Objective 1.2 and Objective 1.3 speak about establishing and strengthening protected area management systems within a country, regionally and across different transboundary areas. Once these are established, Goal 1.4 and Goal 1.5 advocate for the improvement of the management planning systems for protected areas and

reducing / preventing any potential threats to the sustainability of protected areas respectively.

A close look at PWPA Element 1 and its supporting objectives shows that the protected area management system is multifaceted and can range from small to large scale. Importantly, different laws and legislative frameworks have been introduced to champion the cause of environmental management in individual countries. In South Africa, the National Environmental Management Act No. 107 of 1998, the National Development Plan (NDP), the White Paper on Environmental Management Policy and other policies on protected areas management play significant institutional roles. Literature also shows that major developments have taken place, including the implementation of supporting frameworks for transboundary resource management in various regions (Al-Faraj & Scholz, 2019). While there are issues surrounding natural resource sharing across different boundaries in places such as India (Deka, Gulati & Barua, 2019), there is evidence in Russia and other European economies that some sort of arrangement can be made in resource sharing (Vinogradov & Wouters, 2019). Tuda, Kark, and Newton (2019) also indicated the possibility of an all-inclusive framework for the governance of transboundary marine resources between different countries in the East African region.

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It is worth noting however that it is not always the case that the adoption of PoWPA Element 1 in the participation of stakeholders in environmental conservation expectations leads to successful environmental cause. For example, in a study evaluating the transboundary bilateral agreement in Europe between the Julian Alps on the Italian and Slovenian border and the Bavarian–Bohemian Forest on the German and Czech border, differences in cultures, laws and languages were found to pose a threat to the success of this type of management (Mattsson, Arih, Heurich, Santi, Štemberk & Vacik, 2019). In another study on the transboundary management of marine resources between Kenya and Tanzania, Tuda, Kark and Newton (2019) found that the common challenges faced include low levels of compliance with the rules governing transboundary management as well as limited access to resource state information. There were other challenges related to poor integration of science into marine management as well as others relating to differences in views on the state of marine ecosystems that affect joint problem solving between transboundary nations

in general. This means that even the way they participate in the management of nature reserves tends to be influenced by these epistemic differences to the extent that participation may have equity outcomes.

2.2.2.2 PoWPA element 2

This element outlines that member states should ensure that there is “.....governance, participation, equity and benefit sharing” of the spoils generated from the protected areas management. Member states should adopt two goals in order to help attain this goal. Goal 2.1 speaks of promoting equality and equity among indigenous peoples in terms of sharing benefits derived from protected areas. Goal 2.2 states that the member states should improve the participation of indigenous peoples, local communities and relevant stakeholders in protected area management. However, the literature reviewed this far shows that there exist different forms of (protected areas) governance which includes state governance, shared governance, private governance and governance by indigenous peoples and local communities (Paterson, 2011, Kothari et al., 2010; Frank, 2016; IUCN, 2017; Risse, 2012). These forms of governance are founded on epistemic differences which implicate that even the perceived appropriate/effective participation is influenced by who is the actual epistemic insider in a given situation. Therefore, some inconsistencies have been found particularly in the case of state governance of protected areas as it has been found to be associated with rigid bureaucratic structures (Berliner, 2003). Such structures leave those participants without an influential voice in the participation processes in environmental conservation with little room to experience equity and justice (Berliner, 2003; Pakade-Yokwana, 2013). This is also similar to situations in which private governance of protected areas is placed at the centre as these tend to have capitalistic tendencies whose main drive is profitability at the expense of the local communities (Gobster & Rickenbach, 2004; Brown et al., 2016).

In addition, PoWPA Element 2 identifies the issue of equity in the benefits generated from the participation of stakeholders in the management of protected areas. Hypothetically, PoWPA Element 2 identifies public participation in environmental conservation as one of the ways in which humanity and equity should evolve. However, community participation scholarship shows that achieving benefiting every participant does not actually exist (Adem-Esmail & Geneletti, 2018; Phillips et al.,

2018). Overall, in some cases, participation can result in community benefits (Vedeld, 2002; Aditya, 2016; Reed et al., 2018; Tweneboah, 2009; Mohammed, 2012; Adhiambo, 2015; Measham & Barnett, 2008), while in other situations it can lead to manipulation, exploitation and tokenism (See Arnstein, 1969; Pretty, 1995; White, 1996; Wilcox, 1994 in chapter five). In this case, the manipulative groups put only minimal effort into participatory arrangements while engaging but mostly manipulate the participants in the lower levels of participatory arrangements. In reality, these manipulative participants are non-participants although they appear as participants to the ordinary eye. Therefore, in the face of these epistemic differences, dominance and marginalisation could become a defining feature of protected area management and this may not lead to equity as proposed in the scholarship.

2.2.3 Stockholm Declaration

The declaration of the United Nations Conference on Human Environment (1972), also known as the Stockholm Declaration, is one of the classic frameworks that exist regarding environmental conservation. Held in Stockholm, Sweden in 1972, this was in fact the first global conference of all nations on environmental management (Handl, 2012). The UN General Assembly at the time indicated that the conference was held mainly to serve as a practical means to encourage and provide guidelines for action by governments and international organisations designed to protect and improve the human environment. During this conference, twenty-six (26) principles were agreed to “.....inspire and guide the peoples of the world in the preservation and enhancement of the human environment” (Symonides, 1992, p. 26). Of the 26 Stockholm Declaration Principles, three of them relate directly to the management frameworks and protected area management legislation. These are outlined in the table that follows:

Table 2.1: Selected principles of the Stockholm Declaration

Principle	Declaration
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Principle 2	“The natural resources of the earth, including the air, water, land, flora and fauna and especially representative samples of natural ecosystems, must be safeguarded for the benefit of present and future generations through careful planning or management, as appropriate.”
Principle 3	“The capacity of the earth to produce vital renewable resources must be maintained and, wherever practicable, restored or improved.”
Principle 4	“Man has a special responsibility to safeguard and wisely manage the heritage of wildlife and its habitat, which are now gravely imperilled by a combination of adverse factors. Nature conservation, including wildlife, must therefore receive importance in planning for economic development.”

Source: Adopted from the Stockholm Declaration and tabulated by the author

These principles underlie that for the benefit of present and future generations, the environment must be managed sustainably. What is important to note is that these principles have been put in place to concretise the efforts of governments and the international community to preserve the environment (Rajan et al., 2018/2019; Handl, 2012; Symonides, 1992). Governments and institutional stakeholders in various countries have championed several economic development initiatives through environmental conservation (Smith, 2019; Rees, 2017; Rees, Foster, Langmead, Pittmead, Johnson, 2018). The treaty also led to the emergence of other conservation legal instruments that include the Human Environment Action Plan, the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 (Handl, 2012) that are discussed in detail in this chapter.

Although the Stockholm Declaration is not legally binding to date and is therefore classified as one of the soft environmental management laws (Hasan & Rahaman, 2018), it has enabled the development and promotion of guidelines and frameworks for governments and the international community to combine efforts for a cause of environmental protection (Brisman, 2011). It was also during this convention that the UN member states were urged to establish national regulatory frameworks for wildlife and natural resources protection (Ndiaye, 2019). Besides its involvement in the formation of UNEP in 1972, the results of the Stockholm Declaration to date have led to the modification of the modern field of environmental legislation. The soft laws emanating from the Declaration of Stockholm have since been implemented at

international, regional and national levels (Rajan, Davies & Magallanes, 2018; Rajan, Davies & Magallanes, 2019; Freestone, 2018).

However, what is ironic about the drive of the Stockholm Declaration is that more focus is placed on the institutions' role at the expense of local communities. Indeed, the states appear to be the dominant winners of the Convention because they hold unchallenged powers to take possession of all natural resources, including those traditionally owned by local communities (Kim et al., 2017; Lanza et al., 2013; Lehavi & Licht, 2007). Accordingly, in as much as there is a move towards a more inclusive framework for environmental management, Akpan (2009) and Umejesi (2011; 2015) found that the wealth distribution system generated from environmental development lacks fairness where in most cases the individual states preside over all the benefits. The traditional land tenure systems have also been compromised in other instances (Wilkie et al., 2008; Matose, 2009). In South Africa, for example, the land governance systems were completely altered during the formation of nature reserves and several divisions were made to differentiate European owned land, conservation spaces and other places designated for African indigenous people (Brownlie et al., 2017; Sunde, 2013). Some local Amazon communities have lost their hunting grounds to pave the way for the conservation of wildlife (Constantino, Benchimol & Antunes, 2018). Other Namibian communities have even lost their communal lands in the name of low-density tourism and trophy-hunting initiatives (Angula, Stuart-Hill, Ward, Matongo, Diggie & Naidoo, 2018). The people of Dwesa-Cwebe in the rural wild coast of South Africa, where this research is conducted, also lost their traditional lands when the nature reserve was formed (Sowman & Sunde, 2018; Sunde, 2013; 2014; Palmer et al., 2002; Palmer et al., 2006; Palmer, 2003; Matose, 2016; Ntshona et al., 2010). Consequently, these institutional conventions have their flaws and will highly likely brew contested participation despite the continued praise for their impact on environmental conservation.

2.2.4 World Charter for Nature

Following the signing of the Stockholm Declaration, additional environmental management treaties were signed as a way to make the efforts of national environmental conservation efforts more concrete. One of the conventions agreed is that the UN General Assembly adopted the World Charter for Nature in 1982.

Following the suggestions made by the former President of Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo) Mobutu Sese Seko during the 12th IUCN General Assembly in Kinshasa in 1975, a multinational team began drafting the World Charter for Nature – a framework governing global environmental development (Wood, 1985). The multinational task force consisted of international environmentalists, ecological planners, lawyers and legislatures from the IUCN Commission on Environmental Law (Dupuy, 1990). The World Charter for Nature was drafted and presented to the Secretary General of UN in June 1980 (Foster, Vecchia & Repacholi, 2000), and was only accepted and incorporated into international frameworks on environmental management in 1982 following an array of amendments (Wood, 1985). The Charter consists of five general principles that set out rules to guide human behaviour as they interact with nature. These principles are listed in the table that follows:



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Table 2.2: Selected principles of the World Charter for Nature

General Principles	Declaration
General Principle 1	“Nature shall be respected and its essential processes shall not be impaired.”
General Principle 2	“The genetic viability on the earth shall not be compromised; the population levels of all life forms, wild and domesticated,

	must be at least sufficient for their survival, and to this end necessary habitats shall be safeguarded.”
General Principle 3	“All areas of the earth, both land and sea shall be subject to these principles of conservation; special protection shall be given to unique areas, to representative samples of all the different types of ecosystems and to the habitats of rare or endangered species.”
General Principle 4	“Ecosystems and organisms, as well as the land, marine and atmospheric resources that are utilised by man, shall be managed to achieve and maintain optimum sustainable productivity, but not in such a way as to endanger the integrity of those other ecosystems or species with which they coexist.”
General Principle 5	“Nature shall be secured against degradation caused by warfare or other hostile activities.”

Source: Adopted from the World Charter for Nature and tabulated by the author

General principle 1 discusses the preservation of the natural environment by all the countries of the world. This move was taken through the formalisation of conservation practices that make up an important facet of protected areas. General Principle 2 outlines the importance of natural resource sustainability to the benefit of all stakeholders and other species that depend on it. This is similar to General Principle 4, which focuses on sustainable development and local and global protection of endangered species. General Principle 3 relays information from various stakeholders relating to environmental protection. On this note, several institutions have been introduced in different nations to enable natural resources to be protected. General Principle 5 provides an overview of all the initiatives necessary to protect nature, even in times of war and disasters. These five general principles also overall affect the policies and laws governing environmental management and protected areas.

The implications of the World Charter for Nature are that while it has no legal binding force, the use of ‘shall be’ in the aforementioned policies “....has the character of proclamation directed to states for their observance” (Wood, 1985, p. 982). In this regard, the Charter’s conservation principles are intended to exert political and moral forces that ‘guide and judge’ governments and stakeholders in their interaction with nature (Foster et al., 2000). The Charter was thus left open to a wide range of activities

that are affected by nature, and have an impact on it. Overall, the Charter provides regulatory frameworks for the conservation of the environment that nations can achieve for the benefit of the general population and their humanity (Washington, Taylor, Kopnina, Cryer & Piccolo, 2017).

The Earth Charter is one of the important conventions that arose out of the World Charter for Nature. The Earth Charter, developed and implemented in 2000, was built on a different UN convention including the UNCED of 1992. Two organisations, namely the Green Cross International and the Earth Council, founded by Maurice Strong, UNEP's first Executive Director and UNCED Secretary-General, contributed to the formation of the Earth Charter. The main motivations for its formation were to provide ethical principles of sustainability based on the premises of care for all life, respect for various stakeholders, upholding human rights, promoting economic justice and peace, as well as high levels of democracy among partners dependent on natural resources. The Earth Charter was endorsed at the 3rd IUCN World Conservation Congress (IUCN-WCC) in 2004, in which IUCN members were encouraged to ".....determine the role the Earth Charter can play as a policy guide within their own spheres of responsibility" (IUCN-WCC, 2005 3.022). Since its endorsement, this charter has widely been used by nations as a framework for ethical principles on environmental sustainability. Out of the 16 main principles contained in the Earth Charter, Principle 13² provides interesting sentiments for the current study, because it articulates issues relating to the governance of protected areas and stakeholder participation at all levels.

In addition, Principle 3 of the Earth Charter speaks of social and economic justice, which is described as seeking to:

² According to Earth Summit Principle 13, member states should:

- a) "Uphold the right of everyone to receive clear and timely information on environmental matters and all development plans and activities which are likely to affect them or in which they have an interest".
- b) "Support local, regional and global civil society, and promote the meaningful participation of all interested individuals and organisations in decision making".
- c) "Protect the rights to freedom of opinion, expression, peaceful assembly, association, and dissent".
- d) "Institute effective and efficient access to administrative and independent judicial procedures, including remedies and redress for environmental harm and the threat of such harm".
- e) "Eliminate corruption in all public and private institutions".
- f) "Strengthen local communities, enabling them to care for their environments, and assign environmental responsibilities to the levels of government where they can be carried out most effectively".

- i. Eradicate poverty as an ethical, social, and environmental imperative;
- ii. Ensure that economic activities and institutions at all levels promote human development in an equitable and sustainable manner;
- iii. Affirm gender equity as prerequisites to sustainable development and ensure universal access to education, health care, and economic opportunity, and
- iv. Uphold the right of all, without discrimination, to a natural and social environment supportive of human dignity, bodily health, and spiritual well-being, with special attention to the rights of indigenous peoples and minorities

The World Charter for Nature and its associated conventions claim that they have immediate impact on developing countries as they continually destroy natural habitats for agricultural activities, timber, firewood and other unsustainable practices (Weiss, 2018). However, the fact that scholars and officials advance for the adoption the principles of the World Charter for Nature along similar international frameworks such as the Earth Charter ignores the fact that the rural and marginalised communities' livelihoods are based on natural resources. These policies do not provide solutions on how local communities should manage their livelihoods if they are separated from nature. Thus, the participation of people in environmental conservation through zero-interference, or separating them from their indigenous livelihood strategies significantly alters their way of living and hence, the way they view participation in environmental conservation, and how they actually participate (Dash & Behera, 2018; Rai et al., 2019; Zeng et al., 2019). The zero-interference type of participation overall creates conservational refugees out of the people (Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010) or even make them trespassers on their ancestral lands though they believe that they are the true epistemic insiders on the land in question (Fischer et al., 2014).

2.2.5 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development

In 1992, the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as the Earth Summit, was held in Rio de Janeiro some two decades after the Stockholm Declaration. Among other important outcomes from this conference was the endorsement of the Stockholm Declaration and the reaffirmation of its three

pillars of sustainable development that are environmental sustainability, economic sustainability and societal sustainability. During this conference, two soft law instruments were proposed which are significant for current environmental laws and governance. These are Rio Declaration; and Agenda 21

2.2.5.1 Rio Declaration

The Rio Declaration has several principles that are important in natural resource management, noteworthy of which is Principle 10 because it has a direct implication on how protected areas are governed and legislated. It also affects how various stakeholders participate in the preservation of these environment spaces. Pursuant to Rio Declaration Principle 10:

Environmental issues are best handled with the participation of all concerned citizens, at the relevant level. At the national level, each individual shall have appropriate access to information concerning the environment that is held by public authorities, including information on hazardous materials and activities in their communities, and the opportunity to participate in decision-making processes. States shall facilitate and encourage public awareness and participation by making information widely available. Effective access to judicial and administrative proceedings, including redress and remedy, shall be provided.

The three cornerstones that make it possible for the public to access information and participate in environmental management are central to the proclamation of Principle 10. There are three cornerstones (i) civil society, individuals and communities should have access to information on environmental issues at the local, national, regional, and international levels; (ii) at all levels individuals and communities need to be fully involved in the decision-making process; and (iii) individuals and communities must have adequate access to an open and fair justice system, which will enable them to hold governments accountable.

In order to participate in environmental conservation, as noted in these cornerstones, Principle 10 states that the public must have access to information relating to the environment. For community development, information alone is important, because it is a public good. The literature reveals that the more indigenous people are informed about their communities' development, the more their democracy works (Chen & Cho, 2019; Bhandari, 2019). Thus, Principle 10 focuses not only on the dissemination of information for the conservation of the environment, but also on the deeper workings

of a democratic society. Review of literature reveals many initiatives in which the content of Principle 10 was adopted on the ground in the environmental agendas. Since its implementation, more than 80 governments around the world have taken initiatives to provide their people with information about public involvement in environmental management (Pring & Pring, 2009). There are mechanisms in the UK to ensure that environmental information is freely available to all stakeholders on request (De Santo, 2016) and can even hold the government accountable for any damage it causes (Weir, 2019). Some international conventions, including the Cartagena Protocol (Jaffe, 2005), UNEP and the United Nations Economic Committee for Europe (UNECE) Convention on Access to Information, Public Participation in Decision-making and Access (Aarhus Convention), have also adopted Principle 10 on their Agenda.

Nevertheless, Principle 10 does not always guarantee an inclusive environment management framework. There are many case studies in which the individual peoples and local communities did not participate in consultation and decision-making on environmental conservation and environmental justice. A study conducted by Gimah and Bodo (2019) in Ogoni, Nigeria, concluded that the dissemination of educational information in environmental management remains a challenge, and mostly in marginalised communities. In Mongolia, the primary challenge identified related to the issue of conflicting IKS (McCarthy, Shinjo, Hoshino & Enkhjargal, 2018). In light of this, as much as local communities can be involved in management affairs, differences in indigenous peoples' perceptions about what the right and wrong environmental practices are becomes a challenge in achieving the goals. This is also similar to the studies carried out by Prasad (2018) which concluded that cultural differences could have a negative impact on how development is communicated between different people. In another study, electronic communications have been found to be effective in Namibia but, in the name of trophy hunting, local communities felt it is being used for unethical and unfair conservation practices (Descubes, McNamara & Claasen, 2018). In Zanzibar, Carius and Job (2019) found that local community participation in sustainable tourism is always a challenge particularly in the conditions of poor communication platforms. An analysis of all these case studies notes that it is not always guaranteed to be successful in as much as Rio Principle 10 attempts to

incorporate different communities into the conservation. As a result, inclusive frameworks are needed that impact this move very vigorously.

2.2.5.2 Agenda 21

There are several incorporated elements with respect to Agenda 21 that have a significant impact on the legislation and the management of protected areas. Some of the elements in this treaty, specifically Chapter 15, which unpacks how to support CBD, provide multiple ways for institutions to conserve biodiversity and use biological resources sustainably. As regards the management of protected areas, Agenda 21 focuses primarily on in-situ conservation measures, which include, among others, efforts by international communities to strengthen marine, terrestrial and aquatic protected areas. The document focuses on promoting the rehabilitation of damaged ecosystems, the preservation of endangered species, the establishment of buffer zones adjacent to protected areas and the establishment of important nature conservation policy and control systems (UN, 1992, para. 15.5).

Furthermore, UNCED proposed 15 Principles on the management of forest resources, which form significant legislative foundations on the conservation of forests in the present day. Of the 15 Principles proposed, two of them, Principles 8(e) and 8(f) are particularly relevant in current legislation and guidance on protected forests.

Table 3.3:: Selected principles of the Agenda 21

Principle	Declaration
Principle 8(e)	“Forest management should be integrated with the management of adjacent areas to maintain ecological balance and sustainable productivity.”
Principle 8(f)	“National policies and legislation aimed at the management, conservation and sustainable development of forests should include the protection of ecologically viable representative or unique examples of forest, including primary or old-growth forests, and cultural, spiritual, historical, religious and other unique and valued forests of national importance.”

Adopted from: UN (1992), Annex 3, Principle 8 and tabulated by the author

The above principles have been highly successful in communicating sustainability and sustainable development thinking (Florini & Pauli, 2018). Based on these principles and the whole Agenda 21 (Valente, 2019), some international agreements on the conservation of the world's natural resources, including the Social Summit (1995) and the Rome Food Summit (1996) were concluded. Importantly, the concept of sustainable human development and the way in which different communities can contribute through environmental management has been made concrete. Other scholars such as Thew (2018) are of the opinion that the above principles are also consistent with the formation of other international laws and instruments such as the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). This was in addition to the creation of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development (UNCSD), which was specifically implemented as a development and environmental management framework for integration. Other conventions such as the United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification and the Straddling Fish Stocks Agreement also emerged from Agenda 21 (Nummelin & Urho, 2018).

The Sustainable Forest Management is another important move towards the sustainability of the world's natural resources that was born out of Agenda 21. Some legislative documents developed from the United Nations Forum on Forests (UNFF) have been proposed with the intention of strengthening the Rio Forest Principles listed under the Rio Declaration. During the year 2000, the United Nations Economic and Social Council (UN ECOSOC) came to the resolution of the establishment of the UNFF whose overall aim and objective is to “.....promote management, conservation and sustainable development of all types of forests and to strengthen long-term political commitment to this end” (ECOSOC 2000 2000/35, para. 1). The objectives of implementing UNFF also include ensuring the sustainability of forest management by promoting the implementation of forest management institutional frameworks at local, national, regional and global level. Further development occurred in UNFF in 2007 when the member states agreed to “.....increase significantly the area of protected forests worldwide and other areas of sustainably managed forests” (ECOSOC 2007

2007/40, part IV, Objective 3). On this note, several secondary objectives³ were implemented to support Objective 3, which all directly relate to the effective management and administration of protected areas.

Overall Agenda 21 and other conventions that emerged from it generated a much stronger notion of participation in decision-making (Dodds, 2019). This affirmation of the important role of non-governmental participants has percolated across all levels of government, international law and international governance. For instance, it has helped bring the gender dimension to all development work and beyond, including official gender-differentiated statistics (Elabass & Rahman, 2018). On the other hand, there is a mixed bag of explanations regarding Agenda 21's success. An analysis of the results of this charter's implementation shows that its execution was not always systematic. For instance, in many rural communities that rely on forests for their survival, justice is not well provided by this convention. Its focus is on the conservation of forest resources while compromising local communities' hunting and gathering as well as indigenous subsistence practices. At this point, the reader should note that this move is similar to the people-nature separation approach, which has been intensively discussed in this thesis. Overall, the institutional attributes reviewed in this section guide protected areas management, and several underpinning ideas have been unpacked. These frameworks have been found to be effective in some cases, but in others they subject the powerless to inequity and injustices, particularly when they are not correctly implemented or do not have much of a say in the participation process.

³ According to ECOSOC (2007 2007/40, part V, para. 6), the following secondary objectives under Sustainable Forest Management Framework were put in place to guide national policies and measures on the management of protected areas by member states:

(p) "Create, develop or expand, and maintain networks of protected forest areas, taking into account the importance of conserving representative forests, by means of a range of conservation mechanisms, applied within and outside protected forest areas";

(q) "Assess the conditions and management effectiveness of existing protected forest areas with a view to identifying improvements needed";

(r) "Strengthen the contribution of science and research in advancing sustainable forest management by incorporating scientific expertise into forest policies and programmes" (ECOSOC 2007 2007/40, part V, para. 6).



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CHAPTER THREE: NATURAL RESOURCES OWNERSHIP AND MANAGEMENT: A REVIEW OF THE DYNAMICS OF PARTICIPATION

3.1 Introduction

This thesis attempts to probe the levels and nature of participation in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. This is done through reviewing the discourses around partnership in natural resource management. This chapter is designed to demonstrate that the dominant perspective, which holds that participation of many stakeholders in natural resource management contributes to equity and justice, is debatable. This is accomplished through a review of various contestations in natural resource ownership and management. The chapter focuses on protected area management and indicates that there seems to be a consensus that participation is the way to resolve the inherent questions of equity and justice in natural resources management, although there is an

emerging strand of thinking questions this assumption. The chapter concludes with a historical description of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and an analysis of some studies undertaken in that area.

3.2 Contestations and discourses on natural resources ownership and management

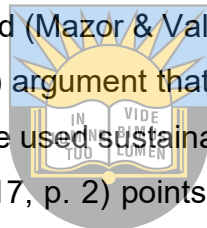
There is a prevalent belief that when many stakeholders cooperate in environmental protection, equity and justice would result. However, this may not be the case because people have distinct indigenous views and epistemic understandings, resulting in diverse opinions on environmental protection. People will interpret environmental protection differently as a result of epistemic differences. This then leads to different ways in which participation is viewed. In the light of the above argument, this chapter unpacks several contestations and discourses in natural resource ownership and management. This chapter provides a backdrop of the review of contestations and discourses on participation in the management of protected areas which is reviewed in detail in Chapter Three.



A preliminary review of the literature shows that knowledge of who owns which natural resources is important because it provides the basis for arguments to justify several ways in which stakeholders participate in the management of these resources. This gives different reasons why scholars and officials support the protected areas as the 'most appropriate' environmental conservation system while local communities advocate for their customary conservation practices (Paterson, 2011; Kothari, Menon & O'Reilly, 2010; International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) 2008; Dudley, 2008; Wilkie, Adams & Redford, 2008; Borrini-Feyerabend, 2004)..

The issue of who exactly owns natural resources and how they come up with the ownership claims remains a debatable subject. This aspect has been a subject of

debate for centuries as noted by philosophers like Hobbes⁴, Locke⁵ and Grotius⁶ who maintained that since these resources naturally exist, they should support humanity, and therefore, no one has sole access and ownership rights than others. This is opposed to man-made objects which, according to Armstrong (2017) and Risse (2012), can be specifically controlled and easily linked to certain stakeholders or organisations. This, however, has major implications for formalised conservation systems such as protected areas, as responsibility and accountability for the profits / losses of nature conservation, and problems such as climate justice, territorial rights, and emissions of carbon dioxide, waste, and environmental degradation must rest in someone's hands (Armstrong, 2016). Ho (2018) even argues that if the ownership of natural resources is not clear, it makes it uncertain how to manage them, who will do it and for whose benefit. This has even prompted political school of thought and philosophies about the environment, for example the left-libertarians who maintain that natural resources act as a distinctive currency for egalitarian justice therefore their ownership should clearly be defined (Mazor & Vallentyne, 2018). This is similar to the Kouris's (2019) and Risse's (2012) argument that natural resources are a foundation for social justice and they should be used sustainably by whoever owns them (Kouris, 2019). As a result, Armstrong (2017, p. 2) points out that the restriction that nobody has sole ownership of the natural resources:



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.....would need to be placed on how many of the world's resources any one person could convert into their own personal property. That constraint would operate as a moral and perhaps legal 'proviso' on the appropriation of the world's natural resources.

Ownership of natural resources, and therefore the participation of stakeholders in their management, would become clear if there is a specific provision allowing the allocation of these resources. Tietenberg and Lewis (2016) seconds this and maintains that this

⁴ Thomas Hobbes (5 April 1588 – 4 December 1679), in some older texts the English philosopher, Thomas Hobbes of Malmesbury, was considered one of the founders of modern political philosophy. Hobbes is best known for his book *Leviathan* in 1651, which expounded an influential theory of social contract formulations. Hobbes has also contributed to a variety of other fields in addition to political philosophy, including history, jurisprudence, geometry, gas physics, theology, ethics, and general philosophy.

⁵ John Locke FRS (29 August 1632 – 28 October 1704) was an English philosopher and physicist, widely considered one of Enlightenment's most influential thinkers and commonly known as the 'Father of Liberalism'. His work had a major influence on the development of epistemology and political philosophy.

⁶ Hugo Grotius (10 April 1583 – 28 August 1645), was a Dutch jurist, also known as *Huig de Groot* or *Hugo de Groot*. Grotius coined the term eminent domain – according to English and American law.

will create the provision on which ownership of natural resources will be centred and who should be responsible for their management, their benefits or the damage they cause. Therefore, a question can be posed to clarify whom the natural resources belong to, as this provides a clear indication of who is responsible for their maintenance and the mitigation strategies in the event of hazards. Consequently, there are important issues that give an understanding of the 'acceptable' ownership frameworks for natural resources, and thus; how it influences people's participation in their conservation.

From the literature reviewed thus far, ownership of natural resources is contested. As a result, determining the extent to which natural resources may be managed in an equitable and just way by various stakeholders is challenging. Again, there is no defined tenure system in place, thus it is unclear how the participation of many stakeholders will be implemented and evaluated. It is also hard for the participation of many stakeholders in natural resource management to result in equity and justice in the absence of a defined participation framework. Furthermore, when the ownership of natural resources is unclear, it is evident that diverse parties have a stake in it. These stakeholders will have varying epistemic understanding about the natural resources in question, and who should own or manage them will be determined by their lived experiences interacting with nature. This implies that these various stakeholders will be subject to participate in different ways, which will either intersect with or contradict those of other stakeholders. Overall, this raises many questions about the feasibility of the implication of collective participation on equity and justice. Given the uncertainty surrounding natural resource ownership and management, three questions might be raised: how should the natural resources be expropriated, from whose authority, and within what moral bounds should they be expropriated. An analysis of these aspects will either reveal that there are several stakeholders participating in the process, each with their own point of view, invalidating the notion that collective participation would result in equity and justice.

With regard to the first question on how the natural resources should be expropriated, there have been several debates to clarify the most appropriate frameworks. Armstrong (2015) and Tronchetti (2015) argue that the appropriate structure should be sustainable, economic, efficient and applicable to particular governance structures,

and should include details on how individuals are permitted to stake claims on those resources. Shuqair and Abdel-Aziz (2015) proposes that a suitable structure is one that integrates the needs of the general public where there should be a priority list on whom exactly the services are needed and not simply a hierarchical allocation method. Rees (2017), on the other hand, argues that basic ideas about social justice such as distributive justice, interactive justice, procedural justice, equity and ethical distribution systems need to be incorporated within the appropriation framework. Rees (2017) also states that the system should also incorporate the social and cultural dimensions of the area in which natural resources should be appropriated.

Although the above-mentioned frameworks are determined to be 'appropriate' and can be generalised to different cases, the answers to the second question: 'from whose authority should the natural resources be expropriated' remain unclear, especially in the prevailing capitalistic economies. Having knowledge about the natural resource tenure system is important because it substantially defines how these resources are handled and how benefits resulting from the conservation efforts are distributed (Kouris, 2019; Mazor & Vallentyne, 2018; Armstrong, 2016; Ho, 2018; Woodcock, 2018; Charnley, McLain & Poe, 2018). Altman, Larsen and Buchanan (2018) and Clark (2018) also argue that successful natural resource management is seen if authority is in the hands of people who see 'value' in these resources. The word 'value' however varies from the people and situations to the extent the term is fraught with many inconsistencies.

These first two aspects – how should the natural resources be expropriated and from whose authority – alone show that there are several factors that will influence natural resource ownership and management, which will in turn influence the perceived equity and justice that will result from collaborative environmental conservation on that area. There is an interaction of numerous aspects in deciding the right frameworks on which natural resources might be owned and managed, including cultures, sustainability, economic, efficiency, and social justice, among others. These differences indicate that different viewpoints exist among stakeholders, implying that even natural resource expropriation would have multiple dimensions. Different meanings of land ownership and administration will begin to develop if these numerous elements are inherent.

Overall, a situation will be created in which, even if individuals work together to manage this land, there will be no equity or justice from this participation process.

In relation to the third question concerning the moral limits within which natural resources should be expropriated, early philosophical school of thought held the belief that the possession and distribution of natural resources must be unlimited as long as it complements humanity (Lockean theory in Armstrong, 2017). In the Labour Theory of Property⁷, Locke (1690) states that people have exclusive right to natural property where the sum and worth of the wealth they possess comes from their labour (Vaughn, 1978). Labour was therefore seen as an important aspect that adds value to societal goods or, specifically, natural resources. In view of the utility of labour, Locke (1690), quoted in Vaughn (1978), also notes that nature alone has no meaningful value to society unless it is complemented by labour.

The role of labour in determining the value of natural resources – and therefore the moral limits under which they can be exploited – has even provoked the political philosophers' views in relation to land allocation. Locke (ibid.) argues that property comes first before the authority and that the authority cannot dispose of citizens from their land or natural resources capriciously or indiscriminately. However, this view was criticised by Karl Marx's Marxism Theory (see Carver, 1982; Avineri, 1968), which gave different views on the relations between authority (in the form of government), money, society and workers and how each of these elements play a role in the economy. The Marxism Theory argues that various people are hierarchically positioned based on their authoritative positions, of which those with considerable authority will have a high propensity to make economic decisions, even in deciding the limits of natural resource allocation. Therefore, it is worth noting that the dimension of labour of Locke (1689) as moral limits on which natural resources should be expropriated would in some way create social differences (Lipset, 2018; Bourdieu,

⁷ The Labour Theory of Property (also referred to as Labour Theory of Appropriation, Labour Theory of Ownership, Labour Theory of Entitlement, or Principle of First Appropriation) is a theory of natural law that holds that property originally arises from the exercise of labour on natural resources. The theory was used to justify the principle of homestead, which holds that one can acquire full permanent ownership of an unowned natural resource by performing an act of original appropriation.

Coleman & Coleman, 2019). For example, individuals with the ability to exercise more labour tend to benefit most than those who do not (Bourdieu et al., 2019).

Therefore, when trying to determine the moral limits of the expropriation of natural resources, attention must be given to the question of how they should be expropriated. This is because, without this clause, a situation will occur in which one person or a few individuals end up controlling the whole world leaving others in a situation in which they cannot use the resources without the permission of the owners. Such a scenario will lead to a capitalist concept where the resource owners will name a price to the vital survival resources to the extent that only individuals who have the money or any form of payment will have easy access. These issues and other discourses discussed above question the kind of participation that people are likely to provide, especially given the current situation in which they do not possess the majority of the resources that they are required to protect. This perspective is important in this study because scholars and officials expect that the general public, local communities and other stakeholders will contribute to the conservation cause yet they might have their own perceptions, knowledge and beliefs on how the resources should be managed. With these different perspectives, it is likely that the participation of stakeholders in managing the natural resources is based on different premises, and therefore; it would be highly differentiated. Despite the contestation of natural resource ownership and management, the next part unpacks literature on private and public ownership, and how they may promote equity and justice if efficiently managed, or may lead to inequity and injustice if different contradictions exist in the process.

3.2.1 Private ownership and management of natural resources

One of the structures of natural resources ownership is that of private ownership where private individuals own the resources. This ownership structure however leads to social divisions among citizens (Gobster & Rickenbach, 2004; Brown, Fitzgerald & Weber, 2016). This view is seconded in one of the early seminal discussions about private ownership of natural resources which appeared in a treatise called 'Second Treatise of Government' often referred to as Lockean Theory (see Locke, 1689). The Lockean theory makes arguments based on the acceptability and utility of private ownership of natural resource in conservation practices. Locke (1689) made a somewhat controversial but factual statement that human nature has enabled people

to be selfish. This is contrary to historical social justice systems where people are considered to be equal and should have fair access to resources and natural rights to protect their land, independence, health and life (Zafra-Calvo, Pascual, Brockington, Coolsaet, Cortes-Vazquez, Gross-Camp, Palomo & Burgess, 2017).

Therefore, with the private ownership scheme, people who do not have ownership of natural resources will be deprived of using them, or even having ownership rights (Locke, 1689). In fact, the system of private ownership of natural resources is viewed by Gobster and Rickenbach (2004) and Brown et al. (2016) as a type of capitalist situation in which people embark with a profit motive. This means that no one would have an interest in investing capital for jointly owned conservation efforts if they are not profitable. This is in contrast to non-private ownership of natural resources, for example communal ownership, where people provide best participation even for a community cause. As Aditya (2016) notes, people will be closely involved in environmental conservation practices if they have a stake in decision-making and benefit significantly from their participation. Akpan (2009), Umejesi (2012; 2017) and Abuya (2016) also second that this is the reason why local populations advance land ownership and management through their local indigeneity or cultural authority over resources. It is evident from this point of view that private ownership of natural resources is, to some degree, problematic, especially in view of the capitalist trends attached to it.

While the political point of view supports private ownership of natural resources on the basis of its perceived economic benefits – productivity, performance and economic development (Wegenast, 2016) – and recognises other types of ownership (state ownership, joint ownership, non-ownership, etc.) as inferior (Armstrong, 2017; Risse, 2012), there appear to be more challenges regarding private ownership. Largely, private ownership leads to a rejection of the traditional roles of natural resources in promoting society and serving as a tool for equal justice (Kouris, 2019). Furthermore, the few members in the upper strands of society or organisations – or rather those with access to private ownership of natural resources – appear to benefit more than ordinary people (Ringer, 2013; Arnstein, 1969).

Based on the reasons described above, it is possible that ‘private owners’ of natural resources will participate in natural resource management in a different way than other

types of owners. As a result, various different modes and motives of participation are likely to be seen, each with a distinct goal, character, and perceived rewards. Furthermore, private ownership is predominantly capitalistic in character, which means that whatever conservation efforts are invested on the property are primarily economic in nature, at the expense of environmental sustainability. Nevertheless, the fact that some private property owners will push for environmental sustainability should not be overlooked. As a result, these epistemic differences will impact environmental conservation to the point where equity and justice are severely jeopardised. As a result, the popular idea that participation of many stakeholders in environmental conservation is a feasible strategy for achieving equity and justice is challenged because of the existence of epistemic differences among participants. The section that follows explores contestations over state ownership and management of natural resources.

3.2.2 State ownership and management of natural resources

The debates on the preceding section have made it clear that natural resource ownership is a contentious issue. As a result, different stakeholders are likely to have different perspectives about how these resources should be managed and how different stakeholders should participate in their conservation. One of the prevalent ways which would have an influence on the participation of people in the management of natural resources, exists when there is state interference in their ownership and management. Due contestations that revolve around tenure systems, the land ownership debates have justified the effectiveness of natural resource expropriation when there is state interference (Barral, 2016). The states can do so in the interests of general people (Kim et al., 2017; Lanza et al., 2013; Lehavi & Licht, 2007; Stoekbuck, 1972).

State interference is implemented to ensure that the community meets the public use requirements. The international law on the ownership and management of natural resources gives states permanent sovereignty where they can have control and jurisdiction of various properties. Miller (2012) also propound that states have authority over their territorial rights and border controls, thus; thus determine how to use the land through mechanisms that are deemed appropriate. Considering the preceding discussion on private ownership, the state interference plays an essential role in

limiting individuals from pursuing private ownership structures of natural resources (Armstrong, 2017). However, Beitz's (1979) seminal work pointed out that state interference is associated with several negative implications particularly in places with widely divergent wealth shares generated by the natural resources. Such a scenario can be illustrated by South Africa, where natural resources generate significant wealth as seen through mineral extraction, tourism, agriculture, mining, quarrying, but the use and distribution of wealth is very divergent and lacks equity and equity (Akpan, 2009; Umejesi, 2011, 2015).

Moreover, scholars on state interference in natural resources management tend to have concentrated more on the interests of the majority and ignored those of minority communities, particularly private property owners. This is in line with Chodorov (1959) cited in Umejesi (2017) who note that the majorities appear to benefit greatly from state interference in natural resources management while the minority groups lose. For instance, the dislocation of local communities in most African states to pave the way for the creation of protected areas may hypothetically have a positive long-term effect, but it has many socio-cultural implications for displaced people who tend to lose 'sense-of-place' (Griffiths et al., 2019) and are subjected to distortion of their collective memory (see Halbwachs, 1925, 1950, 1994). Furthermore, Akpan (2009) notes that it is even possible that the states may apply their absolute powers to privilege rich people and powerful corporations by giving them land expropriated from ordinary people.

The arguments above are consistent with Komesar's (2001) study, which proposed a 'two-force' theoretical framework embedded on the impact of state interference in natural resources management. Komesar (2001) maintained that political factors are more likely to have a significant influence on the majority and minority biases, so that two strands, namely 'fear of the few' and 'fear of the many' are experienced. Fear of the few states that state domination in natural resources management can be abused by the majority groups who will reap significant benefits at the expense of the minority groups. In contrast, the minority can also take advantage of state interference at the detriment of the majority groups, as expressed in 'fear of the many' scenario (Komesar, 2001). This is seconded by Byrne (2017) who agrees that the 'power-holders' may use state interference to take advantage of the vulnerable people, particularly marginalised communities.

This has been seen in the South African natural resources ownership structure before and after the dawn of democracy. During colonialism, legislation on natural resource ownership was continually introduced to limit local people, especially the African people, from owning and managing fertile lands and natural resources. For example, the Glen Grey Act of 1894 and the Native Land Act of 1913 stripped the African population group of their land and natural resources and expropriated the remaining fertile lands to the white minority groups. The implications of these legislative frameworks is similar to the 'fear of the many' situation described by Komesar (2001) in which the minority power-holders decide how the natural resources are owned and controlled without considering the masses.

Berliner's (2003) study provided a similar argument and state that local communities are abused and prejudiced either because of their 'primitivity' in environmental conservation and/or because of their lack of 'appropriate' ecological awareness or just the rigidity of the processes of appeal of the states. Berliner (2003) argues that the weaker groups in the society are sometimes left vulnerable due to their lack of capacity to contest the legalities surrounding the power-holders' ultimate powers over property rights. This could be the case with the majority of dislocated and displaced South African populations in favour of environmental cause.

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Against this backdrop, a question can be asked as to: what could explain, if anything, the presumption that states should have control over territorial rights and natural resources? This is an important question in the debates on land ownership and natural resource management since the states initially exerted authority and authoritative power over natural resource ownership and expropriations without having clear jurisdiction over these processes (Locke, 1689; Armstrong, 2015; Beitz, 1979; Risse, 2012).

All of these flaws show that there are numerous inconsistencies in natural resource ownership and management, even if governmental intervention is recognised as an effective means of achieving equity. Again, these contradictions show that state ownership and management of natural resources may not result in equity and justice. This is because, even when the state dominates, distinct indigenous standpoints are inherent in the ownership and management of natural resources. Because of these disparities, there will be different perspectives on natural resource ownership and

management, as well as how individuals participate in their protection. This makes this study relevant because the researcher will interview the various community members, influential people, leaders and important traditional figures, the government and other organisations on how they participate in natural resource management and their underlying ideas. Emphasis in this study will be placed on protected areas – which are discussed in the following section. The following unpacks one of the institutionalised ways in which the management of nature reserves is perceived to be effective – protected areas.

3.3 Management of natural resources through protected areas – a global perspective

In many countries, the concept of protected areas has emerged as a space where the various conservation practices and ideas cohere (Soorae, 2018). The history of protected areas dates back to 2000 years ago, when royal decrees in India protected certain areas in their territories and in Europe where certain elite groups protected their hunting grounds (Phillips, 2007; Ghosh-Harihar, An, Athreya, Borthakur, Chanchani, Chetry, D... & Mohan, 2019). The term 'protected areas' was only institutionalised in the 1770s following the reign of the Tenger Tetgegch Khaan during the Qing Dynasty in China. This was when the then Khan Uul region in Mongolia became the first ever protected area under the Chinese administration (Phillips, 2007).

The protected areas movement began to gain its momentum during the late 19th century, when other countries in the Americas, Australia, New Zealand and Africa adopted this policy, although their agendas differed. Throughout Africa, protected areas focused primarily on game park conservation. Then, throughout Europe, emphasis was placed on landscape protection while North America concentrated on the preservation of spectacular and majestic scenery (Phillips, 2007). Similar efforts were carried out on a national scale in individual countries until 1933, when agreement was reached on defining universally accepted criteria and terminology of protected areas during the first ever International Fauna and Flora Conservation Conference in London (IUCN, 2017; Mahdi, Karimi, Farshchi & Panahi, 2019). This led to several conventions on environmental management and sustainable development being institutionalised.

In light of this establishment, the First World Conference on National Parks held in Seattle in 1962 acknowledged the role of industrial revolution on the depletion of natural habitats leading to the imposition of abatement measures by 'polluters' to practice responsible business; hence, a further step towards the formalisation of protected areas. A decade later, in 1972, the Stockholm Declaration established a policy to protect representative examples of all major ecosystem types that existed in a country or region as a fundamental requirement of national conservation programmes (UN, 1972). This has since remained one of the core principles of conservation biology observed in the 1982 World Nature Charter (UN 1982) and the 1992 Rio Declaration (UN 1992). In addition, the 1992 IUCN World Parks Congress in Caracas, Venezuela, proposed that protected areas should have at least 10% of each biome accessible in a country by the year 2020 (Anthony & Bellinger, 2007).

This agreement has seen an increase in the creation of protected areas throughout the world and several other agreements signed by international institutions such as the UN. Furthermore, the 2002 Johannesburg Declaration (UN, 2002) and the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD)'s 10th Conference of Parties held in Japan enhanced the efforts of protected areas by setting new conservation goals. For example; global increase of terrestrial and inland water protected areas to 17% (from 13%) by 2020 and coastal and MPAs from 1% to 10% in the same period [See SDG 14)⁸; United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) Principle 32⁹; Secretariat of CBD, 2010].

This pattern indicates that there are many ways of identifying protected areas and establishing what they really are. The discussion of the above events shows that the protected areas began initially in the form of resource privatisation until the world governing bodies intervened on conservation practices and proposed some sort of

⁸ SDG 14 advocates for the sustainability of life below water

⁹ The relevant WSSD Plan provision for protected areas is Principle 32 which states that:

“In accordance with Chapter 17 of Agenda 21, promote the conservation and management of the oceans through actions at all levels, giving due regard to the relevant international instruments to: [...]

(c) Develop and facilitate the use of diverse approaches and tools, including the ecosystem approach, the elimination of destructive fishing practices, the establishment of marine protected areas consistent with international law and based on scientific information, including representative networks.....”

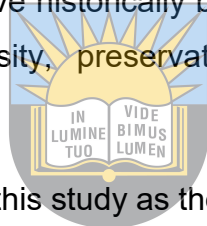
'acceptable frameworks' for conservation practices. With all these specific environmental goals, it is clear that there are several meanings of the term 'protected areas'. As a result, organisations such as the United Nations Environmental Programme (UNEP), IUCN, WCPA and numerous other academics have suggested many concepts of protected areas. One of the broad definitions of protected areas, which is probably the most quoted in scholarly works on parks and conservation practices, was provided by IUCN in its Guidelines for Applying Protected Areas Management Categories (2008). IUCN (2008) quoted in Dudley (2008, p. 60) states that protected areas are ".....a clear geographical space that is recognised dedicated and managed through legal or other effective means to achieve the long-term conservation of nature with associated ecosystem services and cultural values". The definition of protected areas indicated above indicates that there are different dimensions of interest and relevance in the study at hand.

First, the definition shows that protected areas are ".....clearly defined geographical spaces". The spaces identified here are shown in IUCN's (2008) Guidelines for Applying Protected Areas Management Categories as inland, coastal or a combination of these two. To date, different aliases have been used to refer to protected areas and all of them have one core objective – conservation of fauna and flora. These include MPAs, Centres of Plant Diversity (CPD), Indigenous and Community Conserved Areas (ICCA), Key Biodiversity Areas (KBA), Alliance for Zero Extinctions Sites (AZES), and Important Bird Areas (IBA) (IUCN, 2017). The 2018 edition of the United Nations Environmental Programme – World Conservation Monitoring Centre (UNEP-WCMC) shows that there were 238,563 protected areas covering a total area of 46,414,431 km². In total, protected areas occupy 14.87% of the land (excluding Antarctica) and 7.27% of the sea (UNEP-WCMC, 2018). They also lie on large geographical areas and can even stretch beyond a country's international borders; hence, the existence of multi-faceted laws and complex management systems.

Second, the above definition shows that they can be managed through "...legal and other effective ways..." The various ways of managing natural resources described so far (and explained in detail later) include state-controlled, private management, shared governance or joint ownership as well as governance by local communities. Thirdly, the definition indicates that protected areas can promote "...long-term nature

conservation...” This study will thus examine the long-term impacts of protected areas management, how stakeholders participate in the process, how the are benefits distributed, who has the ownership and managing authority, and what contradictions or intesections, if any, exist between different stakeholders involved.

The definition also addresses the “...associated ecosystem services” that relate to interdependent activities that influence the life, progress and sustainability of the protected areas. These may be different activities carried out by the stakeholders that contribute positively to, or have an impact on protected area management efforts. This research will examine the various projects and initiatives that contribute to protected areas management and how the stakeholders participate in this towards environmental management cause. Fifth, the definition of protected areas states that “.....cultural values” should be integrated into the long-term benefits of those conservation efforts. This assertion is in line with Dudley’s (2008) assertion which points out that protected areas have historically been mandated with important roles in the sustainability of biodiversity, preservation of socio-cultural values and maintenance of historical artefacts.



All of these forms are important in this study as they will provide different participation dynamics in the management of protected areas from different stakeholders. Based on the analysis of the definition above, the protected areas in this study are seen as geographical spaces which cover either forest, land, water, mountains and/or other natural, artificial or man-made resources. The areas are protected by the state, private individuals, organisations which include private and NGOs or any other stakeholders in order to prevent human and/or livestock interference with the exception of those that meet particular criteria. They are governed through legislative and other institutional laws, treaties or agreements that detail the entire management system of the geographic space protected. They intend to protect various animal and plant species as well as other resources such as natural resources, minerals, heritage, and other products provided by the area being protected. These areas should also be information on corrective action or mitigation strategies in relation to the damages or hazards caused by nature, human interference, and the organisations managing the protected area or any stakeholders affected by the affairs of the geographical spaces in question.

3.3.1 Protected areas and their governance

The protected areas governance, which are often referred to as the IUCN Governance Matrix, includes state governance, shared governance, private governance and governance by indigenous peoples and local communities (IUCN, 2008; Dudley, 2008; Paterson, 2011; Kothari, Menon & O'Reilly, 2010; Wilkie et al., 2008)

3.3.1.1 Management of protected areas through state governance

State governance is the most traditional form of management of protected areas where the government is a key player since it has the power over all land and natural resources (Paterson, 2011; Kim et al., 2017; Barral, 2016; Lanza et al., 2013; Lehavi & Licht, 2007; Stoekbuck, 1972). The government is therefore responsible for the outcomes of protected areas management. The government defines the goals of protected areas management, establishes and implements a management plan and enforces successful performance by various consultation, monitoring and assessment mechanisms (Kothari et al., 2010). However, there has been an increasing push for public participation in the management of protected areas because the states alone cannot effectively manage these spaces. Delegation of authority, the use of government agencies, NGOs and private organisations and the public participation of local communities in protected areas management are becoming increasingly common (see Kothari et al., 2010; Frank, 2016; Ringer, 2013; Akpan et al., 2017; Armstrong, 2015; 2017; Brownlie et al., 2017).

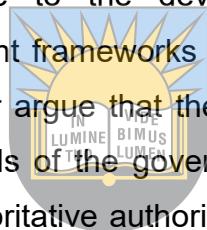
Having mentioned this, it is important to point out that certain issues and disputes may be rooted in the delegation of authorities to third parties. As stated by Paterson (2011), the delegation of authority itself results in the transfer of certain powers to third parties. This will have an impact on the management of protected areas, as it may contribute to complex management systems with different objectives and priorities in the process. As such, the delegation of authority to other stakeholders would mean that state governance would be diluted into some form of shared governance, which is discussed in the following section.

3.3.1.2 Management of protected areas through shared governance

Shared governance involves the management of resources by two or more stakeholders (Paterson, 2011; Kothari et al., 2010; Dudley, 2008; Kothari, 2006). The stakeholders share the power, ownership, obligations and the benefits that come out of the protected area in question. Dudley (2008) and Kothari et al. (2010) identified three key forms of shared governance, namely; collaborative management (also known as co-management), joint management, and trans-boundary management. Borrini-Fayerabend et al. (2004, p.32) define collaborative management or co-management of protected areas as:

.....government-designated protected area where decision making power, responsibility and accountability are shared between governmental agencies and other stakeholders, in particular indigenous peoples and local and mobile communities that depend on that area culturally and or for their livelihoods.

The stakeholders will contribute to the development of proposals and the implementation of the management frameworks for protected areas. Dudley (2008) and Kothari et al. (2010) however argue that the ultimate authority in collaborative management remains in the hands of the government, or the government agency which will be delegated with authoritative authority (Musavengane, 2019; Distanont, Khongmalai, Rassameethes & Distanont, 2018).



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Second, joint management brings its authorities and responsibilities to a wide range of stakeholders where the decisions agreed may or may not require consensus, as in the case of collaborative management (Kothari, 2006; Kothari et al., 2010). Lastly, trans-boundary management involves the management of protected areas that stretch geographically across different international borders. This form of governance therefore includes joint-management schemes involving one or more government bodies (Dudley, 2008). Examples of trans-boundary management systems of protected areas in South Africa include the case of Great Limpopo Trans-frontier Park, which straddles the borders of South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe, and the Kgalagadi Trans-frontier Park which stretches from the northern parts of South Africa into Botswana.

Literature however argues that the use of shared governance in protected areas management, especially if it involves the NGOs, may lead to the westernisation of all

management processes at the expense of local communities because they rely heavily on the 'western division between nature and culture' (Nygren, 1998). The introduction of this putative nature or culture dichotomy has had a substantial material and social impact, either by forcibly removing people from their land or by keeping them to discursive expectations that are almost impossible to live up to in action (Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010); Igoe 2005; West 2001). On the other hand, they may present indigenous peoples as ecologically noble savages, whose cultures are somehow closer to nature.

3.3.1.3 Management of protected areas through private governance

Private governance in protected areas management is a system in which the ownership and management of these reserves is dominated by private organisations which include private individuals or NGOs who all participate with a common goal (De Vos, Clements, Biggs & Cumming, 2019; De Vos et al., 2019; Paterson, 2011; Kothari et al., 2010). Some of the reasons for the involvement of private organisations in the management of protected areas include income generation (Gobster & Rickenbach, 2004; Brown et al., 2016) and philanthropic motives (Campbell & Gray, 2019).

Private protected areas (PPAs) are one of the most common forms of private governance in protected areas management. As with ICCAs, PPAs have been in operation in some countries for centuries. The US, for example, started to use this method of protected area governance as early as 1891 shortly after the establishment of the Yellowstone National Park in 1872, when the first land trust, the Trustees of Reservations, was established by statute in Massachusetts. PPAs may be recognised as part of the formal system of protected areas or may remain outside the formal system but are recognised for their supporting conservation purposes, in particular as buffers or linking corridors (Campbell & Gray, 2019).

Since the 1990s, there has been a proliferation of private partnerships and private-public partnerships to promote voluntary conservation on protected areas. According to the IUCN guidelines on protected area management, this has resulted in a ".....dramatic increase in the number and extent of PPAs" (Dudley, 2008, p. 32). Growth has been particularly strong in Latin America and the Caribbean, North America, East and South Africa, Australia and Europe. For example, there are several

hundred private commercial parks in sub-Saharan Africa and South Africa, some more than 100,000 hectares in size. PPAs in Southern Africa alone protect millions of hectares as buffer zones for protected areas, connecting wildlife corridors and preserving critical biodiversity (Kothari et al., 2010).

3.3.1.4 Management of protected areas through local communities governance

This form of governance is when the control, authority and the administration of the benefits of the protected areas management rests with local communities (Zafra-Calvo, Garmendia, Pascual, Palomo, Gross-Camp, Brockington, Cortez-Vazquez, Coolsaet & Burgess, 2019; Armstrong, 2017; Risse, 2012; Zafra-Calvo et al., 2019). Phadima and Lawes (2019) state that traditional community leaders have a significant role to play in ensuring that protected areas are used sustainably to benefit their communities. The capacity to ensure that the community uses natural resources sustainably rests on their strengths and/or weaknesses.

3.3.1.5 Discussion of protected areas governance

One of the contradictions experienced in the management of protected areas arises from natural resource rights and the land tenure systems. The ownership of natural resources is either *de facto* or *de jure* in the hands of local communities (Lai & Chau, 2019; Bartels, Bruns & Alba, 2018; Alexander, Ramotadima & Sanderson, 2018). The state's intervention is some kind of the last resort of control (Klein, Cheever, Birdsong, Klass & Biber, 2018; Gylfason, 2018). This is despite the fact that natural resources historically belonged to and are owned by the traditional communities. The state, through their absolute powers, only acquired the land at a later stage to form collaborative ownership and/or state ownership in the form of protected areas (Boiral et al. 2019; Koch, 2018; Belle et al., 2018 Brownlie et al., 2017; Petrova, 2014; Fischer et al., 2014; Tomicevic et al., 2010; Brownlie & Botha, 2009; Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010). The states therefore decide who owns the land, at what time, what to do on the property, by whom and when to do it (Issah, 2018; Abuya, 2016; Umejisi, 2017, 2012; Fischer et al., 2014; Kettunen & Brink, 2013; Akpan, 2009). Such a system of ownership does not only cause local communities to lose ground, but can also

contribute to the abuse and oppression of marginalised people (See Arnstein, 1969; Wilcox, 1994; Pretty, 1995; White, 1996).

Additionally, the governance by local communities is also highly likely to be compromised because they do not currently have full rights to own and manage land and natural resources. In such cases, the protected areas management can be an 'inconvenient' approach for the local communities because of several challenges such as rigid bureaucracy associated with state interference (Pakade-Yokwana, 2013) or even failure of such institutions to implement inclusive frameworks for all stakeholders (Musavengane & Leonard, 2019). Musavengane and Leonard (2019) also claim that protected areas management in South Africa are still exclusionary for the majority of the local black population groups regardless of the government's proposal for inclusivity. Thus, in as much as the proposal of the inclusion of local communities in the management of protected areas leads to equity and justice, it is still highly impossible due to these different factors.

In contrast, there is no clear line between 'private governance' and 'governance by local communities'. This, too, blurs the question on the division and identification of differences in management roles and responsibilities. This may also be the case for private governance and shared governance, as there may be conflicting positions in the management process. Nevertheless, it is important to note that private ownership of resources is usually associated with capitalist patterns in which profit generation is primarily the motive (Gobster & Rickenbach, 2004; Brown et al., 2016). Therefore, these kinds of governance may have significant implications for a number of participants, particularly if they do not have substantial ownership rights of the natural resources in question.

With regard to governance by local communities, there appears to be a gap left within the 'management' part of this aspect. The nature of management, its composition, the social status of community members and their level of influence on management can have a significant impact on the protected areas (Zafra-Calvo et al., 2019; Boyd & Loreface, 2018; Chasek, 2018; Stoett, 2019). Furthermore, this form of governance often tends to be nuanced and multi-dimensional because it is made up of various people in the community of which people are made up of individuals who have different opinions on conservation practices. Abram (2005) offers a critical view of what people

really are and found that they constitute a collection of individuals that appear to vary based on different factors which include their demographics, interests, norms and values, and other socio-cultural factors. As a result, people have 'different perspectives' or epistemic differences on the management of protected areas and may have different agendas and expectations for their participation in the process.

All of the factors discussed above thus support the study's main argument that participation of different stakeholders in natural resource management does not result in equity and justice because people have different epistemic knowledge about how natural resources should be managed and how the outcomes of management processes are realised. Furthermore, the availability of many indigenous perspectives provides stakeholders with alternative perspectives on how natural resources should be handled. Overall, all of the protected area governance type reviewed in this section will provide a variety of natural resources administrative and tenure systems that may or may not result in equity, but may benefit certain individuals more than others. The topic of existing epistemic disparities and participatory dynamics is further explored in South African natural resource management through protected areas.

3.4 Management of natural resources through protected areas in South Africa – past and current contestations and discourses

The definition of protected areas in South Africa is provided in the Constitution. According to the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014¹⁰ a protected area is: (a) a special nature reserve; (b) a national park; (b)(a) a marine protected area; or (c) a nature reserve or protected environment that is (i) managed by a national organ of state; or (ii) which falls under the jurisdiction of the Minister for any other reason. The following definitions of protected areas in South Africa are set out in the White Paper on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of South Africa's Biological Diversity (1997) through the National Environmental Management Act No. 107 of 1998.

¹⁰ The definition of 'national protected area' was adopted from section (1) (d) of Act No. 31 of 2004.



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Table 3.4: Typologies of protected areas in South Africa

Category	Name	Management Objective	South African Legal or Other Equivalent Category
Category Ia	Scientific Reserve	Managed mainly for scientific research and monitoring	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special nature reserves • Wilderness area
Category Ib	Wilderness Area	Managed mainly for wilderness protection, subsistence, and recreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Special nature reserves • Wilderness areas
Category II	National Parks and Equivalent Reserves	Managed mainly for ecosystem protection and recreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • National parks • Provincial parks and nature reserves • Indigenous state forests
Category III	Natural Monuments and Areas of Cultural Significance	Managed mainly for conservation of specific natural or cultural features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Natural monuments • Monuments • Botanical gardens • Zoological gardens • Natural heritage sites • Sites of conservation significance
Category IV	Habitat and Wildlife Management Areas	Managed mainly for conservation through management intervention	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Provincial, local and private nature reserves • Conservancies
Category V	Protected Land and Seascapes	Managed mainly for land and seascape conservation and recreation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protected natural environments • Natural resource areas • Scenic landscapes • Urban landscapes
Category VI	Managed Resource Protected Area	Managed mainly for the sustainability of natural ecosystems	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mountain catchment areas

Source: White Paper on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of South Africa's Biological Diversity (1997, p. 31)

South Africa has a long and rich history of conservation activities dating back to the 17th century. Sunde (2013) notes that protected areas in South Africa were institutionalised during the 1890s under the management of colonial lands, as well as several racially biased segregation laws that established land-ownership and control demarcations. Before the the segregatory laws were introduced in the old South Africa, people were surviving on traditional means of protection that were rooted in their cultural and social beliefs and way of life for example through hunting and gatherering. Nevertheless, despite the perceived 'primitive' nature of exploiting natural resources (Ballard et al., 2017; Spooner et al., 2019), the people had their way of preserving nature as part of their livelihoods.

As such, there have been some cultural and even religious traditions that have played a pivotal role in the protection of natural resources or the way people interact with nature. For example, some religious beliefs prevented people from using certain natural resources; some superstitions were attached to killing certain animals, such as hyenas, chameleons or hammerkops (Sunde, 2013). In fact, cultural beliefs have also discouraged people from eating their totem animals. Additionally, the exploitation of certain natural resources, including ivory, leopard pelts or pangolin meat, was solely for the royalties. For this reason, among other conservation practices, some geographic locations were designated of specific purposes, such as ceremonies, while other areas were demarcated for people and their livelihoods. Some areas were also marked out for religious and ritual purposes, while others were considered sacred (Sunde, 2013).

However, while the formation protected areas has been seen as a significant way of conservation, there appear to be a crucial issue regarding the losses suffered by the local communities in the process. In many cases, local communities have been evicted from their ancestral land and prohibited from using the natural resources on which they have relied for centuries (Boiral et al. 2019; Koch, 2018; Belle et al., 2018 Brownlie et al., 2017; Petrova, 2014; Fischer et al., 2014; Tomicevic et al., 2010; Brownlie & Botha, 2009; Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010). Worse still, the most effective ways to prevent people from interference with restricted natural resources was to fencing around protected areas and use of military protection services, which led to a complete

detachment of people from exploiting natural resources (Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010; Walton, Gomei & Di Carlo, 2013).

On a larger scale and, the fencing system and military services have not only had an impact on preventing people from accessing natural resources across protected areas in South Africa, but have also led to conflicts between local communities and park authorities (Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010; Frank, 2016; Gibson & Marks, 1995). Overall, the formalisation of the protected areas in South Africa has completely stripped local communities of their rights to utilise natural resources, with the exception of few elites or those with societal privileges. To make further strengthen the formalisation of protected areas, the education systems implemented during that time were structured to indoctrinate people to believe that African and customary environmental practices constitute a threat to the natural environment (Ballard, Dixon & Harris, 2017; Spooner, Jensen, Tracey & Marshall, 2019).

All of these movements have been implemented to change people's practices and attitudes towards land use and to focus more on new paradigms of environmental practices that have been considered eco-friendly. Land governance systems have been completely changed and several divisions were made to distinguish European settlers from African natives (Brownlie et al., 2017; Sunde, 2013). For instance, the European Settlement Areas and the African Communal Areas were created where the latter was actually ruled out by the Native Land Acts of 1913 and 1936, which allocated the African population only 7% and 13% of arable land, respectively. Due to changes in land governance systems, the roles of authoritative figures such as the chiefs and local tribal councils responsible for the appropriation and management of land and natural resources have been dissolved and handed over to court magistrates as a means of formalising the acquisition and control of these resources (Sunde, 2013; Ntsebeza, 2000; 2005). The weakening of the traditional chiefs coupled with the introduction of different legislative frameworks on the use of natural resources paved way for the formalisation of protected areas in South Africa.

After the formation of the democratic government in 1994, a new era of protected area management began in South Africa. The land and natural resources restitution system developed in the early post-apartheid era saw marginalised communities leveraging land ownership, most of which fell within protected areas (Sunde 2013; Sunde, 2013).

This saw another paradigm shift from the one in which people lost property to pave the way for formalised conservation practices to the one in which claimants were returned to the land they had previously lost. However, this has not achieved the desired success because the majority of the local communities, especially rural marginalised areas, still do not have land.

Overall, the preceding section has unveiled the fact that the management of protected areas is a disputed phenomenon because of the existence of different management and ownership frameworks. People have different standpoints to the extent that they can even have contrasting views even though they may have one common goal – the management of natural resources. For this reason, conflicts and misunderstandings may be experienced by various participants as they participate in the management of natural resources. In situations like this, marginalisation of the less powerful or less influential stakeholders will shape the participation process. When situations like this arise, the protected areas management systems will not lead to equity and justice, but will be dominated by high level of inequity. The Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, which is the empirical site of this study, is one of the protected areas which have contested ownership and management structures.

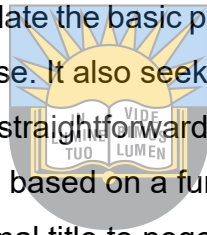
3.5 Management of natural resources in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve: past and current contestations and discourses

Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is one of the protected areas which potentially have contested ownership and management. A key issue in land ownership and the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is that of land claims and transfer of ownership from the government to local communities which has happened after the 1994 independence. The Communal Property Associations (CPAs) (this term is used interchangeably with ‘the Association’) and the Dwesa-Cwebe Land Trust (DCLT) (this term is interchangeably used with ‘the Land Trust’) played a pivotal role in land claims. The origins of CPAs formation can be traced back to South Africa’s apartheid, injustice, and racial segregation past. Before South Africa’s democratic elections in 1994, many apartheid laws dispossessed millions of local people of their land to pave way for the formation of national parks and protected areas. With the dawn of democracy land had to be returned to its original owners. It was deemed necessary that a legal entity that would enable beneficiaries of land reform to acquire, stake

ownership and manage properties themselves be created. It was also expected that the legal entity would adapt and accommodate various *de facto* land-holding practices, the majority of which were group-based. This gave birth to CPAs. CPAs are landholding legal entities established under the Communal Property Associations Act No. 28 of 1996 (from now onwards referred to as the CPA Act). The CPA Act was formed to:

.....enable communities to form juristic persons, to be known as Communal Property Associations in order to acquire, hold and manage property on a basis agreed to by members of a community in terms of a written constitution; and to provide for matters connected therewith (p.4).

The CPA Act was conceived as an instrument to enact relocation and tenure reform initiatives and create an alternative structure for land management. The primary purpose of the CPA Act is to create a viable and democratic basis for community ownership in circumstances where the only acceptable mechanism is community ownership. This Act is there to regulate the basic principles of how a community should be approaching sustainable land use. It also seeks to create a transparent, equitable, and democratic framework that is straightforward to implement and has government regulatory support. The CPA Act is based on a fundamental strategy for communities to pool their resources under a formal title to negotiate, buy and hold land together.



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Dwesa-Cwebe communities, like the rest of many communities in South Africa, have been subjected to dislocations and relocations in order to pave land for the formation of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Soon after 1994, the newly elected government was faced with pressure to reconstitute Dwesa-Cwebe communities of their land. In order to establish a smooth transference of the land (which Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve occupies), the Dwesa-Cwebe CPA was formed under the provision of the CPA Act No. 28 Section 2(1), which states that the community:

- a) which by order of the Land Claims Court is entitled to restitution under the Restitution of Land Rights Act, 1994 (Act No. 22 of 1994), where that Court has ordered restitution on condition that an association be formed in accordance with the provisions of this Act;
- b) entitled to or receiving property or other assistance from the state in terms of an agreement or in terms of any law, on condition that an association be formed in accordance with the provisions of this Act

With reference to CPA Act No. 28 Section 2(1) sub-section (a), the Land Claims Court had ordered land to be transferred back to the local communities. The CPA was formed shortly after the establishment of the democratic government in 1994 and consisted of representatives of the 2382 claimants residing in seven villages, namely Ntubeni, Ngoma, Cwebe, Mpume, Ntlangano, Mendwane and Hobeni. These claimants were/are actually the victims of relocations when Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was formed. The land was then restituted to Dwesa-Cwebe communities through the Settlement Agreement of 2001¹¹.

With reference to CPA Act No. 28 Section 2(1) sub-section (b), the local communities were entitled to receive additional support from the state as per the prescriptions of the Settlement Agreement of 2001. DCLT was then created to supplement the services of the CPAs. DCLT comprises one representative from each of the seven CPAs and seven government officials from the then Department of Water and Forestry and the Land Reform Department; the Eastern Cape Parks Board; the Municipality of Mbhashe and the Municipality of Amathole District (Palmer et al., 2006). This body entirely reflects all the affairs of the seven CPAs within the communities of Dwesa and Cwebe and it was instituted through the Settlement Agreement of 2001. Through this agreement, land ownership (the whole nature reserve) was returned to local people represented by DCLT and CPAs. This was done along with a significant restoration package of approximately R14.276 million¹², but management of the reserve was to remain in the parks authorities. In addition, each household was to receive a grant of

¹¹ According to South African law, when the stakeholders negotiate an amicable 'clean-break' a settlement agreement is concluded and the matter does not need to proceed to arbitration. The Settlement Agreement referred to here was concluded pursuant to section 30 of the National Forests Act (84 of 1998). It was necessary because the nature reserves comprised demarcated state forests falling within the competence of the Department of Water and Forestry of the time [such competence having been delegated to the Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism (Eastern Cape)].

¹² According to the Settlement Agreement, this amount comprised of the following components:

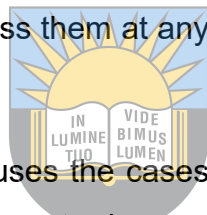
- i. Consideration fund (R2.1 million consolidated rental of the reserve by then Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism of R100 000 per annum), which can be used for development in terms of an approved development plan;
- ii. Compensation fund of R1.6 million (waived land-use value) for the development of the community and the area;
- iii. Restitution Discretionary Grants (R7.146 million) to be used for agricultural, educational and development projects; and
- iv. Settlement Planning Grants (R3.43 million) for settlement planning, infrastructure, land survey, tenure reform etc.

R16 000, but the funds were all pooled and totalled R9 million to be used to develop the tourism infrastructure (Palmer, Fay, Timmermans, Lewis & Viljoen 2002). There was an extra R21 million to be paid to the local communities by the Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA) for renting the nature reserve for 21 years (2001 to 2022). The funds were transferred along with the implementation of the Management Planning Framework, which sets out the requirements for the establishment of comprehensive, focused subsidiary management plans to direct and promote efficient and effective management of the reserve.

However, there is little evidence available on the effectiveness of these frameworks. Studies conducted soon after the formation of DCLT and CPAs have even shown that a number of community members have raised concerns about the management of the compensation funds, and it was not immediately clear how it would benefit the people of Dwesa-Cwebe significantly (Palmer et al., 2002). Furthermore, research conducted by Abdu-Raheem (2010) to understand the dynamics behind the expansion of biodiversity beyond the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve's official mandate concludes that local communities lacked financial base for community development. It was concluded that they should seek financial assistance and training from the relevant authorities to participate actively in protected areas management. However, Bango and Xelelo (2017) strongly dispute Abdu-Raheem's (2010) studies and indicate that the communities of Dwesa-Cwebe have never benefited from the compensation funds, despite the availability of their compensation funds. Concisely, Abdu-Raheem's (2010) study left a gap in the sense that it only focussed on the institutional stakeholders and overlooked other participants involved in the management of this reserve.

Therefore, this study is conducted to fill this gap. It includes the South African Parks Authorities, the Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism (from now onwards referred to as DEA), Department of Land Reform representatives, officials from DWS, Mbashe Local Municipality, ward councillors, CPAs, DCLT, traditional authorities and other private organisations involved. The involvement of diverse stakeholders enables the researcher to narrate the management of this reserve from different angles. This will lead to the understanding of the underpinning ideas behind different forms of management from each participant or groups of respondents.

In addition, Venter and Mann (2012) conducted a study to clarify the effectiveness of fish conservation efforts under Dwesa-Cwebe MPA legislation. Their study concluded that the MPA is more successful in the protection of aquatic life. However, the study found that, despite security efforts and legislative frameworks in place, there is a significant risk for fish populations due to illegal fishing. Consequently, the current study is important because it seeks to explain Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve's management situation, how legislative interventions are epitomised by this nature reserve and the benefits gained thereof. The current study also sought to understand the idea behind 'poaching' of natural resources. Since the local communities are encouraged to participate in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and that in a common sense, the spoils generated from the management of this reserve should benefit the community, it is worthwhile investigating into the factors leading to illegal fishing. The aim is to understand whether local communities do not receive adequate benefits or whether it is only within the people that they feel entitled to the marine resources and should access them at any time, despite being demarcated by the laws.



In another study, Matose, (2016) uses the cases studies of Dwesa-Cwebe in South Africa and Mapfungautsi in Zimbabwe to demonstrate that local people have crafted numerous everyday ways to challenge the state, in ways that are hidden to the outsiders. In this case, the Zimbabwean and South African states which are geared towards conservation have crafted laws and rules to constrain access and use of protected forests, although local people have crafted numerous everyday ways to disregard such laws.

These everyday ways of challenging the state such as forcefully entering protected forests for grazing, squatting, poaching of timber, collecting firewood or fishing hardly come into the open for outsiders to notice. These everyday acts to challenge state laws demonstrate mass power by communities as they can be well effective, coordinated and planned. Such everyday acts are often criminalised by the state. Matose, (2016) thus argues that even though the co-management between the state and local communities of such protected forests is often designed to quell conflicts and manage the natural resources equitable and openly, the model of co-management is unlikely to yield the desired results for as long as local communities do not have

rights to use and benefit from such protected areas. Part of the problem is that the co-management approach to managing these protected forests, or what is often called joint ventures are always primarily designed to entrench state hegemonic power through conservation to the detriment of local communities who often have a diversified way of managing forests, which involves rights to access and use of such resources.

Local people have very little say in the management of these forests largely because of the hegemonic power of the state which is entrenched through legislation, and the founding joint agreements between the state and communities. Aside from having little say in the management of such forests, communities often see very little benefits in terms of the revenue, and hence they often have an acrimonious relationship with the state.

In Bango and Xelelo's (2017) study that investigated the relationship between protected areas and local communities, data were collected from 120 participants who were drawn from the four villages (Ntubeni, Ntlangula, Hobeni and Cwebe) around Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The study found contradictions between the management of the protected areas and the general population of this community. The main causes of the disputes included limited resource extraction from the protected areas, the presence of strict rules, bullying of the local communities by parks authorities and management's harsh behaviour. Although it was found that there are bad relations between the local communities and the officials of Dwesa Cwebe Nature Reserve, there are several gaps left by the study, which makes it difficult to validate the findings. First, the analysis did not consider the functions of CPAs and DCLT in nature conservation. Second, the study did not consider the voice of key-informants from the study meaning it lacked key information since findings obtained were distinguished only by general information obtained from the general members of the community. Thirdly, this study did not investigate the views of other stakeholders interested in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, such as government, private organisations, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), park authorities and others. Consequently, this study is important because it aims to cover the three gaps listed here.

In another study conducted on the management of forests and grasslands in the Dwesa-Cwebe area since the 1870s, Matose (2009) argues that national interests through science based knowledge have often trumped the interests of local people who were the rightful owners of such forests before colonisation. The state has a single dimensional approach to managing the forests which is conservation. On the other hand local people have a diverse way of approaching the management of the forests and grasslands, as they prefer harvesting trees for construction, firewood and medicine, as well as harvesting reeds and grasses for households' mats. Since 1870s, the state has often deployed the language of conservation, and other forms of subjugating local ways of managing grasslands and forests. The state has had the power to shape how people must relate and access the environment, including the systematic undermining of traditional authority, and other local knowledge systems.

In another study, Ntshona, Kraai, Kepe and Saliwa. (2010) hold that despite Dwesa-Cwebe being a 'successful' land claim, the land rights of these beneficiaries are constrained by ineffective and conflictual land institutions such as Land Trust, CPAs and traditional authorities. These conflictual land institutions have constrained beneficiaries from enjoying full land rights and improving their livelihoods. For instance, traditional leaders who have been empowered by the state, have rejected CPAs in their areas of jurisdiction, while the registration of the Dwesa-Cwebe Land Trust in 2001 to receive, hold and manage land further entrenched the ambiguity of a CPA.

Aside from the fact that all these three institutions have not given proper feedback in terms of economic development of the project, many ordinary beneficiaries, who often do not have formal education, usually feel confused and disillusioned. Despite the Community Forest Agreement (CFA) which stipulated that villagers have the right to access natural resources (such as fishing, grazing) for their livelihoods, the Reserve Management Authority has disallowed this process. Evidentially, these land rights remain ambiguous and unenforceable, despite the 'successful' land claim because ordinary beneficiaries have little participation, and the unending conflicts among these institutions since the community forest agreement in 2001 have constrained progress.

Using the environmental entitlement analysis developed by Leach et al (1999), Ntshona et al, (2010) are arguing that access to resources, or land rights have not

translated into livelihoods benefits because of institutions, such as local land administration institutions, CPAs, traditional authorities, Land Trust which advance the interests which are contrary to those of ordinary beneficiaries. Authors argue that these land rights enshrined in legislative documents and in settlements agreements must be implementable and must be monitored systematically, including having an in-built post-settlement support strategy.

Paterson and Mkhulisi (2014) critically analyse the interface between conservation and land reform by examining the restitutions projects that have been settled in protected areas, such as the Dwesa-Cwebe area. They argue that the planning processes in the Dwesa and Cwebe claim, which was the second claim to be settled in protected areas was faulty in that the planning processes did not lay a proper foundation in terms of the exact nature and form of land tenure, management, access, use and benefit sharing. As a result, the interests of conservation preceded the interests of land reform and rural development. Part of the problem is that land tenure rights were not clearly spelt out in the founding agreements, while the co-management model excluded greater participation of land beneficiaries who are often poorly educated. Conservation interests trumps other interests, and no portion of the land can be used for residential, agricultural or developmental purposes, with the exception of low density nature based tourism development, and no part of the land can be sold to anyone, other than the state.

Using the case of Dwesa Cwebe, Ntsholo (2014) argues that the preservation of nature, or rather the conservation of biodiversity which has colonial roots has continued to occupy a strong place in the development discourse in post-apartheid South Africa. The state has unwittingly, or wittingly presented the conservation of nature discourse in apolitical and ahistorical terms, with a strong belief that conservation is the basis for all development. Although many rural communities largely rely on exploitation of natural resources for their livelihoods, the state views non-conservation approaches to rural development as unworkable and problematic. The state, which is in collision with white conservationists sees local communities as lacking enough capacity to independently run or assert their voices, interests, concerns and wishes regarding how their claimed land must be managed. Therefore, the voices, concerns, interests and wishes of land beneficiaries are often regulated by

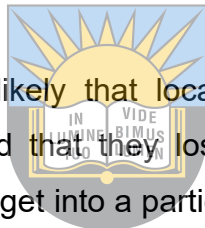
a collision of white conservationists and the state, which is fundamentally a continuation of colonial and apartheid ideology and philosophy of separating local communities from their land (nature/environment).

Most importantly, the previous white farmers who would have cashed in through compensation often remain on land as strategic partners, and the state often presents these white strategic partners as stakeholders who are expected to train and assist land beneficiaries to benefit, which often becomes unpractically given the differing interests and ideologies. In such arrangements, commercial production often supersedes any other forms of land uses which land beneficiaries may prefer, which often leads to conflicts and disillusionment for beneficiaries. For Ntsholo, (2014), joint ventures or co-management of land are fundamentally flawed in that the premise is that black communities cannot manage the lands they claimed for because of the many years of deskilling they went through under colonialism and apartheid, and hence they would always need a white partner through the state to assist them. This disdainful attitude towards local people's capacity to administer land is a continuity of colonialism and apartheid in the administration of land affairs.

Other than livelihoods, the conservation discourse which has its colonial roots seeks to continuously break the intimate relationship that many local communities have always had with nature. While local populations have had generations to acquire local knowledge in their relationship with nature, the conservation discourse seeks to view local people as a threat to nature, which also ignores the external and global capitalists' pressures on the environment. According to this kind of discourse, the only way to protect nature is to fence off large portions of land to keep it away from local people through legislation rules and other forms. Most importantly, local people are always excluded from taking these decisions, and the state, and many outsiders have the hegemonic power to dictate what must happen to the environment. Given that the creation of conservation reserves forced off black communities from their land in a painful and destructive way, the state has a tricky challenge of balancing the need for land reform, and the need to conserve nature. In other words, Ntsholo (2014) is arguing that colonial and apartheid ideologies and philosophies that informed biodiversity conservation and the dispossession of black communities as well as the disdainful attitude towards the way of life for black communities still find expression in

the way conservation areas or protected areas are managed today. The interests of conservation tends to trump the interests of land reform, or the interests of land beneficiaries, which marginalises black communities.

Overall, there is clear evidence that the formation of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was made possible through the contribution of various stakeholders. While several initiatives have been proposed to ensure harmony between different stakeholders, it appears that there are several gaps in how they are prepared to work with each other. For example, through its participation in the management of this reserve, the government and its close stakeholders can have their own agenda that is different from the expectations of the local communities. In this regard, while the government may wish to preserve the reserve for low-density tourism purposes, scholars such as Ringer (2013) state that the spoils created from recreation may not benefit the public but those with societal privileges or those in the upper echelons of the organisations that administer them.



On the other hand, it is highly likely that local communities may expect to be indemnified of their ancestral land that they lost during people-nature separation processes. On this note, they may get into a participatory agreement, but with a sixth sense that they solely have ownership of the land and the entire resources within Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. It is also clear at this point that the dominant view that the participation of different stakeholders in the management of this protected area does not lead to equity, but can in fact, lead to inequalities since the local communities lost the same land to establish the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. This study is therefore conducted to understand how the stakeholders discussed above provide their participatory efforts in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The research also seeks to establish whether there are any intersections between ways of managing natural resources from the viewpoints of different stakeholders with different backgrounds in the ownership of the natural resources concerned.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that natural resource ownership and management is a contentious phenomenon that is experienced when distinct epistemic disparities are present in the process. The chapter revealed that distinct forms of natural resource

ownership and management, notably the state and the private sector, have advantages and drawbacks. On the one hand, the state has ultimate power and chooses how natural resources should be handled; as a result, it limits all administration processes that revolve around the complexities of land tenure systems. In contrast, the private sector perceived to lead the economically beneficial management systems of natural resources management as it is mostly profit oriented. However, the presence of stakeholders with diverse indigenous standpoints in nature conservation has demonstrated that management processes do not always result in equity and justice. This argument is developed further in Chapter Three.



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CHAPTER FOUR: PARTICIPATION IN NATURAL RESOURCES MANAGEMENT: EXPLORING THE DEFINITIONS, DISCOURSES AND FRAMEWORKS

4.1 Introduction

Since this study explores the dynamics of participation in the management of protected areas, this chapter will highlight the dominant discourses and contestations surrounding the term participation in natural resource management – including what participation is and what it means to the various stakeholders involved in the context of environmental management. It also unpacks the dynamics surrounding the inclusion and segregation of stakeholders in community-based development as well as the levels and nature of participation in protected areas. In particular, the dimensions to be unpacked in this chapter, expound on the study's core argument, which contests the notion that the participation of various role players and stakeholders in protected

area management engenders equity and justice. This chapter will also review literature on the participatory frameworks that promote sustainable community development and social justice.

4.2 An overview of participation

This section reviews literature on participation where inferences are made on what participation is and what it means to different stakeholders in the context of environmental management. This review elucidates several theoretical and philosophical insights on which the definition of participation is focused, in particular on the dynamics surrounding inclusion and exclusion of stakeholders in community-based development. The section also shows that participation means different things to different participants since they have different standpoints. This will contribute to the key argument of this study which states that the participation of different stakeholders in the management of protected areas does not guarantee that there will be equity and justice due to the epistemic differences that exist among these stakeholders.

Ballard (2018) and Elling and Nielsen (2018) argue that the term 'participation' is ambiguous due to different factors, therefore it can be defined in several ways. Lundberg et al. (2013) cited in Bakke (2015) state that it is difficult to come up with a generally acceptable definition of participation due to the vagueness and contradictions surrounding this concept. Such vagueness and contradictory dynamics have also been found in policy documents on environmental management and community development (see Adem-Esmail & Geneletti, 2018; Phillips, Porticella, Constan & Bonney, 2018). Kelly (2001) argues that describing participation based on different participants appears to have different meanings due to differences in the conceptualisation of words. Thus, as Bakke (2015) notes, participation is more of an ideological or political concept than an empirical one.

Barry (2013) and Marres (2012) maintains that the term participation can be described based on its political, social and materialistic dimensions. Looking at participation in political terms, Barry (2013) and Marres (2012) state that it involves the intervention of political factors covertly or overtly. This can be through discussions on different subjects such as democracy and economics. These discussions may lead to the arising of new relationships between the general people and the political stakeholders.

Participation in social terms refers to the involvement of individuals in public decisions and allowing them to have a say on the common problems affecting their lives (Barry, 2013; Marres, 2012). The process involves the joint efforts of different stakeholders such as community groups or trade unions. Lastly, participation as a materialistic dimension allows the involvement of different stakeholders in discussions towards a common goal using the infrastructure or 'materials' necessary (Barry, 2013; Marres, 2012). The 'materials' essentially are not participating, but the fact that they are used to drive a common agenda makes them part of the participants.

Furthermore, two forms of participation, namely; individual participation and public participation are identified [Pathways Through Participation (PTP), 2009]¹³. Individual participation is defined by the individual characteristics, emotions or attitudes towards a specific participatory programme. This implies that it is up to the individuals and their individual choices to contribute towards a participatory cause in question. For example, they may choose to agree to sign petitions, to attend or boycott certain development meetings, or to provide input when necessary (PTP, 2009).

Public participation, on the other hand, is when a group of individuals are given an opportunity to contribute their efforts for the development of a public good (PTP, 2009). This can be exemplified by the government's efforts in promoting the involvement of the stakeholders potentially affected by or interested in a decision to have a say. This may be in relation to individuals, states, organisations, corporations or any other agency that has an impact on public interests (PTP, 2009). For instance, in South Africa, public participation is guided by the Municipal Systems Amendment Act, Chapter 4, Section 7, which states that the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) representative forum has to be involved in all participation. This representative forum is essentially a municipal unit that coordinates the participation of the general public in a participatory programme. The representative forum works with the assistance of the District Municipality's Representative Forum to ensure that the local priorities are reflected in the IDP. Municipal Systems Amendment Act, Chapter 4, Section 7 also

¹³ Pathways through Participation was a two-and-a-half year qualitative research project (April 2009–November 2011), aimed at enhancing understanding of how and why people participate, how their involvement changes over time, and what paths, if any, exist between different activities. The project was funded by the Big Lottery Fund and led by the National Voluntary Organisation Council (NCVO) in partnership with and involving the Institute for Voluntary Research (IVR).

outlines that the role of the ward councillors and ward committees in this case is to ensure that they call meetings to keep the local communities informed about the IDP progress. This mode of engagement involves participatory, civic or political governance (PTP, 2009).

These broad lines of participation clearly show that this term cannot be confined to one category or to all definitions. If all categories were used to describe participation, this would be an inappropriate or divisive definition because it would represent considerable vagueness and lack of clarity. For example, the participation of community members in participatory programmes may require them to attend a number of meetings, to participate in decision-making, to debate certain treaties, to influence final decisions, to sign petitions, to boycott certain practices or even to hold prominent positions in the process. All these ways of participation correlate with all types of participation (individual participation, public participation, political participation, material participation and social participation) discussed above. All these stakeholders will have different indigenous standpoints and epistemic understandings in the participation process. This implies that they they might all be participating in common participatory arrangements, but with different objectives. As a result, this study argues that the prevalent idea that the participation of many stakeholders in a participatory structure, particularly in protected area management, will result in equity and justice is not true.

Nonetheless, due to the overlapping of the definitions of participation, this study uses those provided by Word Bank, Chamala (1995) and Mulwa (1998).

The World Bank (1996, online) defines participation as:

.....a process through which stakeholders influence and share control over development initiatives and the decision and resources which affect them.

Chamala (1995) and Chamala and Keith (1995, p. 8) provide a similar definition and assert that participation refers to:

.....a social process whereby specific groups with shared needs living in a defined geographic area actively pursue identification of their needs, take decisions and establish mechanisms to meet these needs.

Mulwa (1998, p. 52) also provides a definition of participation which is more aligned to public participation as follows:

.....a process whereby the marginalised groups in a community take the initiative to shape their own future and better lives by taking full responsibility for their needs and asserting themselves as subjects of their own history (ibid., p. 52).

In the definition above, Mulwa (1998) takes into consideration the concept of marginalised communities to gain ground in terms of public participation. All the definitions listed above demonstrate essential sentiments that are applicable to the study at hand. On the one hand, the meanings indicate that there is a kind of shared control by stakeholders in participatory arrangements. On the other hand, the participation of individuals / stakeholders allows them to take full responsibility for decisions or participatory efforts that decide their future.

4.3 Participation frameworks for development

Scholars and officials advance for several participatory frameworks for community development and social justice.



4.3.1 Successful Principles for Participatory Arrangements

One of the participation frameworks to ensure that participatory arrangement are characterised by legitimate management solutions that are sustainable is the Successful Principles for Participatory Arrangements proposed by Vedeld (2002). Vedeld (2002) outlined seven (7) principles that strengthen the participatory process.

First, Vedeld (2002) speaks of 'conscious policy for enhanced local capacities'. This principle holds the belief that, in order for a participatory arrangement to be effective, it is important to include all stakeholders in the project planning, implementation and evaluation process. As agreed by Aditya (2016), community participation in the development of policies is likely to increase their engagement, morale and excitement, as they will have a sense of recognition and value. Ultimately, a purposeful policy approach that increases local participants' competence helps them understand what is expected of them in terms of development and how their participatory actions are evaluated and assessed. Vedeld (2002) also recommends that participation 'must be part of a comprehensive implementation plan'.

Based on the specified concept, participation may result in equity and justice if many stakeholders are included in the process. For example, the participation of all stakeholders in the participatory the conception, monitoring, and assessment stages of a participatory programme means that they are very likely to participate for a common cause. Participation will be enhanced even more if participants in the participatory programme have common goals. As a result, the participants will almost certainly have a common point of view and epistemic understanding. Ultimately, participation will benefit the participants since they will be focused on one goal.

In addition, Vedeld (2002) states that the 'members of the participation process should be locally based', which means that they should have deep knowledge about the local communities. In the light of this, it is better for traditional leaders of people with local understanding to fill these positions. This view is seconded by Aditya (2016) who states that the inclusion of local people in the participatory agreements improves the effectiveness of the project because people organise best and pay the most attention if they are participating in decisions they own or consider important. Reed, Vella, Challies, de Vente, Frewer, Hohenwallner-Ries, Huber, Neumann, Oughton, del Ceno and van Delden (2018) also state that this move leads to improved decision-making and overall performance of the participatory programmes.

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Vedeld (2002) upholds the idea that the participation 'message must be made consistent with local lifestyles'. Thus, the the main message of participation must be firmly embedded in local lifestyles, including their norms and values, and that experience at local level must be seen as a starting point. Vedeld (2002) notes that the message of participation should be formed in a number of ways, including local metaphors, templates and symbols, as well as languages that make it easier for local people to understand. Furthermore, Vedeld (2002) suggests that a successful participatory agreement should consider 'local heterogeneity as a rule and not an exception'. Successful participation presupposes due consideration of heterogeneity in socio-economic, agro-ecological and social situations and roles. These issues must be addressed if the participants need the project to be successful. Mohammed's (2012) study is consistent with this statement as it argues that the various uses of IKS and the available resources should be measured if it contributes to the achievement of the overall objectives. Odhiambo (2015) also points out that the participation of local

communities would allow them to understand their problems and vulnerabilities in development projects and to try to find the right solutions. This notion is in line with Chamala's (1995) study which found that local people's mutual participation in a participatory arrangement, somewhat heterogeneous it may be, helps stakeholders to find local alternatives that can be used sustainably in resources planning.

Also noted as one of the principles for participatory agreements is the issue of 'methods for collective learning' (Vedeld, 2002). This states that there should be defined systems for cumulative learning by different participants which take into consideration different aspects such as the nature of the participants and their levels of experience. This will enable the process to be characterised by uniformity in terms of the level of understanding and intellectual capacity among the participants (Vedeld, 2002). Finally, Vedeld (2002) suggests that the 'public bodies or institutional stakeholders must improve their competence on local participation'. They can do this through ongoing training and development on how to understand and address local communities in a fair and proactive manner. This empowers local people and helps them to come up with sustainable solutions that decide their future. Aditya (2016) mentions that this type of community participation would make community ownership an important factor because it contributes to collectivism and collaboration that improves the quality of decisions taken. This is also endorsed by Measham and Barnett (2008) who find that the participation of different stakeholders to strengthen the capacity of local people gives them a sense of control and responsibility for the participatory projects at hand.

Vedeld's (2002) framework advances for inclusiveness of people that are at the bottom level of the organisational or social hierarchical structure to work together. Vedeld (2002) furthermore mentions that if poor and marginalised people in the society – such as women – are involved in participatory processes and key decision-making, there is a high chance that they will be motivated and therefore make use of the resources available to them in a fair and sustainable manner (Odhiambo, 2015). Odhiambo (2015) argues that this will enable the participatory framework to be highly just and leads to equity since the participatory programme consists of different stakeholders.

Nonetheless, in the case of Dwesa- Cwebwe Nature Reserve and its adjacent communities, it should be noted that this framework does not guarantee that the

participation of different stakeholders, even when dominated by local participants, will lead to equity. Worse still, the fact that the people have different standpoints also implies that the way they participate in a participatory programme is also likely to differ. For instance, in the management of protected areas, there are agencies such as the government, NGOs and other organisations that play an institutional role. On the other hand, there are local communities which also participate in the same process through their customary ways. All these participants are affected by the participatory arrangements in different ways due to their different standpoints. Additionally, due to these different standpoints, they tend to have different epistemic understanding on how participation should be defined and implemented. As a result, these dynamics are likely to affect participation processes and may or may not lead to equity and justice among the participants.

4.3.2 Grassroots participation framework

Flynn (1975) provides a detailed summary of the arguments underlying the importance of grassroots participation in decision-making through four elements. Flynn (1975) argues that participation must be based within the confines of 'ethical ground' – because people have the right to control their resources and determine their future. This view is reinforced by Schultz and Lundholm (2010) who argue that the participation of local people and the engagement of different economic and socio-cultural elements in participatory structures should be taken as a norm. This has the benefit of encouraging community participation and allowing communities to utilise their wealth sustainably.

Grassroots participation should also have 'expedience' in such a way that participants have knowledge and understanding of what is expected of them, the benefits involved and the outcomes of participation (Flynn, 1975; Gregory, 2000). This is in line with Aditya's (2016) studies, which show that people make the most of their participation if they are involved in the decision-making process, particularly in decisions that affect them. Their participation can even contribute to the success of participatory projects if the stakeholders align their efforts to work towards a common goal. As stated by Phillips, Little and Goodline (2002) Institutional participants and people should pool their resources and work together to accomplish some participatory target ahead of them.

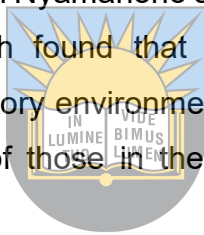
Furthermore, Flynn (1975) states that grassroots participation should be guided by 'expert knowledge'. Thus, there is need for the inclusion of technocrats with different educational qualifications, skills and expertise to provide with technical and intellectual knowledge. Expert knowledge helps in explaining important aspects of the system to uneducated and inexperienced people who may be influenced or manipulated by those in positions of authority. Finally, Flynn (1975) argues that a decision taken collectively and on a grassroots level becomes a 'motivating force' because the process would be carried out for the benefit of the community.

Collective participation will allow communities to improve the personal and professional development of their people by developing participatory skills that are capable of bridging social capital (Liu, Liu, Shishme, Yu, Bi & Fujitsuka, 2010). Participation in the decision making process further provides people with a comprehension of the logical rationale behind the decision. Overall, it is important that participation should be built on the grounds of openness and transparency where everyone's voice in decision making and participatory efforts should be heard.

Nevertheless, given the accuracy of the sentiments mentioned above about positive participatory agreements and other suitable community development structures, there is no guarantee that such values applicable across all stakeholders as they have different epistemic standpoints. In order to make these concepts applicable, policy makers must adjust their participatory structures to the goals in question. They should also take into account the cultures of the community in question (Reed et al., 2018). In a nutshell, while some areas benefitted from these community-based development programmes others have faced challenges. As noted so far, when the structures are not well developed, the situation of collective participation in community development becomes complicated. In addition, if the management system is not transparent and the facets of the beneficiation mechanism are complex, there will be many problems regards collective participation in community development (Wilkie et al., 2008). Participation of stakeholders becomes even worse when the local people, especially the poor, are expected to participate because they are usually marginalised (Nyamahono, 2017; Aditya, 2016; Brownlie et al., 2017; Measham & Barnett, 2008). The following section reviews literature on participation in protected areas management.

4.4 Discourses on participation for development

Participation is a highly contested aspect. Lederach and Thapa (2018), Waeber, Reibelt, Randriamalala, Moser, Raveloarimalala, Ralainasolo and Woolaver (2018) maintain that participation process can lead to improvements in the decision-making processes if well implemented. However, Cleaver (2012) has different beliefs about participation and claims that despite the theoretical and empirical evidence on its effect in improving the decision-making processes, it is affected by its exploitative and deceptive nature. Cleaver's (2012) argument is based on the participation processes in which organisations are involved. These organisations reportedly lack understanding of the social relations, power and traditional beliefs which all have significant impacts on participatory arrangements. As a result, participation in this manner appears to promote the most powerful people in various influential positions in these organisations at the disadvantage of the less powerful individuals in the local communities. This is consistent with Nyamahono's (2017) research on the women and environmental management which found that people in the upper echelons of organisations conducting participatory environmental work tend to benefit more from this mechanism at the expense of those in the lower levels of the organisational hierarchy.



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This means that when participation is utilised to enhance development, the outcomes may not be as favourable as planned, particularly if the process is not managed in a way that promotes equity and justice. Furthermore, it is obvious in this situation that when organisations are incorporated in the participation process, their goals are typically realised before those of general participants. As a result, this review supports the basic argument that participation of many stakeholders does not always result in equity, but might even result in losses for others during the participation process. Furthermore, the dynamics of participation among the participants, the organisations driving the participation process and the followers, will have distinct standpoints, which will affect how participation is effected.

In other studies, Bakke (2015) also found out that participation is marred by several discrepancies and contradictions that have negative implications for the outcomes of the entire participatory programme. First, Bakke (2015) points out that participation is a power system in which policy makers see it as a way to empower people, but ignore

the fact that it does not automatically contribute to empowerment. For example, people can attend public participation meetings, but their attendance does not necessarily mean that they are being empowered. Bakke (2015) also points out that attending meetings can in fact make people blind to new stringent rules and restrictions.

Second, individual participation is scientifically understood as a moral behaviour, and individuals make efforts because they are justified in doing so (Bakke, 2015). However, this theory is questioned because the participation of each person is not justified or embedded in the rationality. Cleaver (2012) argues that individuals may participate in a participatory programme not willingly but because there are various socio-cultural factors that influence them. For example, there are community meetings where some people attend just to 'represent' their communities or particular individuals, but without any commitment to the subject being addressed.

The view above is supported in Bakke's (2015) third point that people involved in a participatory programme have their own rational judgement. In view of this, the effectiveness of participatory agreements will be based on numbers, that is, the number of people involved in a programme. The problem of basing the success of a participatory arrangement on numbers is that individuals differ in many ways. Abram (2005) gives a critical view on what people really are and found that they represent a collection of individuals who are different in various factors which include their characteristics, where they come from, beliefs, norms and values, and other socio-cultural factors. These differences make the rationale of collective participation distorted and it becomes ambiguous how much it actually lives to what it reflects and so does the overall idea of community participation.

Based on the above, the dynamics of participation as a political notion, as moral behaviour or as numbers demonstrate that participation is a contentious issue. These variances also demonstrate that people have diverse perspectives and that their epistemic knowledge varies depending on the circumstances. People who participate in a given participation programme freely and others who participate just because it is morally acceptable will have opposing viewpoints. As a result, if these two stakeholders participate in the same programme with the goal of establishing equity and justice, it is quite possible that they will participate in different ways and reap

distinct advantages. As a result, the dominant belief that participation of many stakeholders leads to equity and justice will be rejected.

Fourth, Bakke (2015) argues that participation theory or research behind participation primarily uses Western frameworks to clarify the institutionalisation of participatory agreements. Bakke (2015) thus notes that politicians also mistranslate local practices and cultural values into formal, political, or rational languages. On that basis, social institutions and the organisations concerned become logical and have a given set of presumed functions. For example, participants frequently think that structures such as representative democracy, organisational commissions, and structured processes for conflict resolution and group meetings function for all communities, regardless of cultural preferences

The problem described above is comparable to when participation is pushed by an organisation. The participation of organisations in particular activities is determined by their organisational cultures and strategies. Organisational cultures, in turn, are Western concepts that were incorporated into earlier company processes as a result of economic advancements. As a result, when organisations with various structures and cultures participate in a development programme, it is very possible that they will have competing goals. What the organisations believe in and what they want to achieve via the participatory arrangements shape their participatory agendas. As a result, it is impossible to achieve equity and justice from the participatory process as long as participants have distinct epistemic understandings of the process and hold different standpoints.

Participation process is also affected by institutional barriers, which question the effectiveness of participatory arrangements. Institutional/structural, financial, cultural and information barriers are some of the dominant barriers (Beunen & Patterson, 2019; Heikkila & Gerlak, 2019; Campbell, 1992; Badía, Pina & Torres, 2019; van der Molen, 2018; Walsh & Döring, 2018; Muhar, Raymond, van den Born, Bauer, Böck, Braitto... & Mitrofanenko, 2018). Institutional challenges refer to barriers within organisations managing participatory agreements, which, if left unresolved, can contribute to the failure of the participatory programmes (Beunen & Patterson, 2019; Heikkila & Gerlak, 2019). Financial barriers apply to the most common issues surrounding the

underfunding, corruption and misappropriation of funds by officials within the organisation (Campbell, 1992; Badía et al., 2019).

Information barriers refer to obstacles to organisational information structures that lack the necessary or adequate expertise to ensure the success of participatory processes (van der Molen, 2018). This problem is typical in-group participatory agreements where some general participants do not have the required knowledge of the projects at hand (Bradley & Swaddling, 2018) or are simply irrelevant in the development process (Reed & Abernethy, 2018). Lastly, cultural challenges are embedded in the cultural differences within the society or the institutions administering the participatory agreements (Walsh & Döring, 2018; Muhar et al., 2018; Campbell, 1992).

These barriers may potentially have an impact on this research. Cultural barriers, for example, are the most prevalent since diverse cultures are inherent among different stakeholders. Cultural differences may be noted among the many stakeholders participating in the participation process. Local communities, on the other hand, may have their own culture that is different from that of other organisations. These distinctions suggest that the various stakeholders will have varied epistemic understanding of the participation process, resulting in different ways in which participation is perceived. Claridge (2004) suggests that the participation process might be affected by a lack of time allocated to the participatory arrangement. Claridge (2004) argues that time may be limited to the extent that some activities that affect the entire participation programme may not be done. On the other hand, Nighingale (2006) states that some participants may have poor skills in relation to the available activities, while others may even have the necessary skills, but may not be given a chance to participate. All these factors are viewed as a matter of urgency in this study as they unveil different participation dynamics that are inherent in participatory programmes.

4.5 Exploring the discourses on participation in protected areas management

The formalisation of participation has traditionally been used by states to justify state authority. This is seen through the institutionalisation of protected areas under state control (Carson, Kentatchime, Nana, Njabo, Cole & Godwin, 2018; Zhouri, 2018; Ogwang, Vanclay & van den Assem, 2018). The literature examined thus far

suggested that conservation policies where states have absolute control can have significant impact on the stakeholders affected. For example, Fischer et al. (2011) state that management of protected areas subject local communities and other stakeholders to (i) people-nature separation approach; and (ii) people-nature reconnection approach.

4.5.1 People-nature separation approach

People-nature separation approach is a situation where people are isolated from their natural environments and are then motivated to conserve them through 'zero-interference' approaches (Fischer et al., 2014). International legislation and international stakeholders, governments, NGOs, humanitarian organisations, conservationists, educational and research institutions acknowledge the people-nature separation approach as effective methods for the preservation of protected areas (Dash & Behera, 2018; Rai, Benjaminsen, Krishnan & Madegowda, 2019; Zeng, Wu, Schimmele & Li, 2019). Their effectiveness is seen in most cases when there is minimal or even zero human presence and limited intrusion or any sort of reversal of alien species in areas deemed important for biodiversity (Fischer et al., 2014; Tomicevic et al., 2010).



The protected areas are also acknowledged for their contributions to the achievement of the DG goals and the 2020 targets of CBD. They are implemented through the biodiversity offsetting and land sparing which both ensure that human-nature separation is effected (Bradshaw, 2019; Lovell, 2018; Wende, Tucker, Quétier, Rayment & Darbi, 2018). Biodiversity offsetting allows for environmental damage caused by human activities in one location to be offset by environmental conservation elsewhere (Brownlie et al., 2017; Cadman, Petersen, Driver, Sekhran, Maze & Munzhedzi, 2010; Brownie & Botha, 2009). Land sparing, on the other hand, means intensifying production to increase agricultural yield within a set area and devoting additional land to conserving biodiversity (Cadman et al., 2010). Agricultural production needs can be met by land sparing without sacrificing any rare species on a landscape scale, and this can be accomplished through spatially separating high-yielding agricultural areas and biodiversity-rich ones (Luskin, Lee, Edwards, Gibson & Potts, 2018).

Nonetheless, though biodiversity offsetting and land-sparing policies are important conservation practices (Lovell et al., 2018; Wende et al., 2018; Luskin et al., 2018), it is clear that both entail separating people from nature. This is because they require some kind of spatial fix for the protection of the environment and biodiversity, in the sense that they designate places for people and places for nature (Kettunen & Brink, 2013). In the light of these processes, Fischer et al. (2011) argue that the social values of local communities are not taken into account in the context of land sparing irrespective of the increasing importance of integrating social values in participatory arrangements. In certain cases, people have physically been barred from interacting with the natural environment or carrying out their daily nature-based livelihoods to make way for protected areas (Petrova, 2014; Fischer et al., 2014).

Some scholars show how discursive development and subsequent separation of people and nature are related to the different worldviews of conservation participants and the different kinds of narratives about liberation and sustainability available on a global discursive scale (Dove, 2003; Igoe, 2005; MacDonald, 2004; West 2001). Baviskar (2003) explores the ideas of Indian environmental activists and rural tribal communities about relations between people and their environment and demonstrates that the negations of discursive productions have a material effect on land rights and land use. Stegeborn (1996) shows how the concept of poachers contributed to the displacement of Wanniya-Laeto populations from protected forests in Sri Lanka. Using a study from the Mekong region of Laos, Goldman (2001) illustrates how new land and land use concepts introduced by the World Bank separate people and their environment in ways that do not explicitly contribute to sustainable development. Roth (2004) reveals that the Thai definition of nature involves humans but that multinational NGOs that work in Thai protected areas enforce Western ideas about the separation of people and nature. That has led to local resistance to the development of protected areas. Dowie (2009), Lewis (2010) and Stevens (2010) note that the displaced have in fact become 'conservation refugees' in the sense that they are involuntarily expelled from their homelands, either by force or by a range of less coercive steps. In the worst-case scenarios, drastic measures such as punishment are placed on 'trespassers' who attempt to engage with wild nature and/or other natural-based subsistence strategies.

The dimensions discussed above contribute to the rejection of this study's core argument, which supports the notion that the participation of various stakeholders in protected area management contributes to equity and justice. Instead, the literature reviewed demonstrates that the methods used in protected area management result in inequity and injustice. The removal of people from certain locations in the name of 'environment conservation' is an injustice in and of itself since it damages people's sociologies and customary status. While some of those separated from nature may be interested in the concept of nature conservation, this creates a situation in which epistemic differences about environmental protection will emerge. As a result of these disparities, various dynamics of participation emerge, with some persons fully participating in the process for perceived rewards while others withdraw.

The nature of environmental management marked by disconnecting people from nature can also have consequences for the collective memory of local communities. That can be explained by the Collective Memory Theory, which first appeared as a sociological term in Halbwachs' (1925/1994) works. Halbwachs' (1950) book '*La Mémoire Collective*' later conceptualised the idea of collective memory as a social or cultural group's 'living memory'. Collective memory is seen as a rich experience recounted and remembered by those who lived the memory, as opposed to 'history', which is merely a dead frame of past experiences full of dates and events that were deeply arranged but empty of human existence. Halbwachs (1950) emphasises the importance of collective memory in remembering the social and cultural experiences of a particular event or location. Rosoux (2001) built the Collective Memory Theory from the *La Mémoire Collectiv*. He explains how other groups including social groups, family groups and work teams communicate with each other and how their collective memory implies how they function. Collective memory affects people's daily experiences as well as how they develop a sense-of-place or connection to a particular activity. Changes in ecological processes bring many improvements but the collective memory will always be alive.

All of these are the memories that will always exist within sociological and cultural classes as a result of the aforementioned changes in the management of natural resources. This is likely the same category of individuals that are affected when protected areas are declared. This approach alters the victims' original beliefs and

distorts their sense of place. The relocation of people, the establishment of protected areas, the fencing and demarcation of boundaries, and the scarcity of natural resources all contribute to the variety of experiences that locals may have. Their collective memories of enjoying nature, having enough feed for their animals, performing rituals in the forests, having full ownership of natural resources, hunting, and unrestricted access to nature would allow them to realise how much loss they have as a result of the creation of protected areas. This will, in some ways, influence how local communities participate in the management of protected areas.

Similar issues occurred in South Africa due to significant shifts in land tenure and economic politicisation. Until 1994, natural resources in most rural communities were in the hands of traditional leaders with full powers to create and impose regulatory forces on natural resource use and sustainability (Keulder, 1998; Oomen, 2005). Until the post-1994 period, when the traditional leaders' positions were undermined by the introduction of new legislative structures that altered democracy and transparency within the land and natural resources arena, the rule of law was effectively respected and obeyed (Ntsebeza, 2000; 2005). The introduction of new laws and legislative structures on natural resource ownership and management, especially property, has disenfranchised traditional leaders from their constitutional environmental conservation rights (Grundy, Campbell, White, Prabhu, Jensen & Ngamile, 2002). This is demonstrated by a study conducted by Sowman and Sunde (2018) to assess the social impact on coastal fishing of five MPAs – including the one under this study. Sowman and Sunde (2018) concluded that the creation of MPAs resulted in the deregulation of local governance system structures, the loss of local communities' ownership rights to marine resources, the loss of livelihoods, the destabilisation of culture and ways of living and the loss of sense-of-place, and increased tensions between local communities and government.

4.5.2 People-nature reconnection approach

Similar to the people-nature separation approach, the people-nature reconnection approach is also complex and leads stakeholders to view participation differently as some can benefit in the process while others may be left with little or no benefits at all. People-nature reconnection approach is a system in which people are encouraged, through different activities, to participate in the conservation of natural resources in

situations where they were initially disconnected (Fischer et al., 2011). Essentially, for the people-nature reconnection approach to be successful, the participants should have intent to participate rather than passive interaction (Georgiadis, Melissourgos, Dodouras, Lyratzaki, Dimitropoulos, Foutri & Papayannis, 2019). If the people have high intention and are willing to make contributions towards nature conservation cause, the goals of environmental management will be easily reached.

For this reason, Fischer et al. (2011) found that there is increasing evidence that the natural environment cannot do without humans (Fischer et al., 2011). This is seconded by a report by the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment¹⁴ (2005) which measures and quantifies the value of the participation of the people on nature conservation. This report stipulates that without humans, the success of environmental management is compromised. This report further reveals that if human beings are not connected to nature, there might not be enough people in the future to maintain conservation activities, meaning that conservation efforts will gradually stop. This is also reinforced by empirical evidence which suggests that humans play a major role in the protection of natural resources over and above the damage they cause to the ecosystem (Hariohay, Fyumagwa, Kideghesho & Roskaft, 2018; Dawkins, 2018; Bennett, Di Franco, Calò, Nethery, Niccolini, Milazzo & Guidetti, 2019). As a result, multiple prevention approaches have been put in place to ensure the opportunities for people to engage in natural resource management and reconnect with nature are improved (Hodgett, 2018; Finlayson et al., 2018). This has been seen through various programmes including education (Andersen, 2018), research and development support (Rossini, 2019), fixed capital investment in marine conservation (Suresh & Shinoj, 2018), and land resources management (Clay, 2019).

Based on the review of literature above, reconnecting people to nature – through protected areas management – is an important step towards the conservation of

¹⁴ In 2000, U.N. Secretary-General Kofi Annan called for the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. The Millennium Ecological Assessment, launched in 2001, aimed to determine the impact of ecological change on human well-being and the scientific basis for action needed to improve the protection and sustainable use of these systems and their contribution to the human well-being. The Millennium Ecosystem Assessment included the work of over 1,360 experts all over the world. Their results, published in five quantitative volumes and six synthesis papers, provide a cutting-edge scientific assessment of the situation and patterns in the world's ecosystems and the services they provide (such as clean water, food, forest products, flood control, and natural resources) and options for restoring, maintaining or improving sustainable ecosystem use.

natural resources. However, it should be noted that there are different factors must be taken into consideration which will have an implication on the study at hand. Since the main argument proposed is that the participation of different stakeholders in protected areas management leads to equity and justice, questions can be raised as to whether the stakeholders in question have one understanding – epistemic knowledge. Some people may have the intention to be reconnected – hence; protected areas management will be successful; but others will not have that intent. This implies that even if those who do not have the intention to participate provide their efforts simply because it is a moral thing to do so, their participation will not necessarily lead to successful nature conservation. All these dynamics will imply that there will not be distributive justice or equity, as opposed to the main argument of this study.

Literature also argues that the people-nature reconnection approach is in reality a biodiversity-first strategy that helps nature to survive intact and then persuades people to love it from afar (Gibson, 2019). This concern is similar to state governance of protected areas management where the government / state decides who owns and manages protected areas, how should participation be administered and under what consequences. Likewise, protected areas management through biodiversity offsetting (Brownlie et al., 2017; Cadman et al., 2010; Brownlie & Botha, 2009; Bradshaw, 2019; Lovell, 2018; Wende et al., 2018) and land sparing (Luskin et al., 2018) can be exemplified as government initiatives that establish ideal conservation subjects that are disconnected from nature, but should actively participate in its management. Thus, even if local people are obligated to conserve protected areas; the processes followed in establishing these conservation spaces are essentially a type of what Dowie (2009), Lewis (2010) and Stevens (2010) define as ‘soft evictions’ where people are allowed to manage land but without the right to own it. These factors imply that participation in protected areas management continues to be disputed process because of the existence of different dynamics. Therefore, disputes between institutional stakeholders continue to revolve because of several reasons that have been established so far. Additionally, these factors also show that it is not always the case that the participation of different stakeholders in natural resources management leads to equity and justice.

4.6 Conclusion

The chapter highlighted the contestations and discourses around participation as a phenomenon. The chapter also revealed that the participation of many stakeholders in natural resource management is contentious, as it includes parties with epistemic differences. Furthermore, the chapter demonstrates additional contestations and discourses if diverse participants join in protected area conservation. The people-nature separation and people-nature reconnection techniques have been criticised for fostering inequity and injustice in protected area management by creating subjects who are not allowed to own natural resources but are expected to support environmental protection from afar. The next chapter explores the theoretical underpinnings that support this study.



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CHAPTER FIVE: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

5.1 Introduction

This study seeks to explore the participation dynamics in the management of protected areas by unveiling the perspectives of various participants involved, either directly or indirectly, in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, in the Eastern Cape, South Africa and its adjacent communities in this regard. Against this backdrop, this chapter builds on the preceding one to demonstrate, using theoretical frameworks, that while participation plays a fundamental role in the management of protected areas, it is also a contentious issue that does not necessarily contribute to equity and justice as it is often understood. This chapter discusses this study's underlying theories, namely Arnstein's Citizen Participation Ladder and Indigenous Standpoint Theory. The Citizen Participation Ladder theory is used to unpack the principles of public participation and the unique ways in which activities aimed at participation are received and understood, their intended and unintended outcomes for the process as well as the inconsistencies that underpin the term participation – accentuating that it is a contentious term that means various things to different stakeholders. This discussion is followed by other theories which were built upon Arnstein's (1969) theory, namely Level of Participation (Wilcox, 1994), Typology of Participation (Pretty, 1995) and Typology of Interests (White, 1996). The Indigenous Standpoint Theory is used in this study as a complimentary theory to explain how participation and the extent to which it 'lives' to its objectives tend to differ between the people with epistemic differences. As a result, the chapter demonstrates that the presence of epistemic differences implies that the participants have distinct standpoints about participation, and therefore affect it in different ways and with different motives. The chapter is then concluded with a presentation of the conceptual framework that is based on participation theories and the Indigenous Standpoint Theory to explain the various participation dynamics inherent in protected area management.

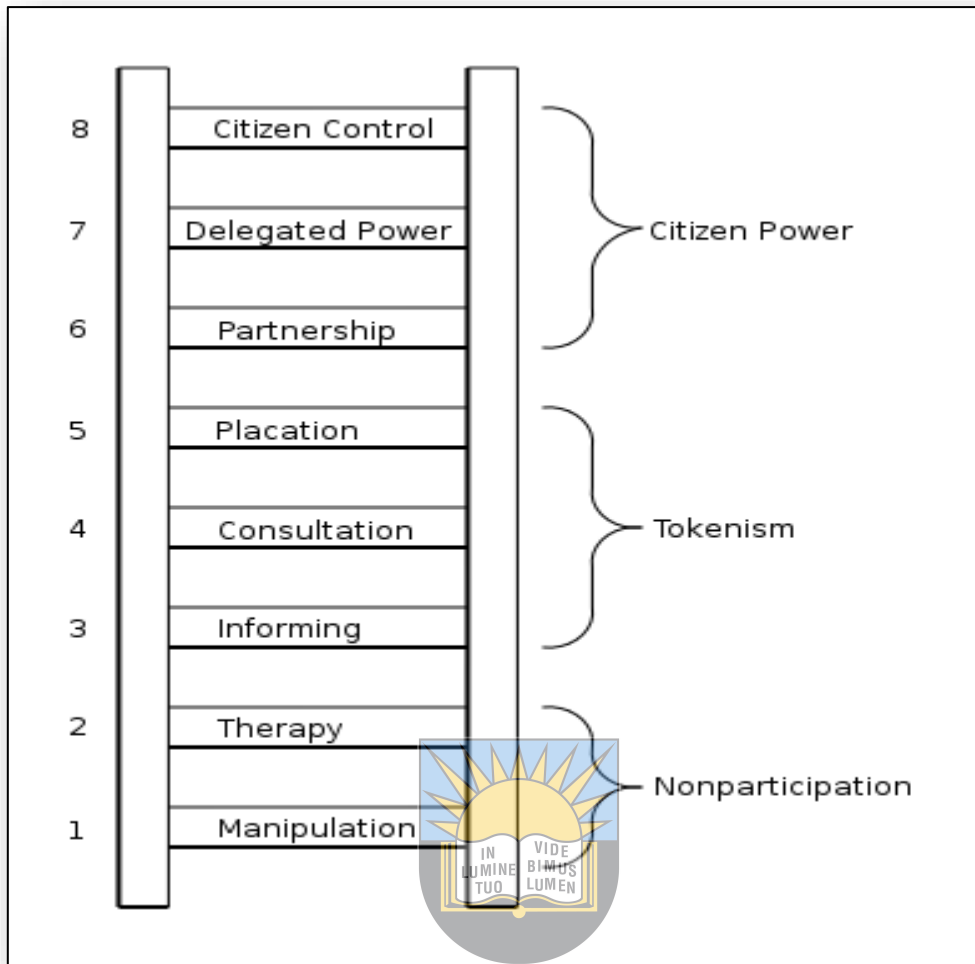
5.2 Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation

For this study, Arnstein's theory is important in that discusses the different ways in which participatory activities are perceived, their consequences for the process as well as the numerous contradictions. It further highlights that participation is more of a

political ideology than an empirical one and therefore bound to be confronted by various challenges. Even though participation helps communities develop a greater sense of ownership which can promote sustainability and gives marginalised groups an opportunity to influence initiatives thereby ensuring equity - the main argument here is that participation, even if comprised of many stakeholders, may not always be a just and equal process. This theory is therefore crucial in that it conceptualises political power dilemmas within the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its adjacent communities and reflects the various levels of authority at which those in power will allow ordinary local communities to affect decisions.

This section provides a discussion on Arnstein's (1969) theory of citizen participation. This is one of the most seminal works on citizen participation. More advancements and other theories have been based on the theory of citizen participation, both embedded in the original phenomenon and dimensions provided by Arnstein (1969) [see Level of Participation (Wilcox, 1994); Typology of Participation (Petty, 1995); and Typology of Interest (White, 1996) discussed in this chapter]. However, although Arnstein's participation theory has undergone several developments, the theory of citizen participation has remained prominent in participatory literature, research, policy and practice for decades (see Reed et al., 2018; Falco, 2019; Morf, Kull, Piwowarczyk & Gee, 2019; Ianniello, Iacuzzi, Fedele & Brusati, 2019; Mwanza, 2011; Cornwall, 2008). In this theory, Arnstein's (1969) postulated citizen participation in the form of eight (8) levels, or rungs, which are presented in the form of a ladder.

Figure 5.2: Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation



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Source: Original diagram reproduced from Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation

As shown in Figure 4.1, participation is arranged in the form of an eight-step ladder that is divided into three phases, namely non-participation at the bottom, tokenism at the middle and citizen power at the top. From the manipulation level to citizen control, there are successive rungs, which are therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership and delegated power (Arnstein, 1969). The successive rungs or levels of citizen participation each represent the participants' power over development or their influence in the management of any participatory arrangement in a given area (Arnstein, 1969). These levels of citizen participation are addressed in the following section, together with their importance for understanding the dynamics of participation among the citizens, organisations and stakeholders involved in the management of protected areas.

5.2.1 Non-participation

The 'non-participation' process is the lowest level of participation made up of the manipulation and therapy rungs. Non-participation, as a term, describes the reality or condition that there is no participation in something. Whether or not non-participation is a means of participation is shown in the discussion of manipulation and therapy below.

5.2.1.1 Manipulation

The 'manipulation' level of citizen participation is described by Arnstein (1969) as a 'non-participatory' mechanism in which certain groups of people in society are placed in some sort of rubber stamp advisory committees with the intention of 'educating' and 'advising' local communities on certain participatory arrangements. The Participation Agreement Committees, to a certain extent conduct outreach activities where they seek to promote the proposed development and participatory initiatives. As a result, Arnstein (1969) claims that this extent of manipulation does not mean true participation, but is merely an act of deception where participatory practices are channelled into the public relations vehicle of power-holders to disseminate information on certain developmental activities.



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According to Arnstein (1969), this erroneous form of participation emerged in the mid-20th century during the urban renewal period of American urban planning. The then elite residents who had social advantages were elected by city housing officials to serve in the Citizen Advisory Committees (CACs) and its sub-committees with the primary role of serving and protecting the rights of the then African-American and other minority population groups. However, despite the fact that the CACs were supposed to represent local citizens, in reality they were merely 'letterheads' to support urban renewal proposals. During the CACs meetings, the officials would 'educate', 'persuade' and 'advise' the targeted groups not to reverse their agenda. As postulated by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (1966)¹⁵ cited in Arnstein (1969, p. 218), ".....federal guidelines for the renewal programmes legitimised the

¹⁵ US Department of Housing and Urban Development Workable Programme for Community Improvement, Answers on Citizen Participation, Programme Guide 7, February 1966: 1-6.

manipulative agenda by emphasizing the terms ‘information-gathering’, ‘public relations’, and ‘support’ as the explicit functions of the committee”.

This ‘manipulative’ type of participation was also applied in some participatory programmes involving the underprivileged people and the participants from marginalised communities – one of which was the Community Action Agencies (CAA). Arnstein (1969) states that while CAAs such as neighbourhood committees or community councils existed to serve local communities; they did not have substantial or adequate legal roles or control over growth. The CAAs have only been set up as a kind of evidence that local communities are represented in a project but, in the true sense, they may not have been fully briefed on participatory projects, including the terms and conditions (ibid.).

Manipulation may be extended in this study due to the presence of several individuals whose participation may vary due to epistemic differences. Because different participants are seen participating in the management of protected areas in this study, it does not suggest that the process will result in equity because of these highlighted varied viewpoints. Manipulation is quite likely to modify the participation process such that some individuals profit while others benefit little or nothing. Furthermore, there may be scenarios in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve in which some individuals do not participate at all but nonetheless receive the same or even greater advantages than others who fully participate. As a result, the dominant belief that the participation of many stakeholders leads to equity is undercut by the possibility of high levels of manipulation, which leads to inequity and injustice.

5.2.1.2 Therapy

Arnstein’s (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation describes ‘therapy’ as the second lowest non-participation level. Therapy in participatory arrangements is usually associated with the greed and dishonesty of power-holders, since they generally equate powerlessness with ‘mental illnesses. Arnstein (1969) argues that, under the manipulative and masquerading involvement of local communities in the planning process, experts or power figures expose local citizens to ‘clinical group therapy’ in such a way as to create a kind of ‘appropriate thought’ in any participatory arrangement. Arnstein’s (1969) therapy dimension clearly shows that people who have

different beliefs from those deemed 'normal' should be 'cured' of their 'pathogens' or mental illnesses. This is problematic, however, because it is unduly skewed towards the prejudice of the power-holders or the dominant groups, most of whom are in the upper echelons of the organisations overseeing participatory agreements. In the participation process the power-holders disrepute other ways of thinking particularly those provided by the local participants who do not have significant power over decisions within the participatory framework in question.

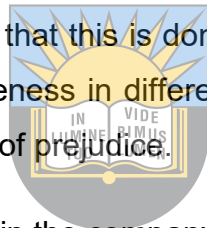
It is also possible that there might be the existence of therapy in this study. Disguising therapy as citizen participation can be seen when some participants use others to promote their 'appropriate' environmental management frameworks in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. For instance, rehabilitation in the management of this nature reserve can be seen in cases where the general way of thinking in some stakeholders will undergo some kind of complete overhaul so that they can be 'cured of their pathogens' or transformed from being backward. This is likely to continue until they are deemed important enough to generate expected results or achieve specific levels of acceptability in nature reserve management. This type of participation can be synonymous with non-participation, as it seeks to undermine the 'usual' way of thinking within certain group of participants and to 'cure' them in such a way as to change their normality, values and attitudes towards those considered acceptable. Therapy therefore supports the notion that the individuals participating in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve are likely to have various epistemic understandings, implying that they would participate differently based on what they believe to be the best conservation techniques.

However contrary to these claims, it is equally important to understand that therapy sometimes assumed to be camouflaged as citizen participation, may in some cases reflect legitimate participatory efforts. For example, with regards the management of protected areas, stakeholders in the respective protected areas in different countries may be appointed by their governments, which are then delegated to the international bodies, to meet certain standards of conservation practices. For instance, the Secretariat of CBD (2010) and SDG 14 expects all the countries to contribute towards the mandated global increase of terrestrial and inland water protected areas to 17% (from 13%) by 2020, and coastal and MPAs from 1% to 10% in the same period. On

this note, the stakeholders may, in a way, be operating 'ethically' according to world bodies' acceptable ways, but it may be unethical in the eyes of other participants.

5.2.2 Tokenism

Following the discussion on the different levels of non-participation provided in the preceding section, an account of 'tokenism' follows as another form of participation. This step is in the middle of the Ladder of Citizen Participation and is divided into three stages, namely informing, consultation and placation. Tokenism is a practice of making pure symbolic or perfunctional attempts to be inclusive of members of minority groups, in particular by hiring a small number of people from under-represented groups to give the impression that there is equal representation in the workplace. In the seminal work published by Kanter in the 1990s, a token employee refers to a person belonging to a minority group who constitutes an insignificant percentage of the total staff population of the company (Kanter, 1993). Looking at the idea of tokenism from a similar angle, Hogg and Vughan (2008) suggest that this is done in order to create the impression that there is diversity and inclusiveness in different aspects, while at the same time deflecting the potential allegations of prejudice.



Since there are few token workers in the company, their exposure appears to be high to the point that a great deal of pressure is placed on them to provide high quality work and to function in the desired 'stereotypical' manner. To a certain degree, these workers may be disrespected or abused by dominant groups, which may typify them by establishing hierarchical bureaucratic social structures against them. On the other hand, it is worth considering the other perspective of the complex tokenism between workers in the company or participants of any participatory agreement in question. In order to provide a broad view of tokenism as part of Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation, the following section provides an account of the three different levels of participation, starting with informing followed by consultation and then placation.

5.2.2.1 Informing

The 'informing' aspect is the lowest rung under the tokenism phase of the Ladder of Citizen Participation. Arnstein's (1969) informing phase is probably the first step towards citizens' full participation in any participatory agreements. According to Arnstein (1969), informing rung explains participation in the form of the spreading of

information about a project from the source to the recipients. Nevertheless, while the dissemination of information and other relevant details of the participation agreement is a significant step in informing people about the important details of the project at hand, this level of participation is mainly a one-way channel. This is the form of communication, where information flows only from officials of the participatory arrangements to local participants without any input channels for evaluation and/or power negotiation (Arnstein, 1969).

The most commonly used information methods in this one-way communication include news media, posters, pamphlets and replies to enquiries. Other platforms used in informing include community meetings, which can only be used as medium to spread information to the targeted recipients. As stated by Arnstein (1969, p. 219), “.....meetings can be turned into vehicles for one-way communication by the simple device of providing superficial information, discouraging questions, or giving irrelevant answers”. Thus, local participants have little or no ability to contribute to the participatory agreement proposed for the benefit of the community.

The level of informational participation is significant for this study and may be employed in various ways in protected area management. The participants in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve management all have channels through which they communicate with other stakeholders concerning environmental conservation. The researcher will firstly study the various approaches used by these individuals as they participate in the management of the nature reserve through informing one another before determining whether or not they represent real participation. Importantly, this will allow the study to reveal the presence of epistemic differences between participants and how these impact the participation process. This will be done to determine whether or not participation leads to equity and justice.

On the other hand, attention must be extended to groups that are ‘neutral’ from tokenism and actually participate in the management of protected areas for good cause. It is likely that such neutral stakeholders would act in good faith to serve their assigned positions and to represent their communities at large. Likewise, informing as part of tokenism may not work in environmental activities in all situations. Therefore, using the level of participation, this research will find answers from different participants on what informing, as part of the participation, actually means to them.

5.2.2.2 Consulting

The 'consulting' rung is the second upper stage of participation in the tokenism phase and is equivalent to informing. This level represents a step towards the full participation of local communities. Unlike informing level of participation where the participants are informed using the top-down approaches, consultation brings together different people into a participatory arrangements, but prevents, restricts or provides them with little room to input their ideas. This establishment is in line with Bakke's (2015) assumption that there are people who can attend participatory arrangements, but their presence does not at all empower them. Bakke (2015) sees this machination as a new oppressive set of rules and regulations that blind people from their natural values to institutionalised ones. Therefore, in a way, this participatory rung is described by Arnstein (1969) as a form of 'deceptive' participation, where local communities may believe that they have 'participated', but in actuality, power-holders use it only as evidence that they have complied with all the conditions expected. Arnstein (1969) also identifies this type of participation as a window dressing practice, where people are mainly viewed as statistical abstractions and participation is calculated by how many people come to meetings, take home brochures, or answer a questionnaire. Therefore, this form of participation is, in one way or another, skewed towards the interests of the power-holders in a local community or in institutional stakeholders.

Consultation is important in this study as it may shape the participation of different stakeholders in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Consulting also reveals the epistemic disparities that exist between various stakeholders. For example, Arnstein (1969) distinguishes one indigenous viewpoint of participants, mostly power-holders who require minimal input from other participants. On the other hand, there is another perspective in which the general participants in the management of the nature reserve may be 'consulted' in huge numbers and not given a chance to participate even though they are willing. These two types of consultation participation explain two epistemic differences, and their participation is quite different since power-holders have their agenda, whilst the general public may be made up of individuals who fully participate for a good cause or passive participants. Ultimately, this demonstrates that the participation process does not always result in a just and

equitable manner as there are differential dynamics of participations which may be contradicting.

5.2.2.3 Placation

The 'placation' level comes at the top of the tokenism continuum and describes the situation where local participants can begin to have some degree of influence in the participation process. While tokenism still exists, the placation rung is a step towards full citizen power (Arnstein, 1969). An example of the placation is the case in which a few 'worthy' poor community members are put on boards, such as civic councils or neighbourhood watches. In a way, the inclusion of these individuals in local boards is a high level of tokenism, but it is masked as full participation. The few individuals who have entered into a participatory arrangement as members of local communities are not necessarily representatives at all.

As Arnstein (1969) notes, the system of occupying the 'worthy' poor from the local committees into the organisational positions is in fact a way to ensure that they just '(non)represent' the needs of their communities. In the true sense, whatever decision they make can easily be out-voted, especially in cases where ".....they are not accountable to a constituency in the community and if the traditional power elite hold the majority of the seats" (ibid., p. 220). In short, the placation form of participation enables well-deserved disadvantaged members of local communities to have a say in decision-making in institutional participatory systems, but the power-holders retain the right to determine the effectiveness and validity of the advice provided.

This study considers the placation type of participation important, as participants may be exposed to high levels of tokenism in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The following aspects will be taken into consideration: first, the study will investigate the roles of the various stakeholders in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve to see how relevant their positions are in the representation of broader communities. This will enable the research to reveal whether there is a possibility that some people will only act as the 'face' of the participants in question but without making any meaningful participation or representation. Second, the study assumes that some people may be placated at the top level, but may actually be a form of tokenism or even non-participation. This is usually the case for a few people

who have social advantages who may end up reaping personal benefits from their placement instead of serving their communities at large. Third, this study will also conduct primary research on the assumption that some people may be put in the form of placations, but they may also have an impact on important decision-making on participatory agreements. In doing so, these individuals may be involved in making important environmental decisions that have a significant impact on the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.

5.2.3 Citizen power

At the top of the Ladder of Citizen Participation is the citizen control phase, which is divided into three sections, namely partnership, delegated power and citizen control.

5.2.3.1 Partnership

The 'partnership' level is one form of participation that is vested in the lower levels of the citizen control phase of the Ladder of Citizen Participation. According to Arnstein (1969), this level of participation denotes a position where there is distribution of power between the power-holders and the local participants. In this way, all stakeholders will agree to share responsibility for planning and decision-making processes. The process begins with the establishment of the ground rules by giving-and-take procedures. Such laws are not subject to one-sidedness or prejudice on the part of either party. It is therefore a step towards full participation.

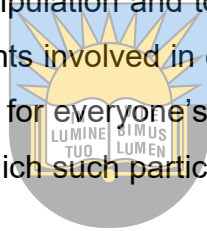
In the words of Arnstein (1969, p. 221), partnership can be effective for the populations under the following conditions:

.....when there is an organised power-base in the community to which the citizen leaders are accountable;...when the citizens group has the financial resources to pay its leaders reasonable honoraria for their time-consuming efforts; and...when the group has the resources to hire (and fire) its own technicians, lawyers, and community organisers”.

With these mechanisms in place, local members will have a real bargaining power to decide on any participatory proposals. Looking at the other levels of participation mentioned so far, namely manipulation therapy informing, consultation and placation, the critical analysis shows that the structure of institutional administration is being weakened from the one initially defined by manipulation to the one where people could

negotiate a decision-making mechanism. In addition, Arnstein (1969) argues that in most instances power is ultimately shared by power-holders due to their loss of power, while in other circumstances power sharing occurs when power is actually taken by the citizens.

An analysis of partnership can be exemplified in this study through the process of co-management of protected areas where there may be 'partnerships' involved in the management of these conservational areas. As noted in the previous chapter, the management authorities involved in the management of a particular protected area may enter into an agreement with another organ of state, a local community, an individual or other party for different purposes. These may include delegation of authorities, co-management, regulation of human activities and economic activities among others. The study will also examine how the different partners may contribute their efforts towards conservation activities. Because participation has been determined to be fraught with manipulation and tokenism, the study will take a close look at the partnership arrangements involved in environmental management as well as whether these work in harmony for everyone's benefit. Overall, an analysis will be done to determine the extent to which such participation processes will lead to equity and justice.



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5.2.3.2 Delegated power and citizen power

Local participants and institutional stakeholders may engage in dialogues and start to gain ground and becoming influential in nature conservation. Arnstein (1969) argues that local members will be assigned to decision-making positions where they represent the majority and have real democratic control over decisions. The 'delegated power' rung and 'citizen power' are mostly skewed towards the point where the local participants have significant position to assure accountability over a development project before them. At this stage, there are significant changes because the local citizens tend to have more power over development compared to the power-holders. Arnstein (1969) argues that in order to resolve these discrepancies, power-holders may attempt to compromise power or try to engage in power-sharing arrangements instead of reacting to pressure from local participants who have become more dominant.

On the other side, instead of negotiating, the power-holders may set up separate and parallel groups made up of them and people with a citizens veto (Arnstein, 1969). This means that delegated power and citizen control does not automatically guarantee them authority over the development of participatory arrangements. In other words, delegated power and citizen control can be synonymous with tokenism or even non-participation if certain delegated entities have substantial veto powers over decisions.

Delegated authority and citizen control may be relevant in different scenarios in relation to this study. It is also important to note that in some situations full citizen control and organisational delegation have their own obligations and may undermine the power-holders involved in making important strategic development decisions. If the stakeholders involved in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve are subject to delegation or relax their powers in the hands of the local participants, they can either: (i) be weakened; (ii) reach a consensus where they work in harmony towards equity; and/or (iii) strengthen even more when other designated stakeholders have veto powers over decisions.

In relation to 'weakening power' of institutional stakeholders, local communities, due to their extensive knowledge of their geographical and environmental spaces, may support a management system that differs from that used by former stakeholders. This could be a source of conflict in relation to the 'acceptable' frameworks for conservation practices. On the other hand, it is also possible that having local citizens govern participatory agreements or roles of delegated authority does not automatically mean that they serve local communities. Without being exploited by the power-holders, it is conceivable that the delegates could become greedy and reap more benefits through a participatory process at the detriment of the local communities or even the power-holders. This is another perspective that this research would look at in the review of participatory processes.

On the other hand, as alluded to in point (ii) above, citizen regulation and delegated power can even be carried out in good faith in such a way that the institutional participants and the local communities involved in environmental management can create a common ground on which they can work together. As a result, all aspects of the participatory system will be explored, including questions of how decisions are made, how participation is implemented, who has an effect on the decision-making

process, the positions of all participants in conservation processes and the benefits of mutual environmental management.

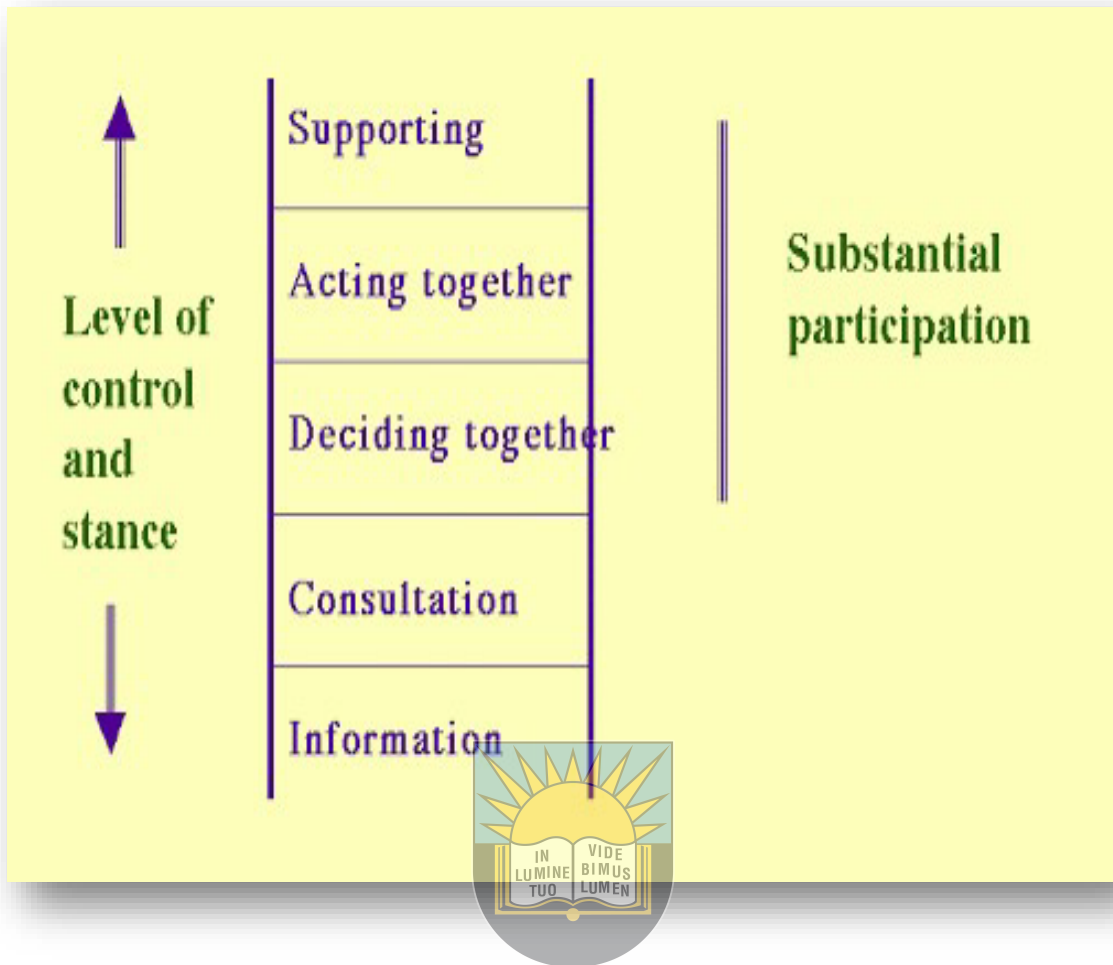
In relation to point (iii) where institutional stakeholders may become even stronger through delegated power and citizen control, a number of factors need to be considered. Firstly, such organisation or power-holder overseeing the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, as stated above, can assign separate teams with veto powers to certain decisions, including those made by persons with full citizen authority. In the light of this, the veto powers of the participating individuals over development decisions may be practically in the hands of the power-holders. Secondly, it is worthwhile to decide how delegated individuals arrive at the place where they become delegable. This factor is significant in this study in order to see how participation is shaped. At this point, what is crucial is to know who really has the final word to affect the decisions. Consequently, citizens' control and delegated power may be seen as heading towards citizens' influence. However, in reality it is a high level of tokenism, or even non-participation.

Overall, it is important to note that while Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation can be a sufficient framework to analyse the research findings, other participation theories can also be taken into consideration. The following section reviews additional participation theories, namely Level of Participation (Wilcox, 1994), Typology of Participation (Pretty, 1995) and Typology of Interests (White, 1996) and whether/not they can be complementary in analysing the findings.

5.3 Wilcox's Level of Participation

Wilcox's (1994) Level of Participation outlined in an article entitled 'Guide to Effective Participation' shows participation five dimensions, namely informing, consultation, deciding together, acting together and supporting independent community interests. These rungs differ in terms of the extent of power and decision-making as shown in the figure below.

Figure 5.3: Wilcox's Level of Citizen Participation



Source: diagram obtained from: Wilcox (1994)
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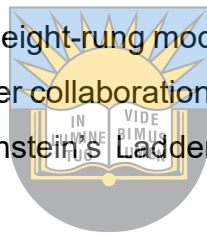
From an 'information' perspective, participation is seen in the form of simply telling people what needs to be done (Wilcox, 1994). This type of participation can be contrasted with Arnstein's non-participation form of participation, because it reflects a high level of authority and power. The initiator is in a good position to decide how much or how little power to give others, for example; only details, or a big say in what is going to happen. This action is equivalent to taking a stance on the ladder – or taking a stand on the level of participation.

Comparing 'information' with 'deciding together', the latter describes participation in the form of collectivism, where people contribute ideas on the subject (Wilcox, 1994). Both the information and deciding together rungs differ from the 'consultation' rung which views participation as a form of consultation where the authoritative figure gives ideas on a subject, listens to feedback but not allowing new ideas to be contributed. All these different forms of participation indicate the contradicting dynamics of participation,

which clearly indicate that there are many inconsistencies in the participation of local people and institutions in the management of protected areas.

The 'acting together' and 'supporting' rungs are seen in this theory as a form of substantial participation. Acting together in participatory arrangements means that both partners are agreeing together and acting together in decision-making. This implies having a common background, a shared view of what one desires, and the means to execute it. This also includes deciding on what stakeholders want to do based upon trust each other. Wilcox (1994) refers to these levels of participation as substantial participation. Put differently, substantial participation refers to meaningful participation where one has direct participation through the making of decisions, judgement, support, rejection, suggestion, guidance, inquiry or otherwise. This level of participation can be equated to Arnstein's (1969) citizen control.

In summary, Wilcox's Level of Citizen Participation has become significantly influential. Wilcox (1994) changed the original eight-rung model of Arnstein into a five-rung ladder which focuses mainly on stakeholder collaboration. In this light, this theory will be used as a complementary theory to Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation since it is similar to it.



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5.4 Pretty's Typology of Participation

Pretty's (1995) intervention, built upon Arnstein's framework, views participation in various ways. Like Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation, Pretty's Typology of Participation is important for this study because it shows that motivations for participation differ in the sense that some people participate for a good cause, others participate for benefits while others do not participate at all but yield significant benefits from the process. Pretty's (1995) theory also explains different motives of participation and how stakeholders participate in any participatory arrangements. It is for this reason that, this theory is used in this study as a complementary theory because it is more or less like Arnstein's theory. Pretty (1995) views participation in the form of a Typology of Participation.



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Table 5.5: Pretty's Typology of Participation

Typology	Characteristic of Typology
Passive Participation	"People participate by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals."
Participation in Information Giving	"People participate by answering questions posed by extractive researches using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research are neither shared nor checked for accuracy."
Participation by Consultation	"People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to views. These external agents define both problems and solutions and may modify these in the light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views."
Participation for Material Incentive	"People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash, or other material incentives. Much on-farm research falls in this category, as faermers provide the fields but are not involved in the

	experimentation or the process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.”
Functional Participation	“People participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally initiated social organization. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These instructions tend to be dependent on external initiators and facilitators, but may become self-dependent.”
Interactive Participation	“People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local institutions or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. These groups take control over local decisions, and so people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.”
Self-Mobilization	“People participate by taking initiative independent of external institution to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Such self-initiated mobilization and collective action may or may not challenge existing inequitable distribution of wealth and power.”

Source: Original table obtained from OECD (2013, p. 11).

Linked to this study, participation is viewed in the form of a typology that includes passive participation, participation by consultation, participation for material incentives, functional participation, interactive participation and self-mobilisation. These different forms of participation explain different motives of both participants and the institutional stakeholders in promoting engagement in participatory arrangements. The Typology of Participation theory states that some people can independently participate in activities while other stakeholders participate in return for material incentives (Cornwall, 2008). In light of this, Pretty (1995) argues that participation can only be fair if the individuals involved are empowered and if there is an establishment of mutual understanding in the process. This validates Vedeld’s (2002) Successful Principles for Participatory Arrangements discussed in the previous chapter.

5.5 White’s Typology of Interests

White (1996) views participation in the form of a Typology of Interests. Also building upon Arnstein’s Ladder of Citizen Participation, White (1996) gives the motivation of both the participants and the implementing agencies in developmental participation. White’s typology focuses specifically on revealing the variety of interests in

participation, unlike Arnstein’s ladder, so it carries the term ‘Typology of Interests’ (Cornwall, 2008). The Typology of Interests is presented below.



Table 5.6: White’s Typology of Interests of Fort Hare
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Form of participation	Top-down: what are the interests of the authorities?	Bottom-up: what are the interests of individuals in a community?	Function: what is the main aim of participation?
Nominal	Legitimation – to show they are doing something	Inclusion – to retain some access to potential benefits	Display
Instrumental	Efficiency – to limit funders’ input, draw on community contributions and make projects more cost-effective	Cost – of time spent on project-related labour and other activities	As a means to achieving cost-effectiveness and local facilities
Representative	Sustainability – to avoid creating dependency	Leverage – to influence the shape the project takes and its management	To give people a voice in determining their development

Transformative	Empowerment – to enable people to make their own decisions, work out what to do and take action	Empowerment – to be able to decide and act for themselves	Both as a means and an end, a continuing dynamic
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Source: table adapted from White (1996, p. 7-9)

Such a ladder-shaped typology of participation attempts to decide why the already dominant power systems will either generate real participation or replicate alternative modes of participation (White 1996). Therefore, when it comes to decision-making and execution of decisions, the power relationships in a society will decide whose priorities dominate over others. White's (1996:6) statement that ".....sharing by participation does not inherently equal sharing of power" confirms such a phenomenon.

White (1996) conceptualises participation across the continuum of interaction as a complex mechanism that evolves over time and is filled with conflicts and competing theories. This continuum defines the four main types of participation and characteristics are given next to each type. The numerous interests are represented in the second and third columns, namely top down versus bottom-up. The desires of those in charge who plan the participatory projects can in practise, contradict the interests of those at the receiving end of participation. The structure of this kind is inspired by the desire to hear the participants' voices, that is, their narratives about how they see participation and what they want to learn from it (White, 1996).

In relation to 'nominal participation', a differentiation has to be made between top-down and bottom-up participation. White (1996) maintains that the top-down level of participation is clustered by individuals who attempt to show that they are doing something and it is mostly done by occupants of powerful positions. By trying to show that they are involved in some participation, these powerful people tend to manipulate the less powerful individuals to do more work in exchange of little or no benefits at all for their efforts. On the other hand, Cornwall (2008) views nominal participation through the bottom-up approaches as mainly done by the have-nots with the intention of retaining some potential benefits that come out of participation.

Secondly, 'instrumental participation' is one form that sees participation being used as a means towards a stated end – often the efficient use of the skills and knowledge of

community members in project implementation. White (1996) maintains that, based on the top-down approaches, this form of participation is characterised by efficiency where the participants limit the funders' inputs and draw on community contributions, which makes the entire project cost effective. In addition, 'representative participation' the Typology of Interest framework maintains that the communities are significantly involved in the entire developmental and participative process. This can be equated to Arnstein's 'degree of citizen power' rung as well as the 'deciding together' rung of the Level of Participation framework by Wilcox (1994).

The Typology of Interests framework also shows the 'transformative participation' rung, which gives the participants the propensity to make their own decisions and implement them during the participation process (White, 1996). The reader should recall that this theory represents different agendas behind people's participation and the politics of participation, for example; the participants in the upper echelons of the organisations or the most powerful ones may talk about participation, but with only the intention to maintain the status quo. It is only at the 'transformative participation' rung of the Typology of Interests that there is a common reason for participation where all the stakeholders focus towards mutual development goals (White, 1996). Thus, this theory presents more or less similar phenomena with that of Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen participation. For this reason, White's Typology of Interests is only used as a complementary theory to underpin the results obtained from this study. This study also made use of the Indigenous Standpoint Framework. This theory explained the participants' different epistemic understandings of nature conservation.

5.6 Indigenous Standpoint Theory

This study makes use of the Indigenous Standpoint Theory to complement the Ladder of Citizen Participation. The Indigenous Standpoint Theory is relevant to this study because it gives local communities a platform to express critical views centred on their articulated experience when navigating the dynamic intersections of apartheid - based oppression. Standpoint theory suggests that authority be grounded in the experience of individuals (their perspectives) and the power exerted by that authority. The most important concept of standpoint theory is that its social and political context forms the individual's own viewpoints. As a result, this theory will be used to argue that the involvement of various stakeholders does not ensure equitable and just outcomes.

Additionally, this theory is also important in this study because it seeks to explain how various stakeholders, such as local communities, especially youth, the elders and women, DCLT, CPAs, government departments, parastatals and NGOs, see participation in environmental conservation. This is essential because it gives difference inferences from different stakeholders on what participation really is, its degrees and nature and how it is or should be implemented for sustainable benefits. The use of Indigenous Standpoint Theory in this study allows the researcher to identify possible ways in which the participation of the different stakeholders in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve leads to any intersections or deviations and helps identify possible consequences. This encourages the researcher to re-examine the literature and policy available on the nature of participation and, in some cases, provide for conditions on this theory and other theories can be revisited.

While iterations of Indigenous Standpoint Theory were drawn from the work of feminist scholars, it is important to recognise that indigenous peoples' ancient knowledge-ways have always required a place among networks of relationships comprising indigenous realities. In this sense, Indigenous Standpoint Theory can be viewed by Indigenous scholars as part of a larger on-going project to develop indigenous ways of being, knowing, and doing. The point of view is therefore closely linked to the substantial body of indigenous scholarship on 'indigenous research' (Coburn, Moreton-Robinson, Sefa Dei & Stewart-Harawira, 2013).

Nakata (2015) defines Indigenous Standpoint Theory as the method of interrogation, the process of making '.....the corpus of empirical knowledge of us more intelligible' as it emerges and organises the interpretation of our living realities. This theory explores actualities of everyday...from within that [lived] experience rather than deploying predetermined concepts and categories for explaining experience" (ibid.).

Standpoints are argued to be multifaceted rather than essentialising, for example, while Hispanic women may generally share some perspectives, particularly in relation to ethnicity or sex, they are not defined solely by these viewpoints despite some common features there is no essentially Hispanic female identity. Group experiences create a general and permanent perspective of an immense situation, but one's point of view cannot really be understood without personal experience. The combination of

a person's many experienced dimensions forms a point of view – a point of view – through which he sees and understands the world.

A close look at the Indigenous Standpoint Theory shows that it builds on indigenous knowledge. Indigenous knowledge is most commonly referred to as traditional or local knowledge (Nakata, 2004), which is generated on a continuous basis by communities through periods of intimate experience with the local environment and situations (Srinivasan, 2004). It is often unique to specific cultures and societies, and is passed from generation to generation, mostly through oral traditions (Foley, 2003). Semali and Kincheloe (1998, p. 3) defined the indigenous knowledge as:

.....an everyday rationalisation that rewards individuals who live in a given locality. In part, to these individuals, Indigenous knowledge reflects the dynamic way in which the residents of an area have come to understand themselves in relationship to their natural environment and how they organise that folk knowledge of flora and fauna, cultural beliefs, and history to enhance their lives.

The complex nature of Indigenous knowledge has been explained as being:

.....different things in different places to different people. It is perceived as complex by most cultural outsiders because such knowledge does not easily fit into the scientific logics or western concept (Nakata 2004, p. 22).

The concepts of definition, nature, diversity, access and management, ownership and protection of indigenous knowledge are often disparate and unfamiliar to Western notions. Terms such as local knowledge, traditional knowledge, traditional environmental or ecological knowledge or indigenous technical knowledge are often used interchangeably (Nakata 2004, p. 22). Their use is mainly unfamiliar to others in certain contexts. It is therefore necessary to understand the context in order to appreciate its true meaning (Nakata, 2004). Differences between Western and indigenous notions create variance and this reinforces the case for the re-discussion of indigenous knowledge before integration into educational contexts. The multi-faceted nature of indigenous knowledge makes it difficult for non-local and cultural outsiders to understand and fully appreciate its value and significance.

Merton (1996) explains that it would be difficult for those who are not socialised in the local community or who have not experienced life within the local community to understand indigenous knowledge fully. Despite these dynamics, the importance of indigenous knowledge is widely recognised in a number of fields, and the benefits of

biodiversity and conservation have been experienced for a long time (Hellier, Newton & Gaona, 1999), agroforestry (Walker, Sinclair & Thapa, 1995), climate change, agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, fisheries, and water resources (Srinivasan, 2004). Interest in these areas lies in the importance of local knowledge to address issues or problems at the local level (Nataka, 2004). According to Srinivasan (2004), its value as a powerful asset and social capital encourages ownership and encourages social responsibility.

Standpoint theories emphasise the importance of information (i.e., epistemology) as a naturalistic or daily experiential concept. One's point of view (whether reflexively perceived or not) determines the concepts are intelligible, which claims to be heard and understood by whom, which world features are perceptually important, which reasons are understood to be significant and persuasive, and which assumptions are plausible. Indigenous Standpoint Theory as a whole is a complex theoretical approach to how indigenous people operate inside spaces that question their epistemology, the dynamics of their life. More precisely, its use derives from a diverse background of marginalised groups whose experience was ignored and silenced in generating intellectual knowledge (Nakata, 2007).

On the other hand, the Indigenous Standpoint Theory has developed as a way for indigenous peoples to articulate important points of view based on the incarnated experience of indigenous peoples, in the process navigating the complex intersections of colonial oppression (Foley, 2006; 2003). The Indigenous Standpoint Theory maintains, as Moreton-Robinson (2013) points out, that an ancient understanding of indigenous peoples requires one to 'locate oneself' among the networks of relationships that make up indigenous reality. Indigenous Standpoint Theory's most important concept is that the individual's own views are influenced by their social and political interactions and by the importance of a naturalistic or daily experiential definition of information (i.e. epistemology) (Nakata, 2007).

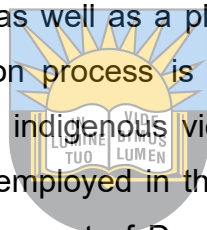
Only the indigenous people's or 'epistemic insiders' may convey indigenous viewpoints in this sense and under normal circumstances as they are known to have 'epistemic knowledge' of the phenomena in question (Moreton-Robinson, 2013). On the other hand, Indigenous Standpoint Theory also identifies 'epistemic outsiders' or 'outsiders-within' whose voices, significance, socio-cultural factors, participatory

efforts, perceived benefits and/or' other conditions' are not considered or given negligible consideration (Foley, 2006; 2003). For example, institutional stakeholders such as the government, because they have absolute control over the ownership and management of natural resources, may view themselves as the epistemic insiders and label the local communities as the outsiders. While local communities may feel like they are outsiders due to institutional and legal frameworks, whereas, in actuality they are epistemic insiders.

Based on the above analysis, it is evident that epistemic disparities exist among stakeholders with diverse indigenous perspectives. As a result, it is suggested that their participation in protected area management does not always result in equity and justice, because epistemic disparities affect participation to signify something else.

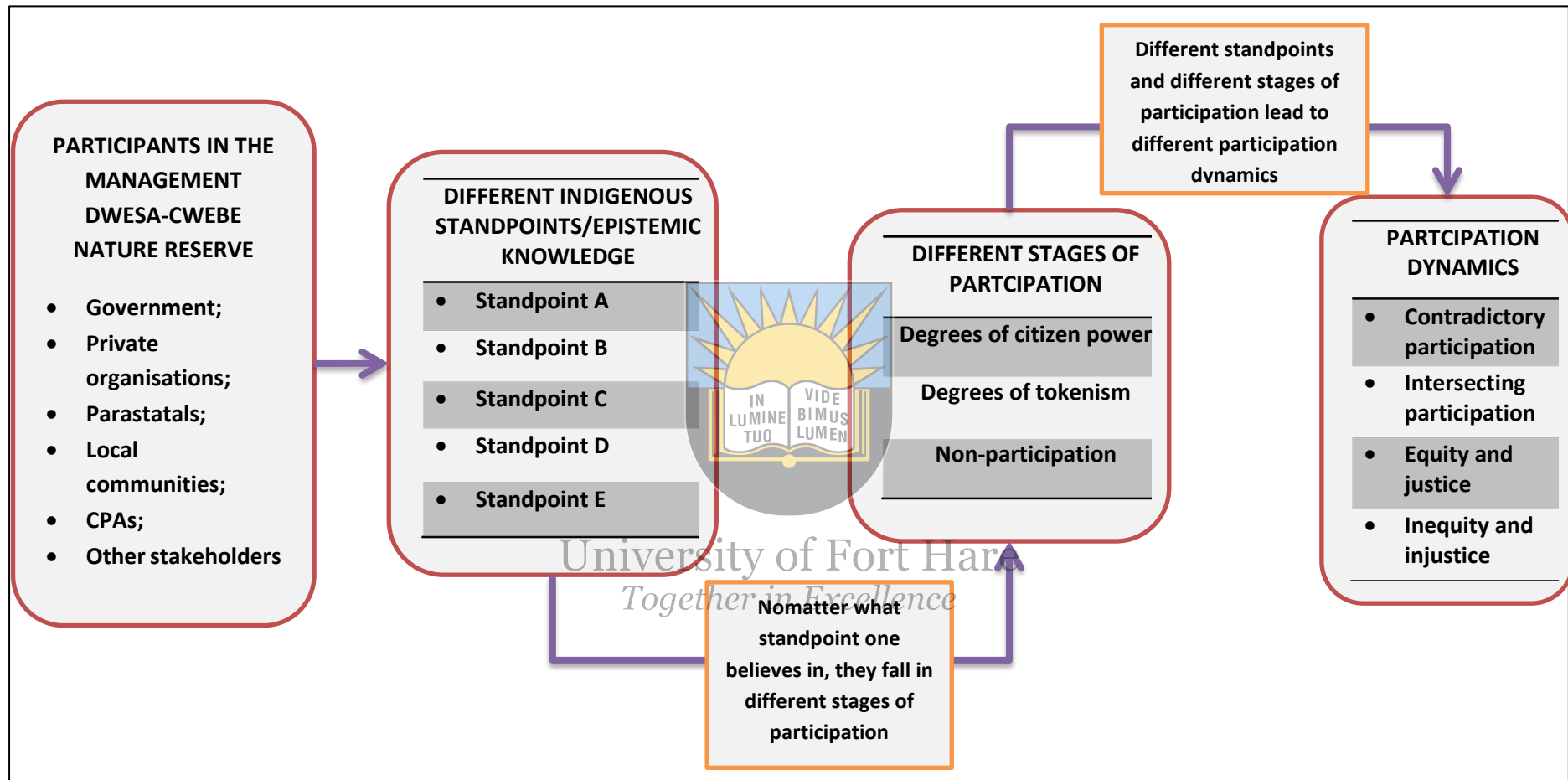
5.7 Conceptual framework

The theories mentioned thus far, as well as a plethora of empirical evidence, have demonstrated that the participation process is hampered by inconsistencies and contradictions created by differing indigenous viewpoints among participants. As a result, the conceptual framework employed in this study demonstrates that several parties are involved in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. These include, among others, the government through various departments, private organisations, parastatals, local communities, and CPAs.



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Figure 5.4: Conceptual framework guiding the study



Source: Conceptual framework developed by the author

The conceptual framework demonstrates that these stakeholders have various indigenous perspectives or levels of epistemic knowledge. The differences in epistemic knowledge result from the various attitudes or characteristics that these people have in environmental conservation. Because of the availability of many indigenous perspectives, the conceptual framework indicates that participants will thereafter participate in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve in different ways. It is considered that non-participation, tokenism, and citizen power may exist in the participation processes. The conceptual framework also demonstrates that the participants are not limited to a single level of participation because their involvement in environmental protection may overlap. This indicates that participation processes will be multifaceted. As a result, the conceptual framework demonstrates that the existence of distinct phases of participation and epistemic knowledge would result in varied dimensions of participation. These participation dynamics may be in line with what they believe participation is, how do they view one another in the participation process, what modes of participation exist, how they perceive each other's mode of participation, and any other dynamics that explain their involvement in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Overall, their participation may be in different ways (contradictory participation) or they may participate in similar ways (intersecting participation), or may be both. Participants with similar epistemic understanding are more likely to intersect in their participation processes as opposed to those with epistemic differences. Overall, the conceptual framework demonstrates that participation can result in either equity or justice on the one hand, or inequity and injustice on the other. This is where the study's main argument is founded. Equity and justice for this study entail the promotion of fairness and justice for all role players involved including local communities. Both speak to the fair and equal division of resources and addressing systems to ensure access for all - while placing emphasis on the history and socio-economic status of all stakeholders

5.8 Conclusion

This chapter presented a discussion on the theories that underpin this research. The discussion revealed that participation varies between different individuals, as demonstrated by the eight rungs or levels suggested by Arnstein (1969) in the Ladder of Citizen Participation. The theory also shed light on the fact that participation is

explained in different ways and in the process there is non-participation, which is often misquoted as a form of participation. In addition to that the participatory process is characterised by tokenism, which, in actuality, shows little potential put by the participants but is a sort of a 'face representation' just used to paint a picture that there is inclusive participation. Ultimately, the theory clarified participation in the context of citizen power where local communities have full powers to control their participation and their benefits. The chapter also examined Indigenous Standpoint Theory as a complementary theory to discuss the research findings. This theory has shown that people tend to have different epistemological understanding based on their lived experiences. The theory distinguished epistemic insiders and epistemic outsiders and highlighted the fact that, due to epistemic differences, some participants consider themselves to be the rightfully with the right epistemic knowledge for the successful management of natural reserves than others. As such, they mostly advance their agenda in nature conservation at the expense of the agendas of others. At the end, the participation process fails to reap equity and justice, but in fact, result in inequity among the participants. The next chapter presents the methodology and methods of research used in this study.



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CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

6.1 Introduction

Given that the preceding chapters discussed various contestations, discourses, and dynamics of protected area management, this chapter presents the research methodology and methods employed in primary research. The chapter begins with a detailed description of the study location – Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve – to help the reader understand where the research was done. The chapter then discusses how the qualitative research methodology, as well as the interpretative and exploratory research designs, aided in the collection of primary information for this study. The chapter also explains how the participants in the primary research were selected from local communities, CPAs, DCLT, government departments, and private organisations. In this regard, the chapter explains the reason for, and procedures for conducting, interviews, focus group discussions, and non-participant observation as primary research methods. The chapter then goes into detail on the analysis methods used, ethical considerations noted, challenges encountered in the entire research process, and mitigating strategies.



6.2 Study site – Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Research

This study took place within the Mbashe Local Municipality's ward(s) 20 and 21 situated in the remote Wild Coast, South Africa in the Eastern Cape. The empirical study area was Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve situated at Point 32.260°S 28.895°E and its neighbouring communities, consisting of seven villages.

Figure 6.5: Location of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve



Location of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve on the map of South Africa (left) and a satellite image of the reserve (right). Photo credit: Google Maps

This nature reserve consists of both offshore and coastal areas and it was established in 1890. It is situated on over 5,500 hectares (about 13,500 acres) of offshore land and nearly 20,000 hectares of marine land (about 48,000 acres). Its formation led to the gradual relocation of local people from the coast to 3 to 5 kilometres inland and about 18 kilometres adjacent to the natural reserve and the Indian Ocean. When the indigenous people migrated from their cultural lands to create the Dwesa-Cwebe Natural Reserve, seven villages were created, namely Ntubeni, Ngomana, Cwebe, Mpume, Ntlangano, Mendwane and Hobeni (Palmer, Kingwill, Coleman & Hamer, 2006). This marked the beginning of a division from the nature reserve and coast and the limitation on indigenous peoples' use of resources.

In the 1970s, the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was formally declared in this form under the Transkei Nature Conservation Act following changes in the policy framework leading to the creation of indigenous reserves, also known as homelands¹⁶. Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was then fenced in 1975 as a way to implement a 0% interference of the indigenous peoples in the protected area and its management affairs (Palmer, 2003). This was followed by a proclamation of Dwesa-Cwebe MPA in 1992, which further prevented the local communities from accessing coastal resources¹⁷. After the 1994 democratic elections, the native reserves/homelands were incorporated into South Africa. Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve regained its status as a demarcated state forest and its regulation was under the National Forests Act No. 84 of 1998.

After 1994, South Africa suffered from the popular drought and political instability. In order to ensure land ownership, the use of food resources, pasturelands and other means of survival, the local communities started occupying the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve (Palmer et al, 2006). Nevertheless, military intervention as the final step halted their actions and resulted in rapid dialog of the new government in South Africa

¹⁶ According to Act 6 of 1971, the management of the reserves was transferred to the Transkei Nature Conservation Department and they strangely simultaneously retained their status as demarcated forest reserves. In 1992, they were renamed as national wildlife reserves under the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree (9 of 1992) in 1992. See Eastern Cape Parks Board Draft Integrated Reserve Management Plan: Strategic Management Plan – Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, dated 6 December 2006, 8.

¹⁷ The MPA was initially proclaimed under the Transkei Environmental Conservation Decree (9 of 1992) and after that reconstituted in 2000 under the Marine Living Resources Act (18 of 1998) in GNR 1429 GG No. 21948 dated 29 December 2000.

with the local community. It was suggested that land be returned to the population in compliance with the Land Rights Act in 1996 (Fay 2007; Palmer et al. 2002). The Settlement Agreement was signed in 2001 via ongoing negotiations with the seven adjacent villages; other documents, which include Management Planning Framework¹⁸, the Settlement Agreement¹⁹ and the Business Plan were also signed then (Palmer et al., 2002; Palmer, 2003).

The Settlement Agreement transferred the ownership of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve to the local communities represented by DCLT (Palmer et al., 2006). To form this trust, the claimants of land who were pulled from the seven villages²⁰ formed CPAs in each of these villages. DCLT was made up of one representative from each of the seven CPAs as well as seven government officials from the then Department of Water and Forestry²¹ and the Department of Land Reform²², ECPTA, Mbhashe Municipality as well as Amathole District (Palmer et al., 2006).

In relation to the Management Planning Framework, Palmer (2003) notes that this method included a mechanism for the formation of the Co-Management Committees, which were to be comprised of equal government and community members. In spite of this, the Settlement Agreement provided for Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve to be co-managed by DCLT and the then DEA and Tourism. In short, DCLT had to serve the local communities in natural resource management and ensure that the



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¹⁸ Management Planning Framework for the Dwesa-Cwebe Reserve which was annexed to the Settlement Agreement (2001) purports to set out the framework criteria for the development of detailed and issue focussed subsidiary management plans, which will guide and facilitate the efficient and effective management of the Reserve. In the continued absence of such detailed and issue focussed subsidiary management plans, it continues to guide the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.

¹⁹ The reader should recall that the Settlement Agreement was concluded in terms of section 30 of the National Forests Act (84 of 1998). It was necessary owing to the fact that the nature reserves comprised demarcated state forests falling under the competence of the then Erstwhile Department of Water Affairs and Forestry [such competence having being delegated to the Department of Economic Affairs, Environment and Tourism (Eastern Cape)].

²⁰ These were Ntubeni, Mpume, Ngomana and Mendwane located on the Dwesa side of the reserve and Hobeni, Mncwabe and Cwebe villages on the Cwebe side

²¹ The reader should note that during the time the current research was conducted, this department was referred to as Department of Water and Sanitation

²² The reader should note that during the time the current research was conducted, this department was referred to DRDAR. Therefore, the term Department of Land Reform is used interchangeable with the 'DRDAR'.

compensation funds²³ were efficiently distributed to the beneficiaries. Finally, the Settlement Agreement stipulated that the property should not be used for any residential purpose, nor sold to the government, but solely for conservation and low-density tourism activities. Today, this nature reserve is owned by DCLT and operated by the ECPTA despite ongoing South African policy debates on land ownership and environmental sustainability that will later form who owns the reserve when consensus is reached.

Based on this context, the reason for selecting Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve as the site of the study was that there are many research gaps found in this region in terms of the participation of different stakeholders in the management of protected areas. This research area also enabled the researcher to understand the participation that exist in the management of the nature reserve – which were not addressed by previous studies conducted in this research (see Ntshona et al., 2010). Importantly, since literature shows that little is known around Dwesa-Cwebe communities on how the local communities and the institutional stakeholders participate in the management of nature reserves, this study area provides 'fertile' ground on which new theoretical and empirical knowledge can be developed and generalised in similar regions. In essence, the area of study was selected for the following reasons: Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is one of the sites where nature conservation is highly contested, and therefore the researched to understand the degrees, nature of participation and the contestations that exist in the area; as a former Transkei region it has unique participation dynamics shaped by history that do not exist in other areas; and lastly because while the introduction of CPAs in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was intended to allow local communities to participate and share in the management and

²³ The readers should recall that the restitution funds amounted to R14.276 which comprised of the following components:

- i. Consideration fund (R2.1 million consolidated rental of the reserve by then Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism of R100 000 per annum), which can be used for development in terms of an approved development plan;
- ii. Compensation fund of R1.6 million (waived land-use value) for the development of the community and the area;
- iii. Restitution Discretionary Grants (R7.146 million) to be used for agricultural, educational and development projects; and
- iv. Settlement Planning Grants (R3.43 million) for settlement planning, infrastructure, land survey, tenure reform etc.

use of natural resources - research suggests that very few people have benefited from this arrangement – which prompted the researcher to investigate the dynamics in participation in the management of the study area.

6.2.1 Population, leadership and community development

As of 2017, Mbhashe Local Municipality had a population of about 269 000 people²⁴ who were spread across 31 wards. This study was conducted in ward(s) 20 and 21 where the Cwebe and Dwesa Reserves are located, respectively. According to information provided by the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, approximately 15,000 people (who all belonged to the Black African population group) lived in 600 households in the seven villages surrounding the nature reserve as of 2019. The majority of the people in this area were under 18 years of age during the same time, while the rest were elders and working population. Most of the people in the economically active population group worked in nearby urban areas.

With respect to cultural factors, Dwesa-Cwebe is deeply rooted in the African culture and led by headmen who are appointed on behalf of the communities to administer village-related issues. It was also established in this study that some headmen have strong power over others in most Xhosa villages to the extent that they have high authority over their subordinates. Generally, most decisions or proceedings such as marriages, funerals, studies, growth projects and/or other related matters cannot proceed without headmen's approval.

In the political sphere, 31 wards within Mbhashe Local Municipality have ward committees and ward councillors [Eastern Cape Sociological Economic Advisory Council (ECSECC), 2017)]. In 2019, Dwesa-Cwebe had two ward councillors based in the Cwebe community (Ward 20) and Dwesa community (Ward 21), respectively (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, 2019). The councillors and ward committees are responsible for the functions of political administration and are politically appointed to provide public service and to represent the views of local people in the local municipality.

²⁴ This information is available from Eastern Cape Socio Economic Consultative Council. (2017). Mbhashe Local Municipality Socio Economic Review and Outlook, 2017 at https://www.ecsecc.org/documentrepository/informationcentre/mbhashe-local-municipality-local_45642.pdf

In terms of community development, the information provided by ECSECC (2017) clearly shows that the level of development in Dwesa-Cwebe communities is very low until present day. As of 2017, the Human Development Index of the entire Mbhashe Local Municipality was 0.506 which was fairly below the Eastern Cape average of 0.596 (ECSECC, 2017) and national average of 0.705 (UNDP, 2018). During the same period, Mbhashe Local Municipality was reported to have a literacy rate of 46%, which was considered the lowest functional literacy²⁵ within Amathole District and the entire province (ECSECC, 2017).

6.2.2 Settlement patterns and basic amenities

Most households in the Dwesa-Cwebe communities are traditional and formal. Traditional houses refer to those built from clay, mud, reeds or any locally available materials, whereas formal houses apply to buildings constructed in accordance with an accepted or partly approved design. During the time this research was conducted, most of the houses did not have running water or flush toilets. Water supply in Dwesa-Cwebe communities was only available at central points in the form of piped water supplied by the government at a subsidised rate.

The households in Dwesa-Cwebe communities are well electrified. The local communities have access to the government's cheap power through the Amathole municipality of Eskom (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, 2019). Community centres like schools, bottle stores, restaurants all have electricity. What is least developed is the network for road transport. Poor infrastructure makes it even harder for municipal and general public transport to work under such circumstances. In fact, transport routes generally follow a tree-like structure, with the branches extending to the outer villages, and the trunk rooted in Willowvale. For this reason, it can be difficult and expensive to find transport between villages that are on separate branches of the road. The only alternative available to people is walking or using private transport, of which most of the people do not own vehicles. The photos below show some of the gravel roads in the communities of Dwesa-Cwebe.

²⁵ According to United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), a person is functionally literate when he/she can engage in all those activities in which literacy is required for effective function of his or her group and community and also for enabling him or her to continue to use reading, writing and calculation for his or her own and the community's development.

Figure 6.6: Dwesa-Cwebe gravel roads



The images show the main gravel road that links Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and Willowvale. This road is approximately 47km long and stretches from Willowvale to Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Photo credit: Nyamahono J.D. (2019).

The tourists' accommodation the Dwesa-Cwebe Nater Reserve tourist resorts contrast with the residential houses in terms of structures and sources of energy. They are mostly low cost and powered by solar and gas de to the fact that the nature reserve is mandated to develop the local communities through low-density ecotourism. As such, the hospitality industry has to abide to clean sources of energy and nature friendly infrastructure which causes little to no disturbance to the natural environmental (ECPTA, 2019). The figures below show some of the low cost eco-friendly accommodation in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.



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Figure 6.7: Eco-friendly solar-powered Dwesa-Cwebe River Mouth Lodge and gas-powered bathrooms at Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve



Solar powered accommodation at Dwesa-Cwebe River Mouth Lodge (left) and bathrooms in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve powered by gas (right). Photo credit: Nyamahono, J.D (2019).

Figure 6.8: Eco-friendly solar powered chalets at Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve



The images show wooden chalets located within Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The chalets are powered by solar energy and gas to signify the need for low density and ecotourism. Photo credit: Nyamahono J.D (2019).

On the contrary, Haven Hotel which is located on the Cwebe side next to the nature reserve is a modern three-star accommodation. The setup of this hotel in terms of its infrastructural resources, state-of the art construction (most of which destroys the natural environment although it is mixed-up with thatched and wooden houses), the bright lights, and the vigorous advertisements which invite more tourists, tend to contradict with the objectives of low-density and ecotourism. This leads to many questions on whether the hotel is practicing low-density ecotourism or its existence is purely profit-oriented. The representatives of this hotel were invited to participate in primary research in the capacity of NGOs. The image below shows Haven Hotel.



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Figure 6.9: Aerial view of Haven Hotel, Cwebe



Aerial image showing Haven Hotel located in Cwebe. Photo Credit: Afristay.com (2020)

6.3 Research methodology

This study followed qualitative research approach. The use of qualitative research methods in this study followed Cant, Gerber-Nel, Nel and Kotze's (2011) findings which state that it allows the researcher to communicate with the respondents and be part of the conversations during primary research. This allowed the researcher to be versatile and even adapt to any deviations on the respondents' side to the extent that strong, wide-ranging and in-depth participation information was obtained in nature reserve management.

6.4 Research design

The aims of this research were mainly 'explorative' and 'interpretive' in nature, with the goal of increasing the understanding of the different dynamics of stakeholder participation in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The understanding of such participatory dynamics was derived by 'interpreting' and 'exploring' the phenomenon against the participants' motivations and values of their involvement in the management of protected areas. As a result, the presumption underpinning this analysis was that the 'interpretive' and therefore 'qualitative' research design was primarily used to address research concerns while the 'exploratory' research design was used to triangulate the former.

Interpretive research design is a qualitative research paradigm that is rooted in the fact that social reality cannot be limited to singular meanings, but rather is shaped by people's living realities, their experiences or different social dynamics (Creswell, 2013 p. 43). The different social contexts and the different realities experienced by people lead to the development of different meanings of experiences or objects. For example, participation in environmental conservation by different stakeholders tend to be explained in different ways to the extent that some individuals consider institutionalised conservation to be effective (Dyer et al., 2019) while others see it as ineffective (Boiral et al., 2019). In the worst-case scenarios, it is seen as a development effort that potentially leads to the conservation of refugees (Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010). Interpretive research design allowed the researcher to look at different dynamics to clarify social reality in protected areas, rather than confine it to a few meanings.

The interpretive research design adopted in this study had two main themes: one theoretical and one empiric. The theoretical challenge was to establish an integrated methodological structure that would illuminate the participatory dynamics of nature conservation that could direct the empirical investigation. This was achieved through a literature review and a document analysis where awareness of the social reality of environmental engagement was explored and used as the basis on which the primary research was centred. In addition, the theoretical emphasis also allowed the researcher to use the two underlying theories – Participation Theory and Indigenous Standpoint Theory – as a searchlight to differentiate between different aspects of empirical material and ideally to develop and reshape theoretical ideas. The empiric theme, on the other hand, acted as an empiric implementation of the theoretical system. This allowed empirical information to be collected through observations, focus group conversations, key-informants and in-depth interviews.

6.5 Study participants and inclusion criteria

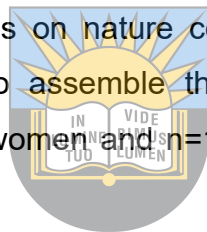
In this study, the target population refers to broad groups of stakeholders. The selection of the appropriate participants from the population frames is detailed below.

6.5.1 Selection of participants from local communities

The adjacent communities of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve are located within the boundaries of wards 20 and 21 in the Mbashe Local Municipality and are divided into seven CPA villages, which cover approximately 18 km along the coast and three to five kilometres inland. These are divided into four villages namely Ntubeni, Mpume, Ngomana and Mendwane on one side of the Mbashe River (in Ward 21) and three villages which are Hobeni, Mncwabe and Cwebe are on the other side (in Ward 20). There were approximately 15 000 people living in an estimated 600 households in these seven villages as of 2019 (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, 2019). More than 5000 people were aged over 18 and were therefore eligible to participate in this study. Non-probability selection methods were used to identify the villages to participate in this study and also the related number of participants.

Two villages were purposively picked from the Dwesa villages. One of the villages, Ntubeni, was selected based on its proximity to the nature reserve's main entrance, offices and a protected fishing zones and the tourists' chalets. These were deemed

important factors in this study because they shape the participation of people in the management of the nature reserve. The other village purposely chosen was the Mendwane Village on the Dwesa side, and the Hobeni Village on the Cwebe side, since these two are demarcated by the Mbhashe River which the local communities depend on, or used to depend on as a means of subsistence. Nevertheless, their access to the river is now drastically regulated, which ensures that their relationship with and participation in the protection of the river is also significantly altered. Lastly, Cwebe Village situated on the Cwebe side was chosen on the basis that it is located close to one of the major tourist resorts – Haven Hotel – that is privately owned and that shares boundaries with the nature reserve. The reason for choosing this village was that the inhabitants were subject to two forms of administration – the hotel and the nature reserve. As a result, their voices had to be heard in relation to their involvement in the management of natural resources. The youths, women and the elders from these four villages were chosen to take part in a focus group discussion in order to provide their perspectives on nature conservation within the region. The researcher used the headmen to assemble three focus groups in each village consisting of n=10 youths, n=10 women and n=10 elders, making a total of N=120 participants in four villages.



In addition to these focus groups, the research also purposely selected one headman from each of the four villages to engage in in-depth interviews in order to provide their locally authoritative viewpoints on their participation in the management of natural resources. Two ward councillors from ward 20 and ward 21 were selected to provide policy insights on the participation of stakeholders in nature conservation.

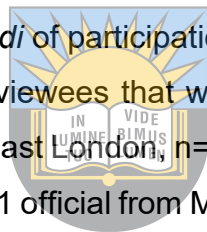
6.5.2 Selection of representatives from CPAs and DCLT

CPAs and DCLT participate in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its available resources. CPAs were formed in Dwesa-Cwebe communities to represent the households of 2382 claimants who had previously lost their land when the nature reserve was created. The 'land grabs' victims were then moved to the seven villages adjacent to the nature reserve. Following the 2001 Settlement Agreement incorporated by the Land Rights Restitution Act in 1996, land was returned to local communities, provided that it was not used for agricultural or settlement purposes, but solely for low-density tourism. The CPAs then came in as

representatives of the local communities and each of the seven villages has its own CPA. The DCLT was formed through the Settlement Agreement as an institution that wholly represented all the affairs of the seven CPAs within the Dwesa and Cwebe communities. Therefore, since four villages participated in this study, one member from each of the four CPAs, totalling n=4 CPA members²⁶, was purposively selected. On the other hand, DCLT members were also selected to take part in key-informant interviews. One member from Dwesa side and another member from Cwebe side was selected totalling n=2 DCLT members.

6.5.3 Selection of representatives from government, parastatals and NGO

Purposive selection was used to select government and NGO officials these groups of participants. This was to ensure that the right officials with relevant information required for this study were selected. First, Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management (n=1) was selected as a key-informant to provide institutional perspectives on the *modus operandi* of participation in the management of the nature reserve. Other key-informant interviewees that were also purposively selected were n=1 official from ECPTA based in East London; n=1 official from DEA; n=1 official from DRDAR; n=1 official from DWS; n=1 official from Mbhashe Local Municipality; and n=1 tour guide employed by a NGO

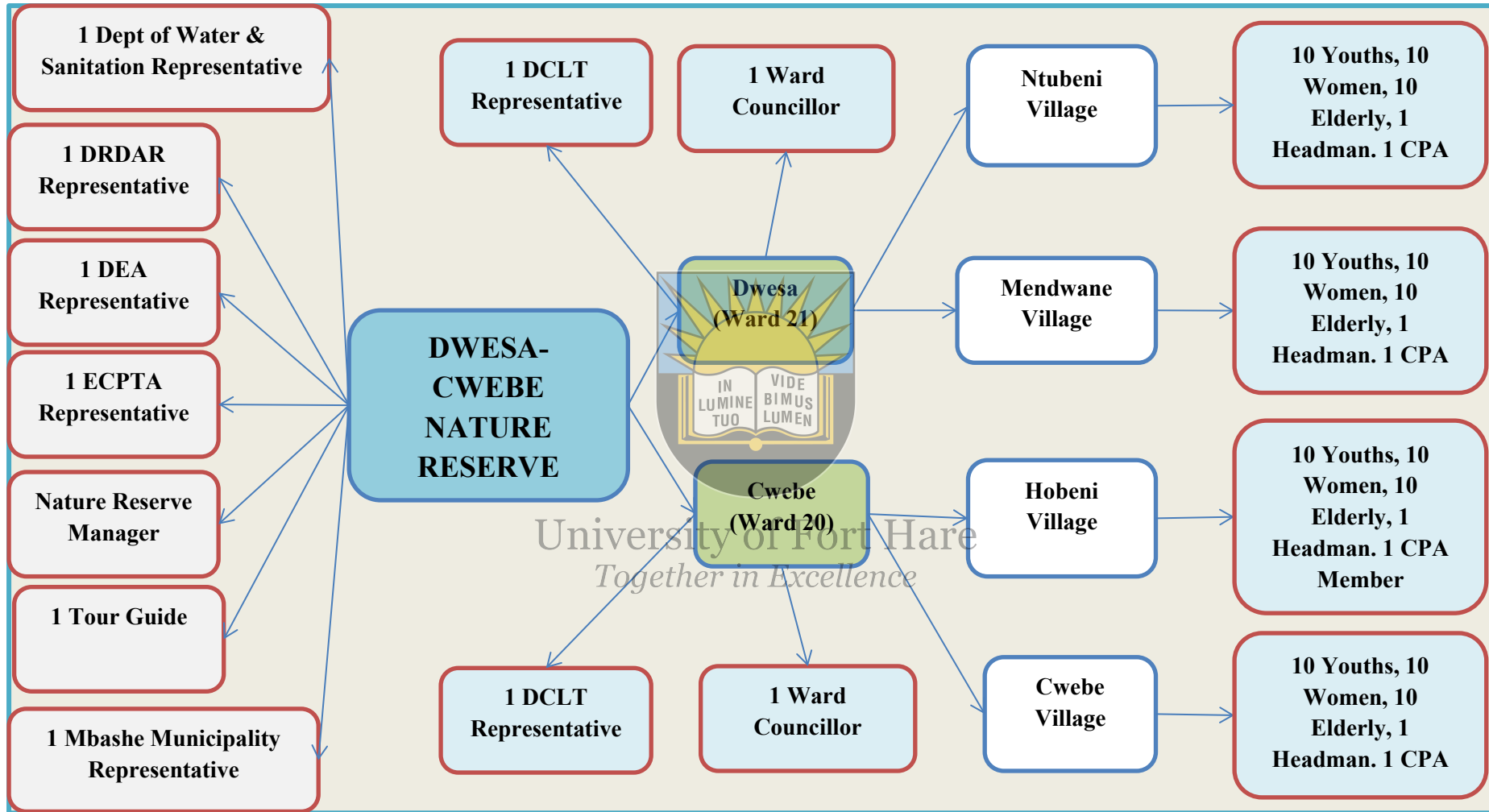


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The participants outlined above were chosen because their job authority was within or around the management of protected areas or the management of any resources contained within the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. A tour guide from Haven Hotel was invited to take part as a key-informant interviewee. The figure below shows a framework which outlines the selection of all the participants mentioned this far.

²⁶ The readers should note that the tenure of the current CPA members had since expired and it had not been renewed during the time of data collection. The process of the placement of the CPA members is that families of the victims of land grabs have to choose their own representatives through an independent organisation. The reader should recall that the actual victims who lost land to pave way for the formation of Dwesa Cwebe Nature Reserve were 2382 individuals. By the time data were collected, an organisation named Complan Town & Regional Planner cc was conducting CPA elections of which the main challenge was that they were facing difficulties in accessing the actual families of the 2382 victims initially identified. This was because the last election session was conducted in 2001 when the land was ceded to the communities and there was no proper documentations kept.

Figure 6.10: Selection of the local community members and representatives of the CPAs, DCLT, government and NGOs




The figure shows Selection of the local community members and representatives of the CPAs, DCLT, government and NGOs. Diagram credit: Nyamahono, J.D (2019).

6.6 Research instruments and primary data collection

In this study, four main tools were used to collect information: document analysis, qualitative interviews, focus group discussions and non-participant observations.

6.6.1 Document analysis

This research utilised a number of secondary information sources to give a clear image of the dynamics of participation under study. In most parts of this study, several information sources including online references, policy documents, press release posts, constitutions and publicly available studies were used to obtain a comprehensive understanding of the institutional characteristics and consequences of protected area management throughout South Africa. A variety of institutional policies both locally and internationally were also analysed in this study. This showed how important UN mechanisms such as the SDGs, the Convention on Biological Diversity, the Stockholm Declaration, the World Charter for Nature, the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21 influence South Africa's institutionalised structures of protected areas management. For example the Constitution; the National Environmental Management Act No. 107 of 1998; the National Environmental Management Act: Protected Areas Amendment Act No. 21 of 2014; and the NDP are deeply influenced by the global environmental management conventions and policies.



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6.6.2 Qualitative interviews

Part of qualitative information for this study was collected through interview schedules which were designed and constructed based on Kvale's (2007) seven-step methods which include thematisation, design, interviews, transcriptions, analysis, verification and reporting. According to Kvale (2007), the thematisation of the interview schedule includes combining semi-structured life world interviews and narrative interviews to allow the researcher to understand from their viewpoints the various themes of the subjects and explains their social realities.

For qualitative information, an interview plan with mixed questions was designed to capture the attention of the social realities of the participants regarding their participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The qualitative interview schedules created clear themes and sub-themes that shaped the broad

picture of the investigation. The qualitative interview schedules were therefore aimed at collecting information about concrete facts, what happens in environmental conservation, where, when, and how it happens.

In relation to the second step – design – Kvale (2007) suggests that the interview should be planned in the sense that all seven measures needed for effective interview planning and execution are taken into consideration. The template should include details on how to perform the interviews, including information on the number of interviews, the selection of participants and the number of interviewees. This phase included the preparation of the interview guides (see Appendices B, C, D and E), planning for the interviews and coordinating with the participants, briefing them and debriefing them on the research at hand. The researcher made plans with the potential interviewees before the actual interviews took place. The researcher made tentative visits to the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and neighbouring communities in January to March 2019 and observed various socio-demographic, cultural and other technical factors. Important information on the key individuals in the villages, nature reserve, NGOs, civil-community groups and various government departments was done during this period. Between August to September 2019; and January to February 2020, primary research was then carried out and all the information was recorded using voice recorders. Interviews were conducted in English and IsiXhosa. The interviewer has been in the Eastern Cape for more than 12 years and is therefore conversant in the local language.

Transcriptions followed on from the preceding step. Since the research followed a mostly qualitative approach, verbatim statements were considered sufficient. In addition, direct verbal citations were mostly used in the analysis chapter, as well as in the reporting of findings. Following this, Kvale's (2007) sixth step speaks of verification of the results. Verification in this research was mainly related to the validity and trustworthiness of the research instrument and the results.

The researcher undertook three measures in this research to ensure that the instrument and the primary research collected were highly credible. First, the researcher ensured that the research instruments were 'correct' to ensure that the findings produced were accurate and valid. Kvale's (2007) seven proposals of qualitative data analysis research schedules were adopted to ensure that the results

obtained from them 'ring true'. Second, the study followed Fischer's (2003) proposals that 'Communities of Validation' must be used in order to check for the trustworthiness of qualitative information collected through interviews. Fischer (2003) indicates that the interviewees themselves are the appropriate partners when interpretations by the interviewer relate to the subjects' own understandings of their comments. Therefore, the researcher identified key people in the primary research process who were informed about participation in environmental conservation and other stakeholders who had lived experiences within protected areas endowed communities. These stakeholders were asked to read the findings and comment on the extent to which the results reflected their opinions. Finally, different sources of literature and theories have been regularly used throughout this research. This helped the researcher to gain an in-depth understanding of the phenomenon being studied.

5.6.2.1 Key-informant interviews

The researcher conducted key-informant interviews to understand institutional knowledge about how Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is managed and other participatory dynamics. The following key informants participated in in-depth interviews.

a) Officials from Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and the adjacent communities

The Reserve Manager participated in this study as a key-informant due to his position and portfolio in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The main advantage was that the Reserve Manager also lives within the Dwesa-Cwebe communities, so he had rich knowledge pertaining to social reality and environmental participation, both in the capacity of an official authority and as a general person. One delegate from Mbashe Local Municipality also participated in key-informant interviews to provide perspectives in protected areas management from this municipality's viewpoint. Information was also collected from one tour guide employed by Haven Hotel to provide perspectives on protected areas management from this institutio's standpoint.

b) Officials from CPAs and DCLT

The key-informants were drawn from the CPAs and DCLT. Their participation was relevant in the sense that they provided their perspectives on how the local people are represented in the environmental conservation, how they provide their efforts in the participation process, how the spoils of their participation are distributed and other general perspectives of the local people. These interviewees provided more clarity on environmental engagement from the Land Trust perspective.

c) Officials from the South African government and parastatals

The key-informant interviews were conducted with officials from ECPTA, DEA, DRDAR, and DWS based in East London. ECPTA was chosen in this study because it contributes to transforming the East Cape into a province where sustainable development is underpinned by responsible tourism and conservation. Its mandate is the development and management of protected areas and the promotion and facilitation of tourism production in the province (ECPTA, 2019). As a result, provincial institutional information on the participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was gathered through this organisation. These government departments are also involved in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. For example, DWS is responsible for managing all freshwater sources within the nature reserve while DEA has the authority to declare and name newly declared protected areas, determine their management or co-management and influence the public participation process in environmental conservation. The involvement of the government departments in this study ensured that information on how participation is conservation practices is shaped and what is expected of various stakeholders was obtained.

5.6.2.2 In-depth interviews

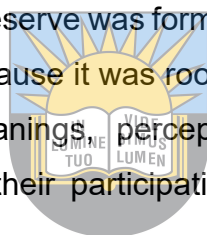
In-depth interviews were conducted with two groups of respondents, namely ward council representatives and local communities' representatives.

a) Ward council representatives

The councillors participated in in-depth interviews and provided in-depth information on the political and social dynamics of the participation of different stakeholders in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. These participants provided information that had two focal points: one, dynamics of participation in conservation that is politically motivated; and two, social realities on how people participate in conservation of nature, under whose authority, using what frameworks and for whose benefits.

b) Local communities representatives

Headmen participated in in-depth interviews based on their local authoritative perspectives. They were seen as appropriate figures to participate in this study as they precede each other from the time their communities were dislocated and relocated when the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was formed. The information provided by the headmen was considered rich because it was rooted in a traditional perspective. The information offered different meanings, perceptions and perspectives from the viewpoint of local authorities on their participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.



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6.6.3 Focus group discussions

Primary research was also conducted through focus group discussions from the youth, the women and the elderly.

6.6.3.1 Women

Women were deemed appropriate to participate in this study because of their close participation in nature conservation. Women have historically been identified with three major roles: reproduction, domestic production, and community work, and their roles include participation in natural environment caring, gathering food, providing water needs and maintaining healthy families (Mohammed, 2012; Odhiambo, 2015; Shettima, 1996). Interestingly, against the backdrop of current environmental management trends, women continue to play a major role in the provision of labour in primary production (Mohammed, 2012). Women participate in subsistence farming

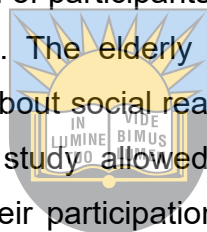
and environmental management programmes, allowing them to gain a deep understanding of environmental conservation (Adebayo & Anyanwu, 2005).

6.6.3.2 Youths

The youth groups consisted of participants aged 18-35 years and consisting of both male and female respondents. The main reason for selecting a separate youth group was that these individuals tend to have different participation dynamics in environmental management. Furthermore, these are the people who suffer the most from unemployment and the peripheralisation of their region's economic activities. It was therefore important to hear their views on nature conservation as well as how their patterns of participation within their local communities were shaped

5.6.3.3 Elderly

The elderly focus groups consisted of participants aged 36 and above, and consisted of male and female respondents. The elderly were selected because have rich historical and current knowledge about social realities within their communities. As a result, their involvement in this study allowed the researcher to gain in-depth knowledge about the nature of their participation in environmental management in previous years and how it has evolved to the present day



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6.6.4 Non-participant observations

Lastly, non-participant observations were used to collect different information about stakeholder participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Natuer Reserve. This research followed Spradley's (2016) three-tier observer funnel, which include descriptive observations, centred observations; and selected observations. According to Spradley (2016), descriptive observation involves the researcher in embarking on wide-ranging observations to understand the broad settings. In this study, the researcher first encountered the general picture of the participation of stakeholders in the management of the nature reserve using institutional and indigenous methods. This was followed by a more engrossed form of study – centred observation – where the researcher limited the scope of findings to specific patterns of participation. The researcher decided to learn more about what participation in environmental conservation actually meant for various participants.

Lastly, selected observation, as postulated by Spradley (2016), involves paying attention to particular aspects that are of interest to the researcher. Observations were made on every bits and pieces of the various meanings of participation obtained in this study. This allowed the researcher to establish various dynamics in the conservation processes. This further allowed the researcher to understand well the relation between the different meanings of participation and the current literature.

The researcher spent considerable time staying in the study community where he was able to 'see for himself' the actual participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The researcher captured audio and visual images during observations that reflected the dynamics of participation in nature conservation. Photographs were adopted as observational instruments, but their purpose was to supplement the other three methods used in primary research. In summary, the table below shows the research questions lined up with the methods utilised to collect information.



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Table 6.7: Primary research methods and their justification

Research Question	Information Sources and Methods	Justification
<p>What are the main institutionalised attributes of protected areas management in South Africa and the underpinning ideas?</p>	<p><u>Document analysis</u></p>	<p>Document analysis was conducted and it was vital for understanding the institutionalised attributes of the management of the protected area.</p>
<p>How are such attributes and conservation ideas epitomised by Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its adjacent communities?</p>	<p><u>Key-informant interview:</u></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With relevant officials from DEA; DRDAR; DWS; ECPTA; and Dwesa-Cwebe Management; Mphashe Local Municipality • With representatives of Haven Hotel, members of CPA and DCLT. <p><u>Non-participant observation</u></p> 	<p>Key-informant interviews provided an understanding of the main institutionalised attributes of the management of the protected area from the perspectives of those who had authoritative knowledge due to their formal involvement in the processes.</p> <p>Observation allowed the researcher to 'see for himself' what the attributes of conservation were in the protected area and its adjacent communities.</p>
<p>How do formal, institutionalised conservation practices in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve intersect with indigenous ecological practices in the adjacent communities and what are the related consequences?</p>	<p><u>Focus Group Discussion (FGD)</u></p> <p>3 FGDs – among elders, the youth, and women – in each of the four villages selected from the adjacent communities</p> <p><u>In-depth interview</u></p> <p>With selected authority figures – traditional leaders and local ward councillors in the adjacent communities.</p> <p><u>Non-participant observation</u></p>	<p>FGDs enabled the researcher to obtain in-depth information on the perspectives of ordinary people, with emphasis on group dynamic as well as verbal and non-verbal information.</p> <p>In-depth interviews yielded insights from the perspectives of local authority figures on the 'constructions' and contestations around protected areas management.</p> <p>Observation allowed the researcher to 'see for himself' the dynamics that were associated with formal and indigenous conservation practices in the study areas.</p>

6.7 Data analysis

Two forms of analysis were applied in this study. The first form, document analysis, involved the analysis of institutional frameworks in nature conservation. Key policy

documents were analysed to understand the ecological conservation framework for, as well as institutional stakeholders in, protected areas management in South Africa. The second form, qualitative data analysis, followed Terre Blanche, Durrheim and Kelly's (2006, p. 322) guidelines. According to these scholars, there are five steps followed in qualitative data analysis. The first step, familiarisation and immersion, allows the researcher to engage and understand the processes and the methods used to collect the information used for this study (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). This enabled the researcher to establish an understanding of the intensity of the information in terms of answering the research questions. Familiarisation and immersion also enabled the researcher to gain a thorough understanding of the overall raw information as well as the kinds of interpretations that could be generated from it.

Furthermore, Terre Blanche et al. (2006) talk about inducing themes as a second step in the data analysis process. This was achieved by examining the various meanings of the respondents' participation, as well as how they provide their services in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The researcher also developed numerous codes, sub-themes, definitions, concepts, and sentences as a third step in support of the various themes formed in step two.

In step four, Terre Blanche et al. (2006) recommend that a researcher should objectively examine the collection of qualitative data – be it in the form of audio-visual aids or any additional information. The researcher reviewed the interviews conducted at this point, the focus group discussion sessions conducted and the observations on the dynamics of participation of different stakeholders in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. After this step, the last stage involved writing a detailed account of the social realities about the participation of different stakeholders in the management of nature reserves.

Information gathered through focus group discussions, key-informants, in-depth interviews and observations was categorised into different themes, sub-themes and various codes. The purpose of this was to help make sense of the official and indigenous conservation in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Thematic analysis was considered a suitable technique of analysis because it accommodates diverse information to be classified under different themes. However, since this work also focused on theoretical input, as it was inspired by the use of several underlying

theories, thematic analysis allowed the researcher to incorporate and triangulate literature and to apply them across a variety of epistemologies.

6.8 Ethical considerations

This research was guided by various ethical considerations. The researcher formally applied to the University of Fort Hare Research and Ethics Committee for authorisation to conduct this study. The approval was given and endorsed on the Ethical Clearance Certificates utilised in the study (see Appendix F). The certificate was provided in order for the researcher to conduct the research under strict ethical guidelines. As a result, the study was carried out in accordance with the University's Research Ethics Policy and Guidelines.

The ethical clearance certificate paved the way for primary research to be conducted. Participants in this study were contacted and invited to participate. Efforts were taken to ensure that participants in primary research provided informed consent. The informed consent form provided as Appendix A was used to explain to the participants the reason for the study, its aim and objectives, and why it is necessary to conduct it. Participants' informed consent was used in this study and beyond, as long the uses are similar to those that this study is focused on. The participants were noticed that there are many implications that will affect them when the research findings are published. For example, stakeholder participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve may become critical. As a result, the participants were informed that their location may attract media attention as well as other interested stakeholders.

With the consequences outlined above, participants were informed that their participation was entirely voluntary and that no direct advantages would be provided in exchange for their participation. The participants were also reminded that their voluntary participation indicates that they are freely disclosing information on how they participate in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. They were also told that they are free to discontinue the process at any moment if they do not want to continue anymore.

Aside from the issue of voluntary participation, the participants were guaranteed their privacy and confidentiality. The study was regulated by the Protection of Personal

Information Act No. 4 of 2013. This Act establishes the basic criteria for accessing and 'processing' another individual's personal information. One of these requirements was alerting participants that the information they provided was intended only for this research and its associated publications. The participants were also told that the information they gave would only be available to the researcher and no one else. Furthermore, in order to the participants remained anonymous throughout the primary research process.

In terms of the main study itself, participants were notified that their voices would be captured using recording devices. They were informed that recording the interviews and responses through focus group discussions was an efficient technique of gathering thorough information. The participants were also informed that photographs of the neighbouring villages would be taken in order to gather as much information as possible on the dynamics of participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Lastly, the researcher carefully ensured that no risks would affect the primary research. The researcher liaised with local park officials and community members and took all appropriate precautions to ensure that there was no physical or psychological damage involved in the primary research process.

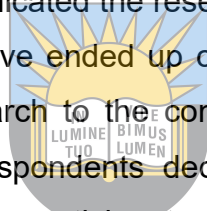
6.9 Challenges encountered and mitigation strategies

The main challenges faced in this research were related to fieldwork. First, the researcher and his assistant were not aware during the preliminary visit to the research site that the road network from Willowvale to Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is gravel and very poor. As a result, the small car hired for the fieldwork was stored only in Willowvale, which is 47 km from the research site. The researcher finally hired an off-road (4*4) vehicle to go and hold the preliminary meetings that meant extra driving expenses were incurred. Had it not been for the supervisor who provided financial aid, the preliminary research site visits would not have been successful.

The second challenge concerned the collection of information from the CPAs. During primary research, the term of the members of the CPAs had lapsed and these people were due to be replaced through the voting process. The local communities had already lost hope that there would be any CPAs, as the elections had been postponed for more than a year. Nevertheless, although their membership in CPAs had lapsed,

they were appointed as acting members of this group until the elections were held. As a result, the information were collected from these participants, as was the case with the CPAs in previous years.

In terms of choosing the right number of participants, the key challenge in conducting focus group discussions was in line with the number of participants. The goal of the research was to have three focus groups (youths, women and elders) of ten people per group in each of the four villages, totalling 120 participants. However, more numbers have appeared in all the villages, the main reason being that the majority of the people in the study area always expect such gatherings to bring benefits. Further investigation also showed that community meetings on land ownership and redistribution have taken place lately; so people had the impression that the research at hand was also in line with the land question. In addition, it has also been noted that traditional leaders in Dwesa-Cwebe who have been given the tasks of recruiting participants may not have communicated the research well with potential participants to the extent that more people have ended up coming. As a result, the researcher clarified the purpose of the research to the community, and it was only after the explanation that some of the respondents decided to leave. The focus groups ultimately retained a total size of ten participants as expected.



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6.10 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research methodology and methods followed in order to answer the key questions of this study. The chapter provided a detailed description on how the five main methods for collecting primary information, namely document analysis, in-depth interviews, key-informant interviews, focus group discussions and non-participant observations were applied. With respect to the latter, pictorial images were used to depict the lived realities of the participants and, where necessary, the different dynamics around the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The information collected was analysed using document analysis and thematic analysis. The chapter then provided a detailed description on how ethical policies such as voluntary participation of participants, confidentiality, privacy, informed consent and protection from any physical or psychological damage guided the primary research process. In addition, the chapter discussed the limitations that were encountered in this study and the mitigation strategies employed. The next chapter is the first of two

chapters on research findings and is dedicated to addressing the first research objective which is centred on examining the main institutionalised attributes of protected areas management in South Africa and the underpinning ideas.



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CHAPTER SEVEN: INSTITUTIONALISED ATTRIBUTES OF PROTECTED AREAS MANAGEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

7.1 Introduction

The research objective on which the findings of this chapter are based was to determine the main institutionalised attributes of protected areas management in South Africa and the underpinning ideas – in other words, to determine how the institutional perspectives are expressed through policies guiding the management of the nature reserves nationally. The importance of discussing legislation is to highlight its position in engendering equity and justice and in the implementation of people centred and participatory democracy in protected areas. The section also provides the contestations around these policies guiding protected areas management in South Africa.

7.2 South Africa's main institutionalised attributes of protected areas management

Chapter two discussed the guiding global frameworks for the management of protected areas adopted by South Africa and implemented in its policies on environmental management. This chapter discusses South Africa's attempts to meet its biodiversity protection objectives under international legislation and broader societal roles. The following are the South African frameworks on conservation that stemmed out of the global policies: the Constitution; National Environmental Management Act No. 107 of 1998; Natural Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No.21 of 2014; National Development Plans; and Legislative Acts on Nature Conservation. These conventions provide the underlying reasons for the objectives set for the South African management of protected areas. Such frameworks, especially those administered by the government, are implemented with the agenda of reducing inequality and promoting inclusiveness, participatory democracy, engendering justice and equity, and pushing for people-centred, environmentally sound and sustainable participation with minimal harm to the environment while benefiting the public in the end. Overall, South Africa's institutional legal framework for environmental management all stems from the Constitution.



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7.2.1 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, No. 108 of 1996

The Constitution is the primary legislative framework governing participation in environmental issues by individuals and institutional stakeholders (Tarr & Tarr, 2003). The Constitution places significant responsibilities on the South African people and the institutional stakeholders to achieve sustainable development. Section 24²⁷ of the Constitution specifically states that people have the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health and well-being; it must therefore be protected sustainably through use or reasonable legislative measures. Furthermore, the Constitution also talks about the issues of equality and collective participation in maintaining an environment that is safe for the dependent people and organisms. This legislative framework also relates to other supporting conventions, such as the Consultative National Environmental Policy Process (CONNEPP), which resulted in the 1997 launch of the White Paper on National Environmental Management (Sandham & Pretorius, 2008). In addition to these inventions, the environmental education and training outlined in the White Paper on Education and Training (1995) is another important aspect that supports the issue of people, participation, environmental conservation, and equality. The White Paper states:

.....environmental education, involving an interdisciplinary, integrated and active approach to learning, must be a vital element of all levels and programmes of the education and training system, in order to create environmentally literate and active citizens and ensure that all South Africans, present and future, enjoy a decent quality of life through the sustainable use of resources (ibid., p. 18).

As noted in the White Paper on Education and Training (1995), it is clear that the majority of people are more likely to participate through direct access to free education in environmental management and conservation, especially if they bring significant benefits from the participation process. Regassa, Nyahadi and Boubacar (2011) show

²⁷ According to Section 24, Everyone has the right –

- (a) “To an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being”; and
- (b) “To have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that” –
 - (i) “prevent pollution and ecological degradation”;
 - (ii) “promote conservation”; and
 - (iii) “secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development”.

that marginalised people, especially those who are not employed and who rely on the natural environment for their livelihoods, are highly likely to participate in environmental education and training if they can derive benefits directly from the process. Flournoy (2019) and Carruthers (2019), on the other hand, indicate that marginalised communities can voluntarily practice sustainable conservation practices and environmental justice because if they do not, they may lose all the resources nature provides. Thus, based on different conventions, one can conclude that the Constitution lays the foundation for the involvement of various stakeholders in conservation practices.

However, it is also important to note that the mere existence of the Constitution does not guarantee the collective participation of stakeholders in the management of the environment and the equitable distribution of the benefits. As already noted in the empirical evidence reviewed this far, there is still racial and social inequality in natural resource management (Musavengane & Leonard, 2019). This stemmed from the South African apartheid regime, where the black community suffered land expropriation through colonisation, the expansion of settlements and the establishment of game reserves that led to negative perceptions of environmental issues (Khan, 2002). Additionally, the then apartheid government also developed environmental policies to continuously peripheralise the black communities (Hamann, Booth & O'Riordan, 2000).

Because of this background and despite the expected environmental conservation outcomes outlined in the Constitution, South Africa continues to lag behind in terms of the inclusion of all indigenous peoples in environmental management, particularly in marginalised communities where people rely on nature for their livelihoods (Akpan, 2009; Umejesi, 2011, 2015). In addition, some of the policies implemented in environmental conservation have been seen as predominantly location-based where there is more focus on achieving a place's sustainability rather than being people-centred (Todes & Turok, 2018). Todes and Turok (2018) also found that while location-based policies have the potential to promote inclusiveness and public participation, stronger vertical and horizontal alignment of policies is needed to address entrenched spatial divisions. This demonstrates that the Constitution and its supporting frameworks do not adequately play a role in reducing inequality in terms of the

management of natural resources and the distribution of the benefits generated in its management efforts.

Moreover, despite the provision of free environmental education as provided for in the Constitution, it is clear that this initiative is not well known to the general public except for a few who are knowledgeable or have easy access to such information (Sandham & Pretorius, 2008). For example, much of the Eastern Cape Province is marginalised and it is known that the adult literacy rate is low compared to other provinces (Statistics South Africa, 2016). This implies that the uneducated populations are limited in their chances of being aware of the free environmental education. Furthermore, in the event that people have acquired free environmental education, it is important to understand that this may not benefit the entire civil society conclusively, especially if the educated individuals are not provided with relevant job opportunities. To this end, in the name of environmental conservation, such beneficiaries may end up being exploited (Arntzen, Setlhogile & Bares, 2007). Thus, the Constitution can lay the foundations for the exploitation of volunteers unless it is supported by relevant community development initiatives. Nevertheless, *ceteris paribus*, one of the frameworks that was established to enforce Section 24 of the Constitution is the National Environmental Management Act No. 107 of 1998, which is analysed below.

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7.2.2 National Environmental Management Act, No. 107 of 1998

NEMA is a legislative measure that enshrines all legal environmental management frameworks or conventions in South Africa (Baatjies, 2009). NEMA provides the provision with which the public are given opportunities to embark in environmental conservation through training and development, education and other environmental development initiatives. Among several provisions, NEMA provides an emphasis on local communities' environmental education so that the indigenous communities become aware of the environment they live in, maintain its well-being and participate in the sharing of knowledge and experience to enable broad-based empowerment (Baatjies, 2009). To achieve this, NEMA advocates for the collaboration of the civil society, indigenous communities, traditional leaders and other stakeholders in all sectors of society, including rural settings, for the government and its subordinates (Bentley, 2005). The needs of marginalised communities are therefore considered

among a wide range of other factors that affect the nation as a whole (Dressler, Büscher, Schoon, Brockington, Hayes, Kull, McCarthy & Streshta, 2010).

NEMA is also diversified into various frameworks that govern the arena of managing protected areas, biodiversity and air management to enable a wide range of key players to coincide with their ideas for environmental conservation. For example, the passage of the National Environmental Management Act: Biodiversity Act No. 10 of 2004 (NEMBA) represents one of the most significant legislative improvements in environmental management and in promoting inclusiveness in the participation process (Kidd, 2011). NEMBA is an essential legislative framework for environmental governance, as it provides frameworks, norms and standards for the conservation, sustainable use and equitable sharing of the South Africa's biological resources among various stakeholders (Sandham & Pretorius 2008). In addition, another act, the National Environmental Management Act: Air Quality Act No. 39 of 2004 was also born from NEMA. This act provides frameworks for the management of air pollution and it is based on the premise that the majority of people in South Africa live in unhealthy environments and are susceptible to pollution-related diseases in which the poor are left in the worst conditions (Bentley, 2005). As a result, the National Environmental Management: Air Quality Act No. 39 of 2004 provides initiatives for local people to participate in air pollution abatement or advocate for the promotion of clean air by various stakeholders such as those directly responsible for air management industries and organisations. This legislation empowers local people in the sense that they are guided in environmental management and activism by regulatory bodies throughout the participatory process, where their conservation inputs and needs are considered. Another NEMA subsidiary legislative framework that is directly related to the management of protected areas is the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Act No. 21 of 2014, discussed in the following section.

7.2.3 Natural Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014

The Natural Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act 21 of 2014, which was put into effect on second 2 June 2014, is the watchdog of protected areas conservation in South Africa. It is worthwhile noting that this act is built upon four other legislative frameworks, namely: NEMA; National Environmental

Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 31 of 2004; National Environment Laws Amendment Act, No. 14 of 2009; and National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 15 of 2009. Natural Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act 21 of 2014 outlines specifically the South African protected area system, its declaration, its management (including co-management), and restrictions and how these conservation spaces are dissolved.

7.2.3.1 Declaration of protected areas

One of the first important steps towards the institutionalisation of the protected areas in South Africa is their declaration. The Constitution specifically stipulates that the Minister responsible for environmental affairs in the province has the power to declare any area as a protected area, MPA, national park or any other conservational initiative. According to the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014, Chapter 3, Part 2a, Section 22a, Sub-section (1)(a)²⁸ the Minister may declare a protected area by simply putting a notice in the Gazette that particular areas have been declared as protected. Furthermore, Sub-section (1)(b) states that the Minister has the powers to give a name to the newly declared protected area.

While scholars and officials view state control as an effective way of preserving the environment (Kothari et al., 2010; Frank, 2016; IUCN, 2017; Risse, 2012), a close look at the processes clearly shows that the local communities that are the rightful owners of the declared land are not being consulted in any way. Furthermore, the fact that the declaration is published in the Gazette clearly shows that the indigenous communities are of little relevance in most cases but will only follow the institutional procedures instituted before them. Studies conducted by Couldry, Rodriguez, Bolin, Cohen, Volkmer, Goggin, Kraidy, Iwabuchi, Qiu, Wasserman and Zhao (2018) found that poor communication within rural communities is the reason why such areas are progressing slowly in terms of social development due to several means. McEwan (2003) observes

²⁸ National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014 Chapter 3, Part 2a: 22a. Declaration of marine protected areas -
(1) The Minister may, by notice in the Gazette
(a) declare an area specified in the notice
(i) As a marine protected area; or
(ii) As part of an existing marine protected area; and
(b) Assign a name to the marine protected area.

that local communities have low participation in development projects in South Africa because of a lack of information. Furthermore, Khan (2002) argues that the participation of black communities is impeded by the socio-economic legacy of the past, the continued use of inappropriate techniques of participation and widespread illiteracy. Therefore, in the case of the declaration of protected areas, it is highly likely that any average person at the grassroots level will not even have access to the Gazette and similar publications, so; the whole system is selective for some community participants. Thus, participation is dominantly influenced by the powerholders or this in the community who have authoritative roles.

7.2.3.2 Purposes of, and access to, protected areas

The National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014 further outlines the purposes of these conservation spaces following the declaration of protected areas. According to Section 17a-l²⁹, protected areas should promote the protection of ecological integrity, the biodiversity of places, the representation of different South African ecosystems and the protection of vulnerable areas and endangered species. Section 17k, which states that protected areas should contribute to human, social, cultural, spiritual and economic development, is an important clause that has direct impact on the socio-cultural and economic lives of the people. This legislative framework has certain restrictive measures. Chapter 4, Part 3, Section 45 State that, once the protected areas have been declared, no other person shall be permitted to enter, reside or carry out any activity in those conservation areas except government officials directly responsible for conservation management, individuals undergoing official activities in the protected area, researchers and

²⁹ According to the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014 Chapter 3 Section 17, the purposes of the declaration of areas as protected areas are-

- (a) To protect ecologically viable areas representative of South Africa's biological diversity and its natural landscapes and seascapes in a system of protected areas;
- (b) To preserve the ecological integrity of those areas;
- (c) To conserve biodiversity in those areas;
- (d) To protect areas representative of all ecosystems, habitats and species naturally occurring in South Africa;
- (e) To protect South Africa's threatened or rare species;
- (f) To protect an area which is vulnerable or ecologically sensitive;
- (g) To assist in ensuring the sustained supply of environmental goods and services;
- (h) To provide for the sustainable use of natural and biological resources;
- (i) To create or augment destinations for nature-based tourism;
- (j) To manage the interrelationship between natural environmental biodiversity, human settlement and economic development;
- (k) Generally, to contribute to human, social, cultural, spiritual and economic development; or
- (l) To rehabilitate and restore degraded ecosystems and promote the recovery of endangered and vulnerable species.

researchers, news reporters³⁰. Similar legislative measures are also applied to MPAs to limit access by the general communities to protected aquatic resources. As noted in Chapter 4, Part 4, Section 48a, Sub-section (1)³¹, no individual may fish or attempt to fish or carry out any activity that may lead to the extraction of sand, rock, gravel or minerals from protected coastal areas once the MPA has been declared.

Given all of the objectives and conditions of accessibility outlined above, there appear to be contradictions about how indigenous communities can contribute their efforts to the institutionalised cause of the environment. For example, if socio-cultural and spiritual development is to take place, local communities should have access to the natural resources based on their traditional beliefs. But then again, current legislative frameworks actually limit local communities' access to protected areas because of the perceived 'primitivity' and the professed threat to biodiversity (Ballard et al., 2017). The fact that access to protected areas is limited to local communities but open to scientists, government officials or institutional stakeholders with an 'interest in nature conservation' clearly conflicts with the beliefs of the traditional people. This could result in conflicts between the local communities and users of protected areas. This is also

³⁰ The Natural Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act 21 of 2014, Chapter 4 – Management of Protected Areas, Part 3 – Access to Protected Areas, Section 45 states that: (1) No person may: (a) Enter a special nature reserve; (b) Reside in a special nature reserve; or (c) Perform any activity in a special nature reserve. (2) Sub-section (1) does not apply to (a) an official of the Department or another organ of state designated by the Minister in writing to monitor (i) The state of conservation of the reserve or of the biodiversity in the reserve; or (ii) The implementation of the management plan and this Act; (b) Any police, customs or excise officer entering the area in the performance of official duties; or (c) A person acting in terms of an exemption granted under Sub-section (3). (3) The management authority of a special nature reserve may, in writing and on conditions determined by it after consulting the Minister, grant exemption from a provision of Sub-section (1) to (a) A scientist to perform scientific work; (b) A person to perform an activity related to the conservation of the reserve or of the biodiversity in the reserve; (c) A person recording a news event that occurred in the reserve or an educational or scientific programme; (d) An official of the management authority to perform official duties; or (e) An official of an organ of state to perform official duties.

³¹ The Natural Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act 21 of 2014, Chapter 4 – Management of Protected Areas, Part 4 – Restrictions, Section 48A states that: (1) Despite any other legislation, no person may in a marine protected area: (a) Fish or attempt to fish; (b) Take or destroy any fauna or flora; (c) Undertake any dredging or extraction of sand, rock, gravel or minerals unrelated to any activities referred to in section 48 (1); (d) Discharge or deposit waste or any other polluting matter; (e) In any manner which results in an adverse effect on the marine environment, disturb, alter or destroy the natural environment or disturb or alter the water quality or abstract sea water; (f) Carry on any activity, which may have an adverse effect on the ecosystem of the area; (g) Construct or erect any building or other structure on or over any land or water within such a marine protected area; (h) Carry on marine aquaculture activities; (i) Engage in bio-prospecting activities; (j) Sink or scuttle any platform, vessel or other structure; or (k) Undertake mineral exploration, and production of petroleum and other fossil fuels.

seen in studies by Spooner et al. (2019) and Ballard et al. (2017), who found that South Africa's formalised conservation areas were accompanied by controversial modern education systems that continually discredit local and traditional ecological practices as primitive and threaten conservation efforts. This proclamation is in complete contrast to Sunde's (2013) studies, which found that the IKS play a significant role in the conservation of the environment. For example, one of the prominent traditional ecological practices that include the preservation of some forests or plants as sacred for spiritual purposes and other rituals (ibid.) is in fact an important environmental management initiative in the traditional communities but is not even taken into consideration in terms of conservation within the legislative frameworks.

In addition, there are inconsistencies around the National Environmental Management Act: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014, Section 17 g, which states that the purpose of protected areas in South Africa is to help ensure a sustainable supply of environmental goods and services. This is because such a purpose does not live to its meaning because access to these environmental goods and services is not even provided to the local communities in most cases. At the expense of indigenous peoples, only institutional stakeholders such as environmental philanthropists, NGOs, private organisations and other entities dominantly have access to protected areas. Several studies (Boiral et al., 2019; Dyer et al., 2019; Haines et al., 2019; Sarkki et al., 2019; Neelakantan et al., 2019; Anguelovski et al., 2019; Neelakantan, 2019; Griffiths et al., 2019; Hodgett, 2018; Finlayson et al., 2018; Bwornlie et al., 2017; Petrova, 2014; Fischer et al., 2014; Sunde, 2014; Tomicevic et al., 2010; Brownlie & Botha, 2009; Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010; Akpan, 2009) testify to this proclamation.

7.2.3.3 Co-management of protected areas

The Constitution, through the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014 stipulates procedures to be followed for co-management of the protected areas. According to Section 42, Sub-section (1)(a), the management authorities may enter into an agreement with another organ of the state, a local community, and individual or other party to negotiate deals pertaining to (i) co-management of the conservational spaces or (ii) regulation of human activities that

affect the environment in the area³². Such an assertion clearly shows that the management authority is the government in this respect and the government decides, at its discretion, whether it wishes to collaborate with any other state organ, civic groups or individuals at local level. In short, in this respect, the Constitution completely ignores the fact that the local communities have their indigenous and customary laws³³ on land management and incorporation of their will into formalised structures.

Furthermore, Sub-section (2)³⁴ states that a co-management agreement may provide for: a) the delegation of powers by the management authority to the other party to the agreement; b) the apportionment of any income generated from the management of the protected area or any other form of benefit sharing between the stakeholders; c) the use of biological resources in the area; d) access to the area; e) occupation of the protected area or portions thereof; and f) development of economic opportunities within and adjacent to the protected area;



³² In South Africa, the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Act, No. 21 of 2014 provides the provision for co-management of the protected areas. According to Chapter 4 – Management of Protected Areas, Part 1 – Management authorities and management plans, Section 42 – Co-management of protected areas:

(1) (a) The management authority may enter into an agreement with another organ of state, a local community, an individual or other party for:

(i) The co-management of the area by the stakeholders; or
(ii) The regulation of human activities that affect the environment in the area.

(b) The co-management contemplated in paragraph (a) may not lead to fragmentation or duplication of management functions.

³³ Customary law is defined by Bekker (1994, p. 11) as “.....an established system of immemorial rules.....evolved from the way of life and natural wants of the people, the general context of which was a matter of common knowledge, coupled with precedents applying to special cases, which were retained in the memories of the chief and his councillors, their sons and their sons’ sons until forgotten, or until they became part of the immemorial rules”.

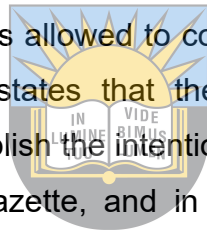
³⁴ (2) A co-management agreement may provide for

(a) The delegation of powers by the management authority to the other party to the agreement;
(b) The apportionment of any income generated from the management of the protected area or any other form of benefit sharing between the stakeholders;
(c) The use of biological resources in the area;
(d) Access to the area;
(e) Occupation of the protected area or portions thereof;
(f) Development of economic opportunities within and adjacent to the protected area;
(g) Development of local management capacity and knowledge exchange;
(h) Financial and other support to ensure effective administration and implementation of the co-management agreement; and
(i) Any other relevant matter.

All these co-management initiatives appear to be skewed towards the requirements of the management authority, which is the government. Consequently, what seems ironic in this respect is that co-management must be balanced and not one-sided, as stated in the Constitution. It is also apparent from the activities outlined that, despite the existence of co-management agreements, it is the government that will have the final say on the delegation of authority, the use of revenue generated, the use of preserved resources, general access to the area and the administration and development of the protected area.

7.2.3.4 Public participation in protected areas management

The Constitution also provides the provision for public participation of stakeholders in the management of protected areas. According to the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014, Chapter 3, Part 5, Section 33, for there to be public participation, certain publication procedures have to be followed before any individual is allowed to contribute efforts in the management processes. Sub-section (1)(a)³⁵ states that the minister or the Member of the Executive Council (MEC) must publish the intention to issue a notice contemplated in Sections 31³⁶ or 32³⁷, in the Gazette, and in at least two national newspapers



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³⁵ National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014 Chapter 3, Part 5, Section 33 - Public participation:

(1) The Minister or the MEC must

(a) Publish the intention to issue a notice contemplated in section 31 or 32, in the Gazette and in at least two national newspapers distributed in the area in which the affected area is situated

³⁶ Section 31 outlines the particulars relating to Consultation by Minister and states that subject to Sub-section 34, before issuing a notice under section 18 (1), 19, 20 (1), 21, 22 (1), 22A (1), 22B, 23 (1), 24 (1), 26 (1), 28 (1) or 29, the Minister may follow such consultative process as may be appropriate in the circumstances, but must

(a) Consult all national organs of state affected by the proposed notice;

(b) In accordance with the principles of cooperative government as set out in Chapter 3 of the Constitution, consult

(i) The MEC of the province concerned; and

(ii) The municipality in which the area concerned is situated;

(c) in the prescribed manner, consult any lawful occupier with a right in land in any part of the area affected; and

(d) Follow a process of public participation in accordance with section 33.

[S. 31 substituted by s. 9 of Act No. 31 of 2004 and amended by s. 7 of Act No. 21 of 2014.]

³⁷ Section 31 outlines the particulars relating to Consultation by MEC and states that subject to section 34, before issuing a notice under section 23 (1), 26 (1), 28 (1) or 29, the MEC may follow such consultative process as may be appropriate in the circumstances, but must

(a) consult in accordance with the principles of cooperative government as set out in Chapter 3 of the

distributed in the affected area. Sub-section (2)(a) further states that the publication in the national newspaper should invite members of the public to submit written submissions or objections to the proposed notice to the Minister or MEC within 60 days of the date of publication in the Gazette, and (b) contain sufficient information to enable members of the public to submit meaningful submissions or objections.

This way of inviting participants to participate in public participatory arrangement is actually beyond the accessibility of the majority of local communities in South Africa. It is highly possible that people who have access to the national newspapers, the literate and those who have interests in the subject matter are likely to have access to the press before any average person at the local community level. Thus, institutional developments of protected areas are likely to evolve without the local communities knowing the state of affairs. Concisely, this form of public participation is in fact biased towards few people who have societal privileges or those who have access to the media and some who have the capacity to participate under certain formalised frameworks in public participation. Literature also shows that, similar to the different dynamics surrounding the achievement of SDG targets towards 2030, the National Environmental Management Act: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014 is also an over ambitious framework that is concerned only with meeting the proposed targets rather than considering other aspects on the ground. The goals set in the management of protected areas are strictly institutional and it is clear that the local communities are not considered or do not have much relevance in relation to the management processes. In fact, the local people are softly evicted and even become environmental refugees as they are made to become conservational subjects that do not have a say in management of these protected areas (Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010). Instead, they are asked to support the protected areas from afar through zero-interference (Sunde, 2013; Sunde, 2014).

Constitution

- (i) The Minister and other national organs of state affected by the proposed notice; and
- (ii) The municipality in which the area concerned is situated;
- (b) Consult all provincial organs of state affected by any proposed notice;
- (c) In the prescribed manner, consult any lawful occupier with a right in land in any part of the area affected; and
- (d) Follow a process of public participation in accordance with section 33.

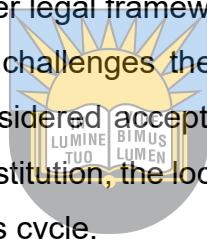
Furthermore, Akpan's (2011) studies identify IKS as being in contrast with the international knowledge systems generated by universities, research institutions and private firms. Consequently, the use of the Constitution as a basis for the management of protected areas contrasts strongly with IKS, because both are based on different conservation grounds. Critics of this concept have come to realise that indigenous – or local knowledge is typically and often erroneously contrasted with global or scientific knowledge (structured, formalised and codified knowledge produced in universities and similar formal knowledge establishments) due to analogous development in the Western and Third World (Akpan, 2011; Agrawal, 1995; Banuri, 1987; Verma, 2001).

The process of the declaration and management of protected areas as stipulated in the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014 can even lead to the exploitation of the local communities. The act clearly shows that the local communities do not have a room to air their views even if public participation is proposed. Thus, in a way, state control of natural resources in South Africa and the formation of protected areas in general, may enable states to apply their absolute powers to privilege rich people and powerful corporations by giving them land expropriated from ordinary people (Akpan, 2009). Furthermore, the use of the legislative frameworks as the watchdog for protected areas management can result in the majoritarian and minoritarian biases also explained through the formation of two-force outcomes, namely fear of the few and fear of the many (Komesar, 2001). On one hand, fear of the few is experienced when the minority groups in the society tend to lose when state control in the management of property is applied. On the other hand, fear of the many is when the majority loses at the expense of the minority groups. On this note, the indigenous peoples are high likely to be sole losers in the institutionalisation of the protected areas in South Africa because they do not only lose their land, but also the opportunity to participate in environmental conservation practices that benefit them.

In addition, the use of the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014 as the basis on which protected area management is embedded creates a situation where power-holders can end up exploiting the less powerful people in the name of environmental conservation. According to Byrne (2017), it is clear that the entire natural resource management administrative process

is a top-down approach in which decisions flow from the top—where the most powerful people are—to the bottom, characterised by local communities and less powerful individuals. These administrative processes create human subjects that are powerless to the extent that any formalised ways of conserving the environment that diverge from their traditional management become normal and acceptable frameworks for them.

This can be illustrated by the fear of many aspects (Komesar, 2017), as in most cases the majority of local communities are subject to institutional laws on environmental conservation practices that do not actually have room for bottom-up approaches. In addition, an in-depth analysis of this framework shows that this framework poses a threat to local communities that they find it almost impossible to challenge. The fact that the Constitution is law alone makes it difficult for any average person in the grassroots communities to have a say on any legislative authority that is imposed upon them. As Berliner (2003), Ballard et al. (2017) and Spooner et al. (2019) noted, the rigidity of the constitutions and other legal frameworks victimises and prejudices local communities to some extent and challenges their ecological practices as primitive while the formalised ones are considered acceptable. In light of this, it is high likely that due to the existence of the constitution, the local communities and the generations to come may remain trapped in this cycle.



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7.2.4 National Development Plans *University of Fort Hare*

One of the important frameworks that affect South Africa's management of protected areas is the NDP. The main purpose of this policy document is to provide initiatives to reduce and eliminate inequality and poverty in South Africa by the year 2030. To achieve its 2030 goals, the NDP brings together civil society, private organisations and the government to help build an inclusive economy that promotes collective stewardship of development. The NDP is also a brainchild of the Constitution, and has several chapters, some of which have a direct effect on natural resource management and administration. The NDP's agenda, conceived in 15 chapters, is to ensure that South Africa achieves a wide range of goals including economic development and employment, environmental sustainability, inclusive rural economy development, and human settlement transformation, among others. Despite the dark history of South Africa characterised by apartheid, it is clear that significant developments have taken

place since the dawn of democracy in 1994 in terms of reducing inequality and poverty among the people.

Chapter 3 of the NDP talks about economic and employment improvement, with the main goal of reducing unemployment to 14% by 2020, up to 6% by 2030. Under this clause, unemployment can be reduced by introducing various micro-and macro-economic measures, including the extension of the Extended Public Works Programme (EPWP) to up to 2 million full-time equivalent jobs by 2020, and providing clear certainty for the general population about property rights, especially mine rights. However, while all these movements can lead to robust economic development, it is clear that the 2020 goals of the NDP to reduce unemployment have not been met, as unemployment rates continue to escalate. Furthermore, an analysis of the implications of EPWP shows that these initiatives do not properly play significant roles in reducing unemployment. This was predictable.

However, it is also important to note that while granting mining rights to individuals has a direct impact on their wealth generation and living standards, the prevailing legislative measures tend to restrict their access to and mining from certain places, particularly the protected areas. As has already been discussed, it is highly likely that the general population will not have the opportunity to own mining resources, particularly when they are lie on protected areas. Thus, there are significant contractions with the Constitution especially on the issue of giving people certainty over property rights.

It seems, however, that the same laws tend to favour particular persons and institutions. For example, as Akpan (2009) states, such land ownership and property rights privileges can be rendered to rich people and powerful corporations who, for various reasons, tend to benefit from land expropriated by ordinary people. Furthermore, in as much as the government may wish to increase economic benefits and employment among rural poor by means of environmental conservation initiatives, Umejesi (2011; 2015) found that the system of distribution of wealth generated by environmental development lacks fairness where most or all of the benefits are presided over by individual states.

NDP Chapter 5 outlines the environmental sustainability and resilience goals. This chapter has a specific impact on the institutionalisation of natural resource management and talks about the formation of protected areas and MPA measuring approximately 7.9 million hectares and 848 km of coastline by 2030. Chapter 5 advocates for a vigorous regulation of land use to restore the protected areas and other practices for environmental conservation. In addition, Chapter 5 states that new agricultural technologies should be introduced which can support both commercial and rural subsisting farmers in their interaction with the natural environment. This also has a direct impact on NDP Chapter 6, which outlines important aspects of rural communities' inclusion towards economic development. Chapter 6 specifies precisely that the agricultural sector must create around 640 000 jobs directly and create around 320 000 jobs indirectly by 2030.

It is important to note that NDP Chapter 5 is the immediate framework that has an implication in the formation of protected areas. This clause is similar to SDG 14.5, which refers to the conservation of at least 10% of coastal areas in all coastal countries, SDG 13.2, which advocates for the integration of climate change measures into national policies, and SDG 13.3, which outlines that the education system needs to be improved in order to raise awareness among people and institutions in the region. On the other hand, NDP Chapter 6 is similar to SDG 2.3, which is advancing to double farm productivity and small-scale farmers' incomes. That was actually done in South Africa by implementing smart technology and environmentally friendly farming practices.

However, despite NDP Chapters 5 and 6's contributions to environmental sustainability, bottleneck systems that are contrary to the principles of equality characterise the management processes. Such systems have been associated with discriminatory tendencies in which only a few people majority in the upper echelons of societies or environmental management organisations tend to benefit at the expense of the (Ringer, 2013). Furthermore, the promotion of natural environmental management seems to be some kind of initiative that prioritises nature at the expense of people. In most cases, the people are separated from nature so that the environment survives intact and then convince people to love the conserved resources from afar (Dowie, 2009; Lewis, 2010; Stevens, 2010).

The move towards conservation of the environment by 2030 thus continually makes people perpetual conservation refugees as they lose their land in the name of environmental management. Furthermore, the question of agricultural productivity towards economic development outlined in Chapter 6 seems controversial, particularly in the light of the existing legislative frameworks on nature conservation, which continually subject rural farmers to land losses in order to pave the way for nature reserves. Scholars such as Neelakantan et al. (2019), Neelakantan (2019), Anguelovski et al. (2019), Sunde (2013) and Ntsebeza (2000; 2005) have even noted that, due to these rigorous environmental management frameworks, farmers in particular in areas prone to formalised environmental conservation continue to lose their land. This contradicts government plans to move agricultural production forward as one of the means of economic development.

7.2.5 Some legislations on nature conservation

The table below shows some of the acts that directly affect the management of natural resources.



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Table 7.8: Selected legislations on nature conservation in South Africa

Act	Objective
The National Heritage Resources Act, 1999, No. 25 of 1999	Introducing an integrated and interactive management system for the national heritage resources. Sections 5(2)(a) and (b) of the Act require that the skills and capacities of communities be developed to ensure effective management of heritage resources. It further stipulates that the authorities concerned must provide for the ongoing education and training of heritage management workers.
The Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act, 2002, No. 28 of 2002	To ensure an equitable access and sustainable development of the mineral and petroleum resources of the nation.

The National Water Act, 1998, No. 36 of 1998	Ensuring the sustainable and equitable protection, utilisation, development, conservation, management and control of water resources.
The Mountain Catchment Areas Act, 1970	To provide for the conservation, utilisation, management and control of land in mountain catchment areas.
The National Veld and Forest Fire Act, 1998, No. 101 of 1998	To provide for measures throughout the Republic to prevent and combat veld, forest and mountain fires.
The Conservation of Agricultural Resources, 1983, No. 43 of 1983	To preserve the Republic's natural agricultural resources by, <i>inter alia</i> , maintaining the land's potential for production and combating and preventing erosion.
The Development Facilitation Act, 1995, No. 67 of 1995)	Implementing measures to facilitate and accelerate the implementation of reconstruction and development programmes; sets out general principles governing land development across the Republic.

Source: Extracted from Fakier, Stephens, Tholin and Kapelus (2005, p. 9-10)

The table shows the South African legislations on environmental management as well as how they influence people to participate in the management of natural resources. The National Heritage Resources Act No. 25 of 1999 is directly linked to Category III of protected areas management categories, which relates to the Natural Monuments and Areas of Cultural Significance (see Typologies of Protected Areas in South Africa – Table 2.3). This act advances the collaboration of skills and capacities of communities in the development and sustainability of natural heritage resources. It is also expected that the relevant departments will advance education and training in such a way that the skill and expertise results are highly relevant to the requirements for the fulfilment of the National Heritage Resources Act.

In addition, the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act No. 28 of 2002 states that local communities should have equal access to the minerals available and should ensure that those resources are used sustainably. The issue of sustainable resources is also similar to the requirements of the National Water Act No. 36 of 1998, which advocates for the conservation of water resources in nature reserves and national parks. In other legislations, the Mountain Catchment Areas Act of 1970 implemented by the then DWS, which is still in existence to date, advances the proper management of land within mountain catchment areas with a view to ensuring that the water sources are high in sanitation. That is nearly similar to the Conservation of

Agricultural Resources, No. 43 of 1983 that states that land should be sustainably maintained to combat and prevent erosion. Such a move has a direct implication on the protection of natural resources.

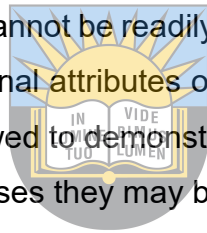
On the other hand, other legislative frameworks such as the National Veld and Forest Fire Act No. 101 of 1998 were implemented to prevent veld fires within the protected areas, natural resources and veld. Similarly, there are legislative frameworks that support natural resource conservation, for example; the Development Facilitation Act No. 67 of 1995 that outlines the initiatives needed to facilitate and accelerate reconstruction and development. All these legislative frameworks and institutions must all play a role in managing protected areas.

However, while the combined efforts of different government departments and legislative frameworks in environmental management have perceived positive impacts, there is no guarantee that there will be collective benefits, especially for marginalised communities. For example, while the Development and Facilitation Act No. 67 of 1995 lays down general principles governing land development in South Africa, it is highly likely that the primary beneficiaries of this act are only those people who own land. In this case, the general people involved in land rehabilitation can yield little or no benefits compared with the landowners or those at the top of the participatory arrangements. Similarly, the Minerals and Petroleum Resources Development Act No. 28 of 2002, which speaks of equal inclusion and access to mineral resources by local communities, appears to be unachievable given the prevailing legal frameworks that prevent people from accessing such resources. In most cases, only a few people tend to benefit at the expense of the masses (see Akpan, 2009; Umejesi, 2011; 2015).

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the institutional attributes of protected areas management and the underpinning ideas of such. Document analysis presented in this chapter has shown that the institutional attributes of the management of protected areas are shaped by global frameworks, all of which are annexed by the UN. The chapter has shown that such policies generally build on each other and they are based on a certain development agenda compared to previous policies. For example, the chapter showed

that the SDGs were actually built on the MDGs, but the objectives of these two frameworks sound similar. The chapter also indicated the extent to which the South African policies on protected areas management emanate from such global policies and how the environmental legislations and the NDPs are a brainchild of these frameworks. In addition, it has been revealed that the *modus operandi* of the South African legislative frameworks on nature conservation have also been systematically implemented, as in the case of global frameworks. Nevertheless, the analysis focused not only on how the institutional frameworks shape nature conservation legislation, but also on the contestations of participation especially when the participants have epistemic differences. The chapter established that the institutional frameworks are dominantly mere paper-based policies without vigorous action to achieve the objectives set, and participation that leads to equity and justice. The chapter is also shaped by the main argument of this study which states that in the face of epistemic differences, dominance and marginalisation could become a defining feature of protected area management that cannot be readily resolved through the mere process of participation. Thus, the institutional attributes of protected areas management and their underpinning ideas are reviewed to demonstrate that in some cases they lead to equity and justice while in other cases they may be source of inequity and injustice.



CHAPTER 8: CONSERVATION PRACTICES IN DWESA-CWEBE NATURE RESERVE – FINDINGS ON NON-PARTICIPATION

8.1 Introduction

This chapter begins by providing demographic information for all participants in primary research. For this study, demographic data presentation is critical for understanding the socio-economic status of the communities under study as it influences participation which will either engender or negatively impact equity and justice. The research has gathered basic but important information about the status and conditions of the study areas to assess the extent to which equity and justice are advanced in the communities. These also provide information on the degrees and level of participation of local communities in nature reserve socio-economic activities – which helps us understand the impact of protected areas in addressing local needs. This is followed by an analysis of the findings collected on conservation ideas on

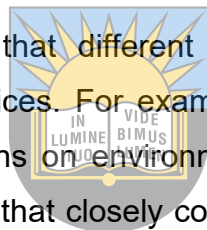
protected area management, which are epitomised by the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. As such, the chapter discusses non-participation as one of the ways in which participation is inherent in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The chapter notably includes evidence on how institutional stakeholders, youths, women, and the elderly in the study area are prone to placation, manipulation, and therapy. The chapter demonstrates that participation to a greater extent does not result in equity and justice, but rather in high degrees of exclusion.

8.2 Socio-demographic attributes of the participants

This section analyses the socio-demographic details of the participants who engaged in primary research, beginning with general information of the community members. This is accompanied by the demographic details of the institutional stakeholders.

8.2.1 Socio-demographic details of the community members

In this study, it was assumed that different participants would have differing perceptions of conservation practices. For example, youth and elders would have different and conflicting perceptions on environmental conservation, while women, because of their cultural positions that closely connect them with nature, would also have different views on natural resource management compared to other participants. As a result, the use of diverse population groups was considered appropriate to avoid population bias. The community members who participated in primary research were drawn from four selected villages, namely Ntubeni, Mendwane, Hobeni and Cwebe and were made up of 40 youths, 40 women and 40 elders; in total, they were 120 general participants. The youth focus groups were made up of a combination of male and female participants aged 18-35 years, the elders focus groups included respondents aged 36+ years, while the focus group for women consisted of participants aged 18+ years. Such participants made it possible for the researcher to collect detailed information on participation characteristics based on group dynamics. All of these participants were from the African (black) population group. The numerical data presented in the following tables and figures were rounded to the nearest 1%.



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8.2.1.1 Distribution of the community members by gender, marital status and number of dependents

The table below shows information on the gender, marital status and number of dependents of the primary research participants. The importance of these findings is that it helps to shed light on who actually participated in this study and on the possible implications of how participation in conservation practices could be influenced by their gender, their dependents and other social life dynamics.



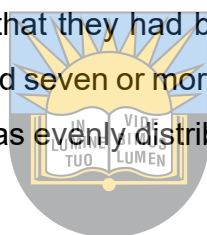
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Table 8.9: Distribution of the community members by gender, marital status and number of dependents

Variables	Youth	Women	Elders	Total
Gender				
Male	22 (55%)	0 (0%)	24 (60%)	46 (38%)
Female	18 (45%)	40 (100%)	16 (40%)	74 (62%)
Marital Status				
Single	14 (35%)	7 (18%)	4 (10%)	25 (21%)
Married	20 (50%)	22 (55%)	31 (78%)	73 (61%)
Divorced	2 (5%)	6 (15%)	3 (8%)	11 (9%)
Widowed	1 (3%)	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	5 (4%)

Cohabiting	3 (8%)	2 (5%)	1 (3%)	6 (5%)
Number of Dependents				
Only me	3 (8%)	2 (5%)	3 (8%)	8 (7%)
1 to 2 dependents	9 (23%)	11 (28%)	10 (25%)	30 (25%)
3 to 4 dependents	13 (33%)	15 (38%)	12 (30%)	40 (33%)
5 to 6 dependents	10 (25%)	7 (18%)	11 (28%)	28 (23%)
7+ dependents	5 (13%)	5 (13%)	4 (10%)	14 (12%)

As presented in the table, the majority (62%) of the participants were women. This is due to the fact that there have been separate focus groups of women in all the four selected villages. Of the total participants, 61% were married while 21% were single. Nine percent (8%) of the participants were divorced, 4% were widowed and 5% were co-habiting. Most of the respondents noted that they had a number of dependents under them. The majority (33%) indicated that they had between three and four dependents, while 23% indicated that they had between five and six dependents. A significant 12% argued that they had seven or more dependants while 7% did not have any. The number of dependents was evenly distributed among the young, the women and the elders.



8.2.1.3 Distribution of the community members by employment status and income bracket

In addition, an investigation was conducted about the employment status of participants and their income bracket. These demographics are important because they provide important dynamics of participation in the formal management and socio – economics of the nature reserve.

Table 8.10: Distribution of the community members by employment status and income bracket

Variables	Youth	Women	Elders	Total
Employment Status				
Employed by Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve	2 (5%)	1 (3%)	0	3 (3%)

Employed by a conservation organisation in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve	3 (8%)	2 (5%)	4 (10%)	9 (8%)
Employed by a non-conservation organisation in Dwesa-Cwebe	2 (5%)	3 (8%)	2 (5%)	7 (6%)
Self-Employed	13 (33%)	10 (25%)	8 (20%)	31 (26%)
Unemployed	20 (50%)	24 (60%)	26 (65%)	70 (58%)
Income Bracket				
R0-R1000	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	7 (18%)	10 (8%)
R1001-R2000	23 (58%)	24 (60%)	26 (65%)	73 (61%)
R2001-R3000	7 (18%)	5 (13%)	4 (10%)	16 (13%)
R3001-R4000	3 (8%)	5 (13%)	1 (3%)	9 (8%)
R4001-R5000	3 (8%)	3 (8%)	2 (5%)	8 (7%)
R5000+	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	0 (3%)	4 (3%)

The information collected indicates that the participants were employed by either Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve or other organisations participating, or not participating, in nature conservation. As shown in the table, Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve employed only 3% of the respondents, while 8% were employees of an organisation within Dwesa-Cwebe community that practices nature conservation. Further inquiry revealed that the organisation was Haven Hotel. Six percent (6%) of the participants were working for non-conservational organisations within Dwesa-Cwebe communities. The majority (58%) were unemployed while 26% were self-employed. Those employed by Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve have worked there for more than five years.

8.2.1.4 Distribution of the community members by type of housing and availability of basic amenities

In addition, research was done on the types of housing for the local communities and the availability of basic amenities. These housing dynamics are important in this study because they provide a clear picture on the extent of the development of Dwesa-Cwebe communities. However, whether the development is attributed to the management of the nature reserve is revealed by the findings presented in this chapter. The table below summarises the details that were collected.



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Table 8.11: Distribution of the community members by housing and basic amenities

Variables	Youth	Women	Elders	Total
Type of House				
Very formal dwellings ³⁸	0	0	0	0
Formal dwellings ³⁹	40 (100%)	37 (93%)	35 (88%)	112 (93%)
Informal dwellings ⁴⁰	0	0	0	0
Traditional dwellings ⁴¹	0	3 (8%)	5 (13%)	8 (7%)

³⁸ Very formal dwellings – structures built according to approved plans, e.g. houses on a separate stand, flats or apartments, townhouses, rooms in backyards that also have running water and flush toilets within the dwelling.

³⁹ Formal dwellings – structures built according to approved plans, i.e. house on a separate stand, flat or apartment, townhouse, room in backyard, rooms or flatlet elsewhere etc. but without running water or without a flush toilet within the dwelling.

⁴⁰ Informal dwellings – shacks or shanties in informal settlements, serviced stands, or proclaimed townships, as well as shacks in the backyards of other dwelling types.

⁴¹ Traditional dwellings – structures made of clay, mud, reeds, or other locally available material

Energy Source				
Electricity Only	35 (35%)	12 (30%)	5 (13%)	52 (43%)
Firewood Only	0	0	0	0
Both Electricity and Firewood	26 (65%)	28 (70%)	35 (88%)	89 (74%)
Water Source				
Community water taps	40 (100%)	40 (100%)	40 (100%)	120 (100%)
Rainwater harvesting	40 (100%)	40 (100%)	40 (100%)	120 (100%)
Rivers	40 (100%)	40 (100%)	40 (100%)	120 (100%)

Of the four types of housing listed above, the majority (93%) of the respondents stayed in formal dwellings. Formal houses in this study refer to houses that are designed according to accepted plans and these include those constructed on a separate stand, flat or apartment, townhouse, backyard space, rooms or flatlet elsewhere. However, they do not have running water within. The remaining 7% were staying in traditional houses usually made of mud, clay or any other locally available material. These housing dynamics show a significant trajectory of development given that the entire community is highly under-developed compared to other places in Amathole district and the Eastern Cape Province. As shown later in this chapter, information is provided, at a glance, whether the nature reserve is responsible for all housing and infrastructure growth.

8.2.1.5 Distribution of the community members by livestock ownership

The information presented below shows the distribution of the livestock owned by the local communities. Respondents were asked to indicate each of the livestock they owned, and it emerged that most of them had more than one type as indicated in table below.

Table 8.12: Distribution of the community members by livestock ownership and access to grazing lands

Livestock Owned	Youth	Women	Elders
Cattle	3 (8%)	1 (3%)	26 (65%)
Sheep	16 (40%)	6 (15%)	21 (53%)
Goats	1 (3%)	2 (5%)	7 (18%)
Pigs	0	1 (2%)	5 (13%)
Donkeys	0	0	1 (3%)
Horses	0	0	1 (3%)

As shown in the table above, the majority of the respondents owned sheep. Fifty-three percent (53%) of the elders, 15% of the women and 41% of the youths had sheep. The table also shows that cattle were mostly owned by the elders as indicated by a significant 65% of the total elders. Just 3% of the women and 8% of the youths had cattle. The owners of goats and pigs were sparsely distributed (8% and 5% respectively) among the respondents. Very few respondents had donkeys and horses, as shown by 3% and 2% respectively. The images below show some of the livestock owned by local communities.

Figure 8.11: Livestock in Dwesa-Cwebe communities



The image above shows the sheep, which are the livestock mostly owned by the people of Dwesa-Cwebe Communities. Photo credit: Nyamahono, J.D. (2019).

Ultimately, these social dynamics are important in this study because they shed light on the resources owned by the local communities in the form of livestock. While not everyone in this community owned domestic animals, the general distribution of these livestock shows important development dynamics. However, a question was raised as to whether the people own land or have access to grazing fields for their livestock. The findings obtained are presented in the following section.

8.2.1.6 Distribution of the community members by land ownership

Primary research conducted gathered information on the land tenure systems and the information obtained is presented in the table below.

Table 8.13: Distribution of the community members by land ownership

Size of Land Owned	Youth	Women	Elders	Total
0 – 1 hectare	32 (80%)	30 (75%)	10 (25%)	72 (60%)
1 – 2 hectares	4 (10%)	6 (15%)	11 (28%)	21 (18%)
2 – 3 hectares	3 (8%)	3 (8%)	11 (28%)	17 (14%)
3 – 4 hectares	0	1 (3%)	5 (13%)	6 (5%)
4 – 5 hectares	1 (3%)	0	3 (8%)	4 (3%)

The findings obtained show that the majority (60%) of the respondents owned land from as small as 0 hectare to as big as 1 hectare. Most of these landowners were the youth and the women. The elders had land bigger than 1 hectare up to a maximum size of 3 hectares. This is compared to only 7% of the women who owned 2-3 hectares of land. Just 2% of all the women had 3-4 hectares of land, while none of the youth owned land that large. Twenty-eight percent (28%) of the elders had 3-4 hectares of land, of which only 4% of the total number of participants had land of this size.

Overall, the results on land ownership clearly show that more than half of the population had up to 1 hectare of land, while a few people owned up to 3 hectares of land. The results also show that the majority of the elders owned most of the land, while youth and women owned small pieces of land. When this information is triangulated with the statistics on livestock ownership, it is clear that the majority of the people do not have adequate land for grazing. While the available land may be used for grazing purposes, it is not always the case that it is readily available because the

same pieces of land are also used for subsistence agriculture. Further investigation, however, confirmed that there is available community land for grazing livestock. The researcher also found that in spite of strict institutional rules prohibiting the entry of foreign animals into the reserve, the local communities illegally use Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve for grazing.

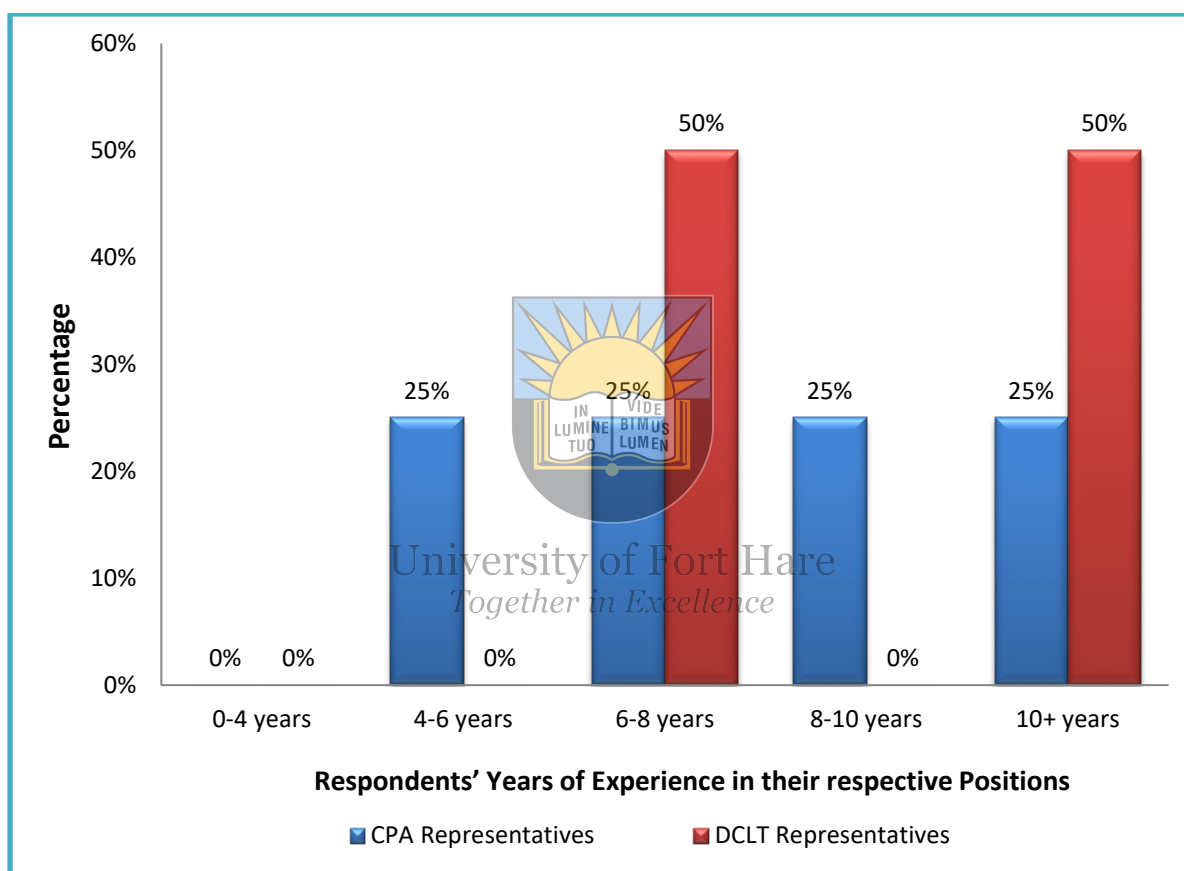


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8.2.3 Demographic details of the representatives of the CPAs and DCLT

As part of the key-informants, data were collected from members of the CPA and DCLT. The reader should note that these groups operate explicitly within the framework of environmental justice, but represent local communities as required by the 2001 Settlement Agreement.

Figure 8.12: Distribution of the representatives of the CPAs and DCLT by years of experience



The figure shows high levels of experience of the CPA and DCLT representatives. Twenty-five percent (25%) of the CPA representatives had 4-6 years of experience while 25% had 6-8 years experience in this body. An additional 25% of CPA representatives reported serving for 8-10 years and the remaining 25% had worked for more than 10 years. On the other hand, 50% of the members of DCLT had 6-8 years of experience and the remaining 50% have served for more than 10 years in the Land Trust. These findings present high levels of experience invested by these key-informants. The impact of their experience is that it contributes to the reliability and

validity of the research findings as such participants have diverse knowledge about the participation trajectories experienced in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Furthermore, their responses are likely to clarify a multidimensional story of stakeholder interest in nature reserve management that suggest specific and well-informed conclusions.

8.2.4 Demographic details of the representatives of the government, parastatals and NGOs

Finally, government participants and other non-governmental participants participated as key-informants in this study. The information presented below shows key-informants and their level of experience in their portfolios.

Table 8.14: Distribution of the representatives of the government, parastatals and NGOs by tenure

	Participants	Years of Experience
1	Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Parks Manager	5 – 6 years
2	Official from the ECPTA	9 – 10 years
3	Official from DEA	4 – 5 years
4	Official from DRDAR	6 – 7 years
5	Official from the Department of Water Affairs and Sanitation (DWS)	6 – 7 years
6	Official from the Mbashe Local Municipality	8 – 9 years
7	Haven Hotel Tour Guide	14 – 15 years
8	Dwesa Ward Councillor	3 – 4 years
9	Cwebe Ward Councillor	3 – 4 years

The table shows that key-informants had extensive experience in their portfolios. The most experienced key-informant was the Haven Hotel Tour Guide, who worked as a tour guide for 14-15 years. From this level of experience, it is highly likely that diverse information on the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has been obtained from the tour guide's perspective. This is analogous to government department officials, namely Rural Development and Agricultural Reform, as well as Water and Sanitation, who have been employed for 6-7 years in their respective departments. Based on their experience, significant dynamics were also obtained

regarding the government's stake in nature conservation. Of all the key-informants above, only the ward councillors had the least experience, but having worked with local communities for a period of 3-4 means they have gained an understanding of different dynamics of participation in conservation of nature. Overall, all the key governmental and non-governmental players involved in primary research have been deemed appropriate for this investigation. The socio-demographic details analysed above are directly linked to the findings on various conservation practices in the respective nature reserve.

8.3 Non-participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve

As already noted, this thesis probes the levels and nature of participation around Dwesa- Cebe Nature Reserve's collaborative arrangements, it is therefore important to highlight that while research suggests that participation is an active two-way interchange of opinion, views, decision making and preferences (Davids, Theron & Maphunye, 2005) - an analysis of the research findings obtained concluded that participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve can be described as 'non-participation. In line with this, Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation theory (1969) describes this non-participation of local communities as a condition in which the perceived participants are not being involved with, or participating in nature reserves.

8.3.1 Employment placation/manipulation

The first way in which participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is more of a non-participatory operation is through manipulation and placation. These findings consequently talk to what Arnstein (1969) describes as the 'manipulation' method of participation, a 'non-participatory' framework in which some members of Dwesa-Cwebe are assigned to some kind of rubberstamp advisory boards or committees for the purpose of 'educating' and 'advising' local communities on certain participatory arrangements. On the other hand, 'placation' describes the situation where local participants have been given some degree of influence in the participation process. Therefore, this study noted that one of the aspects relating to employment is that some people are employed to represent power-holders at the expense of the powerless. Employment dynamics within Dwesa-Cwebe Nature

Reserve have been identified as the focal point from which individual manipulation and placation originates. The study found that except for the low-skilled and other general roles, the government does not employ the local communities in management positions. As it emerged, recruitment of management personnel is conducted at the national level and the positions are allocated to 'outsiders'. The main intention for this move is that the management must maintain 'rigidity' and resistance to the increasing needs of the reserve's adjacent communities. The study also found that the government is afraid that if the people employed in the management positions are drawn from the local communities, the nature reserve will be highly compromised to the extent that imminent invasions and land grabs will be inevitable.

The ECPTA officials indicated the following regarding employee placement:

.....it is the national policy that the recruitment and selection of senior officials to manage our parks and nature reserves in the Eastern Cape is conducted at a national level. This enables the parks board to have a pull of potential employees and the best is selected from the list (Official from the ECPTA, 22 January 2020).

Further investigation with DEA revealed that the recruitment and selection of management personnel is carried out jointly to select people with good professional background and record of success:

When the management is selected, different government departments are involved because the nature reserve is not only managed by the environmental affairs department. Nevertheless, obviously, the person selected should have a clean record of success in nature reserve management. There should not be any scandal or any doubts from the person. The manager has to strictly adhere to constitutional and management frameworks for nature conservation (Official from DEA, 03 February 2020).

Nevertheless, the interview with one of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve's management members explained many issues that relate to the government's option to hire outsiders at the expense of the insiders. The following excerpt provides more information:

There is a combination of many things why the government does not employ the local people in senior level management. The government promised that local people will be employed in the nature reserve and even in the senior levels. The local communities were also promised to be trained as managers but till

today nothing has been done.....Even me I am from Glen View⁴² because no-one in the community could take up the position due to administrative issues, the prominent one being that when one is employed as a manager here they should be bold and do not allow societal social issues to take-over their mandated official roles (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

These sentiments indicate that Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve management is highly contested, complex and manipulated. The extent of coercion also affects the way decisions are made regarding placement. From these findings, it is clear that the selection of managers in the nature reserve is done by high-level authorities after they have undergone many evaluations. Such results are in line with the information provided by traditional leaders who presented similar opinions in relation to managerial jobs. With dissatisfaction, the traditional leaders noted that the recruitment and selection lacks equity and justice. The words below show the views of one of the traditional leaders:

We have people who look for jobs that are from the local villages. Our kids go there [to the nature reserve] to submit their CVs but you find out that kids from elsewhere do get jobs while our kids remain unemployed. So that is why I am saying the relationship between the local people and the management of the nature reserve is not good at all because they choose who to employ without thinking about anyone from our communities (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

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Based on these assertions, the employment system in question resembles high levels of manipulation because the government decides who best suits the management positions. In addition, the study revealed that the process followed to recruit low-skilled individuals is different from employment procedures followed when management personnel are being placed. As has emerged, the nature reserve policy stipulates that any person from the local community can be selected for lower level and non-skilled jobs as long as they have the necessary attributes for the job and should have indigenous knowledge:

When it comes to Field Rangers which falls under Level B, general assistants and casual workers most of them, if not all, come from the local communities. When we employ the people, we have to look at the policy of the reserve which requires us to look for potential employees from the seven adjacent villages. But when we employ someone like a Section Ranger or the Reserve Manager, the recruitment and selection is done at a national level. This is different from

⁴² Name of the place was changed to maintain the privacy and confidentiality of the participant.

employing an Outreach Officer because this person is required to have indigenous knowledge and be well vested with the social settings of the local communities (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

The employment dynamics presented above also concur with the researcher's observations during fieldwork. As it emerged, there were job offers available and listed on the notice boards at Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve of which most of them were low skilled and reserved for the local communities; hence, they were advertised using the local communication platforms. This is contrary to nature reserve management jobs, which are advertised through publicly accessible platforms such as newspapers and the internet. The figure below shows some of the low-skilled jobs advertised through Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve notice board.



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Figure 8.13: Jobs advertised for low-skilled residents of Dwesa-Cwebe

ADVENTURE PROVINCE
Eastern Cape
PARKS & TOURISM AGENCY

LOCAL COMMUNITY ADVERT
Dwesa/Cwebe Nature Reserve

EASTERN CAPE - YOUTH ENVIRONMENTAL SERVICES (YES) PROGRAMME

The Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency acting as an Agent for the Department of Environmental Affairs - has the following development employment opportunities.

- Applicants must be younger than 35 years for the duration of the programme.
- The duration of the programme is one year
- The rate of pay is R110 per day.
- Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) conditions apply.
- Applicants must at least have a Grade 12 qualification, (proof must be attached).

Should you be interested in applying for these positions please note the following:

Closing Date: 20 August 2017

Please forward your application to:

- 1) All applications/enquiries can be e-mailed to: marineyes@ecpta.co.za or faxed to 086 603 9553 or handed to the Administration Clerk at the Reserve.
- 2) Please specify the **Reserve name and position** you are applying for.
- 3) Applications must be accompanied by a CV. Applications received after the closing date and/or those submitted to an address not listed above will not be considered. If you do not receive a response within 30 days, please consider your application as unsuccessful.

POSITION
Housekeeper x2

Purpose
To provide professional cleaning and catering services for the Reserve staff and guests.

Requirements

- Grade 12
- Ability to speak, read and write English.
- Must be physically healthy and willing to work after hours/ weekends.

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17 - 25 Oxford Street | East London | 5201
P.O.Box 11235 | Southernwood | East London | 5213 | Tel +27 (0) 43 705 4400
www.visiteasterncape.co.za

POSITION
Life Guard X2

Purpose
To maintain safety standards around bathing areas and provide rescue services.

Requirements

- Minimum Grade 12
- Must be physically fit and able to swim

POSITION
Gate Guard X2

Purpose
To provide security to the reserve at designated entry and exit points in order to ensure maximum protection of fauna and flora and ECPTA assets.

Requirements

- Minimum Grade 12.
- Ability to speak, read and write English.
- Must be physically healthy and willing to work after hours/ weekends.
- No criminal record

NB: In line with the Employment Equity Policy of the Eastern Cape Parks & Tourism Agency, preference will be given to suitable candidates from the designated groups. (Where applicable)

The ECPTA reserves the right not to fill any advertised position.

The image shows some of the low skills jobs that were available to be filled by local communities. The image shows three jobs: Housekeeper, Life Guard and Gate Guard. Photo credit: Nyamahono J.D. (2019)

The findings furthermore validate the inferences obtained through document analysis. Reports show that Dwesa-Cwebe communities do not have adequate infrastructure to employ all its working class villagers. Low-density tourism is the only economic activity that is popular in this region. The nature reserve hires only local communities that provide menial, technical, and non-skilled labour in the parks, including; clearing trails, housekeeping, life guarding, gate guarding, and other nature reserve hospitality services.

In order to improve the skills of local communities, institutional stakeholders indicated that there are plans in place to develop skills for local community members:

.....yes we know that our people are the ones who are doing these types of jobs. You know the ward committees are trying to get information on the type of skills required by the local communities so the plan is there to develop the skills (Ward Councillor, 4 September 2019).

Representatives of Mbhashe Local Municipality indicated the following:

The skills issue has always been a problem in Dwesa and Cwebe so it is always difficult for the parks board to employ our people because they don't have the types of skills required. At one point, the people were trained and a community development project was formed but still people failed to run it. You cannot blame them because they are not educated most of them. So we have plans to train the local communities again when the funds are available (Official from Mbhashe Local Municipality, 13 January 2020).

However, the tour guide was of the view that the low-skilled workers are needed to perform the low-skilled jobs. The inferences from his opinions were that, in order for a community to be in harmony, all kinds of skills, including low skills, interplay in the development agenda:

.....I don't have any problem with the nature reserve employing local people in these low-skilled jobs. Having a number of unskilled workers in the organisation is important because they end up doing what unskilled people should do. It is important to have people who clear trails so that the tourists and even the people of this community will walk safely. The problem is when everyone becomes skilled because there will be left with no one to clear the trails (Tour Guide, 11 September 2019).

Having identified the employment system as heavily biased, an analysis was conducted on the reasons why the management dynamics are like that. Through interpretive research design, the researcher established different meanings and

implications for participation in the community under study. The study found that even if there are management vacancies in the nature reserve, the current unstable operating environments have a significant impact on whether the local people will take management positions.

One of the main reasons for this is that there have been uprisings linked to land claims within the adjacent communities to the extent that even the current reserve managers are continually under threat. The study found that even if the local people with the required qualifications are given the opportunity, there is a high chance that they will not be able to take up the jobs due to unstable social conditions. During primary research, some qualified local people were found to be headhunted by the nature reserve to fill management positions, but they did not take up the offers because they feared the community would victimise them. The following was revealed in the interviews:

I have heard that there is one lady from one of the communities who was trained and successfully got her certification to be a manager in nature conservation.....so if she comes and work here and eventually uses her formal powers to solve the land claim and nature reserve management issues, the village will go after her family. So she is afraid to come and work here (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

These findings show that, in as much as one can see the employment system as being severely compromised and manipulated, the same responsibility should also be laid on local communities. Thus, the institutional stakeholders who manage the nature reserve reflect what local people see as manipulation differently. It will therefore be incorrect to infer such employment dynamics as manipulative, as there are often two or more definitions attached to 'manipulation'. This has questions about the inconsistency of the employment framework used by Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, which need to be solved.

8.3.2 CPAs and DCLT as manipulative participants

The second way in which participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is seen as a non-participatory operation with 'camouflaged' exclusion is through the CPAs and DCLT and the roles they play in conservation practices. The reader should recall that in the post-apartheid era, Dwesa-Cwebe communities were experiencing civil unrest because of the unresolved land issue. Following many

uprisings between local communities and reserve management, some of which led to land grabbing, a series of political dialogs led to land being transferred from government to local communities. Under the Settlement Agreement of 2001, land was placed under the control of local communities represented by CPA and DCLT, but the administration remained in the hands of the ECPTA.

This study found that CPA and DCLT are highly manipulated by the government and the management of the nature reserve. The local communities noted that the local authorities involved in the proceedings leading to the formation of CPA should have assessed the credibility of this institution before approving it. This is mainly due to the coarse history between the parks authorities and the local communities. Respondents, particularly the youth, thought that CPA and DCLT could be one of the fraudulent mechanisms posing as community leaders because they were never allowed to operate independently. The Settlement Agreement of 2001 only granted CPA and DCLT the authority to represent local people in management affairs and not the right to preside over or veto final decisions. The following quotation expresses different opinions:



It disappoints sometimes when you find that the people and departments they serve are less efficient when dealing with people. No one can explain to our people in Dwesa-Cwebe the main reason for the lack of cooperation between the Department of Land Reform, the ECPTA and the Department of Environment Affairs. It seems the CPA and DCLT have been incompetent from the day they were elected, or they were never there to represent the people. The people of Dwesa-Cwebe have been harassed from 2001 to the present and this seems to be going on because no matter what they say there is no time for that (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

Another focus group participant also stated that there is clearly inequality and lack of transparency in the way CPA and DCLT represent local people:

The [Communal Properties] Association is not doing anything at all to let people at least understand what is taking place on land or the money that is coming. We always see people with big cars and white people coming and we know they do not just come free. I think the Association just does not want to tell the people that they are employed by the people who do not want the black people to have their land back or eat the profit of the reserve (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

Local communities, especially the women and the youth, also noted with great concern that the participants in the land claim dialogs should have advocated for the payment

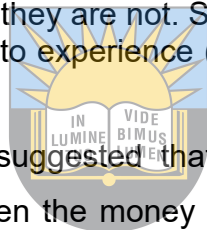
of compensation funds to the CPAs or DCLT instead of Amathole District, ECPTA and Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve management:

The CPA does not really know that the people are suffering because they have money. Maybe if all the money that was put under the investment was given to people it was going to be better. They made a mistake when they agreed that the money will be managed by the ECPTA and Amathole and Mbhashe Municipality (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

Another female participant who participated in the youth focus group acknowledged the role of money invested in any developmental initiative. She noted, however, that while money is important for development, it should not lead to people being enslaved – as most respondents thought about CPA and DCLT:

Everyone wants money but looking at the current situation, we are not even benefiting. If they are saying we were paid, they should know that we were hungry so we could not say no to the money. I was not there when this was formed but I would not say no, no matter what. But still they took most of the money to develop this area but they are not. So no money can replace the lost land or torture that people had to experience (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

In addition, another respondent suggested that the authorities abused the local communities to the extent that even the money intended for them was misused by those authorities:



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This is our land we were removed inside the Dwesa Cwebe Nature Reserve but still there is no compensation given to the community of this area only those who are in authority misuses our funds to develop themselves. This is so ridiculous. If this is corruption, it undermines the gains of our freedom (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

Some participants conveyed their frustration about compensation and financial issues to the point that they decided to use legal means as the only way they could have their plea answered:

As the Dwesa-Cwebe youths, we are appealing to any legal institution that can help us to find justice in this case. We have not benefited anything so we need justice to take its course. This is because our people lost their lives fighting for their rights to land; some even violated the law because they were starving. But some have been misusing these people's funds, claiming they were developing the area, but nothing had been implemented so far (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

When the elders and traditional leaders were asked to give their word about these 'manipulative' dynamics, most of them were in agreement with the youth and provided almost similar responses. They believed that the CPAs were not the people's true representatives because they failed to represent them. In reality, they claimed that these participants were 'paid not to represent us'. One of them responded:

Most of the people in our age groups formed part of the negotiations which led to the formation of the CPAs and the Land Trust. When they were formed, we were all in support of them because we were hoping that they will represent the needs of the people. But now we are seeing that they are representing the needs of other people not our needs. Maybe they were even paid not to represent us (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

Another traditional leader agreed with his counterpart and expressed the following:

All I ever wanted in my community is to see my people living in peace and harmony. I want to see the groups making life better for the government. When they go to do meetings with the government, I want them to tell them exactly what the people want and what they can do in managing. Our people need jobs but you know they do not have jobs for them there. The current organisations we have failed to do so a long time ago. I think there is something to do with the managers because why are they not doing anything or say something when they go to meetings (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

The local councillors indicated that they were aware of the people's concerns and an inquiry was being carried out with the ward committees to try to find solutions to the local communities' frustrations:

.....the ward committees are working day and night to make sure that the challenges facing the community are solved. We are aware that the people are not happy with the Land Trust and CPA so our people in the ward committees are talking to the people about what they want to be done. What we don't want is fights but we want people to exercise their democratic rights (Ward Councillor, 4 September 2019).

Certain elders, however, had opinions conflicting with the majority of the community members. Some of them argued that there is a need for experience, expertise and a high level of education to make informed decisions at management meetings, of which the current CPAs and members of DCLT do not possess such. Many presented arguments that were purely technical and had little application to the social system. A middle-aged unemployed man from the Elders Focus Group indicated the following:

At times, the people can blame the management but it is not very easy to manage a nature reserve this big. It is not just about fencing the place but to make sure that people who go and visit there, even our children, are safe. So it takes more than the CPA or the Land Trust because they really have little they can do to change the situation (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

When members of CPAs and DCLT were asked to provide their views on the dynamics of nature reserve management, their responses revealed that they held almost similar sentiments with the management of the nature reserve. The only difference being that they do not have access to the use of compensation funds, but only serve as mediators between the government departments and local communities:

As the CPA, we work with the Outreach Officers who are actually our eyes and ears in the local communities. They tell us what the community needs and we take these needs to the parks management or present them each time we have meetings. But we rarely have such meetings so it is really difficult to share such information. I am not saying we do not take the needs to the management. We do take the needs but it just takes time for those needs to be answered because there are chains of meetings (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

Another CPA representative shed light to the issue of finances. In her response, she accused government departments of misuse of the funds, which included the then Department of Rural Development and Land Reform, DEA, Amathole District Municipality as well as the ECPTA. During the interviews, the following information was obtained:

The money that came for compensation amounting to R12 million was abused by both Department of Rural Development and Land Reform and Amathole District Municipality. The Dwesa Cwebe community did nothing but they did not benefit anything. The stakeholders that are working with Dwesa Cwebe community are not transparent. The Department of Land Reform is just quiet in the offices. DEA, the Department of Economic Development and the Environmental Affairs and Tourism also does not say a thing on how the compensation was used. Even the ECPTA, which is managing the nature reserve is also not speaking to the landowners. It is as if they are acting solely on their behalf of other agents because they do not seem to respect human rights (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

A member of the DCLT also noted that the issue of decision making is strategic and cannot just happen over a short period. In the opinions of DCLT, the needs of the local communities have already been raised, but it takes enough time to make the decisions. DCLT also pointed out that it has no influence on how the money is used in

infrastructural development, since these decisions are also strategic decisions made by high-level management:

There are multiple stakeholders who participate in developmental meetings. There are the Land Reform people, Mphashe Local Municipality representatives, Parks Authorities, Environmental Affairs people and many others including the ministers. Reaching a decision is very difficult that is why you see that the municipality will have Industrial Development Plans for five years or 10 years because it is not something that can be done easily. The communities think that we did not tell the management their needs but we always do. It is only that the many people there are, the longer it takes to make the decisions. Another issue is that of money. The people think we have access to compensation funds but they don't know that our hands are tied (DCLT Representative, 9 September 2019).

The ECPTA official also stated that the method of strategic management is complex and time consuming:

.....whether the funds are there or not, the management process is very difficult and takes a long time. People expect quick benefits but it is not always the case. We understand that the people need the land back but our office has a lease with the Department of Land Reform and it is ending in 2021 or 2022. The local communities also agreed that there will be CPA to help in the management of the nature reserve. The problem in that the processes involved in management are very long and complex (Official from the ECPTA, 22 January 2020).

The management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve provided a different dynamic pertaining to the management processes and their roles in environmental sustainability. They revealed that the land issue was too delicate to the extent that it needed someone who can 'handle it with care'. It would therefore be unacceptable to give all the land to the local communities, as this will negatively affect the extent to which the country can meet local and international environmental conservation objectives:

Following the 1994 elections, the issues of land claims were hot and then the land was transferred to the CPAs but the management remained in the hands of the nature reserve. The management of a big reserve like this one is not something that can simply be transferred to the people but it needs someone who can handle it with care. This is because they will lead to destruction. If you have read about the Settlement Agreement of 2001 you will understand that the local people were compensated many millions of Rands of which there was an agreement that the money will be used for infrastructure development and the support of the nature reserve. That money could not just be placed in the hands of the people because they would have misused it (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

These findings were also consistent with the information obtained from officials of DRDAR:

The land issue was actually seen as an important move by the Department of Land Reform. This is because the local people wanted land but it was difficult to give it to them so efforts were made to make sure that there were organised groups that should take ownership of the land and develop it for the benefit of the community. I believe that there was an agreement signed and if the groups managing the land are not doing their job, as they are required by the agreement signed it means they are failing their people (Official from DRDAR, 27 January 2020).

The management authorities also noted that the issue of natural resource management is more concerned with the achievement of global conservation objectives than with monetary benefits. The following have been indicated:

.....if you go to any nature reserves in South Africa or Zimbabwe where you come from, ask for their policy documents and then that is when you notice that there are many goals that have to be met. The United Nations has its goals and South Africa has to achieve theirs and this can only be done if all the nature reserves stick to what they are expected to do. We are the managers and in as much as there are differences between the government or land department with the people around here, we are not involved in their fight. All we do is to manage it as we are mandated to do (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

The responses of other institutional stakeholders also concurred with the opinions provided by the management of the nature reserve. The following excerpt represents opinions from different stakeholders:

.....as I have mentioned, the issue of environmental management is something that has to be done by the book. We have the guiding frameworks and even the Constitution, which specifies what every part should do. I am not denying that these management groups may not be doing what is expected of them but constitutionally there must be a section which guides them. So we can only say that they are not doing their job if we look at the particular framework and see that they are not following it (Official from DEA, 03 February 2020).

The findings presented above shows mixed emotions on the role of CPAs and DCLT in representing stakeholders. However, while Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve dominantly follows global conservation frameworks, the majority of the local communities see these frameworks as manipulative. For example, through SDG 15.1,

the nature reserves should “.....ensure the conservation, restoration and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems and their services, in particular forests, wetlands, mountains and dry lands, in line with obligations under international agreements by 2020”. Efforts to achieve this goal in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve are mostly driven by the Constitution and the use of CPAs and DCLT, among other stakeholders. As has already been shown, the Constitution sets out all legal procedures relating to the establishment of nature reserves, the rules on intent and accessibility, co-management and public participation procedures. The Constitution also sets provisions for the formation of CPAs and their jurisdictions (CPA Act). In addition, the NDPs of South Africa, which aims to reduce inequality and poverty by 2030, also have a provision compelling organisations to engage rigorously in nature conservation.

There is, however, a contrasting view showing that the institutional structures mentioned above are constantly being violated or contradicted, or even lead to exploitation by certain stakeholders. The researcher noted that SDG 1.4, which relates to increased access to economic resources and essential services for people in marginalised communities, is being violated. This could be because, largely, CPAs and DCLT are failing to meet the needs of local communities. SDG 10.2 and SDG 10.3, which promotes the elimination of inequality by motivating and supporting all members of society irrespective of their differences in population, ethnicity, gender, culture, norms and values, are also not met due to the supposed disguised exclusivity of the management policies. What is also not clear from the primary findings is whether the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has already achieved the SDGs, especially those with a timeline lapsing in 2020.

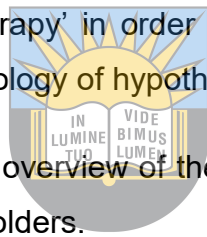
In South Africa, the NDPs should be benchmarks for human equality and poverty reduction. The study, however, found that Chapter 15 of NDP, which states that South Africa should achieve a wide range of goals including economic development and employment, environmental sustainability and development of an inclusive rural economy, has been heavily compromised. As the study revealed, the CPAs and DCLT are not fulfilling what is expected of them. The study revealed that DCLT and CPAs could be one of the power-holders’ public awareness vehicles, that are not meant to benefit the powerless, but to simply spread the information about environmental

conservation. This is because the local communities are increasingly subjected to participate in environmental conservation from afar through zero interference. These inferences lead to mixed opinions in relation to what CPAs and DCLT really are and whom they represent. Thus, the contrasting social meanings of these stakeholders, based on their different social systems, leaves protected areas management as a contested subject.

8.3.3 Formalised conservation as a therapeutic ideology

The third way in which participation in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve management is perceived as a non-participatory process with 'camouflaged' exclusion can be clarified by what can be considered as a therapeutic ideology. The findings talk to the characteristics of Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation which shows that 'therapy' is a situation in which the influential stakeholder in Dwesa – Cwebe Nature Reserve, particularly the management and power holders, subject the local communities to 'clinical group therapy' in order to convert them from their original thinking of participation into an ideology of hypothetically approved participation.

The following section analyses an overview of therapeutic ideology in environmental conservation from different stakeholders.



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8.3.3.1 Perspectives of the government, parastatals and NGOs

One way the researcher observed that the current administration of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve subjects the local communities to therapeutic ideology is through the nature reserve's *modus operandi*. The interviews with the reserve management concluded that the managers are solely responsible for the management processes and the local communities have to be supportive. The bottom line is that the local communities are expected to follow what the management expects from them in order for the latter to achieve the global and local conservational goals. Thus, what matters the most is the mode of operation of the reserve management. The words quoted verbatim below refer to the information obtained from this study:

The main purpose of having this nature reserve is to conserve the coastal forest and all the natural resources in it. All this is under the umbrella of low-density tourism or eco-tourism. All we expect from the local communities is that they should respect the law, obey all our restrictions and help us maintain the nature

reserve so that it grows. When it grows, they benefit collectively as a community (Official from DEA, 03 February 2020).

The officials from the DWS also indicated that water need to be sustainably managed in order to ensure that it is preserved for future generation. The study found that water resource management is primarily carried out through institutional frameworks:

.....we are involved in managing water wherever there is water. Generally, in all the national parks, heritage sites, protected areas or nature reserve, our duty is to make sure that we keep the water safe. We have government frameworks that allow us to liaise with different departments so that we work together. For example in Dwesa where you are doing your research we work with DEA there so that they tell us what we have to do with the water to keep it safe. This is important in South Africa because you see there is drought everywhere so if it means we take the water from there and supply it throughout Amathole if there is a need we do it (Official from DWS, 17 January 2020).

The Department of DEA also noted that the use of institutional frameworks enables them to put restrictive measures and comply with their subordinates to save the environment:



Environmental protection is important, so we do everything it takes to protect it.....for example, there are endangered animal and plant species that should be protected so we put different restrictive measures (Official from DEA, 03 February 2020).

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In addition, the tour guide also noted that all his activities are guided by management frameworks:

You cannot be a tour guide when you do not know the rules of the area you are working. In Dwesa, I know all the rules that apply. I know the areas that are prohibited but open to tourists only. Even fishing, it is not a good thing that people and tourists want to catch many fish because it is not sustainable. I know the spots where there is more fish but at times I don't take the tourists there because they end up wanting to fish more yet it is not allowed (Tour Guide, 11 September 2019).

The researcher also observed many visual restrictive measures that were publicly displayed for the people to see. On arrival at the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, a well signposted billboard from ECPTA. The billboard presented below displays the restricted activities in the protected area.

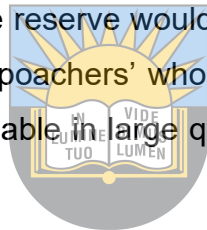
Figure 8.14: Controlled activities in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve



The image shows permissions and restrictions in exploitation of natural resources in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and the MPA. Photo credit: Nyamahono J.D. (2019).

In support of the billboard above, the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA limits not only fishing within its coastal areas, but also high-density beach and estuary visits. Coastal areas, beaches as well as estuaries within the nature reserve must be preserved in their 'unspoiled' condition and only visitors or researchers with valid permits from the appropriate departments are allowed to visit these areas (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, 2019). The research team was able to visit the protected coastal areas and estuaries and observed local communities being prevented from entering these areas. According to research findings and interactions with people, local communities have been seen as a danger to biodiversity and their existence in protected marine resources has been seen as 'destructive'.

The management of the nature reserve also went on to explain that they manage vast pieces of land and marine area. In their explanation, they noted that they kept a variety of game animals, which complemented other natural resources in this area. The management noted that the nature reserve would be highly successful if their efforts were not negatively impacted by 'poachers' who hunt mostly bushbucks, antelopes and elands because they are available in large quantities and are easy prey to local communities:



We have about 5200 hectares of land here of which Dwesa side is 3000 hectares and Cwebe side is 2000 hectares. And then the key activities at Dwesa section, we manage game. We have about 90 to 100 buffaloes. These attract tourists a lot. We also have animals like the bushbucks, zebras, antelopes, elands and crocodiles that were introduced into conservation because naturally, the rivers did not have any crocodiles. We also have a variety of bird species and monkeys. In the entire nature reserve, about 80% of the total land is covered forests, coastal forests. This is a whole lot of work to do and if the community helps us manage it we will be very successful. If they stop killing out bushbucks, antelopes and elands in large quantities we will all succeed as a society (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

A number of wild animals were seen during fieldwork, which is noticeable in the sentiments of the reserve management.

Nonetheless, it should be remembered that the parks authorities have not managed to keep people out of the parks in as much as there are limits in the nature reserve. The institutional stakeholders have noted with concern that their management process is actually better and more humane compared to the previous conservation programmes introduced during the apartheid era. The institutional stakeholders referred to the current institutional practices as ‘too democratic and too soft’ compared with the Transkei Government⁴³ administration; hence, it is difficult to achieve the designated conservational goals:

Before, this nature reserve was under the Transkei Government. It was full of game including rhinos. The style of management was very different from what we have now. The Transkei Government was a military state and they believed in force. They believed to only way to control local peoples is to force them. There was no engagement of the communities in the management of the national parks or any law enforcements. The current government is a different story. It is too democratic and too soft that is why people have been invading the nature reserve and hunting down animals (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

8.3.3.2 Perspectives of the youths

A further inquiry revealed that the local communities have their ‘imagined’ type of environmental participation that is contrary to the ‘elite’ and institutional stakeholders’ expectations. The residents of Dwesa-Cwebe communities strongly believe that they are the rightful owners of the indigenous resources. Through their traditional land and natural resources ownership systems, the local communities believe that they are the epistemic insiders. The term insider epistemology, according to Fay (1996, p. 9), upholds the fact that “.....to know other insiders one has to be an insider oneself”. Thus, the individual communities within Dwesa-Cwebe communities hold the believe that one cannot understand how it is to be born and bred in natural environment restricted communities unless they are born and bred there themselves. In addition, one cannot understand indigenous conservational practices unless they have lived realities of such conservational practices. Bridges (2009) speaks of “.....the innate ability of the disabled people to control their lives and the innate inability of able-bodied

⁴³ The readers should note that the Transkei Government Administration was under the previous apartheid government before the democratic elections in 1994.

people, regardless of their fancy credentials and awards, to understand the disability experience”.

Based on this interpretation, the bottom line is that the people of Dwesa-Cwebe feel that the elite ‘epistemic insiders’ have challenged and taken over their traditional ecological activities in the name of the state and institutional participants, and are implementing them conditionally under the nature reserve. One of the prominent actions is the continuous restrictions of the local communities to have access natural resources, fishing, game and grazing lands for their livestock. The following concerns were brought out during the interviews with the youths:

Our livestock would stay there in that nature reserve. They used to eat the nutritious grass in the nature reserve and our houses used to be there. The whole village used to stay there, as it was our homes. That is the homes our grandfathers and their grandfathers knew as their homes. Their houses were there and the ruins can even be seen. Our livelihoods were based there and they knew how to survive and raise their villages there. But eventually things changed and we became invisible villages. They were told that the land is not theirs anymore. It does not make sense because an outsider would just come and tell people that things have changed and the land is not yours anymore so you have to help us save it. How do they expect us to help them manage it? (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

Many youths also voiced their concerns about the way they were excluded from environmental activities as well as the way they were ignored by the government and were treated as if they were not important. They claimed that they were viewed as strangers, whereas their ancestors owned the land, and thus, it was theirs spiritually. An unemployed male graduate suggested the following:

All of us here and our parents were born in Cwebe. We have known this reserve since the day we were born. There is no other place that we know except this place and these forests. Our parents have fallen in love with these forests because it is part of them. The forests have a connection with our parents because they are part of them. So this issue that the manager who come from other places tell us that we manage the natural resources in a particular way is really disrespectful. Who gave them the authority to declare to us or our parents or our grandparents that their ways of managing nature is not effective? Who approved theirs as the most effective ones? (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

All these disappointments and frustrations are evidenced by uprisings in Dwesa-Cwebe communities, which even gained national coverage between 1998 and 2012. In 2012 and several other occasions, the fence that borders the nature reserve and

the local communities was cut down by protesting local people and they gained access to the protected area. This was primarily because the political dialogs between the government and local communities on the land issue took a long time to the point that the local people lost patience. As a mitigation strategy, DEA has made further efforts to protect the nature reserve and has spent approximately R16 million in 2012 to secure the boundary of the nature reserve and to improve other infrastructures. Nevertheless, within six months, the boundary was again destroyed and the government realised it had to open some free fishing areas, but under strict conditions and restrictions:

The government realised that the fence was continuously vandalised because the people want to come and fish from the ocean. So the government decided to put up free fishing zones where the communities are allowed to come and practice fishing. So in these sections, we restrict the local people to a number of fish per day. However, we understand that not all the people are satisfied with the number of fish they are limited to per day and the times they practice fishing but at least they are getting something (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

As the researcher noted, within this nature reserve there are several restrictions in terms of fishing. In a way, these constraints are meant to control people how resources should be used. Fishing is not allowed except in specially managed fishing areas where fishing by boat or spear cannot be done. Tourists can do recreational fishing but should follow the requirements of the Marine Living Resources Act, which requires all recreational fishermen to have a fishing license. This permit can be given through the site office upon request. Fishing is therefore strictly regulated, and based on the 2015 Dwesa-Cwebe Marine Protected Area Regulations, recreational anglers can only keep one fish per day and they are given up to four calendar days a month to do so (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, 2019). This implies that an angler can only access four fish out of 30 days. The fish should not leave the nature reserve either; they must be consumed within Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve's terrestrial boundaries. The image below shows pictorial observations of controlled fishing in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.

Figure 8.15: Controlled Fishing in Dwesa-Cwebe MPA



The image shows regulations regarding recreational fishing within Dwesa-Cwebe MPA. Photo credit: Nyamahono, J.D. (2019).

8.3.3.3 Perspectives of the women

Women also suggested that their contributions in natural resource management should be appreciated contrary to the institutional structures proposed by the power-holders. A woman in one of the women's focus groups indicated that women should be considered first in nature reserve management. She was of the opinion that as women they had close connections with nature, therefore; they must first be respected because they know how to take care of it. The statement below, quoted verbatim, was recorded during discussion groups:

I am a mother of three children and they know that their mother will bring food home. I have a garden in Hobeni village and what I farm there is what I sell to feed my children. Farming is not something that can be done by the peoples who are not good in protecting the environment. Many girls and mothers can do that better than the boys and fathers because they are single parents. The womens have these skills and they can be good managers if they are given jobs. But it is a bad thing because now they see us as peoples who are not educated because we will not take care of our soil and water in a good way. But do you think if I am not good I will be able to do garden and sell plants in my village? Amandla!!!!⁴⁴ (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

This view was also seconded by a group of women in a separate focus group who indicated that the efforts of women matters the most and they cannot be left behind or be treated as outsiders. They argued that their participatory efforts were not taken into account. The following quotations were obtained from women from different groups of participants:

The land that is supposed to belong to the local community verbally belongs to the outcasts. As the community women, we don't know why the South African black government is doing this to the people of Dwesa Cwebe (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

It is rather unfortunate that women are not given these strong positions because of many cultural beliefs that sideline the women. But the thing that outsiders have to tell us how to manage the land and not even allow us to get close is very disrespecting (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

When I was growing up my mother was a farmer. We farm in my village and take the water from Mbhashe River. It has always been there and I lean a lot of things from my mother because she spent all the time in the garden. Now the river is belonging to the nature reserve and they tell us that they will teach us

⁴⁴ *Amandla* is a term that normally refers to empowerment of the people. Therefore, in this context, the participant chanted a slogan that meant 'power to the people'.

how to use the river. That is not fair! (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

We have our children who want to go to swim but this is not allowed because they say we will destroy the land. But my mother always tells us that my mother and her friends were playing in Mphashe River and even in the ocean. That river is still here and it is not dead (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

Some women were even worried about their children's safety and their own due to a wide array of exotic animal species being introduced into the nature reserve. One of these includes crocodiles that were released into the River Mphashe River. The women complained that there had been no crocodile before but they had to be introduced by the parks management to boost tourism. The participants were afraid that if control of these animals fails, their lives and their livestock would be put at risk:

Many women in this village are concerned about the crocodile farming that was introduced in some parts of Mphashe River. In the previous days we did not have any crocodiles here and the river was very safe for everyone. Now the management introduced the crocodiles. We are not safe at all. Some of our people live close to the rivers and we do not know what is in those rivers anymore (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

The tour guide, however, had a different view of the crocodiles. In his sentiments, he argued that they are good for tourism and that they do not harm people if they are not provoked:

.....also crocodiles are a good attraction here. They bring more tourists because they want to see them. The crocodiles and the people both need to be protected. Good thing about crocodiles is that they do not attack people unless they are provoked. They only hunt animals not people (Tour Guide, 11 September 2019).

Similarly, the women shared similar fears because of bush encroachment. Under the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve law, clearing bushes is not allowed to the extent that forest density moves unfavourably towards the neighbourhood:

The bushes are continuously growing and as women, it is becoming difficult for us even to walk around because we do not know what is coming from these forests. When we were allowed to clear our forests, it was not scary and everyone in the village was very safe. We could even let our grandchildren to go out and play because we know nothing will hurt them. But now it is very difficult and dangerous (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

The tour guide shared similar sentiments with women, but continued to maintain that the thick forests are good for tourism:

I have seen a lot of people complaining that the forests are too much and they will bring snakes and other dangerous animals into the villages. I agree with these people because they do not know the beauty of animals and they are not aware that they are even afraid to go to the villages because there are many people. The thick forests are good for tourism and they provide habitat for wild animals (Tour Guide, 11 September 2019).

The researcher also noticed that the bushes were increasingly intruding into local villages. The image below shows how the bushes are encroaching towards the local villages in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.

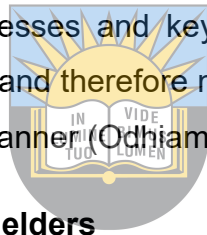
Figure 8.16: Bush encroaching into Dwesa-Cwebe communities



The image shows bush encroachment in Dwesa-Cwebe communities. Photo credit: Nyamahono, J.D. (2019).

The findings on women's participation presented above are in line with the natural resources management scholarship. Historically, women were always disadvantaged

to the extent that they were aligned with the functions of domestic production, community work, reproduction and childcare (Mohammed, 2012; Odhiambo, 2015). All of these duties connect women to grassroots environmental management practices. Women, for example, need to gather food from different sources, provide water to households, and at the same time protect natural resources (Shettima, 1996). Interestingly, against the backdrop of existing trends in environmental management, women continue to play a significant role in the provision of labour force in primary production (Mohammed, 2012). This is popular in many African countries or nations that practice collectivism, where women are collectively regarded as the backbone of rural communities while men work in remote locations (Mohammed, 2012). In other situations, women work with men primarily in subsistence farming and environmental management programmes, allowing them to have direct contact with the environment and to gain a deep understanding of the natural environment (Adebayo & Anyanwu, 2005). Thus, if the poor and marginalised people in the society – such as women – are involved in participatory processes and key decision-making, there is a high chance that they will be motivated and therefore make use of the resources available to them in a fair and sustainable manner (Odhiambo, 2015)



8.3.3.4 Perspectives of the elders

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The elders also claimed in a similar way that their opinion still counts as opposed to being viewed as outsiders or as low-level persons in nature conservation. Generally, it was discovered that being viewed as epistemic outsiders affects their 'imagined' interaction with the natural environment. A 65-year-old male who has spent his whole life in one of the Dwesa-Cwebe communities viewed institutional conservation activities as devoid of justice and equity and greatly affected local communities' 'imagined' nature conservation. Based on his perceived social realities and imaginations in a democratic society, people should have access to natural resources as long they use them sustainably. He argued that his participation process should not be determined or controlled by anyone as this undermines the goals of democracy:

I grew up all my life in this village. I was born here my parents passed on here and we buried them in this village. As a young boy, I grew up knowing that I should go and head cattle with other children, go fishing and swim in the ocean. As you can see, the ocean is just a few meters from here. We had all the resources and we would bring as much fish as we wanted, we would bring a lot

of fruits from the nature reserve and our cows were very fat (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

Despite traditional leaders' arguments that they are rightfully the epistemic insiders, the institutional stakeholders believed that they were constitutionally mandated as the custodians of the nature reserve. They stated that access of the local communities' livestock into the nature reserve threatens the lives of game animals:

The local communities' cows are not allowed into the national park in any ways. This is one of the challenges that the reserve was facing when the fence was cut down. The cows carry a lot of diseases which include foot and mouth and anthrax which will easily affect our game. This has a negative implication on tourism development the sustainability of this reserve (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

In reality, the perspectives outlined above indicate contradictory ideologies, where the institutional structures subject the local communities to group therapy. The elders also exposed that an elite form of nature conservation provides no value to any average person in the local villages. The elder went on to state the following:

.....with the new laws, everything was banned. There is no democracy at all because they teach me how I should manage the environment which I grew up in. They personally told me that I have to help them in saving nature by waking up every morning and see the beautiful ocean during sunrise and complement the beauty just like that. How will that put food on the table for my grandchildren? (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019)

The sentiments provided by the respondent above greatly contradict with the literature on the ownership and use of natural resources. Early philosophers such as Hobbes, Locke and Grotius claim that natural resources exist naturally to sustain society, and that none has exclusive access and ownership rights other than others. Likewise, Armstrong (2017, p. 2) claims that natural resources can serve as a distinctive commodity for equal justice. As a result, they should be used in a complacent and sustainable manner (Kouris, 2019). However, contrary to these scholars, the interviewee indicated that he was told to 'help save nature by not disturbing it, but rather appreciating'. In this light, the interviewee was told to appreciate nature by waking up to see the beautiful ocean behind his yard every'. This clearly resembles 'elite' participation in environmental conservation. The image shown below shows some of the coastal rural homesteads. According to Gibson (2019), this is a

biodiversity-first strategy that allows nature to survive and then convince people to love it from afar (Gibson, 2019).



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Figure 8.17: Household overlooking the Indian Ocean in Dwesa



The image shows a household overseeing Dwesa-Cwebe MPA. Photo credit: Nyamahono, J.D. (2019).

An analysis of this image leads of different meanings pertaining to the role of natural resource. While some may see it as a 'spectacular' view, others may see it as a gateway to accessing the aquatic resources. The people who are restricted from accessing the ocean see the view as loss of freedom to interact with nature.

However, such views were perceived by the tour guide as good and 'soothing' for tourism:

We have many beautiful views in the local villages and if only people understand the beauty of what they have, they will appreciate it every day. The beautiful views we have in our villages is something that attracts tourists and bring money for community development (Tour Guide, 11 September 2019).

In a different perspective, the elders in the local communities expressed their questions about the positions of CPAs and DCLT. One of the traditional leaders indicated the following:

As a community, we feel that the Associations which represent us to get our land back and the government of South Africa is leaving us to be a laughing stock in South Africa. People come from many places and they come and do research here. The Associations are part of them and tell them that they represent people but they don't tell us when we are going to get the land or when we are going to get compensation. You are also the people who come and do research. But look, we are the poor. You people when you do research you go and no answers come back. We remain poor, and you continue to tell us that we should help the managers in the park to keep the forests. We can also keep the forests because this is our homes (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

According to this assertion, the elders see CPAs and DCLT as institutions that are there to guide the agenda of change in such a way that local communities should accept that only formalised conservation practices are effective means of sustainability. The local communities objected because the CPAs had failed to include themselves in the formal systems in such a way that local communities' interests could be addressed. Ultimately, most of the respondents preferred a 'free-roam' system of environmental conservation where indigenous ecological activities predominate. They also complained that once people join DCLT and CPAs, they forget about people's needs as if they were captured to believe that formal conservation practices were superior to indigenous practices.

8.3.3.5 Perspectives of the CPAs and DCLT

Since the process of land claims began in 1994 and resulted in the creation of CPAs and the transfer of land to DCLT in 2001, the reserve's management remained in the hands of the nature reserve. The views above show that the CPA and DCLT are perceived to be incompetent by the local communities. This is because the local communities had the opinion that these groups do not fully demonstrate their efforts to represent local people in the nature reserve management affairs. The local communities also see CPAs and DCLT as vehicles for therapy and on-going manipulation. The CPA revealed, however, that they did not have the management or veto powers:

From 1994 when the local communities lodged their land claim complaint land the process took long and the land was only transferred to the local communities in the year 2000. Since then until today, the people have not yet received the title deeds of the land. So the situation is like we give you the land but we can take it any time. The title deeds are still in the hands of the Department of Land Reform. So in a way, the move of giving people land without title deeds was a disguise. It was a way to calm people down so that they stop chaos and protests (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

DCLT distanced itself from subjecting people to therapeutic ideology. They said that the local communities would remain subjected to institutional stakeholders if they did not work together:

The only biggest challenge the local people have is that they are not united in the fight against the government and the parks authorities. For example, the young people are not seen anywhere in the fight for their democracy. The former Land Trust and CPA members do not attend meetings. Maybe the new CPA which will be coming will be participating in meetings for the communities. This makes the community victims of government departments because former CPAs member do not provide the community with the information about where we are in the management of the nature reserve (DCLT Representative, 9 September 2019).

The findings presented above shows different meanings of participation which some view as therapy while others see as effective participation. This shows that the participation dynamics surrounding environmental conservation within Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve cannot be confined to a singular meaning since the people perceive them differently and provide their efforts in different ways. The contrasting meaning of participation can therefore be a perfect example of what different scholars believe

about the existence of the multi-faceted and nuanced concepts of participation (see Ballard, 2018; Elling & Nielsen, 2018).

Participation therapy on its own is complex as it involves some political features and social attributes (Barry, 2013; Marres, 2012). Barry (2013) notes that political meaning of participation – or therapy in this regard – involves a subtle or direct political intervention. This is well explained by South Africa’s institutional and legal frameworks that define and explain how multiple stakeholders should administer participation in conservation practices (see the Constitution). In terms of social meanings, the institutional stakeholders such as the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its subordinating organisations may see this through ensuring that there is inclusion policies on the participation of every member of the society in public decisions and enabling them to discuss and deliberate on collective issues affecting their live (see Marres, 2012). This is actually done by CPAs, DCLT, Outreach Officers and other community-level leaders. This is despite the fact that most local communities view these agents as manipulated and tokenised, and disguisedly exclude local communities from any participatory arrangements for the development of their territories.



However, other people may see the institutional ways as ineffective as they are more autocratic than democratic. According to Boiral et al. (2019), people who are generally under institutional control in environmental conservation find formalised ways to be inefficient compared to their indigenous practices. Some scholars like Dowie (2009), Lewis (2010) and Stevens (2010) see local communities being subjected to formalised environmental policies as a way to make them conservative refugees on their own land. Actually, the oppression of local communities through therapeutic ideologies tends to influence their involvement in the conservation of the environment. In most cases, they provide minimal efforts because they would have lost their traditional rights to defend their possessions, liberty, health and life. This is in line with Aditya (2016) study, which found that people would only be closely involved in environmental conservation activities if they have a stake in decision-making and derive tangible benefits from their involvement.

8.4 Conclusion

This is the first chapter of data analysis, and it examines the demographic information of all participants in this research. The chapter included an analysis and discussion of findings on some of the participation dynamics in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Notably, the chapter demonstrated that the various meanings and definitions attached to the term participation indicate that participation in the conservation of nature is contradictory. It was found that non-participation, as seen through manipulation and therapy, in fact characterise participation in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Importantly, the chapter noted that the participation of various stakeholders in environmental conservation does not always result in equity and justice as dominantly perceived but might be connected with exploitation with some stakeholders benefiting at the expense of others. Findings revealed that the participants are subject to different levels of therapeutic sessions. A common assumption is that different meanings are attached to these different extents. For instance, the institutional stakeholders, holding other factors constant, cannot see their formal practices as subjecting local participants to tokenism, but rather an effective conservation practice. Therefore, Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its managing institutional stakeholders can see their conservation methods as critical in helping to tackle the environmental challenges posed by the current global crisis. The next chapter expands on the main argument of this study by looking further into the participation dynamics in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.

CHAPTER NINE: CONSERVATION PRACTICES IN DWESA-CWEBE NATURE RESERVE – FINDINGS ON TOKENISED PARTICIPATION

9.1 Introduction

This is the second chapter of primary data analysis which shows the extent to which conservation ideas on protected area management are epitomised by the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. This chapter shows that participation in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve management is characterised by tokenism. Accordingly, study findings presented in this chapter depict participation as a highly tokenised subject and is viewed by local communities as ‘inconsiderate’ and ‘inhumane’. The local participations based this on the fact that their participation does not result in the provision of skills development initiatives or employment creation – also noted in the demographics. They also indicated that the participatory programmes lack good governance and transparency to the extent that they lead to socio-cultural disempowerment. The institutional stakeholders, on the other hand, view participation as effective – a very important point that speaks to the contentious nature of what it means to participate. The findings in this chapter also depict participation as a contested subject in which there are conflicts between the government and local communities, Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve management and local communities, the local communities themselves as well as the CPAs and DCLT against the local communities. These overall show that the participation process does not lead to equity and justice as it is construed – this is because of the contested nature of participation.

9.2 Tokenised participation

Research suggests that people centred participation gives communities, in particular women and marginalised groups an opportunity to belong and to influence initiatives (Davids, et al., 2005). However, study findings show that in the case of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, tokenised participation is a norm. It was found that tokenism is used to make some local people feel that they are actively involved and participating in the process of the management of natural resources when in actual fact little participation happens. In explaining, some participants noted that this tokenism involves the recruitment of several local people to participate in community meetings, feedback surveys, public hearings and other similar ways to trigger people into developing an

impression that there have been inclusive participation processes. On the other hand, they defined and contextualised mediation as a process by which third parties are recruited to act as mediators between the various conflicting stakeholders in the management of the reserve, of which the most dominant conflicting stakeholders are local communities and institutional stakeholders. In light of this, this research claims that mediation is biased and it often leads to injustice in the name of conciliation and veiled 'exclusion'. Two aspects relating to tokenism were established in this study, namely (i) formal processes in environmental management are 'inconsiderate' and 'inhumane': local communities' perspectives; and (ii) formal conservation is effective – institutional stakeholders' perspectives. These aspects are analysed below.

9.2.1 Formalised conservation is 'inconsiderate' and 'inhumane': local communities' perspectives

Most of the participants had different views on the definitions of consultation and informing as the institutional stakeholders postulated. Secondly, the traditional leaders perceived the efficacy of the Outreach Officers in serving the communities differently. The Outreach Officers have been viewed as 'useless' in their beliefs as they have continuously failed to represent local communities. The elders claimed that institutional stakeholders want local communities to assume that something meaningful would emerge in terms of biodiversity and access to natural resources by sustaining the charade:

The problem is that they always say they will communicate with top management to ensure that the people do benefit from the nature reserve but nothing really does happen. At times, we tend to think that these representatives are eating together the benefits of the nature reserve because the community does not get anything or even reply after they lodge their complaints. They are just useless because they do not know what their people needs (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

The interviews also showed that consultation and information was highly tokenised and manipulated because there is no direct contact through the Outreach Officers between the nature reserve and local communities. As noted in Arnstein (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation, the consultation rung is merely a one-way kind of communication whose idea is to ensure that the voice of the powerless is less heard in the participatory arrangement until they reach a point where their voices can make a difference. This was confirmed through interviews with traditional leaders who

shared only their dissatisfaction with the appointment of new leaders or representatives:

What they do is that we only find out that they have changed the management while we do not know how it has changed and what happened. We only see when there is a new manager without our knowledge. You do not even know where the management is coming from you just find it gone with a new person that you do not even know where they originate from (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

Other participants also noted that the parks management only hold meetings when they want to 'manipulate' people. As it emerged, the local communities claimed that the meetings held by the nature reserve management are a way to create the illusion that development is taking place. The local communities were actually convinced that the meetings were simply non-participatory mechanisms disguised as consultation and information sessions:

What the Dwesa-Cwebe people do not want is to have meetings when they call us only. We also ask for meetings but they do not want to do these meetings but when they ask they want everyone to attend. What disturbs the most is that the meetings when they are called they do not bring anything or development to the community but all the villages attend the meetings (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

In addition, other participants had an impression that government departments and other stakeholders misused the compensation money. The bottom line of all these arguments was that they view consultation and informing processes as something that does not yield positive results but subject local people continuously to disguised exclusion, tokenism and manipulation. The study also revealed that to a certain extent the meetings are held on political grounds, for example when politicians want to address local communities. In this way, consultation and informing processes are used as tools for their political agendas. A large number of participants, as shown in the following excerpts, seconded this:

During times of elections people come and they ask for meetings and they tell us that we should tell them everything we want for our land. They always do that during the elections but at times, they just disappear especially after the elections (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

When the department want people to vote for them in elections, meetings are done and many people come and they eat and get t-shirts. People also tell that

they want changes in the management of the reserve (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

The parks and the politicians are one thing. They speak in one voice. The parks authorities follow what the politicians want. Be it time for elections or not, the parks always follow what the politicians want. If the politicians want people to come for the meetings, the parks will call them. The problem is only that the people are always coming to the meetings all the times (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

Another respondent raised similar arguments on the political nature of the participation process. The respondent suggested that politicians usually do the consultation and informing processes to give the impression that there are many supporters from a particular political party:

I have noticed that the meetings are used by the politicians to drive their political agendas. At times the meetings do not even benefit the people because every time same questions are asked and similar responses are given. The politicians do this just to spread their political voices and ask the people to vote for them. Strangely, we still vote for the same people again and again because there is democracy (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

In addition, this study found that the previous CPA had been dissolved due to several factors. Some participants believed that its contract had lapsed while others assumed it had been terminated because it was incompetent. Therefore, there was no clear reason for it dissolving. Nevertheless, several local communities believed that the CPA had been closed on supposedly inept matters. The local communities also believed that the CPA was in fact a brainchild of park management, as they were interested and involved in the selection of a new committee. Such involvement leads not only to exploitation, manipulation, therapy, and tokenism, but also to a lack of clarity regarding their representativeness. The statement below indicates the grievances of various respondents:

What is disturbing again in this regard is that the parks management and the Land Reform Department is involved in the selection of the new CPA. Why are they involved in the CPAs when the CPA is supposed to be our organisation? It is because they use them and think they represent the whole village (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

We have always known it from the beginning that the people when they are part of CPA they change and forget that the other people in the village are important, and now they are helped by their bosses to do the elections (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

They are now not conducting the CPA elections now the ECPTA that is responsible for the conservation in this land is managing the reserve alone. The community of Dwesa Cwebe see that as corruption (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

According to the perspectives of the local communities, all these results are a kind of tokenism, veiled in the mist of consultation and informing. As a result, many commitments have been made but have not been kept, meaning that the new consultation process is simply a tokenism agenda with no degree of citizen power. The study concluded that skills development, employment, transparency, good overnance ans social empowerment issues have not been addressed in the majority of consultations and informing sessions. These are analysed below.

9.2.1.1 Failure to provide skills development and employment creation initiatives

First, the respondents indicated that the consultation and informing processes should lead to the creation of skills development and employment creation initiatives, but that was not achieved. Ironically, the institutional stakeholders have also attested that the government has failed to provide employment. The quotation below represents the opinions of the Dwesa-Cwebe management regarding the trajectory of the government's promises but not fulfilled:



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.....after 1994, there were a lot of engagements by the government and the local people. Seemingly, there were a lot of promises, for example; that the local people will be employed in the nature reserve and even in the senior levels. The local communities were also promised to be trained as managers but till today, nothing has been done. Even if you assess the profiles of any average person you meet on the road, you find that there are no qualified people. Even me I am from Glen View⁴⁵ because no one in the community could take up the position due to administrative issues⁴⁶ (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

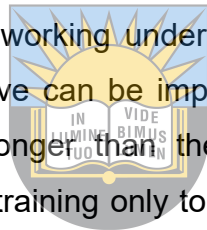
⁴⁵ Name of the place was changed to protect the privacy and confidentiality of participant.

⁴⁶ As it merged in this study, there are multiple factors why individuals from the local communities are not employed in the management positions of the nature reserve. One of these reasons is that there is unstable political situation regarding the land question of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve to the extent that the individuals employed should not be compromised by the local social settings. As a result, employing an individual from the local community will leave the nature reserve vulnerable to imminent inversions. The other reason obtained is that the local communities have fear of being victimised if they take up the management positions. As a result, they rather leave the posts open to the 'outsiders'.

The findings presented above agree with the traditional leaders' views. They indicated that the local communities had been assured that the nature reserve would create jobs, but it failed:

When they ask us what we need in this community, we told them that we need jobs. They welcome it and promise that they will bring the jobs but it never comes. So that is why I say our relationship with the reserve is not good at all. They only come back to us when there is an event, for example; when there are rallies and campaigns and keep on promising people jobs but there are no jobs at all (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

The institutional stakeholders provided their views on the issue of skills development and employment dynamics in Dwesa-Cwebe communities. In their responses, they all had similar opinions that the government does not have adequate funding to provide training services to all the sectors of the economy. Mbhashe Local Municipality indicated that it is in the process of collecting information from the local communities in relation to the skills set they need for their personal and professional development. The ECPTA maintained that it is working under strict budgetary constraints to the extent that while the nature reserve can be improved to benefit the entire Dwesa-Cwebe community, it will take longer than the local communities expect. DEA specifically indicated that it offers training only to individuals, especially professional people:



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Our focus is to develop the natural resources so we train people who will benefit the organisation in the long run. The intention is to provide training to individuals such as graduates who have their degrees in environmental or marine related academic fields so that they go out there and represent the organisation in the national parks or protected areas. There are other outreach programmes under the department but their purpose is to help local communities to have grassroots understanding on what it entails to manage the natural resources. But these are really non-credited courses (Official from DEA, 03 February 2020).

The researcher also found that Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has high unemployment and a lack of skills. Document analysis revealed that this is attributed to the location of Dwesa-Cwebe communities. This community lacks the infrastructure needed to accommodate all its working populations. Dwesa-Cwebe is located in the former Transkei region, 47km away from Willowvale by gravel road. Other towns, namely Dutywa and Mthatha are located within 86km and 160km of the nature reserve respectively. East London is 230km away, while Port Elizabeth is 550km away, indicating how far this reserve is from the major cities.

Because of its unfriendly economic environment, this zone is still subject to peripheralisation and marginalisation to date. It is therefore difficult for local authorities to establish employment-generating initiatives to the extent that a culture of migrant labour exists. The majority of working people move from Dwesa-Cwebe communities to urban areas in search of greener pastures. The situation is even worse because nearly 40% of the population in this community falls in working age (ECSECC, 2017), the majority of whom leave for better opportunities, subjecting the remaining communities to a high dependency ratio⁴⁷ and vulnerability. Document analysis revealed that there was about 78% unemployment in Dwesa-Cwebe communities as of 2017 and that approximately 49% of households relied on social grants and monthly income of less than R1 000 (ECSECC, 2017). The current study also found that of all primary research participants, 59% were unemployed and the majority earned between R1001-R2000 per month.

To a certain extent, there was little evidence of entrepreneurship initiatives within Dwesa-Cwebe communities. The researcher found that the entire community had less than five foreign-owned spaza shops that were the most outstanding and noticeable economic activities. Besides these, there were a few more farmers, for example, who had small and micro-enterprises operated from home; selling airtime and domestic livestock, shoe repairs, as well as subsistence construction activities. Some engaged in car and truck hiring while others practiced subsistence farming, as already stated. All these employment dynamics are not in line with the job opportunities that the local communities hoped Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve would create given the continuous consultation and informing sessions held in the village.

In addition, community projects were also seen as one of the important aspects that the nature reserve would do for the people. The local communities were highly prepared to take part in any community development projects, as long they will reap financial profits at the end. The local communities, however, indicated that the government has failed to fund community development projects that would have

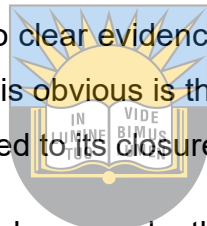
⁴⁷ According to UNESCO, the dependency ratio is a measure of the number of dependents aged zero to 14 and over the age of 65, compared with the total population aged 15 to 64.).

helped secure jobs for local communities. The statement below is from one of the traditional community leaders:

The nature reserve did not fund any project. So at the moment, there are no current projects and even in the past, there have not been projects (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

However, this information contradicted the researcher's observations and the economic development reports of the Dwesa-Cwebe villages. According to the Mbashe Local Municipality's Performance Reports, community development initiatives have been developed to reduce poverty through short-term employment. One of the prominent projects was the Nqabara Crafts Centre, which provided employment through development and trading of home-made ornaments. ECSECC (2017) reported that during its years of operation, the craft centre had significant external intervention by advisors, the government and other stakeholders. However, while the objective was to ensure that the project boosted the economy to some extent, auditors reported that there was no clear evidence as to whether the project lived up to its goal (ECSECC, 2017). What is obvious is that the project was not viable after a number of years of operation that led to its closure.

The Khulanathi Poultry Project, which was under the administration of the government, is also another project whose operations have been halted. With the funding of the then Department of Social Development and Special Programmes as well as the Mbashe Local Municipality, local communities were lacking the management skills needed and the project eventually failed. What remains from the project is a sign post shown below.



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Figure 9.18: Remnants of the Khulanathi Poultry Project in Dwesa-Cwebe



The image shows remnants of the Khulanathi Poultry Project in Dwesa which was left there since the project closed down. Photo credit: Nyamahono J.D. (2019)

Such initiatives show that the government has indeed launched community development programmes but they have failed. Analysis of records and reports from the Eastern Cape government also reveals that the projects were financed by discretionary grants⁴⁸ that were part of the compensation given to local communities through the 2001 Settlement Agreement (ECSECC, 2017). The information collected from Mbashe Local Municipality indicated that the projects had indeed been closed due to a lack of skills among local communities:

The municipality implemented community development poultry and crafts project but due to the lack of skills as I have identified, the projects always fail. However, we are in the process of asking for more money from their compensation package so that we can train them into necessary projects (Official from Mbashe Local Municipality, 13 January 2020).

The ward councillors also seconded the local municipality and indicated that there are plans in place to upgrade the local communities through skills development:

So in addition to the information on what people expect, the ward committees are also collecting information on the projects that the people want to do. When the information is gathered, the municipality will decide which projects to do based on the skills of the people. But it is high likely that people will be trained first (Ward Councillor, 4 September 2019).

Overall, this information shows that, to a certain extent, the local municipality is trying to use the compensation package to develop local communities. As identified, community development projects have been introduced in the Dwesa-Cwebe communities, but have been closed due to poor skills. In this regard, it can be concluded that initiatives to develop the skills of local communities should be initiated by the institutional stakeholders involved in nature conversations.

9.2.1.2 Lack of good governance and transparency

The research also revealed that, throughout the consultation and information processes, local communities hoped that the government and nature reserve management would be transparent in terms of developments, budgets, expenditure and any projections. The local communities were worried, however, that there was a

⁴⁸ The reader should recall that out of the R14.276 million compensation fees that was given to the local communities through the Settlement Agreement of 2001, R7.146 million was meant for Restitution Discretionary Grants for community development projects, skills development, education and agricultural purposes.

lack of transparency about the use of the money generated from the nature reserve. The reader will note that when land ownership was transferred through the CPA and DCLT to local communities, an agreement was reached that the property would be used for non-residential but low-density tourism purposes. This was after which the management of the natural resources was put into the hands of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The respondents indicated that meetings are continuously done but there is no evidence whether their compensation money was sustainably used. In fact, the local communities were not even sure if the funds were still there or exhausted. Local communities were also unaware of how tourism money is being used:

We do not know where it [income generated through tourism] goes; honest truth is you know we do not know. We have been asking these questions in all the meetings we do but we have not been receiving any answer. Out of the money that is generated, at least the reserve should provide wooden poles for us so that we build our kraals and gardens. But to be honest with you, we even pay money to people in this village to steal wooden poles for us from the nature reserve so that we build our kraals and gardens. Other than that, we do not know where the money from tourists is going (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

However, the Reserve Management had a different story, contrary to the traditional leaders' views on the use of tourism money. They indicated that a portion of the money generated is spent on development:

The money generated through tourism in this area is used for the development of Dwesa-Cwebe communities. As per the policies of the nature reserve, when the money is generated for tourism, a portion of it is taken to develop the local schools and roads (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

Nevertheless, these results were in contrast to CPA's findings. According to information obtained from CPA members' interviews, the nature reserve management does not use the money generated from the nature reserve because it is on a leasing the reserve⁴⁹ with the then Department of Land Reform as the landowner:

.....no the money does not go to the local communities for the development of schools and clinics. This is because they say that there must be co-management between the reserve and the CPA committees. So they say we cannot do that because we are on the lease agreement with the Department of

⁴⁹ The reader should recall that when the Settlement Agreement was signed in 2001, the local communities were given restoration package of approximately R14 million and the nature reserve was leased to the ECPTA for R21million for 21 years (from 2001 to 2022).

Land Reform. Other reserves are benefiting their communities. For example, say a tourist comes and pay R12 for the reserve, R6 goes to the reserve and R6 goes to the local communities for development. This is not happening in Dwesa. But the good thing is that they create jobs for the youth (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

DRDAR established that the compensation money was distributed to various departments including the local municipality:

The compensation money was allocated to different government departments because the nature reserve is managed by different departments. Some of the money was allocated to Mphashe Local Municipality because it is the one that should implement community development projects at municipal level. Some of it was allocated to DEA for conservation practices. So money is actually used for development but it is only that the local communities are not aware but their representatives know that (Official from DRDAR, 27 January 2020).

Mphashe Local Municipality also pointed out that the CPA is conscious that the money is being used to renovate the nature reserve and to maintain water systems:

Some of the compensation money was used to renovate the boundary of the nature reserve, which was cut down by the local communities when they were protesting. Some of the money is also used to renovate the water systems in the nature reserve and surrounding communities (Official from Mphashe Local Municipality, 13 January 2020).

Overall, these results clearly show that the money is actually used to improve the city, but there is a lack of communication with local people. This could be because the institutional stakeholders communicate with the local communities via a one-way channel and leave the local communities with no room to ask questions about community development. What is not clear, however, is whether developments are clearly visible to local communities. For example, in relation to water supplies, the researcher noted that local communities are using low-cost community water systems. Consequently, questions can be asked as to whether the consultation and informing processes are democratic or not or even contribute to community development.

9.2.1.3 Socio-cultural (dis)empowerment

In terms of empowerment, this research concluded that the consultation and informing mechanisms also led to the local communities being socio-culturally disempowered. Largely, local communities felt that they had lost (while a few had gained) their influential powers in their surroundings and in the direction of events. One of the

significant attributes highlighted is that of CPA's misconduct. As it emerged, the outgoing CPA introduced in 2001 was in fact disbanded due to perceived incompetence and a number of other factors. As already discussed in the sections above, the incompetency of the CPA is mainly attributed to 'consultation', 'informing' and 'therapy' which in actuality is a way of disguisedly excluding the local communities in the participatory arrangements. Thus, the local communities are disempowered socially and culturally because their people who are voted into CPA later on misrepresent them and act in favour of their 'oppressors'. This study revealed that since the selection of the CPA Executive shortly after 1994 democratic elections and DCLT later on in 2001, no tangible evidence exists on the success of these organisations:

We cannot say the government has failed totally, because it has commissioned the appointment of local organisations that represent the people in the local communities. The current situation now is that the people in the local communities have the belief that CPA and DCLT are not progressing as expected. The CPA Executive, which was formed after 1998, is not in existence now. It was early last year⁵⁰ when there was a fight between the community members and the executive committee of that structure. The local communities were saying we have elected you to represent us but up to today there is no progress. We do not even have title deeds of the land; there is nothing that you are doing there. So the meetings continued until they eventually dissolved that structure (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

This study also concluded that the current administration of the nature reserve regulates local communities' access to their cultural resources, which has even affected their social systems. According to the traditional leaders, meetings were held and the local communities inquired if they can access important resources like herbs, the graves of their loved ones or even grazing fields. Some of the social and cultural activities are still allowed, but these are strictly restricted, for example burying the dead and accessing traditional herbs. Briefly, the current *modus operandi* appears to be disempowering the local communities socially and culturally. The verbatim statement below demonstrates the grievances of one of the traditional leaders:

Back when we were still growing there was nothing we did not get from the reserve that we wanted. But as time passed by when the new laws were introduced, we were not able to get even a few vital medicines from the reserve you only get it when you are given the permission. So our relationship with the

⁵⁰ The readers should note that the period referred to here is early 2018.

management there is not really good. Now we are not benefiting anything ever since it has been fenced but back then we would get wood to build our kraals. Our livestock would stay there and eat of the grass and we used to have houses also there where we stayed and even buried some of our loved ones there but now we cannot even go visit their graves anytime. You have to go and ask for permission first (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

Another participant stated that the current administration of the nature reserve has impaired the traditional burial procedures. While local communities still have the right to bury their dead in the reserve, multiple conditions apply:

.....for example, my family come from the reserve. Our graves, they are in the reserve. So if we want to bury somebody in my family we have to come and talk to the manager of the reserve. We ask the manager, please Mr Manager can we bury our people because our graves are in the reserve? He tells us that okay you can go and bury the bodies there but don't chop this tree, that one and that one, the indigenous trees because they are protected. So it's a big problem because this is our culture (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

As has been noted so far, in most cases the creation of protected areas detaches people from their native land and relocates them to areas designated for individuals. Usually people take their culture with them during the process of relocation or in some cases, they may even lose some of their cultural artefacts, sense-of-place, heritage or even their normal and appropriate everyday realities (Griffiths et al., 2019; Sowman & Sunde, 2018). Other scholars have noted that the collective memory of the local communities will be distorted because of significant societal changes (Halbwachs, 1925; 1950; 1994). This makes the concept of protected areas blurred or contentious, especially on the point that these formalised conservation areas provide a long-term nature conservation linked to cultural values

Similarly, other participants also noted, with great concern, that even the process of accessing traditional medicines from the nature reserve is not as easy as it was. Concerns were raised on the issue of being escorted to the forests to procure particular medicines. One of the respondents who indicated that he works with different people, including traditional healers, indicated the following:

Myself I work with different people in the community including the sangomas. In terms of the herbs, there are herbs that you cannot see anywhere in the forests but only in the nature reserve. We have big forests outside but they are not as big as Dwesa [Nature Reserve]. Some very good medicines are found there. So as the members of the community they are allowed to get those good medicines which are not found outside but you have to come to the reserve and ask the

manager that I want this that I want this medicine. Then the manager will give you a forest ranger to go with you because we as the local guys we just go and chop a tree. We don't care. But if you come with a member of the reserve you go there and cut a leaf or tree buck. So the rule is, don't kill the tree. Just take what you want and leave the tree alive (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

The tour guide also indicated that his organisation has a permit to tour the nature reserve for different purposes. Since he is a professional tour guide who has been working for this organisation for a long time, he indicated that he does not often request permission to go to the nature reserve even to procure certain types of medicines:

Some tourists come for medicinal tours so the hotel already has a permit so I don't need to get one always. I just take the tourists to the particular plants they are looking for because I am certified by the hotel to do these duties (Tour Guide, 11 September 2019).

The results mentioned above clearly show that participation is seen in different ways. Although institutional participants find their participatory mechanisms to be successful for conservation, local communities consider them inconsiderate and inhumane. The study revealed that local communities often believe that the Outreach Officers, who are hired and appointed to represent the community by the park authorities, lack representation and behave in favour of the institutions. The study also found that the community meetings are used as vehicles for increased tokenism and manipulation. Local communities felt that community meetings are biased as they do not create a space for meeting the needs of local communities. Local communities also believed that CPAs and DCLT have the same role in non-participation as they have failed to represent local communities in more than a decade. Such mixed findings are consistent with a number of studies conducted in the field of environmental conservation. In a study carried out by Ringer (2013), it was found that in most cases the spoils generated from recreation might not benefit the public but those with societal privileges or those in the upper echelons of the organisations that administer them.

The local communities were worried about nature reserve management's participation in the CPA elections and rejected this move as corruption. This is, however, contrary to the provisions in the 2001 Settlement Agreement and the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management Planning Frameworks, as it is stipulated that all of these stakeholders should participate in the election process so that they all work in harmony. This shows that the study area lacks education or awareness processes on

conservation practices in nature reserves. What is clear from the findings that have been discussed is that the CPAs are manipulated and tokenised to the extent that their consultations and informing processes in Dwesa-Cwebe deliberately exclude local communities on development agendas.

The findings on the inconsistencies of the institutional stakeholders in the management of the nature reserve are not new in Dwesa-Cwebe. According to a study conducted by Palmer et al. (2002) in Dwesa-Cwebe communities, several concerns were raised about the management of the compensation money which was placed in the hands of DCLT. However, it was not immediately clear during that time (in early 2000) how compensation funds would benefit local communities. The current study, conducted 18 years later, also shows that the use of the compensation money appears to be blurred. In short, the current study concludes that the number of people attending the meetings does not necessarily lead to their satisfaction, as has been the case in the early 2000.



The findings discussed thus far have been discussed to some extent in line with other research conducted in the Dwesa-Cwebe communities. Abdu-Raheem (2010) conducted a study to find ways to expand biodiversity in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The study found that local communities lacked adequate financial and skills to develop their community. Abdu-Raheem (2010) concluded that local communities should seek such assistance from the government. This is in line with the information obtained in the current research, as it has been found that there is a large skills gap in the local communities. Both studies established that the skills gap could be resolved by using discretionary grants that were part of the compensation given to the local communities under the Settlement Agreement of 2001 after land was transferred to DCLT. The prevalent situation in Dwesa-Cwebe communities, however, clearly shows that there are few or no financial resources available to help the local people. This also runs contrary to Abdu-Raheem's (2010) study, which recommended that local communities should approach the government to fund training and development initiatives. According to the information collected, the consultation and informing processes held have been unfruitful for more than a decade. This institutional stakeholders also attested to this, another reality which Abdu-Raheem (2010) did not investigate.

Furthermore, the findings discussed thus far filled the research gap left by Venter and Mann (2012) who conducted a study on surf zone and estuarine line-fish species in Dwesa-Cwebe MPA. Venter and Mann (2012) identified only the effectiveness of coastal institutionalisation and the establishment of free fishing zones and ignored the views of local communities. The current study showed that what authorities call natural resource 'poaching' is simply 'livelihood' for the local communities. The main reason for this was that local people only get little or no benefits from the nature reserve, so they stick to fishing and other ways of living. The study found that local communities do not see themselves as outsiders, but that institutional members are outsiders.

The participation dynamics discussed above also question existing legal and institutional mechanisms for the management of South Africa's nature reserves. These frameworks stress the importance of consulting and informing the public but do not address the inconsistencies in these processes. First, the public participation process begins with a process of consulting and informing the local communities through the Integrated Development Plan Forums, municipality representatives and the ward committees. This should be implemented in all the sectors of the economy, although literature clearly shows that the South African government continuously fails to incorporate the people from marginalised communities (Pakade-Yokwana, 2013).

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In relation to the management of the protected areas, the Constitution specifically mentions the consultation and informing processes that are followed in the declaration and management of protected areas (including co-management). For example, through the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014, the Constitution stipulates procedures to be followed to co-manage the protected areas. According to Section 42, Sub-section (1)(a), the management authorities may enter into an agreement with another organ of the state, a local community, and individual or other party to negotiate deals pertaining to (i) co-management of the conservational spaces or (ii) regulation of human activities that affect the environment in the area. Furthermore, in terms of public participation, the Constitution states that the responsible Minister should consult all national organs of state affected by the development through the gazette or any other consultation processes.

However, based on the findings obtained from primary research, these clauses together with a variety of meetings conducted by the institutional stakeholders do not give the villagers the propensity to be part of the management team. The study found that the local communities were mainly concerned about being excluded by the inconsiderate and inhumane institutional stakeholders. Even so, the Constitution does not even recognise the fact that the local communities have their indigenous laws on land management and that their will should also be incorporated into the formalised structures. Thus, based on this analysis, it can be concluded that institutional frameworks, consultations and informing sessions are predominantly skewed to the needs of institutional stakeholders.

9.2.2 Formalised conservation is ‘effective’: government, parastatals and NGO’s perspectives

The concept of ‘informing’ is known to be one of the formal environmental conservation mechanisms. According to Arnstein (1969), informing reflects lower levels of tokenism where the participation process includes dissemination of information about a project from the source to the recipients. This process is usually one-way, and involves disseminating information to the proposed recipients from the decision-makers. Informing rung in a way is an important step towards full involvement but does not reflect full participation. Informing is predominantly one way which implies that somebody still makes decisions. Therefore, there is no space for the participants to make decisions since there are no feedback mechanisms in that way. Posters, newspapers or pamphlets are the mainly used media in this form of participation. According to Arnstein (1969), community meetings can also be used to spread one-way communication if the power-holders or institutional stakeholders provide superficial information, discourage questions and provide irrelevant answers. In this way, the information and decision making start from the top levels where the power-holders make decisions and pass it to the bottom where the local communities are expected to react or conceive the message in a particular way.

Tokenism in the management of protected areas is also camouflaged through consultation processes. According to Arnstein (1969), consultation is another way of participation that does not fully represent full participation but that can be disguised as one through tokenism. This participation process is similar to informing but is carried

out mainly by requesting the views of the local communities and thus 'consulting' the people in the decision making process. Pretty (1995) states that the external agents define problems and information gathering processes. In doing so, they control the analysis of the problem. While consultation may be a move towards full participation, there is no guarantee that the participants' concerns are taken into consideration. According to legislative frameworks on participation, all stakeholders affected by a decision have the right to participate in decision-making process through the consultation processes.

In this study, it was found that the institutional stakeholders 'consult' or 'inform' the local communities through community meetings, surveys or public hearings but without satisfying their needs. Thus, the goals of the participation process are vague because many people are 'consulted' or 'informed' but their needs are not fulfilled. The following sections provide an overview of various attributes in which consulting and informing processes in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve can be a perfect example of camouflaged exclusion.

The management of the Dwesa Cwebe Nature Reserve, government representatives, municipal officials and the parks board outlined how they consult and inform local communities about nature conservation. These stakeholders see consultation and informing as a form of civic engagement in which the public is invited, through their representatives, to express their views on development agendas. Primary research concluded that consultation and informing processes are performed mainly through community meetings coordinated mostly by institutional stakeholders. The verbatim statement below shows the participants' feelings:

The local communities are involved in the participation process in different ways. As the national park, we consult with them once in a while because there are people on the ground in the communities who work with them every day so we cannot afford to have meetings always. But if the management really wants to have a meeting with them and do several consultations, meetings are held (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

This research found that the meetings are mostly organised by nature reserve management, which reflects a high level of top-down approach. The respondent stated that:

.....so in these meetings, the management will be present and they will ask people to explain what they want the government to do for them. This is done because the park belongs to the people and the parks agent is only managing on behalf of the people. These meetings are not done always, but when the management sees it necessary they call for a meeting (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

While this information and consultation process is primarily a one-way top-down approach, the management of the nature reserve suggested that there is no need for regular meetings as there are members of local communities working with the parks. In this situation, Outreach Officers are defined as the most important individuals working closely with the local communities and the nature reserve management. The verbatim statement below shows why meetings should not be held regularly:

I work with two section rangers who help me in the management of the organisation. Then with the communities, we are having an Outreach Officer, a lady, who is employed by the organisation. Her responsibility is to liaise with the local communities on the issues that affect the local communities. Those issues are then presented before the organisation such that the information we are given we take it into strategic decisions. The meetings cannot be done every day but when we see it necessary to call people (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

The management also went on to mention the roles of the CPAs and DCLT as organisations that are immediate to the needs of the local communities. The only difference is that DCLT and CPAs do not operate under the administration of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, but are separate legal entities whose jurisdictions are enshrined within their operating policies:

The CPA and the Land Trust are the most immediate institutions which consult with the local communities in terms of their needs. This is different from the roles of the Outreach Officers. The CPA actually represents the community because they are not employed by the nature reserve. Their duty is to gather all the needs of the local communities and present them in the meetings where the goals and other development plans are set. The only difference is that the Outreach Officers are on the payroll of the parks authority (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

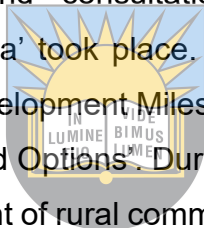
Primary research also found a recent dissolution of the former CPA. As a result, the nature reserve was in the process of helping the local communities form another CPA group, in collaboration with the Department of Land Reform. The information obtained stated:

The previous CPA was dissolved. Now we are in the process of assisting the community through the department of Land Reform to elect a new committee. The elections are held in the seven local villages (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

DRDAR has stated that it conducts information and consultations through national and provincial meetings with key officials of the government:

The issue of land reform is discussed in different cells at village level. We have representatives from the respective municipalities who consult with the people through their ward councillors and then issues on land processes and how the resources in it should be managed. The information is then gathered at district level and discussed at provincial level. Policies are then composed on how best land and natural resources are managed. After this is done, provincial meetings are then done where key stakeholders are informed about the way forward in relation to land management, natural resources management and agricultural processes (Official from DRDAR, 27 January 2020).

As has emerged, from 28 January to 30 January 2020 in Lusikisiki, Eastern Cape, one of the provincial information and consultations entitled 'Rural Development Conference and Investment Indaba' took place. The theme of the conference was 'Policy Reflection on the Rural Development Milestones and Potentials of the Eastern Cape Province: Trends, Events and Options'. During this conference, important plans were discussed for the development of rural communities and natural resources in the Eastern Cape.



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In a separate incidence, DEA has indicated the efficacy of its policies towards the national objectives:

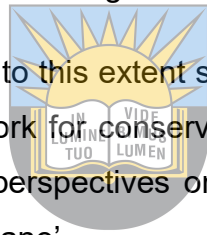
.....as I have already mentioned, we have national goals that we should achieve. The national goals affect different departments in the country. The national goals may be set over a period of 10 or 20 years. Just like the NDPs of South Africa, they target certain developmental attributes by 2030. So in natural resources management, we have to make sure that we follow our guidelines strictly and we just hope by 2030 everyone will have equal access to land and natural resources. Our goals are constantly evaluated through performance appraisal so that we know if we are operating accordingly, and make any changes if there is a need (Official from DEA, 03 February 2020).

The officials from DWS also indicated the way in which they do their consultations. They also noted how effective their participation processes would be if other immediate stakeholders share similar goals:

Our department is one of the important ones in South Africa and as you know, the country is threatened by droughts. As the department, we have to make sure that we work effectively to help the nation with water services. Our operations in the nature reserves are affected by different departments so we have to work together. If we work together with DEA, Minerals Department and the Department of Land Reform, we will be very successful (Officials from DWS).

The officials of the local municipality maintained that they are active in any development initiative that takes place in Dwesa-Cwebe Communities. In terms of nature reserve management, the officials suggested that they have the ward councillors representing the people at village level. Likewise, the tour guide working for Haven Hotel also noted that he attends various meetings on environmental conservation and suggested that the hotel supports the institutional framework recommended by the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management. The tour guide indicated that the management frameworks would only be effective if the local communities cooperate and desist from illegal entry and extraction of natural resource.

Overall, the information presented to this extent shows that institutional stakeholders perceive their institutional framework for conservation to be effective. However, the local communities have different perspectives on these frameworks and they label them as 'inconsiderate' and 'inhumane'.



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9.3 Formalised conservation: a 'battlefield'

Finally, this study concluded that the management of protected areas is a source of disputes between the various stakeholders. The conflicts in this study are referred to as 'battlefields' as they illustrate contrasting philosophies between various stakeholders. The conflicts found in this study converge mainly between the government and local communities, the nature reserve management and the local communities; infighting in the local communities.

9.3.1 Government versus local communities

This study found there had been long-standing tensions between the government and local communities. According to the information gathered from this report, the conflicts started well before 1994, when South Africa became independent. Several reasons

were attributed to the 'battles'/conflicts between the government and local communities, primarily because the government promoted the use of legal frameworks in conservation while local communities focused mainly on their customary laws and the practice of indigenous practices:

After 1994 following the misrepresentation or unfair court ruling on the issue of land claims around Dwesa-Cwebe, the people from Cwebe started *toi-toing*⁵¹ and invading the nature reserve and grabbing land. According to my understanding, there were highly influential politicians who wanted land to remain in the hands of the government and not be passed to the local communities. During that time, the current government was discouraging people to do things by force but they were pushed to the limits (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

There have also been conflicts between the government and local communities in the late 1990s, as the latter were not given the land as promised at the end of apartheid. Ultimately, dialogs and discussions were held between different stakeholders to find a solution that was in favour of all. A verdict was reached and the land was returned to local communities:



The local communities lodged many complaints and petitioned the department to take immediate action. In fact, there have been many invasions of land by the local communities and they were threatening that they will not leave until the land issue is solved. This did not only affect the Land Reform Department but other stakeholders at the provincial and national level. Within less than a year, meetings were held and the land was transferred to the local communities (Official from DRDAR, 27 January 2020).

An Official from DEA also shared her sentiments in relation to how the protests, in particular the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve invasions, affected their operations:

The issue of land is very disturbing all over South Africa. If you look at other provinces, people even go to jail because of the corruption in land. In Dwesa alone, the department spent more than R10 million to maintain the park and fence it around because people were destroying the boundary. They have issues with the Department of Land Reform because land is still not fully transferred to the people (Official from DEA, 03 February 2020).

Although land was transferred to local communities through the Land Trust, this study found that there were other conflicts where local communities protested against the government, because there was no clarity as to how they would benefit from the

⁵¹ *Toi-toing* is a Southern African term that is used exchangeable with 'protesting'

compensation fund. The local communities thought the government, through the investment plans proposed, had misled them:

The Dwesa Cwebe people protested against the government because the people did not think that the money which was to be managed by the Land Trust was going to benefit the people. So we protested and then they told us that there were many organisations which are going to manage the money. So they told us that the ECPTA was also part of the management and not the Land Reform Department only (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

Other respondents felt that the protests were primarily due to the perception of the local communities that DCLT was a government agent and not an independent organisation:

The conflicts started because the people thought the Department of Land Reform was benefiting from the compensation money and it was not given to the people. We think that the politicians who did not want the land to be given to the people are eating the money because the money was supposed to be given to the people of Dwesa-Cwebe (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

Such results also agree with findings made in early 2000 on the land question in Dwesa-Cwebe. According to Palmer et al. (2002), most local communities have not been told how they would benefit from the Land Trust funds that they receive. Even so, it was not immediately clear how the entire community would be developed because the development processes took longer times than the general people expected. To date, the tensions in Dwesa-Cwebe communities remain between the government and the local people. The fresh tensions between the government and local communities have been caused by a lack of title deeds. Since the signing of the Settlement Agreement in 2001, local communities have not been given the title deeds of the land:

The local communities petitioned again that if they do not get the title deeds to their land they will protest again and cause more harm than they have before. At the moment, there are dialogues on how best the title deeds can be issued to the people because as it stands there are complex issues on land ownership. It is not even clear at all how the land will be allocated to the victims. That is why it was just made to be common property (Official from DRDAR, 27 January 2020).

DEA also validated the above claims and noted that its office can only annex the land if it benefits the majority:

According to our policies, land and its resources can only be transferred to any stakeholder if there are common benefits. For example, we can give the natural resources to the local communities if we are sure that they will manage them effectively. If there is no clear way that the transference of ownership is beneficial to the masses, DEA retains the ownership (Official from DEA, 03 February 2020).

An overview of this type of conflict within Dwesa-Cwebe communities is due primarily to state control of natural resources, since the government believes that the property must benefit the entire community. As revealed in the literature, governments have the responsibility to fulfil the 'public use' requirement of the citizens; thus, they have powers to make any declarations on any property, make adjustments to the ownership structure, or even destroy such property as long this is in public interest (Kim et al., 2017; Lanza et al., 2013; Lehavi & Licht, 2007; Stoekbuck, 1972). State control is also incorporated in South Africa's legal framework as a provision for the allocation of privately owned property for public benefit. For instance, the National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014, Chapter 3, Part 5 specifies the consultation process that is followed in the exercise of government control over private property. However, this does not mean that the local communities will abide by these laws as there are situations in which they become resistant. This is evidenced by Matose (2016) who claims the selected communities in Zimbabwe and South Africa who are subjected to institutional practices tend to become resistant by sort of 'civil disobey' using the ways that are not known by outsiders.

9.3.2 Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve versus local communities

The study also found that there are ongoing tensions between nature reserve management and local communities over the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve management mechanism. The disputes are caused primarily by various factors, including the 'illegal' exploitation of natural resources by local communities, the presence of strict rules, intimidation and ill-treatment of local communities, and commitments not fulfilled. First, this study established that the local communities had the perception that the institutional management frameworks were strict. This was followed by retaliation of the local communities in the form of protests, 'illegal entry' and land invasions. The verbatim statements quoted below illustrate local communities' views on the strict rules and the implications associated with them:

These people have strict rules that are not fair for everyone. The reserve is big and there are many things in there that even all the villages cannot finish it. I can go and fish there but they say it is not allowed because you will finish our fish (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

The children are not even allowed to go and play in Mbhashe River especially on the side where there is a fence, but the children still go there because they have seen many old people going there and do fishing (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

There are many plants that are important for the villages. But now no one is allowed to go to the reserve but tourists only. But I do not have anything to do because I have to go to the park so that I take poles to build kraals, houses and even houses (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

We have people that we pay to go into the reserve to take the poles for building. We don't see that as stealing because the land and the resources belong to our fathers and that belonged to their fathers as well (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

Second, other participants, particularly the youth, indicated that they invade the land because there are no initiatives for employment in the community and the nature reserve is the only source of employment:



Many people are not employed here so if we go and fish then we sell to the people and get money (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

People need long and straight poles to use as timber for building. As you can see, there are no trees in this village but in the park there is many (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

Some of us even go to hunt down the animals in the reserve because there is many there. We hunt the animals because we want meat (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

At times, our cattle find their way there because there is a lot of good vegetation there. It is not allowed but we do it but they should not see us because they will take us to police (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

The ward councillors suggested that the municipality was tackling the question of unemployment through skills development programmes that would be implemented:

Unemployment has remained as one of the biggest challenges we face in Dwesa-Cwebe. However, we are sure that slowly we will fight this enemy. Our ward committees are working 24/7 to make sure that the needs of the people in the villages are gathered (Ward Councillor, 4 September 2019).

The tour guide voiced concerns about the local communities who hunt without permission. He compared the fate of the local communities with the recreational hunters thus:

Some tourists come for recreational hunting and they have the permits. The problem we have with the local communities is that they do not have hunting permits (Tour Guide, 11 September 2019).

The assertions of the tour guide clearly shows that he was speaking for his employer and not for himself as one of the local community members. Thirdly, there have also been reports that due to the delays in land claims or unfulfilled promises, local communities have broken down the fence and invaded the nature reserve. All this means that, insofar as the nature reserve assumes that local communities agree to manage the reserve on their behalf, conflicts are likely to arise as they did before:

The issues of instability and lack of delivery by the CPA led to tension between the local communities and the management of the nature reserve. Earlier on, the fences of the nature reserve were cut down because of continuous dissatisfaction of the local communities. There was now a great turnover on the management of the nature reserve. You find that a manager comes here and they only work for two months and leave because of the uncontrollable tension with the local people. In one point in time, there was the appointment of six managers over a period of two years prior to 2014. Of those, one of them worked for three months while another one only worked for a month and left. This led to lack of stability in the nature reserve (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

DCLT also noted that the problem of high turnover of personnel also affected the management of the nature reserve and local communities:

.....yes the management turnover is high and it destabilises the entire management systems. We find it difficult to work with CPA and even the municipality if the management come and leave with no time. This is actually a challenge because even the people expect answer from us on what is happening (DCLT Representative, 9 September 2019).

In addition, Mphashe Local Municipality also accepted that high turnover of workers in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve affects municipal efficiency:

We have received many complaints about the management of the nature reserve. The operation and successes of our municipality have also been affected. We are trying to liaise with the ECPTA so that they make sure that the people they employ to manage the parks stay for a long time (Official from Mphashe Local Municipality, 13 January 2020).

Besides the strict rules, lack of jobs and the need to exploit natural resources, some people felt they had the right to have the land. Since the land was forcibly taken from them during the apartheid era, the local communities believed that the present democratic government should return the land to the local communities. Thus, in the process of managing the nature reserve, the local communities felt that they were being harassed and ill-treated by the officials in the land that they are entitled to:

What the managers of the local communities do not know is that the land is ours and we are entitled to it. They are managing it but they do not give us the benefits. We have our CPA which they took but it is not doing anything. They continue to harass us so we show them that the land belong to the people and we show them that because we go in there whether they like it or not (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

If you see the park rangers harassing people you will cry because they do not care if it is an old person or not. They harass people for just getting into the reserve without permission. But that is the way of life because people do not stop going there. The land belongs to us and it is our right to use it in this village (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

Some of our local people were even beat by the guards in the reserve because they were but they were not tourists (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

The study also found that the conflicts between the nature reserve and the local communities resulted in the deaths of some key staff in the nature reserve:

When I joined the management of the nature reserve, the situation was so chaotic. I heard that around 2012 or 2013, there was a Field Ranger who was brutally killed by the community members inside the park [nature reserve]. The local people came here by force and were fishing in the ocean. The Field Ranger tried to stop them and then a fight broke out. The community members managed to take the firearm from the Field Ranger and brutally murdered him in cold blood using his own weapon (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

When an investigation with the local communities on the killings was conducted, a different story emerged and it was discovered that although a game ranger was actually killed, it was a revenge motive because two local villagers had been killed by the ranger earlier. The following accounts were given by the people who took part in the focus group discussions:

One of my close uncles was shot in the leg by one of the people who are guarding the nature reserve in 2011. They shot him and did not take him to the clinic. He was bleeding very heavy and he died because of the loss of many

blood. We all know the shooter was Mr Bamanye⁵². The reason for them to kill him was that they said he was found in the park chopping down trees, so when he was asked to stop they said he wanted to kill the guard with his axe. The guard ended up killing him because he wanted to defend himself. The whole community knows that this story is fake because the police took the dead body before anyone saw it so the only thing known is the trees that he was chopping. All this story they say was given by Mr Bamanye (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

Another participant in a different focus group gave an account of another killing:

In 2012, Mr Mangaliso⁵³ was shot by the nature reserve guards because they said he was stealing fish. The nature reserve does not allow people to fish in the nature reserve. So they said he was running away with the fish that he steal and then he was shot by a gun of the guard of the reserve. If you ask people around Dwesa Cwebe they will tell you that a lot of people were beat by guards, some were killed and some even report to the police and court (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

The tour guide indicated that the tourism business was to some extent affected because of these conflicts. Similarly, the ward councillors were aware of the conflicts and hoped that the local communities will unite and focus on one goal – conservation of the environment. The study found that the government invested in improvements to avoid the continued invasion and degradation of nature reserve borders and the growing tensions between reserve managers and local communities. The study revealed that in 2012 the government made investments through DEA to build the fence around the nature reserve and the staff houses. This however came with opposition from local communities, as they wanted the money to be used for local community development:

In 2012, DEA gave funding of R16 million to the nature reserve and a fence was set up. The fence did not even last for long. It was vandalised within a period of six months as people were trying to get into the nature reserve. Quite a number of wildlife was hunted down during these years of instability. So DEA has resorted to pumping more money on the fence to maintain the nature reserve. Now the situation appears to be stable but still scary (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

The continuing destruction of the parks' boundaries clearly shows that fencing the nature reserve is not the solution to the perpetual conflicts in the communities endowed with natural resources. Literature also shows that the management of the

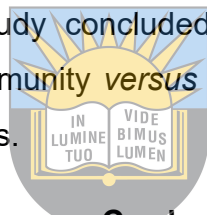
⁵² The name was changed to protect the identity of the suspect.

⁵³ The name was changed to protect the identity of the deceased.

protected areas in South Africa is riddled with inconsistencies and contradictions. Apart from the eviction and relocation of the local communities as the major cause of conflicts (Boiral et al. 2019; Koch, 2018; Belle et al., 2018 Brownlie et al., 2017; Petrova, 2014; Fischer et al., 2014; Tomicevic et al., 2010; Brownlie & Botha, 2009) and Dowie (2009) consider that as long as people live as conservational refugees, disputes cannot be resolved. Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has experienced conflicts between management and communities due to administrative measures in fishing areas, which have led to land invasions since the 20th century. However, while local communities perceive institutional structures in environmental management as rigid and lead to disputes between different stakeholders, the management of these reserves considers that strict legislation is effective for conservation.

9.3.3 Local communities *versus* self

The study also found that the tensions/conflicts are also inherent among the local communities themselves. The study concluded there are conflicts between two stakeholders, namely Dwesa community *versus* Cwebe community, and CPAs and DCLT *versus* the local communities.



9.3.3.1 Dwesa community *versus* Cwebe community

The study found that the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve administration has contributed to the continuing division of the local population based on their political boundaries. The reader should note that these two villages are separated by the Mbashe River, which is a major geographical and political landmark. It should also be remembered that the river is now part of the protected area and is managed by the nature reserve and other partners. The splitting of these local communities has even changed some psycho-social dynamics to the extent that people even think differently. First, the Cwebe people blame the Dwesa community for the current state of affairs to which both villages are subject. Cwebe's traditional authorities believed that the people of Dwesa supported the signing of the settlement Agreement in 2001, which eventually resulted in land and restitution package being transferred to DCLT, the management of the nature reserve, the ECPTA and the then Land Reform Department:

Whatever developments happen, the Dwesa communities are always the first to hear. Even when the land was transferred to the Land Trust, it was the Dwesa people who were in front in making those decisions. The Cwebe community

feels that the Dwesa community is responsible for the current situations now. The relationship is not good when it comes to land issues, but other things, there is no problem. It is a good thing that the people don't fight each other (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

Other respondents noted that due to the locational factors of Dwesa community, any developmental information starts there and then spreads to other villages:

Most of the communities in Dwesa are located right in the main road that leads to the national parks offices. The offices of the managers are located in Dwesa so the people there know each other. Here in Cwebe we are far. Some decisions are only made there because the people eat together. We do not fight them but we do not like what they do. We only direct our queries to the management of the nature reserve (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

The researcher also found that the location of the main offices of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is on the Dwesa side. The picture below shows the location of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management offices and their proximity to the nature reserve's main entrance.



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Figure 9.19: Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve main entrance and offices



*The image shows the main entrance of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The buildings seen here are the main offices of the nature reserve.
Photo credit: Nyamahono J.D. (2019)*

The location shown above implies that the nature reserve, which stretches for 18km along the Indian Ocean, has its offices located at point 0km on the Dwesa side. This implies that the person staying 18km away on the Cwebe side of the reserve finds it difficult to know any developments taking place on the Dwesa side. As has already been stated, the infrastructure is dilapidated and public transport is scarce to the extent that it is even difficult to navigate without an off-road vehicle from one point to the next.

When the researcher inquired about the perspectives of the Dwesa people on the attributes of nature reserve management, different dynamics emerged. The study found that the Dwesa population was always disadvantaged and less fortunate relative to the Cwebe side in terms of economic activities. One of the major employers in the Cwebe community is Haven Hotel, which was opened in the 1950s and which employs a significant number of Cwebe people:

The nature reserve is not fair because the people of Cwebe have a lot of employment because Haven Hotel is very big and it employs a lot of people. People are employed in the kitchens, gardens, bars, restaurants, room service, driving and tour guiding because many tourists stay that side (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).

People in Dwesa need more development compared to people in Cwebe because here there are only chalets cottages which do not accommodate as many tourists as Haven Hotel in Cwebe. So if there is an opportunity here we take it because we want our community to develop. I don't know why the people there hate us because we are all one people just divided by a river (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).

The conclusions about the conflicts between the two villages are consistent with the information provided by nature reserve management. The study found that the invasions and degradation of the nature reserve property were mainly initiated by local Cwebe people:

The people from Dwesa have always been civilised. The only challenge is people from Cwebe who complain a lot and are rebellious towards the parks authority. Even hunting, cattle ranching and cutting down of trees is normally done by the people from there (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

The nature reserve management also maintained that the disputes were mainly due to the CPAs's supposed contradictions and corruption. The following quotation was taken from primary the interviews:

Following the dismissal of the previous CPA, we are in the process of helping the local communities form a new committee. The initial arrangement was that only the victims of land losses would be in the CPA executive. The Dwesa side came up with a resolution that everyone in the seven villages qualifies to be a member of the committee while the Cwebe side was in disagreement. So there were big decisions between these two sections of the nature reserve. Cwebe side maintained that only those who were evicted should be in the CPA. There were even reported clashes between these two communities over such decisions but the fights did not last long (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

The findings presented above are intertwined and complex to the extent that it is difficult to determine the cause of the conflict in this regard. From these findings, it is clear that there are different individuals within the same community who tend to have different ideologies about how environmental conservation should be practiced. It is therefore difficult to come up with a common solution concerning the disputes between similar people that are only separated by a political boundary – Mbashe River. Abram (2005) takes a critical view of similar circumstances as the one under this study. He sees 'people' as a group of 'individuals' having different features, backgrounds, interests, norms and values and other socio-cultural influences. Because of these discrepancies, Abraham (2005) notes that they appear to have 'different views' regarding natural resources management and can also have different agenda and aspirations in their involvement. Thus, the challenges and conflicts can even run quite deep if a common solution is not found.

9.3.3.2 CPAs and DCLT versus local communities

The study found that there are many conflicts between CPA and local communities. The latter believe that the CPA is an agent of the park authority, which the authority manipulates. Secondly, as noted in this report, elections were held to elect the new CPA to replace the old one that was disbanded because of supposed incompetence. Many people were not pleased with the participation of nature reserve management in the elections, as they felt it was corruption:

The people are not happy because the management of the nature reserve and the ECPTA is involved in the elections process. At times, we fear for our lives because the people think that we have been eating their money (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

Nevertheless, a member of DCLT noted that these organisations should legally participate in the CPA election:

.....the local communities are angry but according to the Settlement Agreement, different institutional stakeholders should assist the local community in the selection of the CPA. But people have their frustrations which are even affecting us (DCLT Representative, 9 September 2019).

Another CPA member voiced her concerns about community outrage over suspected CPAs incompetence:

As CPA, we do what we are supposed to be doing. But there are a lot of things that need to be fixed. I don't think that the problem is in the CPA but what it is expected to do. It is very easy when you are not in the committee to say we want this and that from the reserve. When you become part of the committee that is when the ECPTA tell you that you cannot do this, this and that. The local communities do not understand that these are the conditions we work under (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

Another respondent in the CPA also raised an important issue pertaining to the accessing of marine resources. According to the information he provided, the CPA had negotiations with the parks authorities to open up free fishing zones after continuous vandalism of the nature reserve's boundaries:

As the CPA we have even convinced the parks authority that what they are doing the local people do not like that. There was no fishing around this area so we sat down with ECPTA and DEA and we came up with a solution that the communities can now come up into the park and do fishing in certain areas. It was actually the communities that suggested the places they wanted to practice fishing. It is strange that the same community always wants to attack us or blame us for spending the compensation trust (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

The above statements also agreed with the local communities' responses about how they felt about regulated fishing. One of the youths had to say the following:

As one of the community guys, we as local guys we know where there are good fishing spot. We know where the fish are boiling, like we know where to catch many fish. So we selected those spots and told them that we want these places. We go to rivers and then we tell them that we want these spots. That is how the fishing zones were determined (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

Nevertheless, the local communities thought that although they were given free fishing areas, the laws and regulations still limited them from accessing marine resources in large quantities:

As a member of the CPA, I think it is fair that the local communities are restricted from accessing fish in large quantities. When we negotiated for the free fishing

zones to be approved, the communities were coming in numbers and taking many fish but now the numbers are slowing. The community hate us because they say we should open the fishing zones and not control them. They just have an issue of entitlement (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

Further conflicts were raised on the issue of the misuse of money in the presence of the CPA. As has already been pointed out, the local communities blame the CPA for not fulfilling their financial needs. One member of the CPA indicated that most government departments were playing what can be called 'hide and seek' when it comes to people's compensation issues. It was not clear in her responses where all the reward money was, or which government department had most of the money:

.....there is a problem that from 2001 from the very beginning, the money has not yet come to the communities. Still the Department of Land Reform says the money is everywhere. They say some of the money is in Amathole District. Amathole says it is with the Department of Land Reform. So they are playing hide and seek on each other. We ask them and tell them that the communities need their money and go back to the Department of Land Reform and they say certain amount is in the Amathole District. And when you say let's come together as CPA, Amathole District and Department of Land Reform, they never come together. Now the local communities always blame us that we are not doing the job (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

There are also unclear frameworks, or rather questionable processes, in terms of hiring CPA members or former members of this organisation, as this contributes to community disputes. Many issues with the lack of skills, employment opportunities and other social dynamics were deduced from this study. Primary research revealed that the government on one hand deliberately hires people from other places other than Dwesa-Cwebe or neighbouring communities. On the other hand, the challenge was due to a lack of skills in the community. What seems to be a serious problem with the management of the nature reserve is that local people, particularly those who were CPA members, are even afraid to do so:

There is a combination of many things why the government does not employ the local people. I have heard that there is one lady from one of the communities who was trained and successfully got her certificate to manage the nature reserve. She was a member of CPA before. The problem is that I heard that she is afraid to take up the post because she is afraid. She is from this area and she said that she cannot sort the conflicts existing between the nature reserve, the government and the local communities. So if she comes and work here and eventually uses her formal powers to solve the land claim and nature reserve management issues, the village will go after her family. So she is afraid to come and work here (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

The ward councillors have raised concerns about the infighting in Dwesa-Cwebe communities over natural resource ownership and management:

The issue of conflicts among the people who come from the same villages is very serious. We fear that one day war might break out if the communities are not united. As councillors, we appeal to the local communities to hear us and love one another so that they all work in harmony towards their democratic goals (Ward Councillor, 4 September 2019).

All of the above results relating to mistrust, resource conflicts or other hate-induced conflicts are consistent with a wide range of literature in nature reserves endowed communities. The establishment of multiple nature reserves in different places has led to disputes between local communities and park authorities; and between people and wildlife that would infiltrate the parks into communities, destroy crops, and kill livestock (Dowie, 2009; Frank, 2016; Gibson & Marks, 1995). Such factors have caused the local communities to be hostile towards the national park authorities, to the extent that some issues are still unresolved today.

Studies have been conducted in Dwesa-Cwebe communities and the conflicts between different stakeholders have been found to be inevitable. Sowman and Sunde (2018) conducted a study to assess the social impacts of marine protected areas on coastal fishing communities in South Africa. One of the empirical sites of this study was the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA. This study concluded that the creation of MPAs resulted in the deregulation of local governance system structures, the loss of local communities' ownership rights to marine resources, the loss of livelihoods, the destabilisation of culture and ways of living and the loss of sense-of-place, and increased tensions between local communities and government (Sowman & Sunde, 2018).

In another study conducted by Bango and Xelelo (2017) to establish protected areas and community relationships in the Sub-Saharan Africa in general and Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve in particular, it was concluded that there are many conflicts between the nature reserve management and the local communities. The findings obtained in the current study also concur with Bango and Xelelo's (2017) findings that conflict run deep due to restrictions in the extraction of resources from the protected areas, strict rules harassment of the local communities by parks authorities and the rude behaviour by management. The current study further filled the gaps left by Bango and Xelelo

(2017) in the sense that further investigations were performed with non-local participants only. Ultimately, all the conflicts addressed so far relate mainly to the inconsistencies between the formalised conservation system and the customary laws applied by local communities.

9.4 Conclusion

This chapter analysed the information obtained from primary research and revealed that the participation process in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve are characterised by tokenism. This chapter further accentuates the contentious nature of the term – participation. In this context, it means various things to different stakeholders meaning that stakeholders with epistemic differences tend to perceive participation differently. The chapter revealed that, due to epistemic differences among the participants involved in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, there are high levels of tokenism in which local communities perceive the formalisation of protected area management as ‘inconsiderate’ and ‘inhumane’ due to perceived incorrect information provided through informing and consultation. The institutional stakeholders, on the other hand, see protected area formalisation as ‘effective.’ Concerning conflicts, the chapter indicated that they occur mostly between local communities and any other stakeholder involved in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. This study also demonstrates that the participation of many stakeholders in environmental protection does not ensure equity and justice. In fact, the study found that conflicting dynamics are inherent in the process.

CHAPTER TEN: CONSERVATION PRACTICES IN DWESA-CWEBE NATURE RESERVE – FINDINGS ON INTERSECTING PARTICIPATION

10.1 Introduction

This chapter is dedicated to answering the last research objective which seeks to understand how formal, institutionalised conservation practices in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve intersect with indigenous ecological narratives and practices in the adjacent communities, and the consequences of such intersection. In other words, the

objective here is to understand the extent to which there a 'collision' of perspectives between the 'formal' and the 'indigenous' with regard to conservation narratives and practices in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Thematic analysis and relevant literature are used to provide informed empirical and theoretical findings. The intersections are then used to explain the connections between formal and informal conservation practices.

10.2 Intesections between legislation and the indigenous laws of Dwesa-Cwebe communities

The study found that institutional frameworks are a synonymous expression of the local cultural framework. This is because institutional stakeholders such as the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve are guided by specific operational frameworks and policies that are similar to cultural formalities. Likewise, the local communities – often seen as 'informal' institutions – have their own 'informal' frameworks distinguishing good behaviour from bad. These are normally safeguarded by the traditional laws, customary legislation and/or family structures.

For example, the document analysis provided in Chapter two concluded that protected areas management practices stem from major global conventions and policies, such as those adopted by the UN. An analysis of these conventions clearly show that they connect with the traditional and local communities knowledge, cultures and other traditional artefacts to the extent that it is undeniable that the formal frameworks and indigenous frameworks co-exist and even intersect. The architecture of these global conservation structures owes its origins to indigenous understanding, which means that these institutional frameworks are associated with local and cultural frameworks.

This study found that there is an intersection between legislation and the indigenous laws of Dwesa-Cwebe communities in the sense that the prevailing free fishing zones were not created by the reserve management alone, but with the help of local communities. According to the information obtained from primary research, the CPA negotiated with the park authorities to open free fishing areas after consultation with local communities on unique fishing areas that could support local communities:

.....there was no fishing around this area so we sat down with the ECPTA and DEA and we came up with a solution that the communities can now come up

into the park and do fishing in certain areas.....it was actually the communities which suggested the places they wanted to practice fishing (CPA Representative, 6 September 2019).

The assertions presented above even concur with the responses provided by the local communities. One of the youths indicated the following:

As one of the community guys, we as local guys we know where there are good fishing spot. We know where the fish are boiling, like we know where to catch many fish. So we selected those spots and told them that we want these places. We go to rivers and then we tell them that we want these spots. That is how the fishing zones were determined (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).

The findings clearly show that the development of fisheries policies and restrictive frameworks in Dwesa-Cwebe MPA was effectively established through indigenous people's joint participation with the reserve management. Therefore, these statements, as well as the frameworks mentioned above, reveal that there is a correlation or intersection between recorded institutional frameworks and local people's indigenous knowledge. In most cases, indigenous knowledge is not documented but it passes from generation to generation through storytelling, oral lessons and community meetings. Through these 'informal' learning programmes, indigenous information is preserved to the extent that it sustains communities and cultures irrespective of the globalisation of the world's villages, which later makes people vulnerable to acculturation.

In order to demonstrate that these structures overlap with indigenous practices, an investigation was carried out on certain cultural mechanisms that are respected both by local communities and by nature reserve management. The Readers should remember that when the local communities of Dwesa-Cwebe were relocated, they left their homes, socio-cultural artefacts and even tombs that are now part of the nature reserve. The establishment of the nature reserve, however, did not result in the closure of cultural processes, particularly those with significant implications, for example; funerals, burials and other related rituals. This study found that local communities can still bury their loved ones in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve but their cultural dynamics have been limited since they should first seek permission from the park authorities:

.....if we want to bury somebody in my family we have to come and talk to the manager of the reserve. We ask the manager, please Mr Manager can we bury our people because our graves are in the reserve? He tells us that okay you can go and bury the bodies there but don't chop this tree....so it's a big problem because this is our culture (Elders Focus Group Participant, 2 September 2019).

This clearly implies that there are always intersections between the Euro-American Knowledge Systems of global stakeholders, governments, organisations, other stakeholders and the local community IKS, as both forms of knowledge build on each other. Nkondo (2012) argues that all knowledge is local, but becomes universal through conquest and colonialism. Some knowledge systems have become more dominant than others because of historical power relationships, and they are therefore perceived as universal. Therefore, based on all these provisions, indigenous knowledge is seen as an important aspect of a healthy environment.

Review of the theoretical and empirical trends in the adoption of IKS shows that traditional environmental knowledge has been slowly recognised internationally for its role in the protection of biodiversity. In one of the participatory frameworks for community development, Vedeld (2002) suggests that, in order to be successful in a participation arrangement, participation frameworks should be based on local heterogeneity and not an exception. This is in line with studies conducted by Mohammed (2012) which revealed that the use of IKS and locally available resources in local development participation should be appreciated as it leads to the overall objectives being achieved. In a study conducted in Dwesa-Cwebe MPA, Sunde (2013) found that the IKS of local communities has an important role to play in the conservation of the environment and the sustainability of coastal fishing practices. The current study highlighted an important implication in that local knowledge and institutional knowledge complement each other to the extent that it becomes difficult to implement formal conservation framework successfully without IKS.

However, given the dysfunctional land claim issues in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, it becomes even more difficult to accept these institutional frameworks. Furthermore, it is not always the case that IKS is followed in framing environmental conservation management structures. Literature shows that difficulties in universalising indigenous knowledge emanate primarily from the domestication of different cultural terminologies, to the extent that there are no universal definitions of what the

indigenous people know (Berkes, 1993). There is a diverse terminology for explaining indigenous knowledge of conservation practices. For example; traditional ecological knowledge, folk knowledge, tacit knowledge, knowledge of anglers, knowledge of farmers and/or local knowledge all represent indigenous knowledge but seem to have different meanings, because they have different contexts. Similarly, the use of the term 'traditional knowledge' in a way explains a scenario where knowledge is transmitted along particular cultural continuity and ignores the fact that they may be changes in circumstances which may alter the extent to which the definitions are used.

As a result, Prasad (2018) notes that the terminology differences can make it difficult for individuals to communicate development, as they may tend to have contradictory views on IKS. This assertion concurs with that of Akpan (2011) who found a contradiction between IKS and the international knowledge system created by universities, research institutions and other educational institution. In his argument, Akpan (2011) indicates that the use of institutional framework – such as environmental management policies in the management of protected areas – highly contrasts with IKS because they are both founded on different conservation grounds. One conclusion given was that typically, and often erroneously, indigenous knowledge is contrasted with global or scientific knowledge due to analogous developmental differences between Western and the third world (Akpan, 2011).



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The current study concurs with Akpan (2011) in the sense that it found that it is difficult for the local knowledge to be universalised given the prevailing western benchmarking systems. The current study found that there is a large gap between environmental management theories learnt in the institutions of higher learning and the actual situation on the ground. Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve's management claimed that the curriculum used in the teaching of qualifications for nature reserve management in technical and vocational education and training, colleges and other higher education institutions should be updated to integrate local communities' requirements into conservation practices. The the information collected from primary research indicated that the institutions use old-fashioned curricula that do not incorporate IKS into environmental management:

I know the people in these institutions that provide training in environmental management and conservation courses and that the courses have not changed

for a long time. I did my Diploma in Nature Conservation in 1992 towards the end of apartheid era. What I have seen in these institutions of higher learning especially at Glen Norah Technikon⁵⁴ here in South Africa is that the curriculum and textbooks being used at the moment is similar to the one that I used in 1992. My son is studying there doing his Diploma in Nature Conservation. The books that he currently uses are the same books I used during my time of study (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

This study also found that in terms of how knowledge about society is viewed theoretically and in practice, there are contradictory social realities. The information collected from primary research revealed that educational institutions only provide one qualification that in most cases is biased towards formal systems and that neglects the systems of local communities. In this case, if the education system remains unchanged the local communities remain marginalised. The respondent continued, stating:

I have noticed that one can go and study there [at any institution of higher learning] and certified as a diploma or degree holder, but that just gives them an entry level in the management of the nature reserve.....they find that the biggest challenge is not just managing the nature reserve, but the main challenge is how to incorporate social issues in the management frameworks.....The challenge is not where you are as the reserve manager but it actually comes from the outside, for example; the local communities. So this is something that has to be taken into consideration (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).

The above statement can also explain the situation of colonialism, where the 'elite' education system was universally adopted to replace the indigenous and traditional knowledge systems. Such findings are consistent with studies conducted by Ballard et al. (2017) and Spooner et al. (2019), which reported that in most cases, formalising environmental management increases the chances of the contemporary education system to segregate traditional ecological activities as primitive and endanger biodiversity.

Such complex systems and conflicting IKS lead to the excludability in participatory arrangements of specific individuals. McCarthy et al. (2018), for example, found that local communities in Mongolia were not involved in managing the Khuvsgol Lake National Park because of their conflicting IKS. However, as has already been noted, traditional or indigenous knowledge is something that can be universally explained

⁵⁴ The name of the institution was changed to maintain its anonymity and confidentiality.

because it is adopted and used at a universal level as shown by the various global environmental conservation frameworks identified in this thesis. This study concluded that a strong intersection exists between IKS and Euro-American Knowledge Systems.

10.3 Intesecting stakeholders' indigeneity and epistemic knowledge

In addition to the findings presented above, the current study also found that there are intersections in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve between formal and informal conservation practices that are enshrined in what might be termed 'politics of belonging'. In order to understand the politics of belonging, one has to comprehend what 'belonging' means. According to Yuval-Davis (2011), belonging is dominantly associated with emotional attachment to something to the extent that one develops a condition of 'feeling at home'. The feeling of belonging has to be neutral because it explains the state of being when someone 'feels at home'. However, when one's belonging is threatened, the 'at home' feeling is compromised or eventually ends. The situation explains the same as stated in Maslow's Hierarchy of Needs, in the sense that one tends to see the importance of something when it is no longer available. As a result, when one's belonging is threatened, the term belonging becomes politicised. In this way, politics of belonging is seen as a situation that ".....comprises specific political projects aimed at constructing belonging in particular ways, to particular collectivities that are, at the same time, themselves being constructed by these projects in very particular ways" (Yuval-Davis, 2011, p. 6).

As conceptualised in this study, politics of belonging looks at the intersections of the sociology of emotions *versus* sociology of power. The strands of emotions and power are experienced by two stakeholders who all benefit, and therefore participate in natural resources management. These stakeholders are referred to as epistemic insiders. An insider is usually a person within a group or organisation who has privy to information unavailable to others. As already explained in this thesis, individuals need to be epistemic insiders themselves to know the feeling of epistemic insiders (Fay, 1996). For example, in order to know indigenous conservation practices or local knowledge related to environmental management in a particular place, the realities of indigenous conservation practices should have been lived out. The epistemic outsiders, the opposite of epistemic insiders, have no qualities associated with the

epistemic insiders. Epistemic outsiders are primarily oriented towards outsiderism – a situation where one assumes an outsider position.

This study found that the institutional stakeholders and the local communities see each other as epistemic outsiders and view themselves as indigeneity or epistemic insiders of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Indigeneity refers to the situation of originating or occurring naturally in a particular place. There are intersections between their emotions and power within the contrasting views of these stakeholders upon each other. All participants believe that the ‘epistemic insiders’ compromise their emotions and power. The verbatim statements in the table below present contrasting views of the participants in this study that reflect intersections in sociology of emotion and sociology of power.



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Table 9.15: Government, parastatals, NGO and local communities’ perspectives on indigeneity

Government, parastatals and NGOs’ Perspective on Indigeneity	Local Communities’ Perspectives on Indigeneity
<p>“.....the land was transferred to the CPAs but the management remained in the hands of the nature reserve. The management of a big reserve like this one is not something that can simply be transferred to the people.....because they will lead to destruction” (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).</p>	<p>“We have people who look for jobs that are from the local villages. Our kids go there [to the nature reserve] to submit their CVs but you find out that kids from elsewhere do get jobs while our kids remain unemployed...” (Traditional Leader, 26 August 2019).</p>
<p>“That money [restoration package or compensation money] could not just be placed in the hands of the people because they would have misused it” (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).</p>	<p>“This is our land we were removed inside the Dwesa Cwebe Nature Reserve but still there is no compensation given to the community of this area only those who are in authority misuses our funds to develop themselves...” (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).</p>
<p>“We are the managers and in as much as there are differences between the government or land department with the people around here, we are not involved in their fight. All we do is to manage it as we are mandated to do” (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).</p>	<p>“The Association is not doing anything at all to let people at least understand what is taking place on land or the money that is coming.....I think the Association does just not want to tell the people that they are employed by the people who do not want the black people to have their land back or eat the profit of the reserve” (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019).</p>
<p>“All we expect from the local communities is that they should respect the law, obey all our restrictions and help us maintain the nature reserve so that it grows (Official from DEA, 03 February 2020).</p>	<p>“The land that is supposed to belong to the local community but verbally it belongs to the outcasts” (Women Focus Group Participant, 30 August 2019)</p>
<p>“...about 80% of the total land is covered forests, coastal forests...if the community helps us manage it we will be very successful. If they stop killing out bushbucks, antelopes and elands in large quantities we will all succeed as a society” (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).</p>	<p>“As the Dwesa-Cwebe youths, we are appealing to any legal institution that can help us to find justice in this case.....this is because our people lost their lives fighting for their rights to land; some even violated the law because they were starving” (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).</p>
<p>“.....the current government.....is too democratic and too soft that is why people have been invading the nature reserve and hunting down animals” (Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve Management, 27 August 2019).</p>	<p>“Everyone wants money but looking at the current situation we are not even benefiting...So no money can replace the lost land or torture that people had to experience” (Youth Focus Group Participant, 28 August 2019).</p>

The verbatim statements presented in the table do not necessarily compare with one another. They only represent contrasting perceptions of different stakeholders.

The words shown in the table above were taken from institutional stakeholders and local people from the adjacent communities. What can be deduced from these findings is that all the stakeholders strongly feel they are the epistemic insiders based either on the formal roles assigned to them (perspectives of institutional stakeholders) or on the cultural land tenure systems (perspectives of local communities). Overall, the institutional stakeholders and local communities' contrasting arguments are based on formal and cultural indigeneity. While institutional stakeholders base their indigeneity on the power they possess, local communities attach emotions to natural resources due to their cultural land-tenure systems that attach to them land ownership. Consequently, since the stakeholders see each other as epistemic outsiders and consider themselves as insiders, this study deduced that they speak in one voice, see things in similar ways and have similar analysis except that they are in two or more contrasting social systems. Consequently, the intersections discussed below were considered common to both stakeholders.

10.3.1 Intersection in natural resources ownership

The current study found that there are specific intersections in how the formal and informal stakeholders in Dwesa-Cwebe communities perceive natural resources ownership. As the table shows, local communities see themselves as the sole owners of the natural resources, and so do institutional stakeholders who see themselves as the 'appropriate' managers of the resources. Thus, the natural resource ownership systems intersect, except that they are defined differently because of different social and political dynamics. According to the information obtained from the institutional stakeholders, they see themselves as the rightful managers of the natural resources owned by the people while local communities see themselves as both owners and managers of the natural resources.

Analysis of literature on systems of ownership of natural resources indicates that there are determinants that influence natural resources tenure systems. The second chapter of this thesis conducted a detailed literature inquiry into the concept of state ownership and management of resources. The chapter went further to explore how the state has expropriative powers over all property, including private properties. Matose (2009) even notes that the state has the power to shape how people must relate and access the environment, including the systematic undermining of traditional authority, and

other local knowledge systems. This is due to the fact that the state has unquestionable power to take possession and administer property owned by the private sector, local communities or any other stakeholders for the benefit of the public (Kim et al., 2017; Lanza et al., 2013; Lehavi & Licht, 2007; Stoekbuck, 1972). Although state control is seen as the most suitable formal system of state ownership and management of natural resources, scholars such as Issah (2018), Umejesi (2016; 2012) and Akpan (2009) suggest that local communities always advance their local community needs as opposed to those of institutional stakeholders. Therefore, the inconsistency between these two thoughts means that they are both epistemic insiders to some degree, even though there is epistemic distancing. What is important to note from the findings in the above table is that the state has even returned the land to local communities but retains its expropriative power to determine who should manage the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Thus, another intersection exists as to they both agree on the ownership and tenure system of the nature reserve.

10.3.2 Intersection in natural resources management

The intersections in natural resource management are primarily seen in the reasons for conservation practices, and therefore their purposes. Questions have been presented in Chapter Two of this study to explain how natural resources should be used, from whose authority they should be appropriated, and within what moral limits. In this section, these questions are answered based on what the institutional stakeholders view as the most effective approaches to natural resource management.

Based on the information obtained from this study, institutional participants are managing the natural resources for the benefit of the entire society, nation and beyond. This is close to the viewpoints of local communities, since they also noted that they manage the natural resources for the benefit of their communities. The only difference between these approaches is that institutional stakeholder management is broad and based on the dynamics of internationalisation, whereas local communities adopt a localised management system that is subsistence in nature. In doing so, the institutional stakeholders are governed by global institutional frameworks and local policies in the Constitution and other management frameworks. The local communities' management approaches are somehow controlled by their own local frameworks in the form of customary laws. In contrast to global and national

frameworks, traditional authorities in local communities lead environmental management initiatives that guide the processes adopted in the management of nature reserves.

It should also be noted that both institutional stakeholders and local communities are involved in natural resources management meetings and consultations on how best to manage the environment. The difference is only that the dialogues in most local communities are not slowed down by the rigid bureaucratic structures as in most of the institutions. People's empowerment in both frameworks is also the same, but local communities tend to empower men more than they do women. This owes to the rigid cultural bureaucracy that undermines women. Thus, all these dynamics shows that all the participants empower their people, but it is only explained differently due to the prevailing social systems, which are contradictory.

In short, the above assertions concur with empirical literature on various perceptions of how natural resources should be appropriated and managed. As noted by Armstrong (2015), a fair natural resource management system is one that is sustainable, economical, efficient and relevant to specific governance systems and it should include information on how individuals are permitted to make claims about those resources. Similarly, Shugair and Abdel-Aziz (2015) note that an acceptable natural resource management framework incorporates the needs of the public, where there should be a priority list of where the resources are precisely needed and not simply a hierarchical allocation system. All these frameworks intersect in both formal and informal management processes except that specific stakeholders see them differently.

10.4 Intersection between social injustice and environmental unsustainability

In the end, the study found that there is overlap between social injustice and environmental unsustainability due to the inconsistencies of nature reserve management. Social justice is a philosophy of equitable and just relationships between individuals and society, measured by resource allocation, personal participation incentives and social privileges. The concept of social justice, adopted from Western and ancient Asian cultures, applies to the process of ensuring that individuals exercise their social roles and obtain from society what is due to them. However, as has been

pointed out so far, social injustice within the Dwesa-Cwebe communities is experienced in the distribution system of natural resources. The study found that while natural resources belong to local communities, the management system is unfair because it is dominated by state ownership. As a result, local communities have become environmental refugees because they are not expected to interact with nature and to extract any resources from the reserve.

As a result, serious environmental unsustainability activities have been identified as inherent in the day-to-day realities of the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. One of the unsustainable practices identified in this study is that local communities have continually destroyed the fence that borders the nature reserve and the neighboring communities. This not only led to an increase in environmental sustainability in the nature reserve, but also led to continued financial losses as the government spends more money on renovations. Since 2012, the government has spent R16 million on this cause.



The study also found that local communities have inadequate land for livestock production due to perceived unfair social systems in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. As a result, they end up using the nature reserve illegally for grazing. The management of the nature reserve noted that the invasion of foreign animals into the nature reserve might result in the spread of diseases such as foot and mouth, as well as anthrax. These diseases make the buffaloes and other game vulnerable. Moreover, as local communities are constantly deprived of access to marine and other natural resources, they resort to wildlife and fish poaching. This has a negative impact on the nature reserve in terms of meeting its institutional objectives and, in general, maintaining it intact.

Primary research also led to the conclusion that some of the indigenous management processes and were affected by social injustice in the management framework. Several infighting activities between different stakeholders have been identified. The most prominent misunderstandings are between local communities and CPAs and DCLT, as well as the clashes between people from Dwesa and people from Cwebe. These conflicts have serious implications for the extent to which environmental sustainability is concerned.

10.5 Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that the participation of different stakeholders with differing epistemic knowledge in the management of protected areas does not necessarily result in inequity and injustice. The chapter illustrated that while various stakeholders may have distinct perspectives and views on participation in the management of nature reserves, this does not imply that they are acting in different ways. For example, it has been found that IKS in conservation measures primarily undertaken by local populations overlaps with Euro-American Knowledge Systems to the extent that they complement each other. These two concepts speak in the same language, with the distinction that the IKS is primarily formalised in customary dimensions, whilst the latter is predominantly Euro-American centred. Furthermore, this chapter demonstrated that there are intersections in and within the politics of belonging in communities endowed with natural resources. Thus, one group of stakeholders may have a shared set of views that are identical to those of the other group but differ only in terminology. Finally, the chapter demonstrated that there are linkages between social inequity and injustice, and the unsustainable management of natural resources. These findings show that participation that result in inequity, inequity and injustice to other participants directly contributes to the unsustainable state of the natural environment.



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CHAPTER ELEVEN: SUMMARY, DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

11.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study was to interrogate the levels, dynamics and nature of participation around the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve collaborative arrangements. This is a significant contribution to expanding intellectual understanding of the noteworthy impact of protected areas in addressing the needs and aspirations of local communities as well as engendering justice and equity. This study followed a qualitative research approach and had 138 participants for both in-depth interviews and focus group discussions. Four villages were purposively picked for the study and these included Ntubeni and Mendwane villages on the Dwesa side and the Cwebe and Hobeni villages situated on the Cwebe side. Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation theory has been used to frame the term participation and the degrees and nature of participation among various stakeholders in the study area. The Indigeneous Standpoint theory has been used as a complimentary theory to explain how various stakeholders in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve view and define participation in environmental conservation. Against this backdrop, this chapter provides a summary of the study's key findings and it does this in relation to the three research objectives and two theories as well as other theoretical insights that underpin the study. This chapter also relates the findings to the literature and policies. Recommendations are provided on how best all stakeholders can benefit mutually from stakeholder participation in nature conservation. The chapter points the way to further studies that can be carried out to fill the gaps identified in this study.

The research objectives of this study were:

- To determine the main institutionalised attributes of protected areas management in South Africa and the underpinning ideas – in other words, to determine how the institutional perspectives are expressed through policies guiding the management of the nature reserves nationally and internationally.
- To ascertain the extent to which such formalised attributes and conservation ideas are epitomised by Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and the adjacent communities

- To understand how formal, institutionalised conservation practices in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve intersect with indigenous ecological narratives and practices in the adjacent communities, and the consequences of such intersection. In other words, the objective here is to understand the extent to which there a 'collision' of perspectives between the 'formal' and the 'indigenous' with regard to conservation narratives and practices in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve.

11.2 Summary of key findings

11.2.1 Key findings pertaining to research objective one

Research objective one was to determine the main institutionalised attributes of protected areas management in South Africa and the underpinning ideas. Given the country's apartheid history, it was important to highlight and analyse the country's attempts at meeting its participatory democracy goals and engendering equity and justice under international legislation. Document analysis found that South Africa's institutional attributes of protected area management are enveloped in global institutional frameworks (discussed in chapter two). There are a number of global frameworks, such as the Biological Diversity Convention, which is a policy framework for managing protected areas through PoWPA frameworks (Techera, 2019; Cittadino, 2019; Meißner & Winter, 2019; Laffoley et al., 2019). Others are the Stockholm Declaration, which has enabled the creation and promotion of environmental protection guidelines and frameworks (Brisman, 2011; Hasan & Rahaman, 2018), the World Charter for Nature, the Earth Charter, the Rio Declaration and Agenda 21.

The study found that, among the global frameworks adopted, SDGs are mainly applied in the management of protected areas in South Africa. Specific SDGs, for example, SDG 1.4, SDG 2.1, SDG 4.7, SDG 6.6, SDG 8.9, SDG 10.2, SDG 10.3, SDG 11.4, SDG 13, SDG 14.4 and SDG 15.1, shape South African nature conservation policies. These SDGs create spaces in which sustainability of nature, tourism, water conservation, equality and empowerment, cultural heritage, marine resources harvesting and climate can be preserved. SDG 14.5, which aims to conserve at least 10% of coastal areas for coastal countries, is probably the most immediate target influencing South African institutional frameworks on MPAs management.

The study also revealed that these global frameworks are then annexed into South Africa's Constitution No. 108 of 1996, specifically NEMA that enshrines all legal environment management frameworks or conventions (Baatjies 2009). These legislative frameworks allow local communities and other institutional stakeholders to embark in environmental management, environmental-induced education, training and development and other developmental initiatives. NEMA enshrines the Natural Environmental Management Act: Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014, which is the South African watchdog for protected areas.

Through this Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014, the study found that the Minister could declare a protected area, define public participation policies and co-management frameworks, as well as the terms and conditions underlying the joint management processes. The Minister also has powers to give a name to the newly declared protected area, which means that even indigenous forests owned by traditional communities can change their indigenous names if they are declared as nature reserves by the Minister. Therefore, in South Africa, the institutionalisation of protected areas is primarily characterised by institutional frameworks and a greater extent of an government domination.

In addition, the study concluded that various legislative frameworks were adopted through the Constitution to underpin the management of protected in South Africa. For example, the 1997 White Paper on National Environmental Management, launched through CONNEPP, sets out the vision, principles, strategic goals and goals and regulatory approaches the South African government uses to manage the environment. Furthermore, the White Paper on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of Biological Diversity in South Africa (1997) also lists various types of protected area management that are all adopted from IUCN Protected Area Typologies.

The study found that South Africa's management of protected areas is also administered through specific clauses in the NDPs. Chapter 5 of the NDPs has a close impact on nature conservation, as it speaks specifically about vigorous land-use regulation and the introduction of new technologies to restore protected areas. Chapter 6 of the NDPs outlines important aspects of rural communities being included in economic development with the overall objective of strengthening sustainability and resilience.

11.2.2 Key findings pertaining to research objective two

Linked to research objective one, research objective two was to ascertain the extent to which the main institutional attributes and conservation ideas of protected areas management are epitomised by Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and the adjacent communities – to engender equity and justice and to promote participatory democracy. The study found that the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is dominated by state governance through DEA, DRDAR and DWS. Their administration is guided by NEMA, the Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014, the Constitution, and policies on land reform, restitution and redistribution. These three departments, based on the ‘custody’ principle, exercise sovereign rights over all land resources; thus, their *modus operandi* in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is predominated by one-way communication channels which has a negative impact on participation.

The study also found that Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was leased to the ECPTA from 2001 to 2022 in order to provide community development. However, the research revealed a controversial employment dynamic in which the top management of reserve managers is assigned to ‘outsiders’ who are expected to maintain ‘rigidity’ and increase resistance to the growing needs of the neighbouring communities since the issue of land ownership in this area is still disputed. While legislation accentuates participatory democracy among various stakeholders in protected areas including local communities, it was found out that the local communities did not have any direct role to play in the management of the nature reserve, but were merely conservation subjects that were expected to support environmental conservation from a distance. In fact, the CPAs, DCLT, Outreach Officers, Ward Councillors and Mbhashe District Municipality were seen as important conservation stakeholders, but their effectiveness remains questionable.

The management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve was found to lack equity and justice. For example, local communities viewed the employment framework as a placative and non-participatory mechanism with disguised exclusion. In this light, the institutional stakeholders were all seen as tokenised and neglecting the needs and expectations of local communities, but constantly subjecting them to group therapy and viewing traditional ecological practices as a threat to biodiversity. Overall, local

communities, including women, considered formalised environmental conservation to be inconsiderate and inhumane as it failed to provide skills and employment to the needy; lacks good governance and has even led to socio-cultural disempowerment.

The study also found that the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is perceived as the main source of clashes/conflicts that are inherent in terms of land ownership and management in the study area. The most distinct conflicts that are evident in the study area are that of the government *versus* local communities; the nature reserve *versus* local communities; and infighting between local communities themselves.

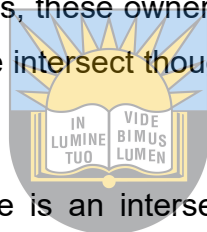
11.2.3 Key findings pertaining to research objective three

Research objective three was to understand how formal, institutionalised conservation practices in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve intersect with indigenous ecological practices in the adjacent communities, and the related consequences. First, the study concluded that the knowledge systems used in environmental conservation are similar, except that they are termed differently and are perceived in a variety of ways. The study distinguished between IKS and the Euro-American Knowledge Systems and found that institutional frameworks are synonymous with local cultural frameworks. The main institutionalised attributes in the management of protected areas have been identified as synonymous with the informal/traditional ecological practices most of which are protected by traditional laws, customary legislation and/or family structures.

The study found that the design of the global conservation frameworks owes its origins to indigenous understanding and is then 'Westernised' through conquest and the process of colonisation (Nkondo, 2012). For example, the formalisation of free-fishing hotspots in the Dwesa-Cwebe MPA was not carried out by the nature reserve alone, but that local communities have helped to identify areas that are free-fishing zones at present. In addition, some of the institutional protocols followed in nature conservation are also practiced indigenously, but in various ways that are mostly rooted in indigenous knowledge. In the end, the study found that the IKS and the Euro-American Knowledge Systems coexist and support each other, and the exception that IKS is rarely documented but is passed from one generation to the next through storytelling, oral lessons and community meetings.

The study also found intersections to be inherent in what is referred to as ‘the politics of belonging’, which provides a comparison between sociology of emotions *versus* sociology of power. The study provided a distinction between epistemic insiders and epistemic outsiders and found that all these stakeholders see themselves as epistemic insiders and therefore offer their participatory efforts in the conservation of nature, though the processes differ. For this reason, they see one another as epistemic outsiders on the basis that they lack the qualities associated with the epistemic insiders. In these contrasting views, however, the stakeholders speak in one voice, see things in similar ways, empower participants in certain ways, and have similar analysis except that they are in two or more diverse social systems that imminently posture epistemic distancing.

It was also found that intersections exist in the ownership and management of natural resources, as both participants see themselves as the rightful managers and owners of those conservation spaces. Thus, these ownership and management dynamics in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve intersect though they are termed differently, as in the case of knowledge systems.



Finally, the study found that there is an intersection between social injustice and unsustainability of the environment. In this study, social injustice was observed in the form of inequalities in the distribution and management of natural resources. Although state domination was officially seen as a suitable framework in which equity and justice can be achieved in the allocation of natural resources, this study found that such a condition is practically impossible. It was revealed that in the process of implementing formalised conservation practices, the institutional stakeholders tend to retain all the absolute powers to the extent that the local communities are left vulnerable and the majority yield little to no benefits at all. Consequently, what is supposed to lead to environmental sustainability can result in environmental unsustainability.

11.3 Discussion of key findings

Primary research revealed controversial ideation dynamics around participation in protected areas. The study found that stakeholder participation in managing the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is a complex system characterised by non-participation, tokenism and a lesser extent of citizen power. Non-participation,

according to Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation, describes the reality or condition that there is no involvement or participation in anything. The study found that two non-participatory strands, namely manipulation and therapy, are inherent in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, of which the institutional stakeholders primarily make the local communities subject.

Arnstein (1969) sees manipulation as a 'non-participatory' mechanism where certain groups of people are placed in some kind of rubber stamp advisory boards or committees with the intent to 'educate' and 'advise' local communities on certain participatory arrangements. The study found that these could be CPAs, DCLT and Outreach Officers that are locally assigned to represent local communities in nature reserve management. DCLT and CPAs, *ceteris paribus*, validate Vedeld's (2002) claim that members of the participation process should be locally based, qualified or able to deal with local communities' expectations, principles and experiences. This leads to improved decision-making and overall judgments in any participatory arrangements (Reed et al., 2018).

However, according to local communities CPAs and DCLT are highly non-participatory mechanisms that, in the name of 'representativeness', disguisedly exclude local communities. As noted, the institutional stakeholders may have manipulated community members during the formation of Dwesa-Cwebe CPAs and DCLT to grant the former the right to engage in environmental conservation, but without the latter having a full understanding of the terms and conditions of the agreements and the associated implications. Thus, in spite of their contradictions with local communities' expectations, the CPAs and DCLT tend to follow certain participation mechanisms to meet the requirements of the power-holders. As a result, primary research established that CPAs and DCLT are merely power-holders' public relations vehicles designed to disseminate information on the 'most acceptable' institutional environment conservation framework.

However, it is worth noting that the CPAs and DCLT, despite the alleged manipulation identified in Arnstein's (1969) Citizen Participation Ladder, may operate in the utmost good faith. To some extent, dominant groups may disrespect or abuse these representatives and may typify them by setting up hierarchical bureaucratic social structures against them. On the other hand, the starting point is that the CPAs are

actually made up of different individuals who see things differently and have different motives based on inputs. As Abram (2005) noted, those stakeholders tend to have different personalities and different social realities. Thus, the power-holders and the powerless are not homogeneous blocs either, as each group includes a number of divergent views, major differences, competing interests and fractured subgroups. Hence, the assumption is that manipulation and tokenism, identified in Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation, occur as expected by the power-holders is an underestimation of local people's influence on decisions, especially those that affect them.

Nonetheless, the study still concluded that the CPAs and DCLT lack what it takes to be a representative of broader groups. As noted by Armstrong (2015), the suitable and effective structure for natural resource management should be sustainable, financially stable, efficient and applicable to particular governance structures, and should include details on how individuals are permitted to stake claims on those resources. This study established that the CPAs, DCLT and Outreach Officers are less efficient and do not have any stake in the management of the local communities' compensation/restorations funds for nearly 20 years (i.e. 2001 to 2020). Therefore, the provisions underlying the current management frameworks remain questionable, particularly given the prevalence of institutional frameworks that are said to be inclusive of all stakeholders.

Therapy, on the other hand, is perceived in the Ladder of Citizen Participation as a system designed in any participatory arrangement to subject the powerless to a sort of 'appropriate thought' (Arnstein, 1969). This study found that local communities adjacent to the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve are usually subjected to 'clinical group therapy' where they undergo specific indoctrinations to develop the belief that institutional frameworks are the only appropriate methods to sustain natural resources. Primary research has revealed that local communities are subject to community group sessions that are usually organised and controlled by institutional stakeholders, primarily nature reserve management and politicians.

First, the study found that local communities were made to believe that the most important frameworks for environmental management are those implemented by the management authorities. Second, local communities have become even more

vulnerable and perpetually impotent to the extent that there are not only on-going conflicts between them and institutional stakeholders, but also infighting between themselves on the issue of natural resources. Worse case scenarios have been observed in which the community groups in Dwesa and Cwebe are fighting against each other, and against the CPAs and DCLT. Third, politicians have also used desperate and vulnerable communities to gain their political edge by making use of land claims issues. Fourthly, the reserve management has even acknowledged that the current nature conservation education systems in institutions of higher learning focus primarily on environmental management techniques and lack social inclusiveness.

Based on all these factors, literature also confirms that contemporary education systems can be blamed for their therapeutic tendencies because they perceive traditional education systems as a threat to biodiversity and advance certain systems as hypothetically appropriate for achieving specific conservation objectives (see Harris, 2017; Spooner et al., 2019). For example, the issue of hunting down wildlife was seen culturally as a livelihood of survival where good hunters were actually awarded and held prominent positions in the societies. The modern education systems in fact discredits such actions and associates traditional wildlife hunting as 'poaching' and unsustainable, but acknowledges recreational or trophy hunting as sustainable. In actuality, trophy hunting dominantly lead to financial sustainability at the expense of particular psycho-socio factors and indigenous peoples' traditional livelihoods. The issue of putting modern knowledge first at the expense of traditional education is similar to systems that dishonour IKS and advance contemporary education and knowledge systems as acceptable (Prasad, 2018; Spooner et al., 2017; McCarthy et al., 2018; Nkondo, 2012; Akpan, 2011; Berkes, 1993).

This study also found, in addition to the dimensions discussed above, that tokenism exists in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve but it is masqueraded as formal environmental management systems. The Ladder of Citizen Participation and the relevant scholarship on participation thinking view tokenism as a practice of making purely symbolic or perfunctional attempts to be inclusive of members of minority groups, in particular by hiring a small number of people from underrepresented groups to give the impression that there is equal representation in the workplace (Arnstein,

1969; Kanter, 1993; Vughan, 2008). Tokenism is situated at the middle level of the Ladder of Citizen Participation, implying that its impact on participation is halfway between non-participation and citizen power (Arnstein, 1969). Primary research revealed that tokenism in nature conservation is seen primarily in the processes through which local communities are informed, consulted and placed in management positions.

At the apex of tokenism in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is placation. According to Arnstein (1969), placation describes the situation where local participants can begin to have some degree of influence in the participation process, though tokenism still exists. For example, placation is seen when the few 'worthy' poor community members are put on particular boards to be representatives of broad groups. Placation allows citizens to advise or plan *ad infinitum* but retains the power-holders the right to judge the legitimacy or feasibility of the advice. The placement of Outreach Officers or even CPAs and DCLT in the management board is a perfect example of placement in this study. One may argue that CPAs and DCLT fall within the scope of non-participation of the Ladder of Citizen Participation, but it is worth noting that there may be more than eight rungs in the real world with less pronounced and pure distinctions between them. In addition, some of the characteristics used to illustrate each of the eight types may also apply to other rungs. Employment of the powerless, for example, could occur in any of the eight ranks and could constitute a legitimate or illegitimate function of citizen participation. Depending on their motivation, the power-holders may recruit the powerless to co-opt, placate or even use their special skills and experience.

However, attention is paid to the devastating impact of the placation associated with the employment of management personnel in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. As already mentioned thus far, nature reserve management is being drawn from the 'outsiders' to avoid compromising the nature reserve. The management's *modus operandi* is then characterised by informing and consultation – two other strands on the Ladder of Citizen Participation falling under the tokenism dimension (Arnstein, 1969). By informing and consulting, one-way communication channels predominate to the extent that information flows primarily from the power-holders to the powerless (ibid.). This mostly involves the use of posters, newspapers, pamphlets or even

community meetings, but they limit their inputs to local communities. Importantly, this form of participation allows for the dissemination of important project information. In this respect, two strands of findings have been obtained. The local communities had the perception that the ways of engaging with the institutional stakeholders were 'inconsiderate' and 'inhumane', while the institutional stakeholders viewed their formal frameworks as being 'effective in environmental sustainability'. These differentiating points of view were attributed to stakeholders' differences in epistemic understanding as outlined in the Indigenous Standpoint Theory (Foley, 2006; 2003; Nakata, 2007; Moreton-Robinson, 2013).

Based on those conflicting ideas, it is equally important to understand that some cases perceived to be tokenism may reflect legitimate participatory efforts. This is especially true in the case of groups that are 'neutral' from tokenism and actually participate for good cause in managing protected areas. For example, their governments may appoint the management of the nature reserve, which will then be delegated to international bodies to meet certain standards of conservation practices. Such neutral stakeholders would likely act in an ethical manner to serve their assigned positions and represent local communities, *uberrima fides*. Consequently, it is not always the case that informing and consulting in participatory arrangements are power-holders' manipulating and tokenism vehicles as postulated in the Ladder of Citizen Participation. This establishment is consistent with Bakke's (2015) assumption that there are people who can take part in participatory arrangements but their presence does not guarantee that they are in collective agreement with other group members or with the power-holders. The whole idea of the power-holders is, of course, to lead people to develop some form of belief that they have 'participated in participatory arrangements', but in reality some people even attend meetings physically but without being emotionally present.

Finally, the degree of citizen power describes the transfer of power that will allow the deliberate inclusion in the future of marginalised people, currently excluded from political and economic systems (Arnstein, 1969). In terms of nature conservation, citizen power explains a situation in which the powerless participate in deciding how to share information, set goals and strategies, allocate positions, run programmes and share benefits such as contracts and patronage. This study found that citizen power

is inherent in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve management by means of 'partnerships' and 'delegated power'. Arnstein (1969) sees 'partnerships' as a situation in which power is redistributed through negotiation between citizens and power-holders, while 'delegated power' explains a case in which citizens obtain dominant decision-making authority over a particular plan or programme.

Partnerships in this study were seen in the form of shared management between the institutional stakeholders and the local communities. Different stakeholders have been identified to have a stake in the management of the nature reserve. On the other hand, delegated power was seen in the case of the appointment of the ECPTA by the Department of Land Reform to manage the nature reserve. Similarly, the CPAs and DCLT have been delegated to represent the local communities in nature conservation. Under normal circumstances, citizen power has the ability to empower people in conservation. As noted by Vedeld (2002), an acceptable participation process should have 'conscious policy for enhanced local capacities'. Thus, in order for a participatory arrangement to be effective, it should include all stakeholders in the project planning, implementation and evaluation process. This is validated by Aditya (2016) who is of the view that participation of different stakeholders, especially local marginalised peoples, is likely to increase their excitement, as they will have a sense of recognition and value. Furthermore, the inclusion of the marginalised communities, particularly the women, in nature conservation is seen by Odhiambo (2015) as a way to allow them to understand their problems and vulnerabilities in development projects and thus, they try to find the right solutions for such challenges.

However, further analysis revealed that the CPAs and DCLT in the area of empirical study, despite all these potential implications of partnerships and delegated power, are highly manipulated to the extent that there are little degrees of citizen power (see Arnstein, 1969). Primary research found that using the CPAs and DCLT is in fact a move by the institutional stakeholder to limit the presence of local communities and ensure that they participate in the conservation of nature through zero interference. According to Dash and Behera (2018), Rai et al. (2019), Zeng et al. (2019) and Fischer et al. (2014), the international legislations and stakeholders, governments, NGOs, humanitarian organisations, conservationists, educational and research institutions

hypothetically view this process of zero-interference of individuals or separation between people and nature as effective for biodiversity.

This is despite the studies by Dowie (2009), Lewis (2010) and Stevens (2010) which reveals that these formal conservation systems create conservational refugees from the natural resources of the local people. Other scholars note it distorts even the cultural dynamics of the victims and their collective memories (Halbwachs, 1925; 1950; 1994). One study conducted by Sowman and Sunde (2018) in Dwesa-Cwebe found that the introduction of institutional frameworks in management of MPAs destabilises the cultures of local people. Other studies reveal that people may lose some of their cultural artefacts, sense-of-place, heritage or even their normal everyday realities during the process of displacement and relocation (Griffiths et al., 2019; Sowman & Sunde, 2018). It is therefore clear that partnerships and delegated power in the management of the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve benefit mainly the institutional stakeholders at the expense of local communities.

In addition to the conflicting attributes inherent in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve management, the study found that intersections exist between formal, institutional environmental management frameworks and indigenous ecological practices. First, the study concluded that a common knowledge system – IKS – embeds the formal, institutionalised conservation practices and traditional environmental management systems. Document analysis revealed interesting dynamics regarding the extent to which contemporary knowledge systems are built on IKS. For example, the Euro-American Knowledge Systems develop from IKS in such a way that both knowledge systems are synonymous with one another. Scholars such as Nkondo (2012) found that contemporary systems of knowledge develop from IKS and are westernised by colonisation. Other scholars, such as Prasad (2018), Spooner et al. (2017), McCarthy et al. (2018) and Berkes (1993) indicate that the knowledge systems are mostly similar, only differentiated by terminologies applied to them and how they are implemented. For example, institutional knowledge in environmental conservation, which is usually documented, systematically funnels down to the national, provincial and local governments from international organisations such as the UN. On the other hand, local knowledge is normally referred to as informal knowledge, and is mainly safeguarded by traditional laws, customary legislation and/or family structures.

Second, the study found that there is an intersection between social injustice and environmental unsustainability. Social injustice has been identified in the sense that the participation processes are highly biased towards the needs of the institutional stakeholders at the expense of those of the local people. To this end, local people's degree of citizen power is heavily compromised and their partnerships and delegated powers become less beneficial for the local communities to the extent that they perpetually exist as institutional stakeholders' conservation subjects. Consequently, the perceived positive impacts associated with formal environmental conservation are extremely compromised.

Literature suggests that injustice social systems have negative implications on the general people. Rees (2017) found that lack of social justice, such as distributive justice, interactive justice and procedural justice; and the prevalence of inequity and unethical frameworks in any community development initiative continually subject local communities to bear hidden costs associated with institutionalised conservation of nature. This is also validated by early scholars such as Flynn (1975) who indicated that failure to have a system of participation based within the confines of 'ethical grounds' would infringe the rights of the people to control their resources and determine their fate. This is further corroborated by Schultz and Lundholm (2010), who maintain that failure to involve local communities and other socio-cultural elements of the empirical place of study will limit the chance of people using their wealth sustainably. The point of departure in this respect is that there is an intersection between social injustice and environmental unsustainability because it affects not only the local communities adjacent to the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, but also the entire environmental sustainability.

Lastly, the study established that intersections are inherent between institutional practices and traditional ways of managing the natural resources, and these can be explained by the 'politics of belonging'. According to Yuval-Davis (2011), politics of belonging explains the 'feeling at home' state that people develop when they rightfully hold the 'belonger status' or are the indigeneity. As also explained by the Indigenous Standpoint Theory, an individual will have full epistemic understanding of a phenomenon if they have lived experience with it (Foley, 2006; 2003; Nakata, 2007; Moreton-Robinson, 2013). This can be exemplified by the case of institutional

stakeholders whose epistemic knowledge is based on their understanding of the institutional framework, or the local communities whose epistemic understanding is embedded in their traditional knowledge systems.

Thus, the study found that intersections exist within the two stakeholder groups, namely formal participants and 'informal' participants, in the sense that both are owners of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve, but are perceived differently in the eyes of different stakeholders. As a result, these participants are both involved in natural resource management but their involvement is termed differently. As already noted, the institutional stakeholders, particularly governments, have absolute powers over property and natural resources (Abuya, 2016; Barral, 2016; Umejesi, 2017, 2012; Akpan, 2009) to the extent that they consider traditional environmental practices to be a threat to biodiversity (Ballard et al., 2017; Spooner et al., 2019). On the other hand, local communities have lived realities with their traditional ecological practices to the extent that they see institutional stakeholders as epistemic outsiders or outsiders within. To this end, epistemic distancing between those groups of participants is perpetually inherent.



11.4 Contribution to knowledge

This study has made four distinctions to the understanding of epistemic, theoretical and practical issues around the management of protected areas.

First, the study found that within the boundaries of environmental conservation where institutional stakeholders play a dominant role, there exist what may be referred to as 'ecologies of exclusion' or 'geographies of exclusion'. Geographies of exclusion apply to the contexts in which certain social classes are identified as unwelcome in particular participatory arrangements. The study found that epistemological distances are inherent among the various participants because of opposing policies on nature conservation and differential statuses of indigeneity. In this light, the state, by virtue of its custody, tends to be the custodian of state-controlled protected areas, which is conflictingly viewed by local populations since they see themselves as epistemic insiders, who own natural resources exclusively and thus feel that they should be the primary custodians. Therefore, counter to the government's assumption that institutionalising nature conservation contributes to progress, equity and justice; local

populations have correlated it with inefficiency and a move that possibly distorts their epistemological understanding of nature conservation, their indigenous views and their sense of belonging.

Secondly, due to the ecologies of exclusion identified above, the study found that there are conflicts that emanated from the formalisation of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Contrary to the general institutional belief that the formalisation of nature conservation can hypothetically lead to effectiveness and sustainability of nature and can lead to equity and justice, the study established that such formalisation is the primary cause of conflicts among different stakeholders. This study established that formalisation of nature conservation is primarily the cause of conflicts as it initially separated people from nature through the people-nature separation approaches. Thus, conflicts around the ownership, access to and management of resources and economic activities are initially between three distinct groups, namely the local communities *versus* the management of nature reserves, the local communities *versus* DCLT and CPA, and the local communities themselves. As such, social and economic divisions between the Dwesa and Cwebe communities exist since the formation of the nature reserve and from the dawn of democracy in South Africa when DCLT and CPA were formed.

Thirdly, the study found interesting dynamics of participation as explained through citizen power postulated in Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Participation. Arnstein (1969) associates citizen power with increasing degrees of decision-making by the citizens in the sense that they can enter into partnerships that enable them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional power-holders. In addition, enshrined under citizen power is delegated power and citizen control where the have-not citizens obtain the majority of decision-making seats, or full managerial power. However, this study established that the citizen power is not what it seems to be especially taking into consideration the epistemic differences around different participants. For example, one might even argue that the placation of CPAs and DCLT in protected areas management is a delegation move aimed at empowering the local communities. The study, however, established that this delegation is in fact a move by the government to limit the presence of local communities and ensure that they participate in the conservation of nature through zero interference. Similarly, manipulation and therapy as non-participation rungs of Arnstein's (1969) Ladder of Citizen Participation may

portray a situation where the general participants do not have absolute power to influence decisions. However, some people may even participate wholeheartedly without being manipulated or subjected to clinical group therapy in any ways.

In addition to the above, the study also established that depicting participation in the form of a ladder is deceiving, as different rungs/steps tend to overlap. The study therefore found that portraying that citizens gain citizen power as they move up the participatory ladder is not true because the participatory rungs overtwine. Overall, while Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation provides the basis on which participation can be explained, it is heavily contradictory on its own because it generalises participation in the form of a ladder, which, in reality, is practically impossible.

Finally, the study draws attention to the role that international frameworks, such as the SDGs, play when they are translated into local contexts. The study found that while the SDGs set a basis on which the South African frameworks on the management of protected areas can be benchmarked, the objectives tend to contradict one another. For instance, the other targets tend to be violated in the process of attaining one goal. In other words, the SDGs and their agenda towards 2030 are designed in a system similar to Pareto optimality, which is a state of resource allocation from which it is impossible to reallocate in order to improve any individual or preferential criterion without making at least one individual or preferential criterion worse. This move tends to create epistemic confusion and contradiction with other SDGs, which talk about equity in all aspects.

11.5 Policy recommendations

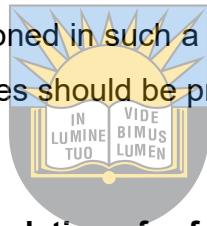
Based on the findings of this study, the study recommends that the institutional stakeholders responsible for the management of nature reserves must actively embrace traditional knowledge, as it is perceived to be the foundation of all knowledge systems. Emphasis should be placed on revision and adjustment of different administrative policies to ensure the alignment of local knowledge systems with institutional attributes.

It is also recommended that the legislative framework be revisited to ensure that they prioritise and concretise the roles of local communities in nature conservation. For

example, the Constitution, NEMA, the Protected Areas Amendment Act, No. 21 of 2014, the NDPs, and other legal structures should be taken into account in order to put the needs of local communities, women, youth and traditional authorities first, or at least to find a common ground where their contribution to nature conservation can be recognised.

It is also recommended that there should be solutions and strategic plan to ensure the practical applicability of nature conservation policies and frameworks. Thus, there should be a shift of policies from theory to practice, where methodologies are designed to put into practice ways to achieve institutional goals.

In addition, social scientists, scholars, governments, institutional stakeholders and environmental sociologists should play essential roles in enhancing knowledge, social justice and developing more inclusive, culturally sensitive frameworks for conservation management. Put differently, policies such as SDGs, the Constitution, NEMA and other frameworks should be positioned in such a way that they work in harmony with local community. Thus, such policies should be practicable and not merely imaginary or fabricated.



11.6 Conclusion and recommendations for further studies

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This study was conducted to understand participation dynamics in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. Using the the information collected from primary research collected in 2019 and 2020, and secondary data through document analysis, the study concluded that despite international and national legislative frameworks, participatory democracy has not been engendered in the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. This is because participation in the management of this nature reserve is marred by multiple constructions, inconsistencies and contradictions among different participants. The study also concluded that the dominant perspective, which holds that participation of many stakeholders in natural resource management contributes to equity and justice, is in reality debatable.

First, document analysis revealed that the management of protected areas in South Africa emanates from the international frameworks such as SDGs, Biological Diversity Convention, Stockholm Declaration, World Charter of Nature, the Earth Charter, Rio Declaration and Agenda 21. These conventions are then adopted into the Constitution,

NEMA and other legislative frameworks for protected areas management in South Africa. Through these frameworks, Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is mainly managed by the government, even though it is locally owned through the CPAs and DCLT whose stake in the management of the reserve remains questionable. For this reason, the study found that the management of the reserve is highly non-participatory, manipulative and tokenised through employment placation, consultations and informing processes. Resultantly, the local communities established that these participation dynamics are highly 'inconsiderate' and 'inhumane', while the management had the perception that formalised conservation is effective.

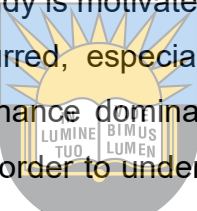
On the other hand, the study also found that there is a degree of citizen power because local communities – through their representatives – often enter into partnerships and are delegated particular roles in the management of the nature reserve. These dynamics, however, were seen by local communities as moves to limit the presence of local community in nature conservation. Put differently, while one might see citizen control as the level where the local citizens have control over decision making, the local communities view this as a tokenised or manipulative move by the power-holders.

Furthermore, the study found that various intersections inhere in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve. The idea that traditional knowledge structures overlap with what can be referred to as the Euro-American knowledge systems is of special significance. These intersections have been clarified by numerous indigenous points of view and, ultimately, they have contributed to the inference that all the participants are epistemological insiders who have lived the realities of nature conservation. However, amid the view of institutional stakeholders that traditional ecological systems are 'inappropriate' to conservation, local populations appear to be subject to environmental management. Similarly, local populations regarded institutional stakeholders as epistemic outsiders whose understanding is limited in terms of traditional ecological practices. Overall, the study reveals conflicting structures in which epistemological gaps between institutional stakeholders and local populations are growing due to disparities in indigenous perspectives.

Based on the findings presented above, a number of gaps have been identified in the current study that can be addressed through further studies. First, it is possible to

conduct additional research to determine the extent to which specific SDGs that were projected to lapse in 2020 have been or have not been achieved. An example is SDG 15.1, which aims to “.....ensure the conservation, restoration and sustainable use of terrestrial and inland freshwater ecosystems and their services, in particular forests, wetlands, mountains and dry lands, in line with obligations under international agreements by 2020”. Another is SDG 15.2, which speaks of promoting “.....the implementation of sustainable management of all types of forests, halt deforestation, restore degraded forests and substantially increase afforestation and reforestation globally by 2020”.

In addition, a longitudinal study may be conducted to assess the progress of CPAs and DCLT in Dwesa-Cwebe communities in meeting their institutional objectives. Particular attention can be given to the CPA and DCLT that were formed in 2001 to represent the local communities in environmental management when land was transferred to them. This type of study is motivated by the fact that the success of the CPA and DCLT seems to be blurred, especially given the contradictions in the prevailing system of shared governance dominated by state governance. Lastly, a similar study may be conducted in order to understand the participation dynamics in the management of private owned nature reserve. This is motivated by the fact that the current study took place in a government-managed nature reserve. Understanding the dynamics of participation in the management of private owned and managed natural reserves is important, as it will give policymakers specific things to do and not to do in terms of nature conservation.



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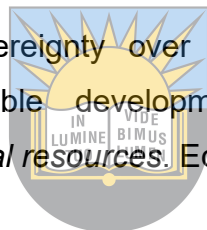
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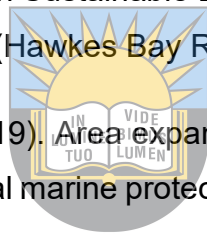
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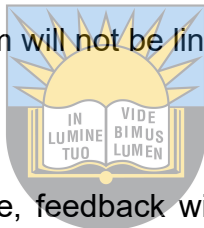
APPENDICES 1: INFORMED CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding **Participation Dynamics in the Management of Protected Areas: A study of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its adjacent communities, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa**. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.



I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

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.....

Signature of participant

Date:.....

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

.....

Signature of participant

Date:.....

APPENDICES 2: KEY-INFORMANT AND IN-DEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE WITH GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS AND OTHER INSTITUTIONAL STAKEHOLDERS

SECTION A: GENERAL INFORMATION

Please tick (✓) the appropriate box from the options below.

1. I am an:

<input type="checkbox"/>	Official from DEA
<input type="checkbox"/>	Official from DWS
<input type="checkbox"/>	Official from DRDAR
<input type="checkbox"/>	Official from the ECPTA
<input type="checkbox"/>	Official from Mphashe Local Municipality
<input type="checkbox"/>	Official from the Management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve
<input type="checkbox"/>	Official from Haven Hotel

2. Indicate your level of experience

<input type="checkbox"/>	0-1 yr	<input type="checkbox"/>	1-2 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	2-3 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	3-4 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	4-5 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	5-6 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	6-7 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	7-8 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	8-9 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	9-10 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	10-11 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	11-12 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	12-13 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	13-14 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	14-15 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>
<input type="checkbox"/>	15-16 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	16-17 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	17-18 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	18-20 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	20+ yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How can you describe the manner in which Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has benefited the Dwesa-Cwebe communities in terms of social and economic development? [probe]
2. Can you explain how the wealth generated through the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is being utilised within Dwesa-Cwebe Communities? [probe]
3. What community development projects would you say are key indicators of how the wealth generated from the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is being utilised? [probe]
4. To what extent would you say these projects are reflective of the collective priorities and needs of the Dwesa-Cwebe communities? [probe]

5. Please describe the manner in which the traditional authorities engage with Dwesa-Cwebe community members when these projects are planned and implemented? [probe]
6. Which mechanisms (customary and otherwise) are used to engender participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve within Dwesa-Cwebe communities? Please comment on the effectiveness of these mechanisms. [probe]
7. How do traditional leaders demonstrate accountability and transparency about the manner in which the wealth generated from the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is being utilised? [probe]
8. How can you describe the relationship between Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and the adjacent communities around this nature reserve? [probe]
9. How does the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve involve the community on issues regarding local beneficiation and nature reserve management impacts on people and the environment? [probe]
10. How does Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve seek to prioritise the social needs of the Dwesa-Cwebe Communities in their community development and employment plans, policies and practices? [probe]
11. To what extent would you say Dwesa-Cwebe communities have been able to manage the balance between the exclusive character of an ethnic community and inclusive requirements and obligations of the nature reserve industry? [probe]
12. Can you comment on how the presence of the wealth generated from Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has impacted on local relationships in Dwesa-Cwebe communities? [probe]
13. To what extent are you satisfied with the manner in which you are involved in key decisions about the distribution and utilisation of the wealth generated from the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve? [probe]
14. Can you say wealth is equally distributed among the Dwesa-Cwebe community members? Please explain. [probe]
15. How do you view the involvement of the youth, women and the elders in decisions about the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve? [probe]
16. To what extent can you say the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has benefited Dwesa-Cwebe communities? Please explain. [probe]



APPENDICES 3: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION SCHEDULE WITH THE CPA AND DCLT

SECTION A: BASIC INFORMATION

1. Indicate your level of experience

0-1 yr		1-2 yrs		2-3 yrs		3-4 yrs		4-5 yrs	
5-6 yrs		6-7 yrs		7-8 yrs		8-9 yrs		9-10 yrs	
10-11 yrs		11-12 yrs		12-13 yrs		13-14 yrs		14-15 yrs	
15-16 yrs		16-17 yrs		17-18 yrs		18-20 yrs		20+ yrs	

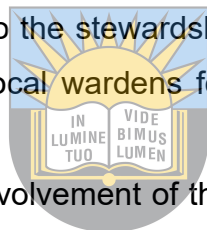
SECTION B: PARTICIPATION OF THE COMMUNITY PROPERTY ASSOCIATION IN THE MANAGEMENT OF DWESA-CWEBE NATURE RESERVE

1. How are the people chosen to be members of the Community Property Association?
2. How can you best describe current management of the Community Property Association? [probe]
3. What were your expectations about the Community Property Association when you first joined? [probe]
 - a. What are your current perceptions of the Community Property Association? [probe]
 - b. Do you recommend people to become members of the CPA? [probe]
4. What is the nature of the involvement of the Community Property Association in conservation in relation to the designation and planning process of the nature reserve? [probe]
5. What is the nature of the involvement of the Community Property Association in conservation in relation to the establishment of the nature reserve (e.g. boundaries and gazettement)? (probe)
6. What is the nature of the involvement of the Community Property Association in conservation in relation to Participatory Management Planning? [probe]
 - a. Do you have management plans for the conservation of the nature reserve? [probe]
 - b. What about business plan development? (e.g. commercial activities) [probe]



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7. What is the nature of the involvement of the Community Property Association in conservation in relation to the Administrative Structure and Management of the nature reserve? [probe]
 - a. Are there collaborative management agreements in place to manage the nature reserve? If so, what are the roles and responsibilities of the governing stakeholders? [probe]
 - b. Are there community institutions to co-manage the nature reserve and their natural resources? [probe]
 - c. To what level is authority over management of natural resources transferred to the local communities? [probe]
8. What is the nature of the involvement of the Community Property Association in conservation in relation to the decision-making processes of the nature reserve? [probe]
9. What is the nature of the involvement of the Community Property Association in conservation in relation to the stewardship and biodiversity conservation of the nature reserve? (e.g. local wardens for protection of the nature reserve boundaries) [probe]
10. What is the nature of the involvement of the Community Property Association in conservation in relation to the sustainable financing of the nature reserve? [probe]
11. How can you describe the manner in which Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has benefited the Dwesa-Cwebe communities in terms of social and economic development? [probe]
12. Can you explain how the wealth generated through the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is being utilised within Dwesa-Cwebe Communities? [probe]
13. What community development projects would you say are key indicators of how the wealth generated from the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is being utilised? [probe]
14. To what extent would you say these projects are reflective of the collective priorities and needs of the Dwesa-Cwebe communities? [probe]
15. Which mechanisms (customary and otherwise) are used to engender participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve within



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Dwesa-Cwebe communities? Please comment on the effectiveness of these mechanisms. [probe]



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APPENDICES 4: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE WITH THE TRADITIONAL AUTHORITIES AND WARD COUNCILLORS

SECTION A: BASIC INFORMATION

1. I am a

<input type="checkbox"/>	Traditional Leader
<input type="checkbox"/>	Ward Councillor

2. Indicate your gender

Male	<input type="checkbox"/>	Female	<input type="checkbox"/>
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3. Indicate your age group

18-25 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	26-30 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	31-35 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	36-40 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	41-45 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>
46-50 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	51-55 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	56-60 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	61-65 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	66+ years	<input type="checkbox"/>

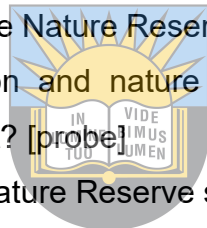
4. Indicate your level of experience

0-1 yr	<input type="checkbox"/>	1-2 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	2-3 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	3-4 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	4-5 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>
5-6 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	6-7 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	7-8 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	8-9 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	9-10 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>
10-11 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	11-12 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	12-13 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	13-14 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	14-15 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>
15-16 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	16-17 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	17-18 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	18-20 yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>	20+ yrs	<input type="checkbox"/>

SECTION B: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- How can you describe the manner in which Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has benefited the Dwesa-Cwebe communities in terms of social and economic development? [probe]
- Can you explain how the wealth generated through the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is being utilised within Dwesa-Cwebe Communities? [probe]
- What community development projects would you say are key indicators of how the wealth generated from the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is being utilised? [probe]

4. To what extent would you say these projects are reflective of the collective priorities and needs of the Dwesa-Cwebe communities? [probe]
5. Please describe the manner in which the traditional authorities/politicians/ engage with Dwesa-Cwebe community members when these projects are planned and implemented? [probe]
6. Which mechanisms (customary and otherwise) are used to engender participation in the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve within Dwesa-Cwebe communities? Please comment on the effectiveness of these mechanisms. [probe]
7. How do traditional leaders/politicians/ demonstrate accountability and transparency about the manner in which the wealth generated from the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve is being utilised? [probe]
8. How can you describe the relationship between Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and the adjacent communities around this nature reserve? [probe]
9. How does the Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve involve the community on issues regarding local beneficiation and nature reserve management impacts on people and the environment? [probe]
10. How does Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve seek to prioritise the social needs of the Dwesa-Cwebe Communities in their community development and employment plans, policies and practices? [probe]
11. To what extent would you say Dwesa-Cwebe communities have been able to manage the balance between the exclusive character of an ethnic community and inclusive requirements and obligations of the nature reserve industry? [probe]
12. Can you comment on how the presence of the wealth generated from Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has impacted on local relationships in Dwesa-Cwebe communities? [probe]
13. To what extent are you satisfied with the manner in which you are involved in key decisions about the distribution and utilisation of the wealth generated from the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve? [probe]
14. Can you say wealth is equally distributed among the Dwesa-Cwebe community members? [probe]
15. How do you view the involvement of the youth, women and the elders in decisions about the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve? [probe]



16. To what extent can you say the management of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve has benefited Dwesa-Cwebe communities? [probe]



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APPENDICES 5: FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION SCHEDULE WITH THE YOUTH, WOMEN AND THE ELDERERS

SECTION A: DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Indicate your gender

Male		Female	
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2. Indicate your age group

18-25 yrs		26-30 yrs		31-35 yrs		36-40 yrs		41-45 yrs	
46-50 yrs		51-55 yrs		56-60 yrs		61-65 yrs		66+ years	

3. Population Group

White		Black		Coloured		Indian		Other	
-------	--	-------	--	----------	--	--------	--	-------	--

4. What is your marital status?

Married		Single		Co-habiting		Widowed		Divorced	
---------	--	--------	--	-------------	--	---------	--	----------	--

5. Number of Dependents

Only me		1 to 2		3 to 4		5 to 6		7+	
---------	--	--------	--	--------	--	--------	--	----	--

6. Indicate your highest level of educational qualification

No formal education	
Primary education	
Secondary education	
Tertiary education	
Nature-conservation related formal education	
Nature-conservation related informal education	

7. Indicate your employment status

Employed by Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve	
Employed by a conservation organisation in Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve	

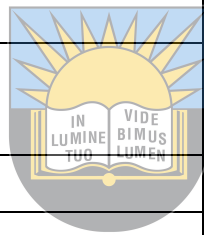
Employed by a non-conservation organisation in Dwesa-Cwebe	
Self-employed	
Unemployed	

8. What is your income range per month?

R0-R1000	
R1001-R2000	
R2001-R3000	
R3001-R4000	
R4001-R5000	
R5000+	

9. Housing and Basic Amenities

Variables	
Type of House	
Very formal dwellings	
Formal dwellings	
Informal dwellings	
Traditional dwellings	
Energy Source	
Electricity Only	
Firewood Only	
Both Electricity and Firewood	
Water Source [tick ✓ all applicable]	
Community water taps	
Rainwater harvesting	
Rivers	



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10. What is the type land surrounding your household?

Farmland		Nature Reserve		Forest		Villages	
----------	--	----------------	--	--------	--	----------	--

a. If other, please specify

i _____

ii _____

iii _____

11. Livestock Owned [tick ✓ all applicable]

0 goats		1-5 goats		6-10 goats		11-15 goats		16+ goats	
0 cows		1-5 cows		6-10 cows		11-15 cows		16+ cows	
0 sheep		1-5 sheep		6-10 sheep		11-15 sheep		16+ sheep	
0 donkeys		1-5 donkeys		6-10 donkeys		11-15 donkeys		16+ donkeys	
0 pigs		1-5 pigs		6-10 pigs		11-15 pigs		16+ pigs	
0 horses		1-5 horses		6-10 horses		11-15 horses		16+ horses	

a. Other (specify) _____

b. Where do your livestock graze? _____

12. Land Ownership

Size of Land Owned	
0 – 1 hectare	
1 – 2 hectares	
2 – 3 hectares	
3 – 4 hectares	
4 – 5 hectares	

SECTION B: OWNERSHIP OF DWESA-CWEBE NATURE RESERVE

1. Who does the nature reserve belong to currently?
2. Has this belonging changed over time for different groups of people?

3. Is there anyone or any group who the forest definitely doesn't belong to? [probe]
4. Do you think who the nature reserve belongs to is right and proper? [probe]
5. Do you feel that you belong to the place you are currently staying? [probe]
6. Does the community feel ownership of the nature reserves? [probe]
 - a. If yes, why do you think the local peoples consider themselves as the owners of the nature reserve?
 - b. If no, why do you think the local communities do not consider themselves as the owners of the nature reserve?
7. Is this ownership different between different groups in your community? [probe]
8. What do you think needs to be done to improve the current situation for your community to feel ownership of the nature reserve? [probe]

SECTION C: PARTICIPATION OF LOCAL COMMUNITIES IN THE MANAGEMENT OF DWESA-CWEBE NATURE RESERVE

1. Are you involved in the management of the nature reserve?
 - a. If yes, what do you do to get involved in the management decisions?
 - b. In what ways have you affected the management of the nature reserve?
 - c. If no, have you ever tried to influence the management decisions?
 - d. What do you think was successful or unsuccessful in the process?
2. Are you involved in the design and implementation of the management frameworks for the management of the nature reserve?
 - a. If yes, what do you do to get involved in the management decisions?
 - b. In what ways have you affected this management (and which management dimensions)?
 - c. If no, have you ever tried to influence the management decisions? How?
 - d. What do you think was successful or unsuccessful in the design and implementation of the management framework?
3. During the participation process, are you given opportunities to ask questions or express your views? [probe]
4. Do you feel listened to? [probe]
5. In what **other** ways do the general people participate in the management of the nature reserve?

- a. How are the people chosen to participate in the management of the nature reserves?
 - b. How has this affected people's attitude towards the management of the nature reserve?
6. What are the reasons that prevent/discourage people from getting involved in the management of the nature reserve? [probe]

SECTION D: CONVERGENCES/DIVERGENCES OF THE INSTITUTIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL MANAGEMENT FRAMEWORK WITH THE TRADITIONAL ECOLOGICAL PRACTICES

1. In what ways do the current nature reserve ownership structures differ from the traditional ecological practices?
2. In what ways are the current nature reserve ownership structures similar to the traditional ecological practices?
3. In what ways do the current nature reserve management frameworks differ from the traditional ecological practices?
4. In what ways are the current nature reserve management frameworks similar to the traditional ecological practices?
5. Is there recognition and implementation of traditional conservation practices and natural resource management in the management of the nature reserve?
 - a. If so, what are these and to what extent are they implemented?
6. Can you explain any rules that you need to follow in relation to the accessing and utilising the resources provided by the nature reserve? (for example quotas; park use permits; seasonal restrictions, etc)
7. What is the implication of the current ownership, management structure and institutional frameworks of the nature reserve on:

[probe - Cultural beliefs; Religious beliefs; Social status; Ceremonial and spiritual processes; Access to agriculture/crop production; Access to grazing lands; Access to subsistent activities such as hunting and gathering; Access to fishing; Harvesting of natural resources]
8. Do you think the nature in which the ownership and management of the nature reserve is beneficial to the community? [probe]

9. Are there mechanisms for the sharing and/or retention of economic benefits generated by the nature reserve within the communities? [probe]
10. Does the current management framework of the nature reserve lead to equity among the local communities? [probe]
11. In your opinion, is there sufficient capacity within the local communities to manage the nature reserve on their own? [probe]
12. In your opinion, is there sufficient capacity within the local communities for the collaborative management of the nature reserve? [probe]



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APPENDICES 6: ETHICAL CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE



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ETHICS CLEARANCE REC-270710-028-RA Level 01

Project Number: AKP011SNYA01

Project title: Participation and Paradoxes in the Management of Protected Areas: A study of Dwesa-Cwebe Nature Reserve and its adjacent communities, Eastern Cape Province, South Africa

Qualification: PhD in Sociology

Principal Researcher: James Nyamahono

Supervisor: Prof W Akpan

Co-supervisor: Prof I Umejesi

On behalf of the University of Fort Hare's Research Ethics Committee (UREC) I hereby grant ethics approval for AKP011SNYA01. This approval is valid for 12 months from the date of approval. Renewal of approval must be applied for BEFORE termination of this approval period. Renewal is subject to receipt of a satisfactory progress report. The approval covers the undertakings contained in the above-mentioned project and research instrument(s). The research may commence as from the 22/08/19, using the reference number indicated above.

Note that should any other instruments be required or amendments become necessary, these require separate authorisation.

- Any material breaches of ethical undertakings or events that impact upon the ethical conduct of the research.

The Principal Researcher must report to the UREC in the prescribed format, where applicable, annually, and at the end of the project, in respect of ethical compliance.

The UREC retains the right to

- Withdraw or amend this approval if
 - Any unethical principal or practices are revealed or suspected;
 - Relevant information has been withheld or misrepresented;
 - Regulatory changes of whatsoever nature so require;
 - The conditions contained in the Certificate have not been adhered to.
- Request access to any information or data at any time during the course or after completion of the project.

Your compliance with DoH 2015 guidelines and other regulatory instruments and with UREC ethics requirements as contained in the UREC terms of reference and standard operating procedures, is implied.

The UREC wishes you well in your research.

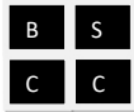
Yours sincerely




Professor Pumla Dineo Gqola
Acting UREC-Chairperson
22 August 2019

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APPENDICES 7: PROOF OF PROFESSIONAL ENGLISH EDITING



BE STILL COMMUNICATIONS
For effective communication solutions

landamasuku@gmail.com
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Professional
EDITORS
Guild

CERTIFICATE OF EDITING

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TITLE: PARTICIPATION DYNAMICS IN THE MANAGEMENT OF PROTECTED AREAS: THE CASE OF DWESA-CWEBE NATURE RESERVE AND ITS ADJACENT COMMUNITIES, EASTERN CAPE PROVINCE, SOUTH AFRICA



AUTHORS: JAMES DONALD NYAMAHONO (STUDENT No: 200909519)


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DATE: 13 DECEMBER 2020

EDITOR'S COMMENT

The author was advised to effect suggested corrections in regards to consistency in structure, logic, and expression. There were also suggestions relating APA style guide specifications on indented text.


Signature

PhD Applied Linguistics (UFH), MA Applied Linguistics (MSU), BA (Honours) English and Communication (MSU)
Professional Membership: A member of the Professional Editors Guild