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**COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM VENTURES:
A QUEST FOR SUSTAINABILITY**

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Chapter 2

INTRODUCING COMMUNITY BASED TOURISM

BACKGROUND

One of the South African Government's immediate priorities when coming to power was to redress the imbalances of the past and in particular to improve the quality of life of the poor. The government aimed to achieve this goal through development policies that will have a positive impact on the poor by reducing inequality while at the same time creating opportunities for economic growth. This goal is clearly reflected in a number of policy documents including the Government's integrated rural development strategy that aims to eliminate poverty and create full employment by the year 2020 (South Africa, 2000). Rural people are said to be at the heart of this strategy and are thus expected to take charge of the development process in their own areas and participate actively in matters that affect their future (Kepe, 1998).

As an integral part of economic growth, it is anticipated that the tourism sector will become one of the key drivers of economic expansion and employment creation in South Africa and southern Africa over the next decade (DEAT, 1996). Hence the importance of active participation of local people in tourism initiatives.

A long-term vision for tourism (incorporating policy principles, strategic guidelines and a perspective plan indicating what type of product will be developed where) is a basic requirement for any country seeking to develop tourism. In South Africa, this vision is reflected in the 1996 White Paper for the development and promotion of tourism (DEAT, 1996). However the detailed planning for, and implementation of, tourism development needs to be highly focused at local level, since this is where tourism takes place.

Literature on the subject of community participation in tourism refers to a number of issues that are central to the success or failure of tourism development initiatives. Of these many are cross-cutting and difficult to discuss in isolation. However, the following text is an attempt to isolate issues of importance in the tourism literature (though sometimes integrated) that need to be investigated and clarified to enable researchers to gain a better understanding of the complexities of communities in tourism development.

DEFINING THE COMMUNITY

The stated aim of policy makers is to develop and implement policies that would have a positive developmental impact on the poorest of South Africans, especially those in rural areas. In policy documents 'communities' are regarded as central to achieving these goals. Kepe (1998) therefore asserts that using the term 'community' can have positive effects on the beneficiaries of developmental projects, including tourism and ecotourism initiatives. This is because the community, especially the local or rural community is seen as a pivotal element of the tourism system as tourists, and in particular ecotourists, are keen to experience the cultures of local/host communities. The argument is therefore that these (usually rural) communities should have a direct say in their own development and in matters affecting their future (Kepe, 1998). This however raises the question of what exactly constitutes a (local) community.

Defining a community can be problematic. Communities are usually defined in terms of three basic characteristics, namely shared locale (i.e. sharing a geographical location); common ties (i.e. sharing common economical interests or resources) and social interactions (e.g. family, friendships and traditions). De Lacy and Birkhead's (in Coetzee, n.d.) definition of a community is somewhat

different. They describe a community as the resident people that are actually indigenous to a specific ecosystem (i.e. the first people or original inhabitants of a piece of land) and have a close dependence on that ecosystem in order to survive (Furze, et. al. in Coetzee, n.d.).

These definitions concur with Kepe's (1998) assertion that outsiders tend to see a local community as people who live in village localities in rural areas. The tendency is also to see them as a homogenous group who shares the same ideals and needs, which is often not the case. These definitions of community are vague and do not address the issue of boundaries and hence who should be included or excluded from a particular local community.

Although using the term 'community' can be positive when it helps to focus policy on the needs of poor people, it can be negative when it, for example, forces conflicting groups together in a manner which results in the rights of weaker groups to be trampled upon by the actions of more powerful groups (Kepe, 1998). These imbalances within communities affect issues such as land (tenure) rights, decision making power and benefits.

Policy makers and implementers should therefore address mechanisms of community representation that will exacerbate social inequalities (Kepe, 1998). This is particularly true as land rights and economic benefits are closely linked within the policy framework of post-Apartheid South Africa.

Kepe (1998) therefore argues that a detailed understanding of the social reality is essential in determining who and what constitute a particular local community. He further states that such a detailed understanding of social reality is also needed in order to avoid or resolve conflicting interests. Kepe (1998) believes that local interest groups should be given a major but not exclusive role in deciding who belongs to the community and who does not. Eliffe, Rutsch and De Beer (1998) concur with this viewpoint. According to them the Communal Property Association (CPA) Act 28 of 1996 clearly states that the onus is on the community itself to define who its members are.

However one sometimes finds the situation where new communities emerge and old ones disintegrate within the context of rapid social change and people's desire to be part of the beneficiary community. Sometimes there is a recall of past associations by groups to ensure that they are seen as part of the beneficiary community. For example, the proposed Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) at Mkambati in the former Transkei, has intensified disputes over who are the rightful owners of that particular land and hence should share in the potential benefits of the proposed SDI initiative (Kepe, 1998). The Khanyayo people made a strong case that emphasised their spatial (geographical), socio-economic and historical (traditional) ties with the land, claiming that Chief Jama from the Khanyayo people had legal jurisdiction over the land since the late 1800s.

However there is also the question of groups within larger groups, especially in the case of Tribal Authority boundaries. This raises the problem of defining the boundaries of a particular local community and hence who should be included or excluded from that community. The Khanyayo community is a case in point. They form part of the much larger Thaweni Tribal Authority. Despite their strong historical claims to land rights, they have a rather weak political voice (Kepe, 1998). This has resulted in five other administrative areas also laying claim to that particular land, stating that because they and the Khanyayo all form part of the Thaweni Tribal Authority they are all entitled to the land.

This situation fortunately has been amicably resolved. The local structures from the surrounding communities were asked to form a representative committee, which would participate on their behalf in the SDI process. This not only proved useful in understanding the underlying dynamics in the area and the negotiations around land claims, i.e. the social reality, but it also enhanced the

process of building the necessary relationship with the community to ensure effective implementation of the projects (Eliffe et al., 1998).

COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT/PARTICIPATION IN JOINT TOURISM VENTURES

Due to the establishment of protected areas such as nature and game reserves, many local communities were moved out of these areas and relocated elsewhere, usually just outside the boundaries of these protected areas. This resulted in these communities being excluded from relevant ecosystems and the resources upon which they depend as part of their livelihood strategies, for example land (for subsistence farming, grazing of cattle, etc.), animals to hunt, firewood and water. In South Africa for example, a number of African families were moved from Ingwavuma during 1983 in order to establish the Tembe Elephant Park. They had been relocated outside the boundaries of the Park where there was no adequate water (Association for Rural Advancement, in Coetzee, n.d.).

These measures, although beneficial to both conservation and the tourism industry, became a threat to the development and survival of displaced people (communities). Communities were not only excluded from benefiting from the natural resources in these protected areas, but were also excluded from benefiting from the lucrative tourism industry. Because of this, an imbalance occurred in the management and utilisation of natural, protected areas (Coetzee, n.d.). This imbalance needs to be addressed and local communities need not only to benefit from these areas, but also need to be involved in how they are managed. Not only local communities but also the tourism industry will benefit from this. Coetzee (n.d.) argues that without the involvement and active participation of local communities, tourism ventures may not reach their full potential and may even fail.

Allowing the community to be an active partner in the management of projects concerning their immediate environment will give community members greater control over their own lives (Coetzee, n.d.). This will involve access for community members to the resources of the land and an equitable share in its management. This raises the question of which community members should be participating in the management team and how they should be elected. Eliffe et al. (1998:8) believe that community participation should be balanced between open and closed debates, i.e. open forums for all interested stakeholders and closed meetings with the main representatives. Eliffe et al. (1998) also stress that it is important to be aware of different groupings such as civic organisations, youth groups, women's groups and traditional leaders. They also warn of the tension that still exist between traditional leaders and civic organisations in some areas and stress the importance of not appearing to favour one at the expense of others.

The best way to satisfy the needs of all parties interested in the management of joint tourism ventures, is to make use of allocation systems (Coetzee, n.d.). This means that the management of resources, because they are going to be shared, should be distributed fairly among the majority of stakeholders operating the venture. The ratios used when setting up the allocation systems must be acceptable to all relevant parties.

Being involved in management therefore means the right to participate in decision making as equal partners. In order to do this, members need to receive the necessary education and training in their own language. It is also imperative that all forms of consultation and communications with community members occur in a manner that is culturally acceptable (Coetzee, n.d.).

Coetzee (n.d.) believes that enhanced community participation will also increase community participation in conservation and result in community members being more willing to use natural resources in sustainable ways (Coetzee, n.d.). He states, '*Being active partners and reaping the benefits could in the end make communities sustainable*'. (p.8).

CULTURAL ISSUES

Tourists, especially ecotourists are primarily interested in the indigenous flora, fauna and cultural heritage of host communities. Through exposure to the cultural heritage of a local community, ecotourism can lead to an understanding of local knowledge among tourists and lead to an appreciation and hopefully respect for the culture of the host community (Pinnock in Coetzee, n.d.). This in turn often encourages local communities to develop their cultural assets such as customs, handicrafts, architecture, food, theatre and dance (Coetzee, n.d.). However when culture is made to serve tourism, it is being transformed into a market-oriented commodity, which may have varied consequences, both positive and negative.

It is true that the commercialisation of cultures and other impacts of tourism can have negative impacts on local communities. The biggest negative impact is one of cultural change. Butler and Hinch (1996 in Coetzee, n.d.) state that although each culture is unique, it constantly evolves in the face of change. Despite the fact that cultures evolve in the face of change, especially modernisation, and would do so regardless of the advent of tourism, some feel that tourism, and especially ecotourism, accelerates this process. Questions of authenticity therefore become much more difficult to address in communities that are exposed to tourists (Butler and Hinch, in Coetzee, n.d.).

Even though many tourists may revel in the cultural experiences of host communities, one finds at times that those cultural customs that have been preserved or rejuvenated may not necessarily be those which are highly valued by the local culture. The revival of ancient festivals and the restoration of cultural landmarks, in some cases, have emerged in ways that pose long-term threats to the existence of some cultures in their original form. In other cases however, this form of cultural awakening have resulted in host communities becoming more aware of the historical and cultural continuity of their communities and thus created an enriching experience for all (Wright, 1993).

In order to minimise the negative impact of tourism and enhance its positive effect, it is imperative that the developer and marketer of tourism, and especially ecotourism, is sensitive to the needs of both the tourist and the hosts. The diverse social, cultural and economic impacts of tourism therefore need to be spelled out to both tourist and host alike. It is also important that all involved practise good environmental management.

In order to avoid the occurrence of cultural change, especially negative cultural change, within a community exposed to tourism, it is imperative that prior to their visit, tourists be briefed about culturally acceptable behaviour. It is also important that tourists have a good understanding of their hosts' culture that goes beyond the simplistic or idealised (romanticised) notions. It is also essential that tourism facilities and systems be designed in such a way that local people will feel comfortable with the role they have to play and thus display natural behaviour. People should not be expected to behave in ways that would humiliate or ridicule them. Tourism excursions should also be planned carefully to avoid negative impacts, and structures need to be developed that will ensure that the localised effects of tourism are not destructive (Coetzee, n.d.).

The following example, reported by Ashley and Jones (2001) illustrates how tourists and a host community can co-exist amicably in a way that is mutually beneficial. The Himba people of Namibia are most probably its most advertised cultural group and attract the interests of many tourists who are in search of an authentic cultural experience. Kaokohimba Safaris and the Himba communities of Marienfluss Valley have an understanding that is profitable to both.

The core cultural product offered by the safari company is a visit to a Himba village. These visits are equally divided between the two main settlements at Okapupa and Ombivangu. These village visits however are not guaranteed and need to be approved by the village elders. Because of the

good relationship between the safari company and the communities, visits are usually approved. Tourists respect the daily activities of the Himba, with no 'performances' requested or conducted. Ongoing activities of the Himba are explained with as little interference as possible. Kaokohimba Safaris always take plenty of time to discuss issues and concerns that the community has and will not leave unless certain elderly people have been greeted and matters arising have been satisfactorily discussed. Photos are taken only with permission from the community and this costs extra.

If tourists want to take photos or videos for commercial purposes, an additional payment has to be made to the Marienfluss Development Fund, a voluntary fund initiated by the Kaokohimbi Safaris and administrated by the Namibia Nature Foundation. The community usually selects a purpose for the money in the fund but the operator reserves the right of final approval to avoid unrealistic developments. Additional inputs from the safari company include a shop that sells basic supplies, road maintenance, rubbish collection and disposal, awareness raising among tourists, facilitation, health care provision, transport and communications. A large craft development project has also been initiated by Kaokohimba Safaris who, since 1995, have bought crafts and artefacts from the VHimba which they sell elsewhere.

LEGAL CONTEXT

The legal context in which community participation in tourism takes place is often complex. Issues such as clarity on land ownership, legal representative bodies, definitions of who need to be included or excluded from a particular community need clarification before any resource-based tourism initiatives can be pursued (see defining community, p.1).

Mahony and Van Zyl (2001:43) for instance refer to uncertainty over land rights in the case of the Manyeleti tourism initiative that resulted in protracted delays in the implementation of the project due to conflicting interests associated with a land claim process. They also claim that investors are generally wary of becoming involved in initiatives unless the land rights issues have been concluded, or at least the expectation that the issue will be irreversibly finalised. It is also mentioned that clear arrangements that protect the rights of investors and communities can go a long way to expedite the development of tourism opportunities.

Tourism development on communal land or land held in trust by the state can also be complex and time consuming since any tourism operator has to obtain a PTO (permission to occupy) certificate from the state under normal circumstances. In some instances in Namibia and Zimbabwe, legal rights over wildlife, land and natural resources have been devolved to resident communities (Ashley and Jones, 2001: 2). This opened legal avenues for communities to gain rights over assets such as wildlife and tourism concessions. These rights are often held and exercised by means of the establishment of a community trust, Section 21 company or CPA (Community Property Association).

Eliffe et al. (1998) suggest that a community trust is established when a person (founder or donor) creates a legal entity that controls certain assets to the benefit of a person or persons. All the assets of the trust vest in the trustees in their representative capacity. Trustees can therefore not use or take assets to further their own personal gain. Immovable property held by the trust must be registered in the name of the trustees in their representative capacity. The creation of a trust to manage assets of a community can therefore be attractive due to the flexibility that such an entity presents because of minimal legal requirements that need to be met. However, there is no built-in protection against mismanagement and manipulation of a trust. Power accumulation by an elite is therefore a danger to marginalized people that are beneficiaries of such a trust.

The establishment of a Section 21 company is another option that communities can utilise to establish a legal entity to represent and manage joint-owned assets. Some critics nevertheless argue that trusts and CPAs are the only suitable vehicles to own land on behalf of a group. They contend that the Companies Act 61 of 1973 in terms of which a Section 21 company may be formed, is essentially a commercial piece of legislation and not designed for group land use and occupation. A number of legal and administrative formalities and requirements turn a Section 21 company into a more complex, time consuming and expensive structure than either community trusts or CPAs.

The Community Property Association (CPA) Act 28 of 1996 is specifically designed to enable disadvantaged communities to form juristic persons (CPAs) enabling them to acquire, hold and manage property in accordance with a written constitution. CPAs are required to be equitable, democratic, non-discriminatory and fully responsible to members (Eliffé et al. 1998). An important provision of the CPA Act is the need to obtain approval from the Minister of Land Affairs before establishing a new CPA. Procedurally, establishing a CPA is of comparable complexity or even more so than that of establishing a Section 21 company.

Establishing a community trust seems to be the easiest and least complex route to take in establishing an entity responsible for managing property and other fixed community assets. However, a significant trade-off is the fact that trustees of a community trust are generally less accountable to their members than directors of a Section 21 company or a management committee of a CPA to their members or shareholders.

INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT

A major developmental goal for tourism is to plan and facilitate tourism development so as to ensure that tourism projects realise their objectives (Cleverdon, 2002). The achievement of this goal is highly dependent on the active participation of the various actors in the tourism project. These actors may include government (national, provincial and local), private driven and community-based organisations and individuals.

Role of government

As the custodian of communal land, government often has an important role to fulfil in providing an enabling legal and developmental framework to assist tourism on communal land in South Africa. However, despite being in a position to create an enabling environment, this has not always been the case in practice. Poultney and Spenceley (2001:3) reported that a number of national departments and authorities as well as provincial government departments attempted to influence tourism development. However, the different levels of operation of authorities often cause conflict that does not contribute to a conducive environment for private sector investments.

Currently national, provincial and local government departments are pursuing a number of initiatives in an attempt to draw tourism investment from the private sector. The best known are the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) of the National Departments of Transport and of Trade and Industry which aim to unlock the under-utilised economic development potential of certain locations in southern Africa.

The Community-Public-Private-Partnership programme (CPPP) aims to revitalise the rural economy by facilitating investment targeted at promoting partnerships between communities, the private sector, and the state. The programme is designed to ensure that new investments benefit poor communities through sustainable growth, empowerment and the sustainable use of resources.

Mahony and Van Zyl (2001:11) provide a prime example of typical government involvement in tourism development linked to SDIs. As part of government's drive to commercialise its public assets, tourism concessions within the Manyeleti game reserve in the Limpopo Province was put up for tender to private sector investors. The main objective with this commercialisation process was to present an opportunity to investors, government and local communities to achieve policy objectives with regard to tourism development, employment creation, economic empowerment of poor communities and land reform. In this instance, the provincial government was the lead agent for driving the process and carried the responsibility to act as environmental custodian for land owned by the state. They also funded the initiative with some financial and professional backing from the Phalaborwa SDI.

However, many local administrations are reportedly in a state of crisis. Cleverdon (2002:15) reports they have no regard for, understanding of, or budget to facilitate the development or promotion of tourism in many instances. Mahlali (1999) adds that many of the provincially and locally driven agri-tourism SDIs are often affected by the limited capacity of local authorities as many of the rural district/regional councils are new and still grappling with structural and capacity issues. This creates problems and threatens the sustainability of the projects. Cleverdon (2002) argues that institutional strengthening and capacity building at these levels are leading priorities for the short-to-long term, since without it many tourism development opportunities will not occur. The need is to generate knowledge and enthusiasm through creating a cadre of appropriately qualified tourism officials operating at the various levels of government. He also remarks that provincial and local governments have a vital and justified role on the grounds that tourism involves and impacts on so many entities and places demands on publicly provided infrastructure and amenities.

The problems experienced at local level are further exacerbated by the existing discourse between tribal authorities and democratically elected local authorities. This problem is mentioned by Kepe et al. (2001) who shows that, with both democratic rule and traditional authorities in rural areas enshrined in the Constitution, a fierce conflict has developed between the two, with traditional authorities opposed to what they call "erosion" of the powers they held before. This conflict is heightened by the government's failure to clarify the powers, functions and legitimacy of traditional authorities.

Mahlali (1999) raises another important problem experienced at the local, national and provincial levels of government with regard to tourism initiatives. She indicates that there is often poor co-ordination of various interventions (governmental and non-governmental) at the local level. This problem often leads to manipulation by the few who have access and community conflict as a result of competition for, control of, and access to resources. The lack of co-ordination among the various actors at the local level often leads to institutional conflict and struggles for power. Such conflicts tend to divert focus away from local users, sidelining or rendering them invisible (Shackleton et al. 2002). At national and provincial level, Mahlali (1999) argues that the lack of co-ordination among government departments is a major problem. She mentions that inter-departmental co-ordination is experienced in situations where a programme requires specific "feedstocks" (local governance, environment, infrastructure, etc.) that fall outside the competency of the driving department.

Roe & Urquhart (2001) list a number of roles that governments can perform to support pro-poor tourism. It includes consulting with poor residents when making decisions about tourism, providing secure tenure for the poor over tourism land or assets and using planning controls and investment incentives to encourage private operators to make and implement pro-poor commitments within a framework of broader sustainability. It also involves encouraging dispersion of tourism to poor areas by means of infrastructural investment and marketing, ensuring that good policy is followed up with implementation through linking policy to budgeting cycles and building sufficient implementation capacity at the appropriate levels of government, as well as devolution of resources,

promoting pro-poor enterprises and products in national marketing material, revising regulations that impede the poor in employment or small business, and integrating awareness of pro-poor tourism into growth strategies and small-enterprise strategies.

For effective collaboration and resource alignments at all levels, Mahlati (1999) points out that it is important to create an appropriate institution that will:

- drive the integrated strategy and facilitate collaboration
- co-ordinate and facilitate efficient operations with clear procedures (opportunities, procurement and liaison with communities)
- institute a sound communication process that can facilitate an ongoing flow of information between parties
- motivate officials and recognise their performance.

Inconsistency in participation by government departments will slow down and even undermine the project conceptualisation, packaging, adjudication and especially the implementation process.

Role of private sector

In the case of tourism development in the Manyeleti game reserve, the private sector acted as investor, developer, operator and principal risk taker. Private sector business was expected to provide skills and capital needed to establish and operate envisaged new initiatives. More specific details with regard to socio-economic roles and responsibilities of private sector investors also included the empowerment of local communities through employment, capacity building, training, involvement in planning and decision making processes, and supporting local SMMEs. All of the roles above relate to direct tangible and non-tangible benefits that local community members might receive when participating in tourism development initiatives. Kirsten and Rogerson (2002:32) mention that local indirect tourism opportunities might, among others, include the development of business linkages between established tourism enterprises and small local enterprises, which are an important part of upgrading local SMME economies. Private sector tourism developers can therefore make an important contribution to small local business development by outsourcing tourism related opportunities such as supplying foodstuffs, handicrafts, laundry services, furniture production, transport services and guiding.

Role of NGOs and consultants

Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are another important role player in tourism development. In a study on joint ventures between communities and tourism investors by Ashley and Jones (2001), it is mentioned that during negotiations between investors and local communities, various non-governmental organisations have an important role to play. A study of the setting up of the Damaraland Camp in Namibia revealed that the local non-governmental organisation, Integrated Rural Development and Nature Conservation (IRDNC) played a significant role as facilitator, assisting the community to organise, consult and negotiate. A number of advisors with expertise in economics and legal arrangements were also brought in by the IRDNC. The community initially involved the IRDNC because they were of the opinion that they lacked knowledge on the workings of the tourism industry, its potentials and pitfalls and could not analyse or interpret financial statements. During the negotiation process, the private sector partner also reaped benefits from the IRDNC facilitation that was provided. It provided them with a better understanding of the needs and concerns of the community.

In two studies of devolution and natural resource management in three Asian countries and eight southern African countries, Shackleton (2002) found that NGOs played an important facilitatory

and capacity building role in helping to bridge different views between local people and government agencies and manage conflict within or among communities. In some cases NGOs were used as project implementers or were the power brokers between communities and government. They showed greater commitment to empowering communities and worked better to integrate the development needs of local people. Furthermore, they offered training, provided technical information and promoted gender equity. However, the influence of NGOs was not always positive for local people because they sometimes sided with the state or created dependency rather than empowerment. As representatives of local communities, some NGOs pushed communities into decisions they might otherwise not have taken.

Sproule (2002) remarks that local non-government organisations (NGOs) can be valuable partners in the process of developing community-based ecotourism enterprises in almost any area. They can be sources for training, technical assistance, advocacy at the national level, and in some instances they can also provide financial assistance. In addition, these organisations often have members or constituencies that want information and guidance on ecotourism issues so as to be able to influence consumers of ecotourism.

JOINT VENTURE TOURISM MODELS

In Mahoney and Van Zyl (2001) two types of tourism empowerment models are referred to with regard to tenders received for the joint tourism development of the Manyeleti Game Reserve adjacent to the Kruger National Park. The first is an equity model allocating a percentage of equity to a separate community-owned legal entity. The second is a benefit model that allocates a percentage of turnover to a separate community-owned legal entity, making available training opportunities and investing in infrastructure.

Ferrar et al. (1997:42) shed more light on four typical models or variations available for communities participating in tourism ventures. The first is the landlord/tenant model where the ownership and control of the tourism ventures are entirely in the hands of the tourism developer. Any package of benefits must be negotiated upfront as part of a lease contract and can in some instances only encompass financial compensation for leasing a portion of land.

The second model is referred to as the financial incentive model (similar to the benefit model of Mahoney and Van Zyl, 2001). This model usually takes the form of a bed levy, percentage of profit, annual rental fee, payment for community services or a combination of monetary benefits that accrue to the community.

The third model is a management-sharing model (similar to the equity model), which implies a full joint venture where both the tourism investor and the community contribute assets and share the associated returns proportionally. Economic and other non-monetary benefits accruing to the community are potentially higher than in other models as a result of the higher returns and wider distribution of benefits. The community representatives also share an increased responsibility as decision-making body.

Lastly, Ferrar et al. (1997) refer to a community enterprise where local people are in full control of a business venture. Reportedly, financial returns are initially low because of capital, business expertise and communication skills that are limited. Community enterprises are nevertheless labour intensive, resulting in a relatively high economic rate of return with a significant empowerment potential. However, the risk factor of such an enterprise is usually large due to a high failure rate.

COMMUNICATION

Information constitutes one of the most important links in the development process. Kepe (1999) argues, in his study of the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI), that adequate information must be both given and received in the development process if any empowerment and participation is to take place. The employment strategy to be employed in a development project should facilitate information sharing among the various stakeholders, thus allowing them to participate in and embrace the development project. For example, planners and implementers need physical and social information about the geographical area of the planned intervention. On the other hand, social actors in that particular locality need as much information as possible about the project, both before and during implementation. Information to local social actors is even more crucial in cases where, similar to SDIs, the project does not originate from a locality-specific needs assessment.

Kepe (1999) identifies two categories of constraints to effective information sharing with people in the Wild Coast SDI development project. These include the message and the channel of communication. Although these constraints were applicable to the Wild Coast SDI, they could serve as important lessons for other similar tourism initiatives.

Kepe (1999) found that:

- Other than senior government officials, relevant project personnel and other consultants, very few people, including people tasked with informing or consulting with people in the anchor project areas, knew much about the foundation and detailed plans of the SDI at first.
- The baseline reports on land, environment and tourism were to some extent technical and lacked basic information on the SDI. These reports were never widely available to the public.
- When specific plans about particular projects were eventually communicated to some people in the affected localities, further developments in these projects did not always reach the same people.
- In situations where the content of the message was detailed, it was quick, ill-placed in terms of process and with minimal follow-up.
- The presentation of the message was primarily in English with limited translation into local languages.
- Limited time was devoted to the presentations, resulting in people having to make hasty choices.
- In cases where information was detailed, it failed to serve the desired purpose because of poor planning and the inappropriateness of the channels through which it was provided.

Channels of communication

The channels through which any information is shared is crucial to the effectiveness of any communication strategy (Kepe, 1999). However, the choice of the communication channel often depends on who is communicating what message to whom. In the case of the Wild Coast SDI, community facilitators were seen as key to the communication strategy for this development project by introducing the Wild Coast SDI to local people and to assist in the establishment of local committees to deal with subsequent SDI-related issues. To be able to achieve this, facilitators were expected to engage in face-to-face meetings with beneficiaries. However, a number of problems were experienced in this regard, namely:

The backgrounds of the facilitators were a constraint in several ways

- Besides knowing very little about the Wild Coast SDI, most facilitators were mainly from towns, often with only a limited understanding of local dynamics within the rural areas they were assigned to. This limited understanding resulted in many facilitators lacking the

confidence to perform their duties to their best ability or being realistic about the nature of the rural societies and the capabilities of rural communities.

- The tension between local government officials, traditional authorities and the community made it difficult for facilitators to work in their assigned areas as they were viewed with great suspicion. This resulted in many facilitators not even attempting to visit the areas that they perceived to be hostile towards them.
- The distance from the localities and absence or scarcity of transport to many villages resulted in many meetings not being followed up.

Organisation of meetings

- Meeting announcement reached only a few people.
- Meetings were hastily organised with the message reaching only a few people.
- When meetings were advertised in advance, people would often wait for the entire day, only to hear sometime later that the meeting had been cancelled because of bad weather or lack of transport for the facilitators.
- Poorly planned meetings reduced the effectiveness of the entire consultation strategy.

Meeting attendance

- People rarely attended meetings, including meetings organised or held at the headman or chief's place or advertised on time.
- Meetings were attended mostly by men who had prior knowledge about and a vested interest in what was going to be discussed.
- Poor attendance of meetings was usually felt during the growing seasons when villagers spent most of their time in the fields.

Politics

Politics affected participation in meeting in various ways.

- In situations where political parties were used to organise meetings, people who belonged to opposing parties would either not be informed or feel excluded from the meetings.
- Some community facilitators were forced to lean towards favouring the dominant group in order to gain favour and credibility, thus further alienating those from other parties.

Given the above-mentioned problems related to the communication strategy, it is important to view development as a continuous process where allowance is made for review and adjustments. For information exchange to have positive effects at any stage of the process, proper planning and careful utilisation of available information on local dynamics need to be seriously considered. It is also important to realise that these constraints will not vanish overnight but require a unified effort from both local and external social actors.

BENEFITS PROVIDED TO LOCAL COMMUNITIES

The promotion of the tourism sector by governments and donor organisations at an international level has aimed at encouraging private sector investment, macroeconomic growth and foreign exchange earnings without specifically taking the needs of the poor into account (Mahony & Van Zyl, 2002). The assumption was that government intervention is unnecessary, as the benefits of growth in the tourism industry would eventually trickle down to the poor. However, pro-poor tourism strategies express a counteraction to this approach as they emphasise the importance of

introducing mechanisms for ensuring that both the economic and non-economic benefits of tourism growth also flow to the poor (Ashley et al. 2000). The importance of pro-poor strategies are reflected by Brayshaw (1999) who indicates that "local communities receiving benefits from protected areas are very much at the fore of any partnership between rural communities and protected area staff, as these will render the initiatives useful and worthwhile to the community". These benefits need to be meaningful and appropriate to the receiving communities.

The literature on a number of case studies (e.g. Shackleton et al. 2002, Mahony & Van Zyl 2002, Coetzee and Brayshaw 1999) indicates that benefits that local communities gain from development projects can be divided into tangible and non-tangible benefits:

Tangible benefits

According to Brayshaw (1999), tangible benefits need to flow to communities so that they could support conservation operations thus making conservation an affordable option for beneficiary communities. Tangible benefits may take various forms, including the following:

Employment

Employment is often seen as one of the greatest benefits communities receives from tourism initiatives. Considering that unemployment is one of the major problems facing most rural areas in South Africa today, employment opportunities can impact positively on rural communities. However, Brayshaw (1999) argues that the employment created by protected areas is often limited in numbers in relation to the number of unemployed people in a community. In addition, the employment offered is often of an inferior nature with little opportunity for advancement. What is therefore required, Pimbert and Pretty (in Bradshaw 1999) argue, is to use employment as a chance to train local community members in conservation practices and management positions so that in the future they can take over activities in a meaningful manner. This facilitates empowerment rather than simply creating employment at the lowest levels. In the case of tourism development, Mahony & Van Zyl (2001) alert us to situations where providing employment to staff members from the local and neighbouring communities can result in tension between the local community and those located further away as they might feel excluded from securing employment.

Economic benefits

Mahony & Van Zyl (2001) found that local communities could use the revenue generated from tourism activities to maintain the initiatives. The income provided could be used to initiate development projects that benefit the whole community. In the Makuleke case, revenue generated from hunting was used in development projects, such as the construction of a clinic and school.

Profit sharing of the monetary turnover of a tourism initiative is important in maintaining good relations between communities and the tourism initiative. This gives the community an incentive to support the activities of the tourism initiative, as its success will have direct implications for the community. Brayshaw (1999) argues that the amount should be calculated between stakeholders and should be transparent and acceptable to all.

Small business development

Tourism initiatives should be structured in such a way that they are able to generate opportunities for local small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) to enable them to provide products or services of an acceptable standard and at a competitive price. To ensure that the local community is

able to take up such SMME opportunities, various training programmes should be initiated (Mahony & Van Zyl 2001).

Direct benefits are very important in sustaining the short-term viability of a tourism initiative. Communities need to receive tangible benefits in order for them to perceive tourism initiatives as worthwhile. However, the benefits that the community receives need to be expanded by more long-term and empowering benefits for the project to be sustainable. These direct benefits are important in keeping good relations with the community and play a vital role in the economic development of the area, but should not be the only form of benefits as direct benefits often create dependency and do not facilitate an empowering process (Brayshaw 1999). Intangible benefits are therefore also needed.

Intangible benefits

Benefits can also be of a more intangible nature involving more indirect benefits. Brayshaw (1999) argues that indirect benefits can induce a sense of ownership and allow communities to exercise some form of control. This gives communities an opportunity not to be passive beneficiaries of a stream of benefits, but become actively involved in the decisions that impact on their lives.

Capacity building and training

According to Brayshaw (1999) benefits should lead to empowerment, thus leading people to control their own lives. Capacity building and training is one of the key elements of empowerment to ensure that the community takes advantage of the various opportunities that arise (Mahony & Van Zyl 2001). The empowering benefits can include entrepreneurial development, education and awareness, and should result in communities attaining capacity to control their total environment. Brayshaw (1999) argues that this must be developed through a process of education and training, both formal and informal, skills transfer, improvement of skills and knowledge, information dissemination, provision of support and resourcefulness, building collective community confidence and the acceptance of responsibility, accountability and the principle of self-reliance. However, Mahony & Van Zyl (2002) point out that capacity-building initiatives should be ongoing to allow the community to assume full control of the initiative.

Participation in decision making

Participation in decision making is a key element of the empowerment process. Through the tourism initiative, communities will have a chance to come in contact with various external institutions and participate effectively in development activities and decision-making process. This could lead to the empowerment of communities to mobilise their own capacities, manage resources, make decisions and control activities that affect their lives (Coetzee, n.d).

Social and cultural benefits

According to Mahony & Van Zyl (2001) the tourism initiative can create several positive social and cultural benefits for the local community. Culturally, the tourism initiative can provide a market for locally produced arts and crafts, thus fostering the community's traditional skills and cultural identity. These authors identify a number of issues that need to be considered when providing benefits to receiving communities:

- Be realistic about the impacts of the tourism investment on rural development and economic growth. Investment should not be regarded as the cure for rural development, but rather as a component of a larger rural development programme.

- Demonstrate short-term benefits to the community while waiting for the longer-term development programme to unfold, for benefits from tourism development are slow to materialise.
- All stakeholders need to agree on a clear plan for distributing communal benefits at an early stage of the project implementation, because the magnitude of benefits in relation to the size of many rural communities is often very small.
- Put in place specific measures to target marginalised or vulnerable community groups in order for them to benefit from the tourism initiative.
- Develop good corporate governance in institutions responsible for the management of benefits to ensure an equitable and sensible allocation of benefits to the community.
- Ensure that strong institutions and effective monitoring mechanisms are in place to monitor and enforce compliance.

Quality of life

According to Odendaal & Schoeman (1990) tourism can enhance the development of rural areas on an ecological and economically viable basis and improve the quality of life of the rural poor. Measuring quality of life however is not an easy task as it is largely a subjective concept. Aside from a direct enquiry as to an individual's level of contentment or lack thereof, there is no clear way to determine whether a person has a good or poor quality life (Nedlac, n.d.).

Despite the subjective nature of the concept quality of life, there are certain key indicators that can be used to assess how issues external to an individual can make life easier or more difficult for that person (Nedlac, n.d.). These factors are largely practical and material, and can be measured and rated. Zimmerman (2002) agrees with this statement. According to him, the rural poor have identified unemployment, powerlessness and a lack of services as signs of poverty and lacking a good quality of life. They further expressed a need for water, electricity and education as ways that will improve their quality of life.

Service delivery and the provision of infrastructure therefore remain central to alleviating the daily hardships experienced by millions of South Africans, especially the rural poor. Infrastructure should therefore form the basis upon which most development programmes are built (Mbeki, 1998). Development however is only real if it makes our lives better and among other things, contributes to a long and healthy life and meets essential needs for jobs, food, energy, water, etc. (DEAT, 1996).

Through the various public works programmes government has over the last few years ensured that the provision of infrastructure takes place in a manner that enhanced job opportunities for the unemployed and provided essential services. Despite these efforts, however, the majority of the rural poor still live in under-served areas.

Odendaal & Schoeman (1990) state that tourism can enhance the development of rural areas and thus improve the quality of life for the rural poor. One should however keep in mind that the societal impacts of tourism present mixed results. Although an improved standard of living may occur for individuals in communities dependent on tourism, especially ecotourism, the overall effect on culture and language may not be in the best interest of local communities and may even contribute to the homogenisation of societies, and for example, cause an erosion of indigenous languages (Mathieson & Wall, 1982).

The display of prosperity amid poverty, for example rich tourists staying in five-star hotels and lodges and mingling with poor local people in the host community may cause resentment. Contributing effects also include the overcrowding of infrastructure, accommodation, services and facilities which tourists have to share with the host community. Other negative impacts include the increase in activities deemed to be undesirable, such as prostitution, gambling, alcohol and other substance abuse, crime and the breakdown of social networks.

On the positive side, however, tourism can change people's access to assets and expose them to more livelihood options (Ashley, et al. 2000). It can generate funds for investment in health, education and other assets and provide quality infrastructure, which is a prerequisite for successful tourism ventures. Tourism can also stimulate development of social capital, strengthen sustainable management of natural resources and create a demand for improved assets, especially education. Access to disposable income has, for example, resulted in local people buying more consumer items, which in turn stimulate the local and other retail trading opportunities.

The poor is not a homogenous group, however, and the range of impacts, both positive and negative, will be distributed unevenly amongst them. Impacts also differ between men and women. The poorest of the poor will be the most affected by reduced access to natural resources, for example. Women can be the first to suffer a loss from such natural resources (e.g. access to firewood). On the positive side, however, women may be the first to benefit from physical infrastructure improvements such as piped water. On the other hand sexual exploitation will also affect the poorest women, girls and young men the most (Ashley et al. 2000). The most substantial benefits, particularly jobs, may be concentrated amongst a few only, thus increasing the social inequalities among locals.

Where local elite does not exist, migrants may move in to exploit the new opportunities. The poverty impact of this depends on whether the migrants are poorer than the locals and would be willing to work for lower wages or whether they are skilled entrepreneurs seizing new opportunities before local skills have a chance to develop (Ashley et al. 2000). This may lead to situations where outsiders are employed in managerial positions, earning high salaries, whereas locals are employed in unskilled or semi-skilled positions, which carry low wages.

DISCUSSION

Many tourism authors regard the participation of local communities in tourism initiatives as a precondition for sustaining such initiatives. However, involving communities in tourism initiatives is a long, time consuming and in many instances difficult process with many pitfalls. One of the most basic stumbling blocks is often to define the community or communities that need to be involved in such a process. Communities are also heterogeneous entities with many vested interests and affiliations. This might complicate matters during negotiations between communities and other stakeholders. Involving more than one community can also complicate negotiations when rivalry and competition for benefits occur.

Legal issues such as establishing legal entities to represent communities as well as issues with regard to land ownership can also be problematic. Possible tourism investors place a high premium on secure tenure arrangements. Land tenure insecurity may therefore be one of the main deterrents to tourism investment in communal areas. Land ownership disputes can also be a major deterrent.

Management processes is also sown with pitfalls. Miscommunication and misinterpretation of information has the potential to sour relations between stakeholders, which may lead to irreparable damage and failure of initiatives.

The rewards of involving communities in tourism initiatives are clear but are not without its pitfalls. A word that perhaps best describe the rewards of successful community participation in tourism initiative is empowerment. Various degrees of social and economic empowerment have been achieved in tourism initiatives that embraced the participation of communities as various case studies under discussion testify.

Joint venture models of co-operation between investors, communities and other stakeholders have also proven to be important tools in either the success or failure of initiatives. It would seem as if different models might be applicable to different situations in ensuring the sustainability of initiatives. More research is nevertheless needed to determine the conditions that will favour particular models.

To conclude, in theory, community participation in tourism initiatives have the potential to significantly benefit local communities. Nevertheless, the numerous pitfalls highlighted in this chapter shows that success does not come without much patience, mutual understanding and respect between stakeholders.

The following six chapters (3-8) reflect on the reality of community participation in tourism, the successes and failures and the reasons behind these. The last chapter (9) is a summery and conclusion, which deals with issues on community participation and the sustainability of tourism initiatives as observed within the six case studies.

Chapter 3

TSWAING CRATER MUSEUM

BACKGROUND

The Tswaing Crater Museum is situated on government property that was previously used by the Agricultural Research Council (ARC) as an experimental farm. Due to tension with surrounding communities the ARC was forced to discontinue its agricultural activities and pull out of the area in the 1980s. In 1992 the Department of Public Works transferred the land to the National Cultural History Museum, a parastatal, whose mandate is to protect and utilise the natural and cultural heritage of South Africa. Hence the decision by the director of History, Culture and Museums, Dr. Kiesler to establish the Heritage Initiative Site in 1992.

The Tswaing Crater is reportedly unique and one of a kind in the world. The National Cultural History Museum therefore decided to declare the property on which the crater is situated a museum. This makes the Tswaing Crater Museum one of eight satellite museums of the National Cultural History Museum and the first environ-museum in South Africa (Tswaing Crater Museum, 1999).

The mission statement of the Tswaing Crater museum is the sustainable conservation of the cultural and natural heritage. The day-to-day management of the museum is the responsibility of the museum manager Dr. de Jong, and a team of workers, which include the administration officer; technical services manager and education manager. They are assisted by various structures within the National Cultural History Museum (Tswaing Crater Museum, 1999). The core function and responsibility of the museum management team is the conservation of the natural resources. The museum's activities can be summed up as follows:

1. Resource conservation (nature and culture)
2. Industry (tourism, hospitality, education)
3. Community participation (neighbouring communities and interest groups such as bird watchers).

The museum provides these services by offering visitors specific services such as environmental education activities, conference facilities and guided tours.

'Visitors are taken to the site of the impressive 1,4 km diameter crater where the cosmic (meteorite) and geological forces which caused the phenomenon are explained. All the indigenous trees on the 7,2 km trail (round trip 3 hours) to the crater have been labelled and a diversity of vegetation, birds and insects exists' (Tswaing Crater Museum, 1999:1).

The Tswaing museum project started in 1992 with the compilation of a development plan. A Management Planned Committee (MPC) was established which included members from the Tswaing Forum, officials from the City of Tswane and other government officials. A management development plan was, however, never drawn up although the need for such a plan was recognised.

One of the key elements of the new initiative was to involve adjacent communities from the word go. This process kicked off in the mid 1990s with a masterplan that was based on 10 years of community consultation experience. Finding the right people to consult with during the early 1990s, e.g. the North West government, community based organisations, traditional leaders, SANCO, etc., proved to be rather difficult. Initial consultations involved traditional leaders, SANCO, and other civic organisations. Despite the fact that these organisations did not represent all community members it was said that real participation from different people took place. The situation regarding

representativeness was gradually settled after the 1994 democratic elections when more representative organisations such as the ANC were consulted.

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION

The area that surrounds Tswaing is regarded as the largest impoverished area in Gauteng. An estimated two hundred and twenty five thousand people currently live in area. Communities adjacent to Tswaing can be described as urban or semi-urban with seven elected wards boarding directly on the property. These communities include Soshanguve, Winterveldt, Stinkwater, Eersterus and Rantjiepan.

Tswaing Forum

The Tswaing Forum was established in October 1993 with the main objective of involving all interested and affected parties in planning and decision-making process. Representatives from 15 local communities, specialists such as museum scientists, agricultural scientists, botanists, zoologists, business people, geologists, educators as well as representatives from various non-governmental organisations and community-based organisations and ward councillors are serving on the Forum (Tswaing Crater Museum, 1999).

The members of the Forum also serve on four working committees, namely Planning, Science and Technology, Tourism, Education and Training and Finance and Fundraising (Tswaing Crater Museum, 1999). The Forum has an Executive Committee, which comprises the chairpersons, and vice chairpersons of both the Forum and the working committees (Tswaing Crater Museum, 1999). The Executive Committee coordinates work done by the working committees.

Members meet once a month and a general forum meeting occurs in the first quarter every year with an attendance of up to a 100 people. There are no clear defined roles and responsibilities for the forum members. It currently acts as a community representative; guiding and advising at the Crater museum. The Forum also acts as a 'mediator' between the museum and communities. Members receive feedback and discuss burning issues during meetings.

ROLEPLAYERS

A close relationship exists between the Community Forum members and the management team of the Tswaing Museum Crater. Forum members often provide inputs with regard to issues such as tenders and the appointment of new employees.

The extent of people or communities' involvement usually depends on where people live, who their representatives are and how well the message is communicated. Political parties such as the ANC, the PAC and other community based organisations such as women's groups, church groups, the youth as well as traditional leaders have been consulted and are involved to some extent. According to the museum manager, all role players are involved in every aspect of the process, especially the planning and development and execution of the project development plan. The communities were on board during all the steps and are still kept up to date of what is happening, e.g. new projects. The communities are also partly involved in maintenance. The manager often requests members of the Tswaing Forum to accompany him to meetings, which affects the museum and the community. According to the museum manager, their input is valued and community members are involved in decision-making processes throughout. Community members were for example consulted about a railway line proposal that would have impacted on the Tswaing property.

The relationship between the different role players, especially the museum and the communities seems to be complex. For example, some community members such as community leaders play a more dominant role than others and electoral wards in the adjacent communities are also more involved with Tswaing. It has also been alleged that some of the official leaders, e.g. the ward councillors do not really contribute or participate i.e. the councillors do not deliver in terms of Tswaing as a whole or the museum in particular.

CONFLICT AND ISSUES OF CONTENTION

There do not appear to be any serious conflict situations, pending legal issues or issues of contention between the museum and the surrounding communities at the moment. The land issue itself is not one of contention as the neighbouring communities never had access to the land and therefore there is no chance of anyone laying a claim to the land. The land belongs to the government and had been state property since the 1880s. No one had been removed from this land; rather people came to live here after they were removed elsewhere.

The land has however not been formally proclaimed as a nature reservation or conservation area. Apparently the crater area is currently zoned for agricultural purposes. The Department of Public Works is therefore responsible for paying rates and taxes of R150 000 annually. The fact that the land has not been rezoned, may very well lead to contention and possible conflict situations with the adjacent communities. For example, there may be a potential conflict situation in terms of usages of the heritage site, especially on culturally significant days. For example, many people in the neighbouring communities want to use the premises for bashes, e.g. festivities, etc. instead of conservation which is the core business and function of the museum, whereas the museum management naturally wants to highlight and showcase conservation related activities on these important days as demanded by its mandate. Fortunately the Tswaing area is in the process of being proclaimed a nature conservation area in terms of a Gauteng nature conservation ordinance. Apparently this requires the land to be rezoned to special purposes.

There also does not appear to be conflict over the concept of consumptive usage of resources for which the land has been earmarked. Some community members used the land to collect plants for medicinal purposes. This practice however was stopped without causing conflict between the adjacent community and the Tswaing Crater Museum. There seemed to be problems with regard to releasing money for projects (on the part of government officials). The forum however plays a pivotal role in resolving these types of problems, e.g. when the museum has difficulty accessing money for a project, someone from the forum would phone up the relevant officials and the money would be released soon after this. This testifies to the good relationships that exist between the Tswaing Crater Museum staff, the forum and the community as a whole.

However it appears that some community members occasionally create problems by acting on behalf of Tswaing Crater Museum without a mandate from the museum. This has the potential of alienating important allies such as local councillors. Good relationships between the Tswaing forum, museum management and the local communities are highly valued. For example, local community members have occasionally assisted Tswaing Crater Museum by placing pressure on local councillors in order to speed up the completion of projects or the releasing of money for projects. However, unnecessary interference of community members can be problematic if they pretend to represent the museum without the latter's consent or approval. Local community members perceive themselves as custodians of Tswaing Crater Museum. However, it seems as if the museum site is more valued by local community members for its recreational value and less so for its conservation status and value.

What could have been a conflict situation was resolved. For example the community insisted that a provincial road on the premises of the crater museum be closed as criminals elements used it as an escape route to the Winterveld area. The museum complied by closing the road.

BENEFITS

Employment opportunities

Benefits in this case include employment i.e. jobs. The museum has employed +/- 200 people from the adjacent communities over the years. These people have been employed in a variety of capacities. The current staff comprises 6 permanent employees and 20 – 25 casual employees. The casual workers are however employed on a full time basis.

All the workers are from the adjacent communities. The mandate from the forum is clear – only people from the surrounding/adjacent communities may be employed. The qualifications and work experience of prospective applicants are considered for the posts that they applied for. For example the qualifications (e.g. training) as well as work experience as a security guard would be taken into consideration for an applicant who applied for the post of security guard. Forum members of ward committees often play a major role during the selection process of new employees.

Local people who found employment at the museum include the Education Manager and administration officer. The administrator who runs the office of the museum used to be a casual worker. She is from the adjacent Soshanguve community. Her rise from casual worker to office administrator seems to indicate that scope exist for employees to better their positions at the museum.

A small number of job creation opportunities also arose. For example, a total of 80 people were recently employed on the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry's Working for Water project. Some jobs e.g. catering are also outsourced to community members or women's groups, etc. The museum management is nevertheless careful and inform local people on a 'need to know' basis on whether jobs are available or not as they do not want to create unrealistic expectations. This communication is done via the forum. Although the museum strives towards employing local people, this is not always feasible or the most affordable. They are occasionally forced to employ or outsource work to outside people. For example outside funders have their own policies and insist that only local labour be used. They may therefore exert pressure on the museum to employ local people, even if the museum could get the service or labour at a cheaper rate from outsiders. Employing local people is sometimes problematic as the museum has little money and would like to employ or outsource to whomever is affordable. To resolve this problem, local people are usually asked to lower their quotes. In cases where contracts are outsourced to outside contractors, the latter are encouraged to use local labour.

Other benefits include skills development and capacity building opportunities, e.g. some people have learned how to organise fund raising events while others involved in the Tswaing Crater Museum also acquired management skills and learned how to be (more) effective negotiators.

The offering of educational services is another benefit that adjacent community members, i.e. school children and school teachers and the broader community enjoy. The education manager is responsible for promoting educational related activities at Tswaing Crater Museum. Her responsibilities further entail marketing, raising community awareness and conducting educational programmes. The educational services that are offered at the museum include guided tours for visitors (tourists) and environmental education activities for the surrounding schools. She is also responsible for the training of the guides.

Despite the fact that many community members (including the education manager) and their families directly benefit from the museum due to their employment there, the majority of people from the surrounding communities do not benefit (directly) from the museum being there. Indirect or perceived benefits however include income-generating opportunities such as making and selling beadwork and crafts at the museum and participating in cultural activities staged at the museum in order to exhibit and sell their wares there.

According to the education manager, few local people benefit directly from the museum but most people with knowledge of the museum support its livelihood and activities. She also reported that few people from surrounding communities know about the museum and its activities. This encouraged Tswaing to have a careful look at their anticipated new marketing strategy towards local communities.

COMMUNICATION

Communications with community members include channels such as Tswaing forum meetings, community publications and 'word – to – mouth' communications. In the past a local newsletter was used to communicate information to communities. There are also plans to re-introduce this medium that will involve local community members. Tswaing management regularly attends ward meetings to inform community members on events at Tswaing.

Communication at these meetings does not seem to be a problem in terms of language used. Older community members are communicated with mostly in Afrikaans whereas younger people prefer English. In bigger meetings or meetings with the broader community, provision is made for translation from Afrikaans or English to Setswana. Reportedly, community members participate freely in these meetings.

Pretoria Technicon students occasionally conduct visitor surveys that ascertain peoples experience at Tswaing. The students also assist with the compilation of a community liaison plan and are currently compiling a database of applicable service providers.

The museums' main source of advertisement is their internet website. This form of communication is regarded as a good way of communicating with the broader community, especially potential visitors or tourists. The museum does not at present have a marketing or a public relations strategy in place although Tswaing and other historical, cultural and tourism ventures circulate brochures, or include each other on their respective websites, etc. Someone visiting the Voortrekker museum for example, would thus be able to pick up a brochure on the Tswaing Crater Museum and vice versa.

THREATS TO SUSTAINABILITY

According to the museum manager Dr. De Jong, the biggest threat to the museum is a lack of visitors. He added that the museum needs visitors (feet through door) and hits on its website. In other words it is imperative that the museum is seen as a needed or valued commodity. The museum is also perceived to need a better and more effective marketing strategy in order to attract more visitors. This should in theory not be that difficult as the Tswaing Crater Museum is centrally situated and political actors like to see the benefits of putting money into it. A future aim is therefore to increase the range of products, services and activities that the museum is currently offering.

In addition to tourists, the museum currently attracts other visitors such as business people; service providers, e.g. caterers, artists, and other community members. The initial reaction of people, especially from the adjacent communities was to see the crater museum and premises as a place of

entertainment, e.g. for recreation, braais, music bashes, etc. Other community members however are interested in conserving and preserving the land for future generations. The museum management is also very keen on educating local children on conservation status and benefits of the museum to local people.

The museum receives an annual grant from government to finance conservation activities. The fees and revenue that the museum generate, is part of the overall budget and not regarded as profit. Gate fees for example are used to fund operating expenses not covered by the government grant. The museum is reportedly operating at a loss despite being funded by government. The museum management also expressed their reservations regarding the possibility of approaching the private sector, as the latter's involvement can be rather over enthusiastic at times. Private sector funders are regarded as profit driven and less interested in funding conservation, preserving pristine environments and historically or culturally significant artefacts.

The museum manager believes that the salvation for Tswaing is to secure strategic partners with institutions such as the Tswane metro and getting the public partnerships of the community public partnership right on various fronts.

FUTURE PARTNERSHIPS AND DEVELOPMENT PLANS

Ideally the Tswaing forum could set up a community development trust and raise funds to set up various projects that would benefit local communities. For example, businesses such as catering, building a community centre, etc. could be initiated and funded. Catering services could then be outsourced to these community caterers whenever there are functions at the museum.

Community members or structures are also encouraged to form strategic partnerships in line with government policies, e.g. the Working for Water project. Aid/funding is available for such projects. There are usually no strings attached to partnerships with government. Other partnerships include community public private partnerships. The private sector however is not always big investors in local projects such as stokvels for instance. Government however puts millions of rands into these types of projects.

Various new projects and activities are already on the cards for Tswaing. These include horse riding, an indigenous farming project and a muti garden. The management of some of these projects are nevertheless problematic and will need to be outsourced. Money is available for these future endeavours such as starting the traditional farm with Nguni animals, or the muti garden for example, the question however is who will manage these projects? One solution is to have or encourage the community to form a company that would outsource the management thereof. Current projects include fixing of the museum fence and the general upgrading of the infrastructure. Setting up the Tswaing Crater Museum did not require major investments in new infrastructure. The infrastructure currently in use dates back to the soda mining and the historical agricultural (proefplaas) farming activities at Tswaing. This includes buildings, roads and hiking trails. Future projects that will require new and improved infrastructure includes a Goldfields sponsored venue and the building of new venues for lekgotlas and schools. Other plans include a new visitors centre that will be funded by the Department of Public Works. The building of an upgraded bush camp is also in the pipeline.

The relationship between the Tswaing museum and government is different to the one the museum enjoys with the community representatives (i.e. the Forum). The current agreement with the government is that the museum would look after the nature conservation aspect e.g. game counting, security, etc. whereas the government emphasis would be on infrastructure, marketing and education. Apparently agreements with Tswane Metropolitan Council and Gauteng Nature

Conservation are in the pipeline, which will benefit tourism marketing and environmental education at the Tswaing Crater Museum. This seems to be a step in the right direction in creating a tourism and conservation asset valued by a large stakeholder contingent.

DISCUSSION

Tswaing presents an interesting and important lesson for involving local communities in tourism and conservation initiatives. Involving local communities at Tswaing was a difficult and arduous process. The creation of a forum for stakeholders provided an important interface through which local people and science communities could participate in the responsible management of Tswaing. The efforts and sweat of many people in opening Tswaing up to outside communities was remarkably successful under prevailing conditions and therefore particularly commendable. It has however been realised that the forum cannot be the only instrument for communication with local communities because of the large number of people that need to be reached. Innovate and more traditional ways of communicating with local communities are nevertheless being explored.

The Tswaing case study highlights the problem of community private public partnerships (cPPP) where different parties have different agendas and objectives. These objectives and agendas are in many instances incompatible and can result in the failure of cPPP ventures. For example, private sector enterprises will in most instances have foremost a profit motive that does not always fit well with conservation mandates such as those provided by the Natural Cultural Historic Museum. Caution must therefore be exercised by ventures such as Tswaing as not to partner up with institutions that would impact negatively on the long-term sustainability of initiatives.

Tswaing also experienced a problem that is not unfamiliar to most tourism ventures that reach out to local communities. This involves the perception by local communities that tourism ventures are only useful for recreational purposes. The historical and conservation status of ventures is often overlooked and not compatible with certain types of recreational activities. This can potentially lead to conflict between managers and local communities. This problem can only be rectified by investment in the continuous education of local people on the value of conservation and sites of cultural and historical significance. Only then will people realise that there are far more to ventures such as Tswaing than employment creation and recreational activities.

Tswaing has also demonstrated the importance of strong leadership in the success of tourism initiatives. Without this characteristic, Tswaing might have become one more failed initiative statistic.

Chapter 4

BOSCHPOORT, RIVERDALE AND WINNINGDALE FARMS: KROONSTAD

INTRODUCTION

The 'Kroonstad' case study formed part of a research study conducted by the HSRC's Democracy and Governance Programme on Commonages in the Free State Province. The overall aim of this research was to assist municipalities with effective management of commonages as well as to provide information useful for future economic and development planning.

This case study differs from the other five tourism case studies described in this report. The other case studies centred mainly on the sustainability of established tourism ventures whereas this case study investigates the process and complexities of establishing a new tourism initiative with participating communities. Although this case study does not fall directly within the scope of the original project, it was decided that it provided an interesting and important lesson with regard to the pitfalls of community involvement during the start up of tourism development initiatives.

The main aim of the Kroonstad case study was to determine the feasibility of initiating tourism activities on the commonage and to provide the responsible municipality with guidelines on how to develop a marketing strategy and business plan to promote the farm as a tourist attraction.

LOCALITY AND ATTRIBUTES

The Kroonstad commonage is situated on the farms Riverdale, Boschpoort and Winningdale which comprise an area of 1086 ha, situated on the south-western outskirts of Kroonstad. The farm lies on the banks of the Valsriver, a major tributary to the Vaalriver. The farms represent an interesting mix of physical and historical attributes. A number of topographical and geological features as well as fossil of large mammals can be found on the farm.

Piles of stones reminiscent of those found at the Great Zimbabwean ruins can be found on the farm Boschpoort as well as remains of houses of the original Voortrekkers that settled in the area.

During the Second World War Italian war prisoners on the Boschpoort farm carved steps out of stone that leads to the river. These steps are still visible today. An old solid stone sheep-dip and a wheel of stone can also be viewed on the farm Winningdale.

HISTORY OF THE FARM

The San people were the earliest known inhabitants in the area. Their paintings can still be found at a low cliff face near the homestead on the farm Boschpoort. Other former inhabitants include Sotho and Tswana speaking people that occupied kraals in the immediate area but whom were driven away during the Lifikane or tribal wars. The first Voortrekkers arrived and settled in the relatively unoccupied area from 1836 onwards. The first owners of land in the area were a Mr Jan Dreyer and his son in law, David Daniel Malan. They settled on the farms Boschpoort and Strydfontein. During the Anglo-Boer war a British garrison occupied the farm Strydfontein. After the war the farms were used to house a rehabilitation centre for people who were destitute after the war. A hospital was also built on the premises in 1903. Later on, the farm Strydfontein was divided into smaller farms called Riverdale, Winningdale and Leamington Hastings by among others the families Marshall and McKinnon. The English families occupied the farms until 1973 when Mr Chris Dirksen bought the Boschpoort farm. The Department of Land Affairs bought the farms Boschpoort, Riverdale and

Winningdale in 1999 from Mr Dirksen. The farms were then given to the Kroonstad municipality to administrate as commonage land.

CURRENT STATUS OF THE FARMS

The current status of the farms is that of commonage land that should benefit the 'poorest of the poor' in the Kroonstad area. A group of African farmers currently hold a 10-year lease on the farms. They are involved in a number of agricultural activities that include chicken, egg, pig, cattle, honey and crop farming. A caretaker currently occupies the main farmhouse and is responsible for the security and upkeep of the property. Unfortunately, the upkeep of the old farmhouse and garden did not take place as anticipated resulting in an overgrown garden, damaged swimming pool and tennis court and a house in need of urgent maintenance.

Despite all the farming activities a large part of the farms seem to be unoccupied and not utilised to its potential. Reportedly, some small game established by the former owner can be found on the farm Boschpoort. However, a field visit to the farm provided little indication that a significant number of game still remains on the farm.

THE PLANNING PROCESS

The Department of Land Affairs bought the farm Boschpoort for the Kroonstad municipality in 1999 for use as commonage land in aid of the development of poor people within the Maokeng district. The main directive from DLA to the Kroonstad municipality was that the farm should be used to benefit the poorest of the poor in the area. Initially, a ten-year lease was granted to a number of farmers from the nearby Maokeng township. They established a commonage management committee that mostly represents farmers and representatives of the local council. Reportedly a tourism group of people has rights to tourism activities on the farms. There is however doubts on these rights since it isn't entrenched or legally formalised similar to the 10-year lease of the group of farmers that currently utilises the land. It also seems as if there are no representatives of the tourism group on the commonage management committee that currently manages and coordinates all activities on the commonage land.

On 16 October 2002 a number of interested and affected parties were invited to attend a meeting on the possibility of establishing a tourism project on the farm. It was decided that a feasibility study would be undertaken to determine whether the commonage area is suitable to tourism activities. None of the farmers currently involved in activities on the farm were invited to this preliminary meeting. This seemed to be mistake by the convener of the meeting given that the farmers hold a 10-year lease on the land which entrench their rights to utilising the commonage as they see fit. Any future tourism activities on the land will most likely affect them. Other parties that attended the meeting were officials from the Kroonstad municipality whom initiated the meeting, researchers from the HSRC as well as a private development consultant.

During the meeting it was made clear that the HSRC is a research institution that can play a role in researching the feasibility and viability of the project, determine the terms of reference and provide guidelines for the development of a marketing strategy and business plan. The municipality was seen as being responsible for the implementation of the business plan that might flow from the research.

The research framework established during the first meeting included the following:

- To conducting interviews with possible tourism stakeholders and interested parties such as local guesthouses, museums, the local tourism bureau.

- To determine when national and provincial government departments should be part of the process.
- To take stock of the status quo on the commonage land.
- To identify beneficiaries and their representatives.
- To define the tourism product and target groups (tourists).
- To make an assessment of financial and human resource needs

Various possible sources for funding for the project were identified. Possible sources included the CPF (Community Project Fund) and funds from the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism.

The need for a project manager was also identified. The main responsibility of such a person was to oversee the implementation of the project. Ideally such a person will be someone with exceptional entrepreneurial abilities. It was nevertheless decided that the job description of such a person be informed by the research results.

During the meeting it was also emphasised that the community should be a key player in the process while it was mentioned in the same breath that consideration should be given to a possible Private Public Partnership.

A second meeting was held on 15 November 2002. All participating parties also conducted a site visit. Stakeholders included local municipal council members, officials from the municipality, community members with an interest in the project, as well as members of the CMC (Commonage Management Committee). During this meeting it was suggested that a three-phase process needed to be adopted. It included:

- Phase one: Identification and mapping as well as the status quo of interested and affected parties.
- Phase two: To investigate the feasibility of various types of tourism on the commonage land.
- Phase three: To draft a business plan.

At the end of the meeting a number of problems that needed to be dealt with became clear. The first was that of identifying beneficiaries from the local Maokeng community and Kroonstad communities. Widely differing views between ANC and DP councillors existed on who should benefit from the tourism project.

The second major stumbling block was the clarification of legal rights to the commonage land since the people involved in agricultural activities on the farms had a legally binding lease on the land for ten years. The question therefore existed regarding the possible rights and privileges of a 'tourism' group of people considering that they do not hold a lease similar to that of the agricultural group.

The farms were also zoned for agricultural use only which prompted questions on whether all or some tourism activities would fall within the boundaries of this classification.

It was unanimously decided that these issues needed to be dealt with before the start of the tourism feasibility study. To date it would seem as if the process stalled on these issues thereby severely limiting any further progress.

DISCUSSION

The research team has thus far learned a number of lessons with regard to the process of involving local communities in tourism development.

From the outset, problems were experienced on identifying community members that will benefit from any tourism activities on the farms. Considering the possible scale of a tourism project, only a handful of people would have been able to benefit. Questions were also raised on the rights of poor Kroonstad residence as opposed to residence of the Maokeng township to partake in a tourism project. The crux of the problem was that only a limited number of people could be included as beneficiaries. This was worsened by high unemployment and poverty in the Kroonstad and Maokeng areas.

A second issue that proved to be problematic is the fact that not all interested and affected parties were informed of the tourism plans from the outset of the project. This led to a situation where farmers on the land were not informed of possible future tourism activities until the second stakeholder meeting that took place in November 2002. Understandingly, farmers felt left out and expressed their reservations about the impact of tourism activities on farming.

An important issue that halted the planning process relate to the clarification of legal rights to the commonage land since the people involved in agricultural activities on the farms had a legally binding lease on the land for ten years. As mentioned earlier, the question therefore arise regarding the possible rights and privileges of a 'tourism' group of people considering that they do not hold a lease similar to that of the agricultural group.

The last issue that came to the fore was that of zoning of the farm. Though not a major issue, the question was asked whether the farm would be able to host tourism activities that would fall within the boundaries of an agricultural zoning classification. Seeing that many farm owners engage in tourism related ventures suggests that this issue should not present too much of a problem other than clarifying zoning rights of the farms in question.

Chapter 5

PAFURI RIVER CAMP (MAVHULANI)

THE CASE STUDY AREA

Pafuri river camp is situated in the north-eastern part of Limpopo Province north of the Soutpansberg mountain range in the eastern part of the Limpopo Valley. It is located on land belonging to the community of Mutale Bend, named after the Mutale River and falls within the jurisdiction of the Mutale tribal authority of the former Venda homeland. The nearest proclaimed town is Thohoyandou which is situated 80km to the south west. Masisi, a small rural administrative outpost is situated 10km to the west. The Kruger National Park is positioned five kilometre to the east of the camp. To the north lies the South African/Zimbabwean international border.

Infrastructure in the area is generally of a higher standard than the average to be found in the former Venda homeland. The R525 tar road that runs from the N1 national highway in the west to the Kruger National Park in the east provide good access to the area.

The area is nevertheless also known for its extreme poverty and high unemployment rate. The Mutale Bend community consists of an estimated 300 households. Most of the community members practice traditional subsistence agriculture in the absence of other economic opportunities. Formal employment opportunities in the area are limited to the nearby Tshikondeni coal mine.

HISTORY OF THE CAMP

The private investor that started the initiative was an employee of the former Venda Development Corporation (VDC). Due to the experience that he acquired with his former employer in developing government owned tourism camps, he had a good knowledge of locations with a high potential for tourism development in Venda.

He decided to investigate the Mutale Bend area because of its inherent though undeveloped tourism potential. This area used to be a high-risk security area because of its location near the Zimbabwean border. However, when stability returned to the region after 1994, it became an attractive area for tourism development.

An important requirement for siting the Mavhulani camp was to locate the camp as close to the Makhuya Park as possible. Other requirements included the close proximity to a tar road, an unspoiled natural area and a reliable source of fresh water. Knowledge that the area under consideration could become the centre of a large cross border Peace Park added further value to the location and was probably a decisive factor in establishing the camp at Mutale Bend.

Being a fairly isolated community, problems with identifying the Mutale Bend beneficiaries did not present any problems during negotiation, as is often the case with similar initiatives. According to the agreement, only members of Mutale Bend community would be eligible for employment at the camp, except in cases where specialised skills are needed. The investor carefully considered entertaining a profit-sharing scheme but concluded that it would not be a viable undertaking because of the inability of the camp to turn profitable for a number of years.

Formal negotiations with the tribal authority in cooperation with the Mutale Bend community were initiated early in 1996 after a possible location for a camp was identified. The investor approached Chief Mutele under whom the area resorted with his idea of a tourism camp on communal land. The chief consulted with his executive council on the matter and received their support for such and

initiative. The investor was then advised to consult with the Mutale Bend community before implementing his proposed tourism camp. A meeting was arranged between the investor and the Mutale Bend community where the community was informed of the proposed tourism camp and possible benefits and sacrifices that the community would have to make. Some community members queried the size of the land that the investor requested for the project. Most people agreed with the idea of a tourism venture on their land. A few cattle owners also questioned the loss of grazing land.

The investor did not guarantee a specific number of jobs but did undertake that he will consult with the community to fill vacancies. He attempted to be realistic and not make any promises that he would be unable to keep. After the public meeting the community in principle accepted the proposal primarily due to the creation of local employment opportunities. As part of the agreement, community members were requested to refrain from letting their cattle graze near the camp. They were also asked not to fish directly in front of the camp. In exchange, management of the camp agreed to transport local people to more favourable fishing spots along the river.

Some local politicians nevertheless raised objections against providing land to the camp. The tribal authority opposed this view by arguing that the land will be leased to the developer and that the infrastructure of the camp will be transferred to the community should the community decide to withdraw their permission to occupy (PTO). It was also the tribal authorities understanding that the camp will eventually be transferred back to the community.

Construction of the camp started late in 1996 despite the fact that numerous problems were experienced in securing a PTO from the Department of Public Works.

Initially R100 000 was perceived to be sufficient to fund the development of the camp but this turned out to be well under estimated as the total construction cost of the camp came to R500 000. This covered the cost of constructing a lapa, ten guest quarters, an office/bar as well as quarters and a working area for staff.

Structures constructed were all of a non-permanent nature. All structures were built over a two-year period using sisal and timber poles that were sourced from the investors' hardware shop at Sibasa. No local trees were used for construction purposes. Careful planning of the construction of structures meant that very little of the immediate environment and landscape had to be altered. Incidentally this also saved some costs.

Plans were, to target the more wealthy international tourists that visit South Africa to experience its wildlife and local culture. Domestic tourists account for a large part of the tourism market and could therefore not be ignored. An unexpected bonus, according to the investor, was the fact that the nearby Tshikondeni coal mine referred all visiting consultants and clients to Mavhulani, the nearest provider of accommodation. These visitors supplied a convenient regular income to Mavhulani notwithstanding the fact that they might not have been the ideal nature based tourists.

In February 2000 Mavhulani bush camp, the first and original camp site was destroyed by floods that affected most of the Limpopo Valley. In spite of being built higher than the 1 in 100 year flood line, the lapa and reception area as well as 9 of the 10 charlets were completely destroyed by the rising waters of the Mutale river. The occurrence of the flood was a great disaster to the camp in view of the fact that they did not have any insurance against this type of damage. A second disaster in the form of a fire broke out shortly after the flood. Most of what remained of the old camp was destroyed. Despite these setbacks the investor was persuaded by his son and the camp manager to invest in a new camp. The new camp took shape in the form of Pafuri river camp.

During the February 2000 floods, most of the employees except 7 were retrenched. Those retrenched received UIF for the period of their retrenchment. Seven months later all former employees were rehired when the camp re-opened for business.

CURRENT STATUS, TOURIST TYPES AND OPERATION OF THE CAMP

The site of the 'new' Pafuri river camp was 2 kilometer upstream from the original camp. The new camp was built to accommodate up to 26 people at any given time in combinations of 2 to 8 people per site. Other structures at the campsite include a lapa area, reception, pool and a pub.

People of all walks of life frequent the camp. Visitors includes among others, birdwatchers, fishermen, 4x4 enthusiasts, contractors, tourists passing through to the Kruger Park, Jhb yuppies over long weekends as well as local people from Messina, Louis Trichardt and Polokwane. Activities for tourists include local trips to Makuya Park, the pot holes, the big tree, local ruins, bushmen paintings, the Venda forest, fishing, bird watching, mountain biking and absailing. The camp offers tours such as bird watching, scenic tours and a popular local shebeen tour which include visiting a Mozambican venue. The ratio of local to foreign tourists that visits the camp is approximately 80% local to 20% foreign.

Future plans are to market the camp extensively to backpackers. Especially foreign backpackers are regarded as fairly well off and quite content in spending money on adventure type activities such as absailing and rafting. They are also in the managers own words "an easy crowd to please" in comparison with other guests that might be more demanding. Reportedly, a newly planned border post between South Africa and Mozambique in the Pafuri region will place the camp in a good geographical position to attract backpackers.

MARKETING THE CAMP

Pafuri camp is not actively marketed and relies mostly on word of mouth although they advertise themselves by means of a website that attracts the attention of especially foreign tourists. An article on the camp that featured in 'Retreats for the Soul' magazine was published a number of years ago. Pafuri camp is also listed in the AA travel guide and a book titled Map Dynamics.

The camp initially marketed themselves to bird watch clubs although some enthusiasts considered the camp accommodation as too expensive. However, the marketing campaign did manage to attract some birding enthusiasts though it was not considered particularly successful.

Actively marketing Pafuri camp was reported as being very expensive and a big burden on overhead costs. In the words of its manager, "It is sort of a catch 22 situation, you need to market to get people here but you need to have people here to be able to market."

BENEFITS TO THE COMMUNITY

Economic benefits to the Mutale Bend community comprised the fulltime employment of 13 to 15 community members on a permanent basis. The first employees received on the job training in an informal way. Experienced old staff currently trains new staff members. A new trainee cook from the local community receives personal training from the manager.

The community also received a yearly lump sum of R800 for the lease of the land. This amount is set out by National Government. An additional amount of R1500 was paid over to the Mutele tribal authority annually as a gesture of goodwill. This practice was put on hold with the destruction of the camp in 2000.

Although not part of the original agreement, the investor planned to build a local arts and craft centre along the tarred road to the Kruger Park. This was pushed on to the back burner due to the costs involved in building a new camp in 2000. Plans are nevertheless once again on the cards after recent talks between the investor and the Tribal Authority. It is envisaged that the centre will benefit most communities within the bigger Mutale area. It is foreseen that community members will manage the centre. Currently, baskets and place mats manufactured by local women are bought by the camp and sold to guests. There is also a craftsman that supplies traditional drums to the camp. Local women are occasionally requested to perform traditional dances to foreign visitors. Visitors have also regularly expressed their interest in visiting and consulting local sangomas.

THREATS TO SUSTAINABILITY

One of the main threats to the sustainability of the camp is not receiving enough visitors to sustain the camp financially. Due to high media advertising costs the camp is only advertised on the internet. Advertisement by word-of-mouth also plays a significant role in attracting new visitors.

The current negative economic and political situation in Zimbabwe also had some effect on the camp. Reportedly, the number of foreign tourists that travel to the Kruger Park from Zimbabwe have declined.

Another factor that may threaten the sustainability of the camp, is relatively low wages being paid to employees due to financial difficulty. Some staff members are therefore considering leaving the camp to seek better paying employment elsewhere. Relations between the Mutale Bend community and the camp might be dented should this happen.

Importantly, the camp is very dependant on the goodwill of local people towards it and its visitors. This creates a safe and secure environment which is necessary to attract local and foreign tourists.

Other risks relate to the pristine natural environment that attracts visitors to the area. Possible environmental risks include among others local environmental degradation such as deforestation and soil erosion due to natural population growth that encourages increased usage of natural resources in impoverished areas. Being constructed from mostly wood and sisal, the camp is also extremely vulnerable to veld fires.

DISCUSSION

Pafuri river camp, previously known as Mavhulani has been in existence since 1996. After negotiation and consultation with the Mutale Tribal Authority and the Mutale Bend community the investor constructed a camp facility that was damaged during the 2000 floods in the Limpopo Valley. This reflects in short the major obstacles that needed to be overcome in order to continue with their operations. It also shows commitment from both the investor and the local Mutale Bend towards the sustainability of the initiative.

The relationship between Pafuri camp and the Mutale Bend community seem to be fairly good although somewhat unequal. The community has very little say in the day-to-day management of the camp. Though not the ideal, this type of relationship is not unique and seems to be the norm with local community involvement in comparable tourism initiatives.

The benefits derived by the community are mostly limited to the employment of 13 people. With this the investor kept to his side of the agreement. The investor has also committed himself in assisting local artists by offering to construct an arts and crafts exhibition facility next to the road

for marketing arts and crafts to tourists on route to the Kruger National Park. Such a facility will be owned and managed by occupying artists and craftsmen.

As with many other small type tourism ventures, Pafuri has to deal with a number of threats to the sustainability of the camp. The primary threat is that of financial viability which in turn impact on a whole range of other issues such as levels of staff satisfaction, marketing of the camp and insurance against disasters such as fire and flooding. Marketing the camp in an economic though effective way is absolutely key to the economic sustainability of the camp in the long run.

Other threats of a lesser nature are that of environmental degradation which does not seem to be a problem that faces the camp in the immediate future.

The existence of the camp has not made a significant difference to the lives of people at Mutale Bend community with the exception of those employed at the camp. Ruling out profit sharing left a gap where the remainder of the community did not reap any benefits from the initiative. Other possible options might be explored for the benefit of the wider community. One example is the levelling of a small bed levy that can be used to finance community projects that will benefit more people. This will imply more immediate and tangible returns to the wider community. Another option might be a discreet invitation to guests for donations that will benefit community projects.

Providing more benefits to the local community will have its own spin offs. Not only will community members view the camp in a more positive light, but the camp will be able to market itself as a tourism outfit that attempts to make a difference to the lives of poor local people.

Chapter 6

THE PILANESBERG NATIONAL PARK (PNP)

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY AREA

The Pilanesberg National Park (PNP) was founded in 1979, within one of the homeland states, Bophuthatswana (commonly known as Bop). Situated 150km north west of Pretoria in the North West Province, this 55 000ha National Park is located in a unique geological setting, that of an extinct volcano 30km in diameter and 100km in circumference that erupted some 1200 years ago (Collinson & Magome, 1998). More correctly it is referred to as the Pilanesberg Alkali Ring Complex (Brett, 1989) which refers to the series of concentric alkali rings mountains which remain today. According to geological records the Pilanesberg alkali ring complex is the second largest in the world after the Lovozero complex found in Russia (Brett, 1989). The unusual geology together with a reliable underground water source provides a wide variety of landscapes and associated vegetation communities. Because of this, the area has the potential to support a much greater diversity of species than any other similar sized game reserve in Southern Africa (PNP Management Plan, 2000). Further, its potential for supporting rare and endangered species such as black rhino, roan, sable, tsessebe, foot-and-mouth free buffalo and wild dogs is also particularly high which adds to the Parks' very high conservation value (PNP Management Plan, 2000).

PARK MANAGEMENT HISTORY

While the park was only formalised in 1979, the University of Potchefstroom that was responsible for the regional planning report, first highlighted the concept of forming a national park, in 1969. It was observed that the area had low grazing and agricultural potential and therefore the creation of a nature reserve would be the most suitable land use option in terms of economic and conservation benefits (Brett, 1989). Based on the findings of this report the Pilanesberg National Park initiative was lead by the Bophuthatswana (Bop) President, Lucas Mangope, who decided to promote conservation and tourism with formation of the 55 000ha park¹.

In terms of broader global conservation perspectives the reserve was also established in accordance with the conservation concepts of the then World Conservation Strategy as advocated by the IUCN, UNEP and WWF (Keenan, 1984). More importantly it was also quoted as being the first game reserve in Africa to have adopted the basic philosophy that 'nature conservation was to be utilised to the benefit of the local population' (Keenan, 1984, p.6-7). This pledge was firmly imbedded in the initial park management plans where it was stated that the purpose of the park was to be dual in function 1) for conservation purposes and 2) also providing a basis for the direct material benefits for the communities surrounding the park in terms of employment, income from gate fees and hunting and protein from animal products (Keenan, 1984). Collinson & Magome (1998) point out that this was revolutionary given the apartheid political setting, which excluded communities in the establishment and management of protected areas. This fact helped to put the PNP at the forefront of international CWM initiatives.

Inclusion of the community in the reserve management was also within the Bop Governments interests. Initially only 35 000ha were considered for the PNP while a large portion of the remaining land that was proposed for incorporation was community owned and was used predominantly for subsistence farming. The only way this land could be appropriated, would entail

¹ 46 000ha of the area to be included in the park was state land, purchased by the then Department of Bantu Affairs from white farmers, a further 8500ha belonged to the Bakgala tribe and the remaining 1000ha belonged to private landowners (Keenan, 1984).

forced removals (Brett, 1989). The Bop Government realised that without negotiations and community involvement, they would be faced with even greater resistance in the development of the PNP and Sun City complex. It is not purely speculative to believe the Bop Government had no choice but to include the local community in the establishment and management of the park if they wanted to increase the area to 55 000ha.

Yet, despite the fact that the 'principle of inclusion' was firmly imbedded in the park management plans, there was a strong feeling of exclusion and dissatisfaction expressed by the local communities. Bop Conservation Director Hector Magome and Chief Park warden Roger Collinson, both of whom were closely involved in the early days of the PNP establishment, noted that rather than the Park consciously excluding the community, it became 'engrossed in developing and managing the park and, to some extent, basked in the glories of their international recognition for their achievements' for its "community focus". 'Thus the park staff and government officials had by default left the local communities out of their strategic planning' (Collinson & Magome, 1998, p 2).

The Keenan Report (1984) accurately documented the community resistance prior to the establishment of PNP (and Sun City) and then during the first few years after its establishment. Only once the results of the Keenan social survey were made public knowledge were efforts made to improve the community relations between the people and the park. These eventually did improve for three main reasons.

- 1) Communication between park and people could now, at least be facilitated on an ad hoc basis through Dan Ntsala (a Community Development Organisation member and employee of the PNP).
- 2) The PNP encouraged the establishment of a community development organisation (CDO), that would function to identify development projects in the community and to administer the community funds accrued from the park, which until this time had never been distributed.
- 3) One of the great strengths of the park was the operation of an extremely successful environmental education centre that was established in 1981. This has been highlighted by many of those interviewed, as a key success story of PNP and will be discussed in detail.

TOURISM AND THE TOURISM POTENTIAL OF PNP

The tourism industry in South Africa has grown markedly since the PNP's establishment, not simply in terms of the visitor numbers, but also in the variety of activities that are provided. The PNP is an attractive draw for tourists for a number of reasons; it is in close proximity to Gauteng (Pretoria and Johannesburg 1.5 –2.5 hr drive away), it is malaria-free and it is one of the more 'affordable' parks in comparison to many others which have become highly exclusive. But other factors can be attributed to this growth.

Primarily, political changes in the country have made travel to South Africa more acceptable thus exposing Pilanesberg to a much greater international market. Secondly, the introduction of lions transformed the park into a 'Big Five' destination (offering lions, leopards, elephants, rhino and buffalo). These changes and the resulting increase in the number of Park visitors are evidenced by the increased demand for game viewing and other activities and the size and number of lodges.

Hunting is one such activity that was introduced (though never officially proclaimed as this is not considered to be an acceptable activity in a National Park). This hunting is aimed at the high-paying international tourist and is operated by an outside concessionaire (PNP management plan, 2001). With the introduction of the Big Five into the Park, hunting activities have also changed focus to the big game. Interestingly, approximately half of the income generated by the park comes from hunting; without it, the Park would run into financial difficulties. This becomes more relevant

considering that park budgets are being cut every year, forcing parks to operate as commercial institutions and diversify the activities that are offered.

Other peripheral products such as adventure activities, quad-biking, and elephant riding have also resulted in diversification of the tourist product. These peripheral activities have been largely offered in association with the Sun City entertainment complex. While the 'cultural product' has not been extensively exploited, there is a general increase in the awareness and the associated tourist potential. Mankwe Game Drive Safaris now offers a cultural heritage game drive where various historical and points of cultural interest remain the focus of the trip. There have also been discussions around the development of a overnight cultural facility site in the south-east of the park.

The popularity of lodges has also increased with higher occupancy levels together with the development of more lodges over the last 10 years. As a result of the visitor increase, developers have realised the economic potential of tourism in the area and there are almost monthly requests from developers for lodge and hotel construction in the PNP. PNP management are aware of these pressures and realise that this requires establishing a fine balance between conservation and socio-economic objectives.

All the accommodations in Pilanesberg are however essentially peripheral and is managed by outside concessionaries. There are 5 lodges and campsites that provide for a variety of accommodation types². Around 4000 people can be accommodated in the lodges and campgrounds overnight, while neighbouring Sun City can accommodate approximately the same number. In order to adhere to the park management plan of 2000, which is to keep accommodation development peripheral, three camps inside the park were bulldozed in 2002. Further developments include the building of a 200 bed upmarket hotel, the Ivory Tree Lodge to compensate for this 'loss' in accommodation. There are also proposals to expand hotel accommodation at Manyane and Bakgatla camps with the addition of at least a further 200 beds each. A 1700ha farm bordering the park is currently being linked to the PNP, which will have a traversing agreement with the park. Two, forty bed lodges are planned for this development.

Quantifying the impacts that these developments have on the tourism product is difficult to determine, and is usually monitored through complaints that parks management receive. According to Park management, these have been few and are generally related to lack of game sightings which is not necessarily a result of the increase in the number of tourists. There have been very few complaints related to the density of tourists. To date, no attempt has been made to determine the 'tourist' carrying capacity of the Park and there is no policy aimed at limiting visitor numbers. However, management are considering a way to limit the number of vehicles entering the park by introducing higher tariffs for self-drive vehicles. In this way, visitors will be encouraged to use a 'park and ride' facility thus maximising the passenger per vehicle ratio and the reducing the amount of traffic.

Park Management is apparently aware of the increasing pressures on the Park system, which is reflected in the Park Management Plan 2000 in which an adaptive environmental management approach is taken. According to the PNP ecologist Mandy Momberg, most types of ecological evaluating systems are effectively in operation so when a problem is identified it is easier to address. Tourism will always have some negative environmental impacts, but within the boundaries of the Park, effective management is theoretically feasible.

²

The Legacy hotel group manages and own the more upmarket Kwa Maritane Bakubung lodge and Tshukudu an exclusive bush camp. Golden Leopards resort is the tourism branch of the NW parks and tourism board and manages, the Manyane and Bakgatla Camps which cater for camping, caravanning, hotel and time-share accommodation

Sun City

Initially, the marketing of the Sun City entertainment complex was heavily reliant on its casino facilities which were banned elsewhere in the country during the apartheid government. However, post 1994 the Sun City marketing strategy was forced to change to meet the competition from other now-legal casino developments. It was for this reason they initially encouraged the PNP to introduce lion into the Park. Sun City sought to use the 'Big Five' attraction in the PNP and the accessibility to nature as a new marketing approach. This new approach worked both ways as it encouraged more tourists to both the PNP and the Sun City complex.

It was also after this shift that Sun City began to consider its social responsibility and started offering enhanced employment opportunities for the local communities, previously relegated to menial jobs (Honey, 1999). Today, Sun City is the largest employer in the area (apart from the mines). According to Spencely and Seif (2002), 66% of those employed by Sun City come from within 20km of the complex. There are an estimated 1600 regular employees while the number of casual employees amounts to about 4000; the local percentage is unknown.

The Bakubung community relies largely on Sun City for employment in contrast to the Bakgatla and Baleema who are comparatively wealthy with mining rights. Sun City allocates 1.5 percent of profit after tax on Corporate Social Investment (CSI) initiatives, all within 45 km of the resort. To date, they have financed R8 million of local infrastructure projects such as classrooms, vegetable gardens and early learning centres (Spencely & Seif, 2002). More recently, R500 000 was donated to the Pilanesberg Wildlife Trust. While these achievements may seem impressive, it was the political climate that forced Sun City to become socially responsible. While Sun City, has a major economic impact for the local communities, the potential to increase this impact could be enhanced if they supported small enterprises through their substantial purchasing budgets.

Financing

The PNP, the Madikwe Game Reserve and the Kruger National Park are a few national parks in South Africa that are financially sustainable. Currently, the PNP receives an annual Government grant of R11 million, most of which goes to park employee salaries. A further R14 million generated through tourism is used for the management of the reserve. Matsima Makakgala (Park Manager of NWPTB) believes the financial position is much less positive. He estimates that the PNP only 'breaks even' at best and is usually short of R1 million.

Any profits realised, are however, channelled back into NWPTB and further distributed to other smaller reserves in the province. This policy along with the fact that budgets are continually being reduced provides no incentive for Park Management to generate surplus income only to be absorbed back into the NWPTB and applied elsewhere. Despite this, PNP Management realise that the park 'has to' fulfil in the long-term sustainability and management of all the reserves in the North West. It is also clear that the notion that parks should pay for themselves applies here.

THE ROLE OF THE COMMUNITY

As the political dynamics and land ownership characteristics of the three tribes differ, so too has the establishment of PNP affected them in different ways, therefore they will be discussed separately.

The Bakgatla ba Kgafela (The tribe of the Vervet Monkey - kgabo)

As already mentioned the Bakgatla tribe is the largest of all tribes with 33 villages falling within the Bakgatla Tribal Area. As a result they own much of the land in the vicinity of the PNP and also

benefit from their platinum mining rights. Stemming from the apparent 'amicable and good faith' agreement with the Bop Government (Collinson & Magome, 1998), the tribe agreed to relinquish their grazing rights of the 8500ha that they owned and relocate the portion of their community living within the proposed park to areas outside (Collinson & Magome, 1998 & Honey, 2000). In compensation the Bop Government agreed on the following:

- The tribe would lend its land in the Pilanesberg to the government and that both surface and subterranean property right would remain the property of the Bakgatla (Keenan, 1984)
- the allocation of two nearby state farms for community grazing;
- an unspecified percentage of the park entry ticket sales;
- reimbursement for costs incurred while dismantling existing homes;
- the right to have access to family graves in the park;
- the right to enter the park to collect medicinal plants, thatching grass and firewood;
- the appointment of Chief Pilane (the Bakgatla chief after which the park is named) to the Park's Board of Trustees. (Collinson & Magome, 1998).

However according to the Keenan (1984) and Brayshaw reports (1999), the tribal authority in both instances confirmed that this agreement was never put into writing. In 2003 the situation is no different and this still remains an unresolved issue. Furthermore, the lack of formalisation contributed to the ongoing misunderstandings, dissatisfaction and resentment that has been expressed over the years and is still voiced today, due to the fact that the park management and Government failed to fulfil essential aspects of the agreement. These failures include land compensation, reimbursement of resettlement expenses, access to the park and a percentage of the annual ticket sales (Collinson & Magome, 1998).

Further, according to Chief Nyalala Pilane, much of the land that was allocated to the Bakgatla for grazing purposes was in unsuitable locations. In order to 'keep the peace' within the community, the Bakgatla Tribal Authority has had to utilise Tribal funds to buy additional, more suitable land for the community on which to graze their cattle. Finally, any due monetary compensation for removals has also remained unrealised simply because records are missing. This will be discussed under 'The Actors and Outcomes' section.

The Bakubung-ba Ratheo (The tribe of the Hippo)

The Bakubung tribe, with a population of approximately 15 000, also own land in the PNP. They became resident in the area (Ledig village) in the 1960s as a result of their forced removal by the South African Authorities from Boons Area, approximately 70km south of the PNP. To facilitate their resettlement, the Bop Government bought three farms (Ledig, Koedoesfontein and Wydhoek) contributing to 4500ha in 1966. The rights of this land was eventually transferred into the name of the tribe in 1981 (Keenan, 1984). With the establishment of PNP, however, the portion of this land within the Park boundaries was 'reclaimed' by the Government. The Government agreed to compensate the Bakubung by transferring an equivalent area of land to their name. According to the Keenan Report, the land that was offered was far from satisfactory as it was far from Ledig Village and not suitable for grazing (Keenan, 1984). Moreover, the report concluded that only those Bakubung living in areas to be included in the park were informed of the plan.

According to Prince Monnakgotla (son of Chief Monnakgotla), the acting chief of the Bakubung, the issues around the land ownership are still disputed. Park Management claims that this land was sold to Bop Parks during the consolidation of the reserve hence, the Bakubung have no basis for their recent claims regarding land that was once theirs. On the other hand, Prince Monnakgotla stressed that while it could be said that the land was 'sold', there are no records of such payments or transfer of land rights.

Looking more closely at the issues around the Bakubung community, it is evident that they are far more politically motivated and are clearly linked to a deep rift that emerged in the years prior to and during the forced removals of the Bakubung from Boons in the 1960's. The Keenan Report documents the emergence of two dissenting factions within the tribe during this time. It is apparent from this that the issues around land ownership and authority in Ledig during the incorporation of the Bakubung land into the Park resulted in what many residents had referred to as the 'reign of corruption, embezzlement, theft and intimidation' (Keenan, 1984 p 32-36). The current Tribal Authority of the Bakubung does not take issue with the land being incorporated into Pilanesberg Park, but rather as a problem with the former Bop Government and the current government Dept. of Land Affairs. It is very difficult to verify claims made in this respect; many of those interviewed in the area indicated that the problem is unlikely to be easily resolved as new tribal officials ignorant of actions in the past, have replaced those involved in the corruption of funds.

While these inter-tribal issues have little to do with the establishment of the Park, it is clear that the division or conflict within the tribe has played a major role in the attitudes and perceptions towards the Park (Keenan, 1984). Currently, the Bakubung appear more concerned with how the Sun City complex can assist their community. (Scif & Spencely, 2002)

The Batlhako-ba Baleema (The tribe of the Wild dog)

The Baleema tribe, like the Bakubung, are a much smaller tribe primarily concentrated in Malawi Village on the western side of the PNP. They too claim ownership of land in the PNP, but their claims are hindered by a lack of documentation of this land ownership issue and confusion on how much land may be involved. It can be assumed that the amount is less than that of the Bakubung. This certainty is not to discredit or imply that these claims are untrue. Rather, it highlights the fact that smaller landowners, whether private or communal, have been 'neglected' when land claims issues are addressed and often excluded from benefits gained from the use of their land in the Park.

According to Chief Leema of the Baleema Tribe and Cornelius Molwane, a private land owner in the area, the Leema tribal land was incorporated into the reserve and a once-off gratuity payment was made to the tribe during the consolidation of the park in 1979. There was again no formalisation of agreements with the Bop Government at the time.

Other community structures

The establishment of the Bakgatla Community Development Organisation (BCDO), prior to the change of Government in 1994, was encouraged by the PNP as it was seen as vehicle through which better park-community relations could be established. The CDO would also take responsibility for the community revenue that was generated by the PNP and decide how it would be used. The BCDO reduced the time taken for the payment process by eliminating the need to process funds through a Government Trust. The BCDO was recognized as fulfilling a very valuable community function, but was disbanded after five years. The reasons for which are complex and will be discussed in detail in the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve section. Since the disbandment of the BCDO there have been attempts to re-establish the organisation, all of which have failed from a lack of motivation and willingness to take on the responsibility amongst the community.

While attempts to resurrect the CDO have been unsuccessful, in 1998 the Traditional Leaders of the Mankwe/Pilanesberg area, decided to take responsibility for the economic revival of the area, focussing on employment creation, empowerment and capacity building (Oelefse, 2003). The result was the establishment of the Mankwe Development Forum (MDF), a community representative body for the Mankwe district that will focus on employment creation through economic growth. Core to its 'bottom-up' economic development strategy is the philosophy that it should be

established on a joint venture basis i.e. with the private sector involvement and that it be managed by a local black empowerment company (Oelefse, 2003). Tourism has been highlighted as one such economic generator. All tourism projects form part of the Tourism Development Strategy which is managed and operated by a community empowerment company that implements a number of anchor projects such as Bakgatla Heritage Centre, luxury game lodges, etc³. It is planned that within the next five years the MDF will be completely community operated and managed. At this stage, it is difficult to comment on the success of the operation. However, it is interesting to note that only two of those interviewed mentioned the MDF or knew anything about it. This may simply be that the planning phase has only recently been finished.

Apart from the TA and the MDF there are no other formal community structures that can liaise with the PNP, aside from key community individuals, many of which were once part of the former CDO. Grace Masuku is one such example (retired school principal) and is a strong voluntary motivator behind the community through a number of community-initiated projects such as the Indigenous Knowledge course she runs. She acts as a facilitator tapping into the skills of a specific community, for example pottery, vegetable gardening and encourages development of their skills through the establishment of small enterprises.

The range of actors is clearly broad, both place-based and non place-based, all with both common and different objectives. These range from being purely conservation-focused where the consideration of the local community is only seen as means toward achieving this goal. Others are purely economic and developmental in focus where the participation of the community is seen more as a policy requirement. The communities' goals are fairly consistent with one another in achieving equitable economic and social upliftment through securing land use rights, land ownership and increasing their livelihoods through tourism-related activities. Interestingly conservation in the two aforementioned examples was never raised as a goal.

Goals and objectives clearly have outcomes and typically these are linked to 'some form' of benefit. Gössling (2003) distinguishes between groups of actors that profit from tourism either directly or indirectly and those which receive no benefit. Within the groups that do profit, further distinction can be made depending on the degree to which they benefit or profit. Following on from this it is important to explore the outcomes of the actors' involvement. Essentially this entails exploring who and what benefits from investing in such a tourism-conservation initiative.

Actors were asked to list the benefits and who they considered the beneficiaries from the PNP to be. As would be expected answers were varied, these are listed below:

- Conservation of the environment
- Protection of endangered species
- The eleven other parks in the NW province that are dependent on the funds generated by PNP
- The community in terms of direct and indirect employment
- The private sector i.e. the concessionaires
- The North West Province in terms of income and draw-card capacity as a result of the PNP
- South African citizens in terms of the accessibility and affordability to a rich wildlife area (in contrast to Madikwe and other national parks that remain exclusive because of high pricing)
- Sun City receiving more visitors because of the presence of the PNP

³ The idea is this Economic Development Strategy will be the driver of the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for the Mankwe District. The other economic 'pillars' that have been identified include mining, agriculture, industry, community development and infrastructure

- School children in the area as a result of the previously very effective environmental education programmes that were in operation until the change of government in 1994.

Varied as these opinions may be, all the actors interviewed agreed that the community has not been benefiting as it should be and that they were more passive than active beneficiaries. It should also be noted that community members within the villages expressed varied opinions. Generally, most felt that there had been no benefits. Those that thought they had benefited gave the examples of employment, access to firewood collection and the assistance with the building of schools.

Exploring the benefits to the community

Considering the pro-poor tourism angle taken in this study, it is therefore appropriate to explore further, how the community does or does not benefit. Brayshaw (1999), distinguishes between tangible and intangible benefits. Tangible benefits include economic benefits such as a percentage of the annual turn-over of PNP received by the community, employment opportunities, small business development and access to natural resources, which in the case of PNP is fairly limited. Intangible benefits on the other hand involve indirect benefits such as participation in management and decision making (Brayshaw, 1999). Ashley et al. (2000) note that while tangible benefits are no doubt very important, in terms of the pro-poor tourism strategy and stresses that assessing the livelihood impacts of tourism is not simply a matter of counting jobs and wage incomes. In other words the tangible benefits should not be the sole focus, more so, Ashley et al. (2000) advocate for the mechanisms which enable benefits to trickle down to the community. These mechanisms are essentially the intangible benefits, which should include capacity building and training; participation in decision making; empowerment and social and cultural benefits.

Tangible Benefits

Tangible benefits can also be commonly linked with a more passive participatory approach to the management of natural resources. The IIEE (1994), note that the passive approach has involved compensation schemes, substitution of traditional techniques and management practices and environmental education programmes. The policy making, planning and management however has remained centralised and dominated by the national agencies. Bearing these observations in mind, the tangible benefits to the communities affected by PNP will be discussed.

PROFIT SHARING

According to Adams et al (2003), 'the profit sharing of monetary turnover of tourism initiatives is important in maintaining good relations between communities and tourism initiatives. This gives the community an incentive to support the activities of the tourism initiative, as its success will have direct implications for the community.' This is of direct relevance to the PNP seeing that financial remunerations were promised to the communities in the original agreements.

The Bakgatla tribe have always been considered to be the most directly affected community given they are the largest tribal landowners and have endured relocation for the establishment of the PNP. In compensation for the 'lease'-use of the 8500ha, they were promised a percentage of the annual gate takings. Despite the promise to give an annual percentage of the Park entry fees to the community, the Bakgatla tribe only received the first payment before the new dispensation (1994), approximately 10 years after the Park had been formalised. This payment has been viewed by many, as simply a 'knee-jerk' response from President Mangope to avoid the Bop Government and the Pilanesberg communities coming under immediate scrutiny. However it is difficult to trace the 'agreement' and the respective payments that have since been made to date, as records appear to be missing or unattainable. This does not necessarily imply that payments have not been made but

rather, once again highlights the lack of transparency and lack of accessibility to information that should be available to the public. There remains much uncertainty regarding the 10% of the 'agreed' takings - whether that be 10% of the Park turn-over or 10% of the gate takings. The difference between these two collections would be quite significant and to further misunderstanding. Similarly, the Balcema tribe still claim to own land in the north of the park.

Traceable records of payment go as far back as 1998, where a payment of R179 000 was made (Brayshaw, 1999). According to Sagmeeda Hendriks, the financial controller of NWPTB, the records that were available went only as far back 1999. One lump sum payment has been made in April 2002 for two financial years (1999-2000 and 2000-2001) for the amount of R813 000. Apparently a further payment is expected later this year 2003, for the financial years 2001-2002 and 2002-2003. This amount is expected to be in the region of R1 million. Earlier records of payments are not available. However it would appear that payments were made from 1994 even if they were not necessarily on a yearly basis. According to Park officials, every year there would be an annual presentation ceremony of the cheque to the Bakgatla Community. Also, it was at this time that the BCDO was established, in part, to manage the community funds generated from the Park.

EMPLOYMENT

The number of jobs created through the actual management of the park is almost negligible in terms of the total immediate community population (~70 000), the employment opportunities that have been created indirectly through the numerous concessionaires has been far more substantial. However the PNP does have a strong gender slant toward women, for example 12 of the 14 gate attendants are women. While the employment opportunities created by the lodges and camps are a direct result of the presence of the PNP, there are also a number of additional tourism facilities and services that create further employment opportunities that are indirectly linked to the presence of the PNP. These include the Sun City complex and other services such as laundry and security upon which the tourism industry depends.

	No. Employees	Percentage local
PNP Management	67	55%
Manyane Camp⁴	90	90%
Bakgatla Camp	56	60%
Kwa Maritane Lodge	160	90%
Bakubung Lodge	219	85%
TOTAL	536	average 76%

Table 1: Employment opportunities

According to the Park Community Liaison Officer, Ephraim Morei, whenever there are any tenders in the PNP for various services, construction etc. the Tribal Offices are notified and the community is given the chance to provide the service. The employment created through the spin-offs of the park is almost impossible to calculate, but certainly contribute to the livelihoods of thousands.

⁴

A full-time starting wage such as that which would be paid to a cleaner or waitress is between R1200 -R1400 per month

INFORMAL SECTOR ACTIVITIES

Bah and Goodwin (2003) have shown that consistent local sourcing of products and services such as food has the potential to generate sustainable, long-term, reliable markets, and thus generate increased employment and improved local revenues. This fits in closely with one of the more recent policies of DEAT, supporting the establishment of SMMEs through the Tourism Enterprise Programme (TEP) (Rogerson, 2003). Within the PNP a number of informal income generating activities have been instigated as a result of tourism in the PNP. These have not proven to be reliable income sources for most of those involved, mainly given the ad hoc nature of some of the activities, lack of formal structures to support them, lack of management capacity and physically limiting factors such as access to water.

Local women catering for events – The empowerment of local women from the community has been facilitated on a number of occasions by the PNP. These women have been contracted to prepare traditional food for events such as the 20th year Pilanesberg Park celebration in 2000 and the Heritage Day celebrations in 2002 and 2003. According to Grace Masuku (retired Principal and community projects facilitator), the net profit from the 20th year celebration event was in the region of R60 000, which they all benefit from. Similarly members of the Bakubung community present traditional dance ceremonies for visitors to the Bakubung lodge on request.

Local vegetable production and supply to the lodges is so far very limited. There is only one hydroponics lettuce farm that provides Sun City, which only employs 3 locals. Other community members that are involved in vegetable gardening supply local community outlets only. While there is potential for more vegetable gardens, the main limiting factors are the lack of water and the marketing capacity. Lodges agree that they would be willing in most instances to use local suppliers provided that they are reliable.

Curio and local craft selling facilities located at the main Manyane entrance to the PNP, are a highly 'debatable' economic and cultural benefit. It has been described as a 'good idea that was badly done'. According to the PNP, provision was made for these no-rental curio selling facilities at the request of the community, to compete with a lone hut set up for the one and only curio vendor, a Zimbabwean. However to date these thatched lock-up huts have not been used apart from the Zimbabwean and two other vendors that come to sell 3 – 4 times/week. The reasons for this 'white elephant' vary between community representatives. According to Kobedi Pilane the community felt that they were never consulted, others such as the Zimbabwean curio seller says that the community is not aware of the facility and also that no thought was given to how art and craft sellers living further afield would be able to afford daily transport to and from the site. Whatever the reason, the project has clearly been a waste of money and emphasises a certain lack of effective community consultation. Occasionally the PNP may also commission some local artists to produce souvenirs for an event or for conferences.

Car washing services at the main Park camps are a more recent idea that has been brought forward by some community members. This has the potential to be a reliable and sustainable form of employment as many of the roads in the park are unsurfaced meaning dust is a common problem for cars. One of the more successful local enterprises that has been fuelled indirectly by tourism are the local 'taxi' services that provide transport to many of those that are employed in and around the park.

These scant and poorly developed examples of community enterprises highlight a general consensus in community-based tourism enterprise development in South Africa. There is a limited understanding and awareness of tourism and marketing, a lack of capacity and skills in communities for tourism-related businesses and enterprise management (cf. Rogerson, 2003) and an unreliability

in standards. These combine to create unacceptable risks for concessionaires that may wish to utilise the services that communities provide. However, this does not imply that those projects discussed do not have potential, but rather, that there is a need for capacity and management training together with funding opportunities that could 'kick start' such projects.

NATURAL RESOURCE USE

The Keenan Report (1984), investigated the extent to which natural resource use has been affected by the establishment of the PNP. These included the loss of grazing land, water supply, access to firewood, herbs and medicinal plants, thatching grass, access to crop growing areas, wild fruits, hunting, clay and access to ancestors graves. The loss of grazing land and access to firewood were the two most significant losses. Apart from occasional firewood collection, natural resource use was rarely brought up as a grievance in the interviews. This may be attributed to the fact that it is rarely an activity conducted today. As Gössling (2003) has shown 'tourism can encourage the abandonment of traditional- resource use systems'. This should not necessarily be viewed negatively. This can be reflected in change in perspectives of natural resource use from the time when Keenan conducted his study in 1984 to today.

While it is difficult to say whether this change in resource use is attributed to tourism development or simply the modernisation process, it can be attributed to a number of factors, some of which can certainly be linked to the tourism development in the area. Examples such as the use of fuelwood illustrate this, while it is still ranked high as an important natural resource that is used by the community, it is not as crucial to the community survival as it was in the 1980s as 95% of all villages are now electrified (IDP, Moses Kotane Municipality, 2001). Thus in 2003, while it is still considered an important resource, simply because it is available at no cost, it is not perceived as an important issue as it was in 1984 when people were more dependent on fuelwood. Fuelwood collection in the reserve is now made available for funerals only, as wood resources in the Park were being over-utilised. Community members wanting to collect fuelwood can do so once a letter has been submitted by the Tribal Authority. They are then assisted by PNP with the collection of the wood.

Similarly, the use of medicinal plants is restricted to a few herbalists who are given access to the Park whenever the need arises. Thatching grass, is another resource that is only used by only a few individuals as traditional thatched roofs have mostly been replaced by tin and other materials. Other resources such as clay are also rarely used. All of the above natural resources can be accessed by the community through the Park Community Liaison Officer. The harvesting of game however, is not permitted. Game that is culled for park management purpose can be bought from local butcheries outside the park. Occasionally the park donates game meat to the community for important celebratory-type functions. This does not appear to be an issue as it was never brought up in any of the interviews.

The importance of allowing access to natural resource reserves in the Park is enormous and have huge implications for maintaining a good relation between community and Park. In particular, firewood was mentioned by all three tribal authorities as one of their benefits. The importance of this simple agreement is realised by the Park management and cannot be underestimated. If it ceased to exist it would most likely have a huge impact on souring relations between the community and the PNP.

INTANGIBLE BENEFITS

Capacity building and Empowerment

Capacity building and training are keys to empowerment. They ensure that the community takes advantage of the various opportunities that arise (Mahony & van Zyl, 2001). According to the IIEE (1994 p. 37), 'empowerment involves the local institutions and individuals in the management of wildlife and is based on the principle of communal ownership and tenure of resources'. In accordance with the PNP Policy on community participation 'the PNP has an important role in community empowerment generally and community participation specifically'. It does however state that capacity building within the communities is a non-core activity of the PNP, but will be facilitated by utilising the resources and capacities of other support institutions (PNP Management Plan, 2000).

Post 1994, once the NWPTB was established as the new government authority responsible for parks in the North West Province, there was a very pro-active drive toward capacity building of local communities employed within Parks management. This started in the late 80's when there was a strong drive to train middle management and recruit locally. All, but two of the thirteen parks in the NW are managed by a black Park Warden. In the case of the PNP, Chief Park Warden, Johnson Maoka, was employed by the Park in 1992 as an understudy. A few years later he was promoted to the position of Park Warden. While training programmes have been fairly varied, according to Gus van Dyk (Operations and Tourism Manager) training is simply offered and implemented as a matter of course and there is no proper career pathing. There is a need for more appropriate and relevant training programmes better suited to career development. Also, in this case, training does necessarily imply empowerment. Similarly the private lodges around the park ensure that all their employees receive at least a most basic hotel management training. Up to three employees per year are enrolled on a three year National Qualifications course.⁵

Mankwe Safaris is the only example of black empowerment in the PNP. This is a significant example as it is also the first black-owned and operated safari company in South Africa. Established in 2001, the company employs fifteen locally-based employees. Bernard Marobe, the director stresses that empowerment is not simply linked with the provision of jobs but more so the sense of ownership which accompanies empowerment. More recently, one of the hotel developments, the exclusive Ivory Tree Lodge was to be part community-owned and operated (60%). According Chief Pilane, however the community has once again been excluded in this venture, thus denying the community the chance to participate in a co-managerial or joint venture manner.

While the 8500ha of land has remained the legal property of the Bakgatla, this has had little effect in terms of their rights to use it. In 1993 the Bakgatla instituted a land claim for the 8500ha that they previously occupied. This claim led to the re-negotiation of the conditions between the Park and community (Brayshaw, 1999). Once again this did little in the way of empowering the community to take the responsibility for their land. Currently the Bakgatla community is still waiting for the resettlement of the land claims, despite the fact that they have always maintained the title deeds. They are hoping to finally secure their land-use rights. These rights will effectively give them the legal status to decide how the land is used. According to Hasler (1995), granting land-use rights and delegating communities the position of 'appropriate authority' in CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe, were key to the programmes success. Land use rights for the Bakgatla will impart a true sense of land

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The above examples of training and capacity building demonstrate current transformation trends in South Africa in accordance with policies of the GEAR. It should be noted that in terms of black empowerment, there are few examples of this in and around the PNP. All concessionaires are still owned by white-dominated holding companies. This should not be seen as only common to the PNP, but more as an example of the current socio-political situation in South Africa.

ownership; the tribe will be able to evaluate the land use and land value potential opening various economic possibilities such as lodge developments.

Other tourism based community initiatives that have started up in Mogwase are three 'bed and breakfasts'. Once they had been established, the PNP provided them with a free training course to help them cater to tourists' needs and expectations. Apart from assisting with the capacity building, PNP has also assisted with the marketing of the B'n Bs, by advertising them on the NWPTB website and providing promotional flyers at the Park's information desk. According to Ephraim Morei, the Community Development Officer, PNP does not wish to be prescriptive but rather assist, advise and run with ideas that are initiated by the community themselves.

In terms of empowerment, it is important to recognise the support that the PNP offered during the establishment of the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve. Support was not only of a tangible nature but also in the form of capacity building and empowerment. It is clear that without assistance from PNP that it is unlikely that the idea would have materialised. This will be discussed in more detail in the chapter on the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve.

More recently, The Pilanesberg Wildlife Trust was established in October 2002. This was in response to a need for a more formal structure to manage, identify and raise funds for future conservation projects in PNP, especially in light of decreasing government budgets. In the past, many conservation projects in the PNP have been financed by the contributions and donations of companies and individuals that have supported the Park conservation and management objectives. The aim of the Trust is to support a range of projects. These will include those that are ecologically orientated and also projects that will allow for communities to participate and share in the Trust. More specifically the trust has a very strong social component and recognises the importance of education and capacity building. As such a bursary programme will provide assistance to a number of local wildlife and park management students. The Trust will also act as a vehicle to assist communities with local development projects, by putting the community development proposals forward to the corporate and private sectors for funding assistance. The Board of Trustees includes Park Management, NWPTB management, major concessionaires of the PNP, Sun City and Anglo Platinum (the main mining company in the region). However, none of the Trustees are representative of the communities; very few of the key community members and Tribal Authorities interviewed were even aware of the Trust. While there appear to be some communication problems, there is potential for the Trust to establish and maintain a more co-operative and participatory relationship between the Park and the community. At the same time, the Trust cannot be seen as a substitute for a community organisation in terms of its liaising and facilitation abilities.

Participation in decision-making

Participation in decision-making is also closely linked with empowerment. All decisions regarding the management of the PNP are determined by the NWPTB. From 1995 the Pilanesberg community was for the first time officially represented on the board by the Bakgatla Chief N. Pilane (NWPTB Annual Report 1995/96). Brayshaw (1999) comments that having only one member of the community on the Board, with limited powers to influence decisions making, is not adequate. For communities to really influence decision making they need to have management committees and consultative forums where communities are equally represented and can actively be involved in planning. Chief Pilane was on the Board until 2000 when he was asked to step down, to avoid the risk of conflict from personal interests. Since his resignation from the Board in 2000, no other replacement has been appointed to represent the Pilanesberg community. Meanwhile the Bakubung and the Balecma tribes have never been represented on the Board. This may be partially due to the fact that the Board has to be representative of NW province. The Bakgatla, in this case are the predominant tribe and the 'most affected' by the PNP, hence their representation was seen to be

more relevant. Chief Pilane believes that without a community member represented on the Board, the Park is no longer compelled to consult with the community on all Park plans.

Still, it is within the Park's interest to notify the local communities of any changes in management plans or issues which may arise and could affect the community. Ephraim Morei has been working within the PNP management since 1998, as Community Development and Liaison Officer. This position was created largely in response to the Parks realisation that a formal liaison was necessary for maintaining communication channels with the local communities. The previous channels for communication had been primarily on an ad hoc basis. The role of the Community Liaison Officer is to assist with the coordination of the Park's management functions by informing the community of the management, developments and plans in and around the park. This liaison is also the communities' first point of contact with the Park for requests (such as for firewood collection) or action on other issues. These issues are dealt with on a weekly basis and reported back to the PNP management team. While the value of this role is evident from the responses of the various Tribal Offices, some of the more prominent community members note that the Liaison Officer is the only link with the immediate community of 70 000 people. These members felt there is need for more than one Community Liaison Officer or at least a community forum other than that of the tribal authorities for any communication to be representative of the greater community. The value of community elected institutions such as the Community Development Organisation (CDO) is once again brought to mind.

Environmental Education

'The roots of a concern about learning, skills development and training were shaped in external threats to the parks and changing ways of seeing the world' (O'Donoghue, 2003). This is especially applicable to the PNP as the Park's formation entailed the forced removal of people not seen as a part of the wilderness, but as a threat to the development. Environmental Education (EE) in the PNP had for this reason been a major focus of the Bop Government. O'Donoghue (2003) observes that the formation of parks in South Africa and separation of man from nature 'shaped a new governmentality that supplemented protective legislation with learning initiatives to get the conservation message across.' He further states that conservation institutions became centres of mediating power through the institutional appropriation of (indigenous) knowledge. This knowledge gained led to increasingly successful Park management and the development ideals of nature and sustainability in a region that was increasingly at risk of environmental degradation (O'Donoghue, 2003).

The benefits from the establishment of the Goldfield Environmental Education Centre in the PNP (1981) are considered by all actors to have been significant to the community in terms of raising environmental awareness, changing perceptions regarding conservation and, more implicitly, by assisting with maintaining 'good relations' between the park and the communities outside. According to many key interviewees some of the particularly strong points of the Centre included:

- a large portion of the PNP annual budget was assigned to environmental education during the Bop era.
- subsidised rates for local schools
- quality EE programmes
- EE services brought to the people by regular visits to the villages by the staff
- certification training was provided for teachers
- established links with conservation colleges for students
- facilitated learning through EE clubs established in most of the villages

In July 2003 all interested parties and practitioners in the field came together to discuss the possibilities of revamping the programmes. It was agreed that the provision of environmental education is not only part of the PNPs social responsibility but should also be part of the NW Parks management plans to provide education or information service to neighbouring communities (NWPTB draft EE policy report, 2003). The PNP is unquestionably in a more advantageous position than many of the other parks in the NW to get the EE Centre up and running at its former capacity. Some critics argue that funding is the limiting factor, but this is not necessarily the case. Funds from the Wildlife Trust can be allocated and the initial sponsors, Goldfields and SA Breweries, have yearly allocations for EE projects provided that proposals with detailed project plans are submitted and if there is evidence of the PNPs commitment to the project.

There is also potential for the previously mentioned Bushveld-mosaic programme (established in 1996) to assist with fulfilling the community training needs. Course co-ordinators realised the need to reach a far wider audience and therefore extended training to include up to six teachers from rural communities in the North West Province. On completion of the year-long programme, teachers are encouraged to organise an environmental club at their schools. This outreach programme has proven successful with strong conservation club movements present in both primary and senior schools in the North West Province. In the local communities around the PNP, however, there was no evidence of this. Informed community members that were interviewed for this paper agreed that many of the clubs had either 'fallen away' or were not operating the way they had been.

Social and cultural benefits

Locally produced arts and crafts are a further example of a market that can be supported by tourism. According to Mahony & van Zyl (2002), arts and craft industries can in some instances create a number of positive social benefits to the community through the stimulation of traditional skills and cultural identity. Museums are another outlet for promoting cultural identity. The Bakgatla Heritage Museum, is one such community initiated and established project.

Housed in a renovated school in Moruleng, the project was launched in 1999 by the Bakgatla Tribal Authority in response to the communal idea to restore and collect artifacts and history of the Bakgatla tribe. All artifacts have been donated by members of the community. The purpose of the centre is to not only serve as a recollection of the Bakgatla history and culture, but also as a traditional and cultural knowledge learning centre for children in the surrounding villages. It will also serve as a base for traditional conservation clubs and for an adult training centre in indigenous knowledge. Apart from the very strong community focus of the Centre, it also targets the tourist with the provision of a traditional café, medicinal herb garden, internet café and curio shop, supplied with locally produced crafts. Most importantly, the establishment of the Centre offers an opportunity for community empowerment.

Contrary to the claim that the museum has not received support from the Bakgatla TA and the PNP management, they both appear to have been instrumental in securing the funds for the Heritage Centre from Government agencies. More specifically, the PNP has been active in assisting the Bakgatla community secure funds from the Department of Environmental and Tourism Affairs and from the Department of Arts and Culture. The project has received support from a number of different government agencies such as the Poverty Alleviation Fund and the South African Heritage Foundation. The PNP have pledged to promote and market the museum to all incoming Park visitors. The NWPTB have also supported the development of the project.

While it has taken a long eight years for the first phase to be completed, the significance of this Centre cannot be over-emphasised in terms of its' empowering nature or the sense of pride it appears to instill emphasising the importance of intangible benefits. The completion of the first

phase coincided with the National Holiday, Heritage Day, 24 September 2003, and was attended by several thousand community members. Its true success however will be determined within the next few years. A strong commitment from those working on the project and from the community at large along with secure funding and an effective marketing strategy will be required to make this happen.

The Raseparane Park located in Moruleng is another community recreation facility, but it is also another example of a 'white elephant'. In the 90's a recreation area was created for the PNP community at the Bakgatla gate, but undo noise disturbances and complaints from visitors staying at the Bakgatla Camp forced the areas relocation outside the Park in Moruleng (Raserpane). This relocation was decided by the tribal authority and the PNP without consulting the local community. As such, much resistance and dissatisfaction has been expressed by the community. While all communities have access to the area within PNP, they still have to pay the R20 gate fee for entry. This amounted to an access fee and caused the local users to feel that they had been kicked out, that the Park was being reserved for whites only. The PNP contributed R96 000 toward the recreation facility, which included a swimming pool, stage, performing area, soccer field, and picnic and ablution facilities. The project was never completed and some say that it was purposely under funded. Others such as Chief Park Warden Johnson Maoka feel that it is no longer the responsibility of the Park. To date, Rasparane has been under utilised and is falling into disrepair.

DISCUSSION

It is clear that from previous documentation and personal communications that the initial establishment of the Park had not been undertaken with participation, consultation and communication with the local communities. It is apparent that this was merely an exercise conducted mainly for political interests. The Bakgatla Tribe was considered the most affected tribe by the establishment of the PNP while the Bakubung and Baleema were often ignored. Of all the so-called "benefits to the communities" to be derived from the park, only the Bakgatla have received any direct financial gains from the profits accrued and that was only 10 years after the fact. The issue of financial compensation has been brought up a number of times by the Bakubung Tribal Authorities and is apparently still in the negotiation process. Surprisingly, there appears to be no animosity between the tribes regarding the dispensation of benefits.

Since 1998, at least R922 000 has been paid out to the Bakgatla Tribal Authority. Money received prior to this date was used to finance some of the projects initiated by the BCDO. But, even though members of the Bakgatla community appear to be aware that they receive some money from the Park, few have any idea of the actual arrangement. Most also express dissatisfaction with the Tribal Authority for not accounting for the money or showing what it has been used for. When asked if they should approach the TA regarding disclosure of where funding money has been spent, they all replied that they would simply not be received in the office, unless they were someone of importance. Most community members stressed the need for some 'concrete' evidence such as the building of schools or clinics. The only such example that Chief Pilane could cite was the renovation of the Tribal Office. While this does not imply that there is squandering of funds, it does point to a deficiency with the communication and disclosure of information by the TA.

To this point, all interviewees considered the poor communication between TA and the community a far greater issue than the relationship with the PNP, which appears to be widely accepted. This dissatisfaction also highlights the need for community funds to be used for concrete projects and draws attention to the invaluable role that was played by the BCDO.

Chief N. Pilane points out that it is equally important to consider the relative value of the funds received (currently about R 400 000 - R500 000/year). In terms of the greater community totalling

close on 250 000 people, this a 'drop in the ocean'. However, this is not the only 'income' that the TA receives; royalties from their platinum mining rights would far exceed this amount. Similarly, the Baleema tribe benefits from chrome mining rights. In contrast, the Bakubung have no mining rights and only have ownership of the land on which Ledig is built. As one member of the Bakubung perceptively stated, 'Sun City is our mine' (Spencely et al., 2003).

It should also be remembered that the relationship between the PNP and Sun City was described by those interviewed as very good and mutually beneficial. It is clear that without the presence of the PNP, Sun City would loose out in terms of tourist numbers, while the converse is not true; only an additional 20% of those visiting Sun City, are also PNP tourists. On the other hand, Sun City's contribution to the communities helps to alleviate some of the pressure that the PNP is constantly faced with such as employment creation and financial assistance for communities with projects. Whether this does in fact alleviate some the pressure on the PNP is uncertain as the community generally views them as separate initiatives and not so much as partners. Still, the communities and PNP agree that Sun City should pay a levy for the use of the land which was essentially tribal.

The PNP, as with many other parks, is clearly being burdened with broader and more complex issues of rural development such as equity, land tenure and ownership, empowerment and capacity building. Compounding this, the community has high expectations from PNP to address their needs and wants. The PNP's inability to meet these needs should be balanced against the acknowledgement that rural development is not part of its core function. None the less, it is apparent that the PNP has in some instances been making a concerted effort to improve communication with the community. As a result, the community has started to receive some of the benefits (however satisfactory from the community perspective) that they were promised in the early years. However, crucially, community involvement in the actual management of the PNP is still almost non-existent.

Chapter 7

THE LEBATLANE TRIBAL RESERVE

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY AREA

The Lebatlane Reserve is a Bakgatla community-owned and initiated project established in 1992. The 3850ha reserve lies approximately 33km north of the Pilanesberg National Park (PNP) en route to Magong. The area is typically comprised of thornveld and some mixed bushveld⁶ with limited suitability for commercial cattle grazing (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002). The area is flat, bound by the Pilanesberg mountains to the South and the Dwarsberg mountains to the north.

The idea for the reserve was initiated by the Bakgatla community in the early 90's when it was realised that the potential benefits from using the land as a communal grazing area were far less than if the land was managed as a conservation and eco-tourism destination (Mountain, 1993). Once approval from the then-Chief T.R Pilane was granted, the Tribe contributed to purchase the farm (Brayshaw, 1999), making the Bakgatla one of the first tribes in Southern Africa to own and run a game reserve. Eleven years after the reserve was formalised the project has stagnated and many other associated community development projects have ground to a halt.

THE HISTORY OF THE RESERVE

The idea of creating a community owned and managed tribal reserve was not only recognised as being one of the 'first of its kind', but also ahead of its time as the planning and formalisation of the reserve came prior to the 1994 change of Government structures. The tribe realised that they should not simply wait for the new Government to make the changes, that they should be proactive in 'rebuilding' the country. This pioneering attitude was also complementary to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) that was initiated by the new South African Government in 1994. The farm was bought for a sum of R750 000. Each adult male community member contributed R40 each for the purchase of the land. Royalties earned from mining companies were used to erect a R250 000 game fence (Ntsala, 1994)

Core to the implementation of the project were the needs to develop firm business and reserve management plans, secure necessary funding and identify an implementing agent. While the planning of the reserve has been described by many of those interviewed as generally lacking, a feasibility study and project plans drafted by external consultants ECOSATS suggest otherwise. The aim of the feasibility study was to consider the management options for the land. Principally, three were suggested:

- First, the Community Development Organisation (CDO) should manage the reserve and related facilities once the necessary skills and training had been acquired.
- Secondly, a private entrepreneur should be allowed to develop Lebatlane in a manner acceptable to the CDO. In return, the developer would pay an annual lease for the property; the funds of which would be used to develop other community projects.
- Finally, a joint venture should be implemented in which the CDO and developer would be partners sharing in all development costs and profits.

⁶ Thornveld and bushveld are typically woody acacia species with mixed grassland (sourveld) classified according to Acocks who mapped all veld (vegetation) types in South Africa between 1936 – 1978.

The involvement of a conservation body such as the PNP in the joint-management was not presented explicitly as an option, although their involvement was perhaps assumed. Following on from the feasibility study, the project details were formalised with the overall vision that the Lebatlane Initiative was to create a community-owned ethno-tourism facility within a natural environment. The additional idea of developing an ethno-tourism facility modelled after a traditional Tswana village was suggested to offer both an ethno and eco-tourism experience to the tourist (Mountain, 1993). While the eventual management plan was perhaps not as comprehensive as it could have been, it did cover the key management concerns of the reserve. Some of the more significant goals of the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve were:

- To sustainably utilise wild animals in the reserve through hunting
- To make the development financially viable by breaking even at least through the sustainable use of natural resources.
- To establish a community development and education centre
- To encourage local entrepreneurs in the development project.

It is also important to note that the theoretical modelling of the Lebatlane Initiative was largely influenced by the proceedings from a Conservation and Development conference in Zimbabwe, 1992. Some of the key strategies that emerged from the conference were applied in both the CAMPFIRE programme and Lebatlane plan (Ntsala, 1994). Based on the experiences of the PNP, the value of setting up an environmental education centre was also recognised in the plans.

MANAGEMENT

Community institutions: BakGatla Community Development Organisation (BCDO)

The BCDO or Community Development Organisation (CDO), as it is commonly referred to, was established in 1992, under Chief T.R. Pilane (BCDO Report 1993 –1997) and was an outcome of the Keenan report (1984). The Boputhatswana Parks board initiated efforts to reconcile the lost opportunities with communities bordering on the park through the encouragement of community development organisations. Community-elected organisations typically have representatives from the community and the tribal authority. They are key in the negotiating processes between the park and the community (Fabricius et al., 2001). Another important function of the BCDO was to make decisions regarding the community revenue that was generated by the PNP i.e. the 'agreed' 10% of the gate-takings. Subsequently, the BCDO was highly influential in improving the relationship between the PNP and the Bakgatla Community. (Ntsala, 1994).

The BCDO was registered as a voluntary association and as a Section 21 company⁷. The mission of the organisation was to assist the rural community through developing sustainable utilisation projects to help satisfy people's present and future social and economic needs (BCDO Report 1993, –1997). It can therefore be seen as a vehicle through which community empowerment could be achieved. One of the 'pillar' strategies that had been adopted in the initial Lebatlane plan was the establishment of an appropriate institutional framework. The BCDO was also importantly apolitical in structure and had been formed in time to fit well with the RDP. It was thus identified as being the appropriate agent for the development and implementation of the Lebatlane Plan. As the BCDO was to act as a vehicle of empowerment, it was essential that the members of the Board were representative of all sections of the community⁸. It was also recognised that the BCDO should have a separate identity to the TA to avoid confusion between their respective roles in the community (BCDO Report, 1993 – 1997).

⁷ A section 21 company is that which is not for profit gain

⁸ The initial eight members held different portfolios in order to coordinate and fulfil various objectives, these portfolios included: Education and Culture, Fundraising, Health and Welfare, Job Creation, Entertainment and Project Management.

Apart from the BCDO being directly responsible for the Lebatlane Initiative, it was a supporter and initiator of a number of other community development related projects. According to Brayshaw (1999), the BCDO was involved with 43 projects scattered through the Bakgatla Tribal Area. The community, with the assistance of the BCDO, identified projects and then approached donors for assistance rather than the more 'conventional' top down approach, where donors identify the 'needs' of the community. Many of these projects were assisted by mining companies in the area. Funds also arrived from the Development Bank of South Africa and Sun City through joint ventures. In some cases, communities had contributed to the fund-raising themselves (BCDO Report, 1993 – 1997).

Some of these projects involved the building and upgrading of primary and secondary schools. Four clinics were built and a 3ha vegetable garden was established in Magong village. A multi-purpose training centre for creating job opportunities was also established in a renovated school hostel. The Soil Conservation Project funded by the Development Bank of South Africa was an employment creation project that employed some 200 people in the Lebatlane Reserve for the initial fencing, road and dam building (BCDO Report, 1993 - 1997).

The BCDO has been recognised by most community members and other actors in the study area as being a most successful and valuable asset to the development of the Bakgatla Tribe. However, after a very successful five years of operation it was disbanded in late 1996. The reasons for which, were complex and certainly politically motivated:

- It was noted in the BCDO Report 1993 –1997 that the motivation to dissolve the organisation was as a result of 'perceived growing animosity and non-acceptance of the organisation by some sectors of the community'. Molefe Pilane was the first elected chairperson of the BCDO (a relation of the Chief MJN Pilane). Pressure from the Tribal Authority forced him to relinquish the position.
- The BCDO was created during the political transition of South Africa. As a result of the change of structures there was much confusion, and the role of NGOs with regard to the policies of the RDP were not understood. Many community members believed that the BCDO was trying to overthrow the traditional Tribal Authority system (BCDO Report 1993 –1997).
- The Tribal Authority was now, no longer represented on the BCDO board. While the 'omission' of the TA was in no way intentional, compounding this was that the role of the TA in the Lebatlane management plan (or other projects for that matter) was never defined. Consequently, it did not contribute to an inclusive project development process.
- The local Government (ANC) also rejected the BCDO as it was seen as 'usurping' the role of RDP and unfortunately they lacked to see the complementary aspects of both.

Although discussions took place between the BCDO and Local Government (ANC), no agreements could be reached. Fear ensued, leading to the resignation of many members of the BCDO. A new committee was re-elected, but these younger, politically motivated replacements were reluctant to get involved once they discovered that there was no financial remuneration. These new members also had little knowledge of the operations of the BCDO. Former BCDO member Dan Ntsala pointed out that one of the major problems was that there were no opportunities for the BCDO to discuss development opportunities and progress concerning other projects during times of tribal conflict.

The only resolution that could be made was to eventually dissolve the BCDO. Some of the former members continued with their projects when funding was still available. Long-standing projects such as the Lebatlane Initiative then became the responsibility of the Tribal Authority. Most of the BCDO initiated projects have ceased or are operating in a very minor capacity. Apart from the Indigenous Knowledge Training programmes, many of the other on-going projects such as the

vegetable gardens and soil conservation projects also appear to have ceased or stagnated. In the final BCDO report submitted in 1997 a number of recommendations directed at the TA were made. Amongst these were that a full-time manager for Lebatlanc should be appointed and that all other projects should be continued. This, not surprisingly, has been almost impossible to fulfil for obvious reasons.

The value of such community institutions has also shown success elsewhere as with the Makuleke Community Property Association (CPA). Key to the achievements of the Makuleke community has been the maintenance of a cohesive and unified community, which has helped to establish a viable and an accepted institution to manage the process. The difference here was that the Makuleke CPA had time to allow for the successful combining of traditional and modern forms of governance. Also, a significant amount of facilitation, capacity building and training has been undertaken in order to ensure that the institutional structures were well placed and had the ability to deal with the challenges.

The role of the PNP

Crucial to the Lebatlanc Initiative was the commitment of the PNP (Boputhatswana Parks) to the project in terms of institutional and indirect financial support. Without the active assistance and involvement of PNP, the project would not have been possible. PNP contributed in two crucial ways:

- 1) While the reserve had an initial resident population of some antelope species, the PNP provided the 'seeding' populations of animals to include eland, waterbuck, giraffe, impala, kudu, reedbuck and zebra (Game stocking documents, 1993). In accordance with the Lebatlanc plans to enable community access to the park, no dangerous animals were considered. These 'seeding' populations were provided on the understanding that once the species had established themselves the seeding populations would be relocated to another park.
- 2) The PNP also took on the role of providing the training of two community members selected by the BCDO to fill the Reserve Manager and Chief Game Scout positions. This training was undertaken over a three year period by the PNP.

The PNP was therefore directly involved in building capacity within the community and assisting with the initial establishment of the reserve over a three year period. After this time, the understanding was that the PNP would withdraw, leaving the operation and management of the reserve in the hands of the Bakgatla Community. Apart from assisting with the training of the Reserve employees, they were instrumental in key park management functions such as the provision of water (dams), the erecting of game fences, and the grading of roads and burning of grasslands.

Even though it was always understood by the Bakgatla community that the assistance from the PNP would be limited to three years, their support, while not as consistent as before, has none the less continued. This has usually been in issues related to game counting and the provision of water. Added to this, the PNP still pays the salary of the Chief Scout. This voluntary assistance has been recognised by the Bakgatla TA. In some instances, however, the community reported that they felt that PNP had neglected them once their 'obligatory' involvement was complete. This point of tension was perhaps reinforced by the resignation of the trained Reserve Manager in 1997 on the grounds that the Bakgatla TA could not secure either his salary or that of the Chief Scout. Today the TA admits that the project has been badly managed and that the PNP is slow to respond whenever there are problems at Lebatlanc.

Financing

One of the objectives of the project was to become financially sustainable through eco-tourism developments. Therefore, a number of income generating activities were key to the project, hunting being the most important of these. Firm rules and regulations regarding hunting procedures were documented, the season being restricted to the winter months only. In order to facilitate the hunting, a hunting camp and boma were constructed. It was also anticipated that through the ethno-tourist facility (which was never developed) income from pre-selling shares in the 'village' would be generated. The idea was that the holders of these shares would qualify as sponsors. Linked to this was the idea that the money raised would be invested in income generating assets such as industrial or commercial property. The proceeds would be used to fund community development projects (Ntsala, 1994). Furthermore, it was hoped that the Lebatlane Tribal reserve and village would attract interest from other overseas universities and institutes with the ultimate aim that it could be used as a fee-based research and student exchange facility.

The Lebatlane reserve was purchased by the community for a sum of R750 000. This joint effort was important for establishing a community sense of ownership. However, other funding sources were also required. PNP's contribution has already been mentioned. Other major donors included Swartklip Mines, the neighbouring platinum mine that donated some of the fencing materials as well as supplied the materials for building the hunting camp and boma. The Independent Development Trust contributed a further R250 000 for the maintenance of the farm. Once the fences had been erected and roads had been graded, a further R1 million was granted by the National Economic Forum (NEF), which is associated with the Development Bank of South Africa. This funding was to be used for training, job creation and soil conservation projects in and around the Lebatlane Reserve (NEF letter, 1994). A 4x4 vehicle was also donated for an eighteen month period. International interest was expressed by German, French and Swiss development banks and agencies, however none of which transpired.

CURRENT SITUATION

Currently the reserve is managed by Edwin Pilane, who was trained by the PNP as the lead scout. His salary is paid by the PNP, although they are under no obligation to do so. Two other members of the community assist him on a voluntary basis. The hunting facilities and boma area which are used by both hunters and school groups are in a fair condition. The reserve still operates its hunting practices, but does not, as stated in the Heritage park report 2002, receive between 20 and 30 hunters a year. In the hunting season of 2003 (winter months), only 2 hunters had been to the reserve to kill 2 eland valued at R5000 each. This hunting quota gives a real indication of what income is generated by the reserve as it is the only operating income-generating activity. Quite clearly R10 000 does little more than perhaps cover the administrative costs of the reserve, if that at all.

The Indigenous/Initiation knowledge schools training facility organised by Grace Masuku are the only other activities that take place in the reserve. As this is a community-based project, the schools have free access and use of the reserve, thus no additional income is generated through these courses. On average, only two school groups use the reserve per year, well under the intended use. Funding for transport and food is most likely a limiting factor here. While poaching is not considered to be a big problem, it still occurs according to the Lebatlane Reserve manager. There is a greater concern about water. A number of animal fatalities have occurred as the dam has dried up. The fences are still largely in tact although there are problems with community members who make holes in the fences to bring their cattle in to graze or to access the reserve for poaching.

FUTURE PLANS

According to the Bakgatla Tribal Authority, Lebatlane remains more of a management problem than anything else. They realise that the BCDO and PNP have been the only reason why the project was actualised as evidently the TA does not have the funding or skills to manage such a project effectively. As it stands today, the TA has no immediate plans to try and re-vitalise Lebatlane, but merely keep it operational. Moreover, there is no real incentive to try to redevelop the project as the inclusion of the Lebatlane Tribal reserve into the 'core area' of the Heritage Park Corridor is in the planning process. There are no actions or opportunities apart from the future of Lebatlane being heavily dependant on plans concerning the Heritage Park and the MDF. In which case, Lebatlane will most likely fall under a greater management plan, thus heavily influencing the way in which the reserve is currently operated. Until such plans have been passed, there is little need or reason, aside from financial implications, to try and rectify the current situation.

DISCUSSION

The creation of the Lebatlane Reserve was at the time, recognised as a good example of an empowering development initiative. The sustainability of the project is however still in question as it has never been able to reach its full operational capacity. The reserve remains highly under utilised and is clearly falling into disrepair and neglect. Apart from the occasional hunter and school group visit, it has not fulfilled the intended management objectives and is far from reaching any kind of financial stability. The success of Lebatlane has been dependant on the functioning of the well-established BCDO which was part of the initial project planning and possessed some of the required management skills to operate such a project. The subsequent disbanding of the BCDO, and the transfer of responsibility to the ill-equipped TA was certainly one of the main causes of the project's disintegration. The fact that the 'official' PNP support period also terminated at around the same time that the BCDO was disbanded also contributed to the 'breakdown'. This was compounded by the resignation of the Lebatlane Reserve Manager. Lack of funding is another factor limiting any further developments. Hector Magome (former Manager Conservation Bop Parks and Dir Conservation SANPARKS) suggests that perhaps a lack of a 'champion' in any CWM initiatives ultimately determines whether it succeeds or not. In the case of Lebatlane, the 'champions' were those who formed the initial CDO. Interestingly, the few projects that are still part operational are currently running as a result of these individuals.

There are two other incidents that some community members have mentioned which may have had an effect on the management of the reserve. Molefi Pilane, who was initially chair of the BCDO, was murdered in 1997. The reason for his murder remains unclear, although it is said that it was a political issue between Xhosa employees at the Swartklip mine and had nothing to do with Lebatlane. According to various community members, Molefe Pilane was a key initiator of the project. A further incident which may have contributed to a poor image of the reserve was a hunting accident that occurred in 1995 when a hunter was accidentally shot by his colleague (BCDO report, 1993-1997).

Moreover, as Brayshaw (1999) noted, the creation of such a reserve should not be seen as a justification for excluding community participation in the management of PNP. Whether this was the case or not is difficult to know, but it would appear that the involvement of PNP was with good intention with no ulterior motives other than that of assisting with this community initiated project. If anything assisting with the Lebatlane Tribal reserve has proved to be more of a liability to the PNP in that a large amount of time, effort and indirect financial investment that has been provided over the last 10 years with no real positive returns to the Bakgatla Tribe, who were to be the ultimate beneficiaries. In hindsight, the reasons for the low level of success of the Lebatlane Reserve are far more complex (summarised in Table 3). Here it is demonstrated that all issues

except that of land ownership and tenure have been identified as a barrier. Actions to overcome these barriers are heavily reliant on the involvement from non-place based actors such as the planners of the Heritage park and the MDF.

The implementation of Government policies and strategies such as the recently launched Tourism Enterprise Support Programme are realistically the only other opportunities that may revive the Lebatlane Initiative. Other factors such as lack of human and financial capital can be linked directly to the breakdown of the BCDO, while the only likely chance of any CDO revival would be the success of the MDF which has yet to be seen. Evidently the reasons are interrelated and complex, and actions to address the problems should not be dealt with in isolation of the others.

Chapter 8

MTHETHOMUSHA GAME RESERVE

OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY AREA

Methethomusha Game Reserve (MGR) is an 8000ha fenced area that contains the "big five" as well as numerous other fauna and flora species. It is located to the east of Nelspruit and shares a border with the Kruger National Park. The area is also renowned for its scenic beauty, which is dominated by impressive granite domes and rocky outcroppings.

The game reserve is easily accessible from the N4 toll road to the south, which also provides access to Nelspruit, White River and Malelane and is bordered by four settlements, Matsulu, Mpakeni, Lumphisi and Daantjie. Brayshaw (1999) reports that Matsulu forms part of the Lomshilo Tribal Authority while the remaining settlements are part of the Mpakeni Tribal Authority. According to the 1996 population census 51 540 people lived within the borders of the Mpakeni Tribal Area. Of these, 86% were Daantjie residence with 8% in Lumphisi and 6% in Mpakeni (Brayshaw, 1999).

The settlements have widely differing demographic profiles, development needs and demands for natural resources in the area which is linked to unequal infrastructure and service provision. Tared and gravel access roads to most of these settlements are in a relatively good condition which enhances accessibility to Lumphisi, Daantjie and Matsulu villages. Mpakeni on the other hand is linked to the outside world by a single gravel road and is therefore relatively inaccessible by comparison. This isolation has contributed to under development of the area where people still use local natural resources such as fuelwood for daily energy needs.

Reliable household water supply is reportedly lacking in the area. Both Lumphisi and Mpakeni residents often experience water supply problems due to a lack of nearby potable water sources. Daantjie's water supply on the other hand is supplied by the Mbombela Local Council and consequently more reliable.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

After extensive consultations between the Kangwane Parks Corporation and the Mpakeni Tribal Authority, the Mthethomusha Game Reserve was established in 1984. For unclear reasons, the terms of the agreement between the two parties was only finalised in 1992. Contained in the final agreements, are stipulations that the Mpakeni Tribal Authority agrees to lease the property to the Kangwane Parks Corporation for a period of 99 years (from 1 March 1993 to 28 February 2092). In 1994, the Mpumalanga Parks Board (MPB) replaced the Kangwane Parks Corporation (KPC) as contracted party with regard to the Mthethomusha agreement following the re-integration of Kangwane into South Africa.

A number of other stipulations formed part of the agreement reached in 1992. The first was that KPC would pay rent to the Tribal Authority to the sum of R5000 per month for the first year, thereafter 18% of the R5000 for the next 12 months with an annual increase of 10% after the expiry of the first 24-month period. For each subsequent twelve month period thereafter 25% of that amount will be payable in terms of a sub lease. The second stipulation concerned income derived by buffalo trophy hunting. Fifty percent of proceeds as well as carcasses of animals would also accrue to the Tribal Authority.

During the period 1984 to 1994, the KPC developed and operated the Mthethomusha as a wildlife and nature reserve with a tourism component in the form of Bongani Mountain Lodge. The Lodge

was constructed in 1984 and managed by the KPC until 1992 when the KPC entered into a 50 year sub-lease agreement with the Board of Executors (BOE). Stipulations of this lease entitled the BOE the full right to manage Bongani Lodge for its own account. Importantly, the BOE also received the right to sub-lease Bongani Lodge to a third party on their behalf. This right was exercised in 1996 when they entered into a lease agreement with Conservation Corporation Africa (CC Africa). An important part of this agreement relates to the MPB accepting full responsibility for managing the wild life resources and maintaining the reserve infrastructure and lodge facilities.

Since its inception, Bongani Lodge did not prove to be very profitable. Between 1996 and 1999 the lodge did not turn any profit, which prompted CC Africa to implement management changes at the lodge. This proved to be successful, with the lodge generating substantial profits from 2000 onwards. Occupancy rates improved in excess of 60% with some months peaking at 80%. Turnover during this period was also in excess of R9 million annually.

The recent strong rand/dollar exchange rate has however impacted negatively on the Lodge in 2003. Foreign travel packages are quoted and paid for in US dollars. It is needless to say that a weak US dollar implies substantial losses in rand terms.

STAKEHOLDER RELATIONSHIPS

Mpumulanga Parks Board

In terms of the agreement between CC Africa and the MPB, the Parks Board accepts responsibility for the management and upkeep of the reserve. Responsibilities include the managing of fauna and flora usage by local communities, managing biological diversity, the upkeep of the game fence, the maintenance of roads and infrastructure and the administration of local community proceeds from the lease of the property.

As part of its management responsibility, MPB oversees hunting activities and the culling of excess animals on the Mthethomusha property. MPB and Bongani Lodge implemented an informal agreement that regulates the time and place of such activities as not to affect any of the Lodges' game drives. Despite this agreement instances where game drives intersected with game hunting parties were reported, which caused an upset among guests. Understandably such incidents not only led to upset visitors, but also to tension between the Lodge and the Parks Board.

Bongani Lodge has also expressed its concern with regard to the upkeep and management of the property. Reportedly, most of their concerns have stayed on agendas of joint meetings without being resolved for a number of years. It would appear as if the MPB often provide financial reasons for not resolving aired problems.

The Community

Matsulu, which falls under the Lomshilo Tribal Authority and Mpakeni are situated southwest from the game reserve, Luphisi to the northeast and Daantjie to the northwest. Mpakeni, Luphisi and Daantjie falls under the Mpakeni Tribal Authority, which has a legal claim to the land and hence entered into an agreement by which the Mthethomusha property is leased to Mpumalanga Parks Board. Matsulu, the nearest to the reserve, is a relatively poor community that depends upon resources from the game reserve. Despite its reliance on these resources, it has no legal claim to the land.

The unemployment rate in the Mpakeni Tribal Area is reportedly as high as 76% and exacerbated by the high population growth in the area (Brayshaw, 1999). Of the communities that fall under the Mpakeni Tribal Authority, Mpakeni is the most isolated, poorest and least developed. This community depends on natural resources (especially wood fuel) in the game reserve and also require access to gravesites on the premises (Brayshaw, 1999). Daantjie and Lumphisi on the other hand are relatively better off with access to electricity and are therefore less dependant on wood for energy needs. According to Brayshaw (1999) the harvesting of natural resources is done in a controlled and sustainable way in Mthethomusha. The Bongani Lodge manager nevertheless disputes this claim and view current levels of natural resource harvesting as unsustainable.

Unconfirmed reports of an increase in Mozambican migrants that exert pressure on local fuel wood resources were also made. Apparently, the cost implications of electricity when compared to fuel wood play a significant role in migrants' preference to use wood. Local people on the other hand seemingly tend to prefer to use electricity and reportedly, only use wood on special occasions (e.g. funeral ceremonies and weddings). Nevertheless, whether locals or migrants, people that find electricity unaffordable are likely to use any wood resources to their disposal. Those in need of wood fuel from the reserve have to obtain a letter of permission from a local Chief.

The local communities' participation in the management of the Mthethomusha game reserve is limited to six community members elected to a steering committee. The Daantjie, Lumphisi and Mpakeni communities each respectively selects two representatives to serve on the committee.

Elected committee members' main responsibility is to participate in management decisions applicable to the reserve. The community representatives is also expected to brief Mthethomusha's management (represented by the Mpumalanga Parks Board officials and one Bongani Lodge spokesperson) on the concerns and needs of their respective communities.

Bongani Lodge/Conservation Corporation Africa

Bongani Lodge, reportedly, has a good and cordial relationship with surrounding communities. The lodge strives to continuously improve its relationship with the Mpakeni and Lumphisi communities. MPB's role as manager of the reserve and administrator of benefits accrued to the communities has nevertheless made this task particularly difficult. CC Africa's vision and mission however, is to be directly involved in assisting neighbouring communities with development. The establishment of a Rural Investment Fund to facilitate development in areas bordering tourism establishments was done in 2000. Since then, both Lumphisi and Mpakeni communities have benefited from the fund.

This approach is reportedly starting to pay off by strengthening relationships between the Lodge and local villages. Community members have reportedly become increasingly aware of the value of the game reserve and lodge in their midst.

Stakeholder relations

The relationships between the different stakeholders are complex and contentious at times. Despite the publicity that the various research endeavours encapsulating the private public partnership between Bongani Lodge, Mpumalanga Parks Board and the Mpakeni Tribal Authority generates for the lodge, its management is keen for government (Mpumalanga Parks Board) to withdraw from the partnership.

In order to air disagreements, resolve contentions and discuss the management of the reserve, quarterly meetings are held between the different stakeholders, which also include Enzalo

investments. A written contract for the lease of the land provides guidelines towards the rights and responsibilities of all the stakeholders at Mthethomusha.

It has however been alleged that government, in this case the MPB has negated on its duties and promises, for example, failing to maintain or replace the broken fence between the reserve and Kruger National Park, resulting in animals from the reserve escaping into Kruger Park and undesirable animals from Kruger, such as wild dogs entering into the reserve. The MPB officials have also been accused of leaving the lodge without water over some weekends, saying that they 'knock off' at 14h00 on Fridays, further suggesting that paying guests at Bongani, an exclusive lodge not flush their toilets until Monday when they would fix the problem! Negating on their contractual agreement of informing the lodge when and where they will hunt so as not to run into guests out on game drives have compounded the difficult relationship between the lodge and the Parks Board and contributed to the lodge's desire to end its relationship/agreement with government.

The current lease expires in 2008 but CC Africa is already in the process of renewing the lease for another fifteen years. A new company, Enviroserve, has been earmarked for managing the reserve should the Mpumalanga Parks Board withdraw from the agreement. It is believed that the fence between Kruger Park and Mthethomusha will most likely also come down once the Mpumalanga Parks Board has withdrawn from the reserve. It has been alleged that the stressed relations between Kruger Park and the Mpumalanga Parks Board currently inhibit any co-operation in this regard.

Furthermore, it has also been alleged that Mpumalanga Parks Board may pull out of the reserve in the near future. These reports and or accusations concerning their management style at Mthethomusha Game Reserve could not be confirmed or refuted as Mpumalanga Parks Boards officials refused to divulge information on their involvement with Mthethomusha.

The relationship between the Lodge and the communities or community officials is also strained at times. For example, the Tribal Authority has demanded more game for an annual party. The Lodge manager perceive this demand as unreasonable because their product i.e. game drives are dependent on there being sufficient game stocks in the reserve. Conceding this point, could thus threaten the sustainability of the reserve in the long run.

COMMUNITY BENEFITS

Tangible Benefits

Over the past few years, Bongani Lodge has enlarged its direct involvement with the local Mpakeni and Luphisi communities. Through the Rural Investment Fund, the lodge has for example sponsored the construction of seven classrooms and a media centre with 10 computers at the Lepesi Primary School as well as the installation of an electricity supply. This fund also sponsored a kitchen for a feeding programme at the school, a self-study multi-media programme and a TV and video recorder.

A large number of Hippo water rollers were also distributed to all households in the Mpakeni and Luphisi villages as well as to schools, clinics and groups such as the 'Womens Vegetable Growers'. Most of these sponsorships are by guests to Bongani Lodge. Bongani's aim is to facilitate these kinds of sponsorships by introducing the communities and their plight to their guests.

Guests can then sponsor any of Bongani's Empowerment programmes which include: Most urgent needs, education, health care, income generation and small business development, community equity in eco-tourism, environmental awareness, access to clean water, skills training and general

support. A brochure that asks for voluntary donations for the above programmes is given to each guest. A visit to the school, clinic, curio shop, shebeen and Bright Women's Future Club by guests takes place on a daily basis. This trip cost R150 of which R75 goes to the Foundation account that support community projects. The Foundation account receives between R2000-R5000 a month. Funds are currently being raised for a new children's play park in the village.

Bongani Lodge is also committed to employing local people where and when appropriate. It has a total staff compliment of 68 permanent people of which 80% is local. It is estimated that each staff member supports 8-12 relatives. Staff receives free food and boarding when at the lodge. The minimum salary is R1200 per month. New staff members are recruited through a process of voluntary work (casuals). Suitable candidates are then appointed after an interview. An important requirement for new staff is the ability to converse in English. Recruitment of new staff favours local community members followed by CC Africa employees and then outside applicants. Local casual labour is also used when required.

Attempts are made to source most goods and services locally (mostly Nelspruit) and to support local small businesses able to supply a reliable service. Examples of such support include a local taxi owner who transports staff between the reserve and their local place of residence. A local black empowerment group provides Bongani's laundry service. Examples of support to local business entrepreneurs include assistance to a local person in setting up a t-shirt printing business and providing cloth to another person to manufacture tablecloths that the lodge buys. The curio shop at the lodge stocks items manufactured locally. Quality requirements set for the purchase of curios are nevertheless high. Also, merchandise for the curio shop is sourced by the CC Africa group and not by the individual lodge, hence Bongani Lodge cannot only or mostly stock local curios.

Intangible benefits

Empowerment

Bongani Lodge sponsors a bursary scheme for two local students. The sponsorship is of a three-year duration, which includes practical experience during their second year. Students receive an allowance of R1000 per month as well as food and housing. After their second year those that proved their worth are provided with the opportunity to study tourism at a tertiary institution of their choice. The only bursary conditions are for students to return to their community of origin and to plough back their knowledge and skills. Students from local schools can apply by means of application forms that are handed out. Africa Foundation, Bongani Lodge and a high school provide panel members that evaluate applications, interview students and assess their personalities and interest in tourism. Of the first two students enrolled, one is currently employed as a game tracker while the other wavered a junior management position offer from Bongani. The latter attended a 6-month management course in France and has now accepted a well-paid management position at the Africa Foundation.

THREATS TO SUSTAINABILITY

The reserve is currently experiencing problems with poaching. Poaching for meat with dogs, snares and firearms are reportedly at the order of the day. This is of great concern to Bongani management because of the impact on game viewing opportunities for their guests. This is also regarded as treat to Bongani Lodge's status as a big-five tourism destination.

The community relies on the reserve for much of their firewood needs. One gate to the park is also used as a water collection point and another as a picnic spot for community usage. The picnic spot has reportedly been in disuse for the past three years due to neglect by MPB. Recently the

community made a proposal that the area be managed as a camping facility. Bongani Lodge has objected to this plan because of what they perceive as a potential threat to their activities and exclusive use of the game reserve as well as issues of financial viability. Concerns are also that private roads and entrances will be used to access the camping site. Other concerns are income generated by such a venture will not be sufficient to afford a full time manager that can operate according to a strict code of conduct.

Bongani's manager reported that he was disturbed by the small percentage of income that the local community derive from proceeds being paid by the lodge for exclusive use of the Mthethomusha property. Concerns are that the community might consider other land uses such as grazing if they do not derive substantial benefits from the current lease arrangement with the Mpumalanga Parks Board. In an effort to prevent such a perception by the community, Bongani has supported initiatives such as a hippo water roller project, building new classrooms and providing local business opportunities. Bongani Lodge regards highlighting the fact that everyone benefits from the reserve and education of local people of the commercial and ecological value of the reserve as a particularly important ongoing process.

DISCUSSION

The Mthethomusha game reserve is regarded as one of South Africa's oldest but also most successful tourism initiatives that benefit local communities. Organised community participation in the reserve is limited to a steering committee with two elected representatives from the three local communities with legal rights to the property. Involvement of this committee is nevertheless limited to managing the reserve per se and excludes direct input on the operation of Bongani Lodge. Local communities derive most benefits directly from the development initiatives run by the lodge and through the employ of 55 local people. Direct cash benefits to local communities by leasing the property to MPB, however, is very limited and of concern to the Bongani Lodge's manager. The administration of rental proceeds by MPB tends to severely limit communities access to funds. Generally, MPB derive a much larger benefit from the rental proceedings generated by the Park than local communities that own the land. The remoteness between the current lessee, CC Africa and local communities with Enzalo Investments and MPB as intermediate parties is also a cause for concern as expressed by the manager of Bongani Lodge. Local people generally do not understand this complicated relationship that have led to misunderstandings in the past. Being very aware of this situation, Bongani Lodge has been lobbying for excluding the MPB from the Park in an attempt to get closer to the local communities.

Despite a lack of direct income, local communities still benefit substantially from the tourism activities in the reserve. A large percentage of staff employed at the Bongani Lodge is recruited locally. An innovative approach used by Bongani Lodge (CC Africa) of introducing wealthy tourists to the plight of the local poor have led to a mechanism that generate funds for local development projects. This as well as other empowering initiatives such as a bursary sponsorship schemes for local students have done much to cement the relationship between Bongani Lodge and local communities.

In Bongani Lodge's case, it is shown that good internal management and corporate financial backing and commitment from CC Africa have played a major role in sustaining the tourism product and its activities. Catering for the luxury segment of the tourism market has also enabled Bongani Lodge to provide employment opportunities to a significant number of local people. Local service providers are also used where possible. However, in practice, local entrepreneurs are often not able to meet quality and reliability requirements of the Lodge. Nevertheless, the lodge showed commitment in supporting local entrepreneurs by providing assistance to those in need.

One can conclude that Mthethomusha has demonstrated how well tourism can work for rural communities in practice. However, it has also demonstrated how complicated and troublesome a private public partnership can become with too much long-term involvement by the "public" partner. Sub-contracting by sub-contractors also provide its own problems which can potentially place a tourism operator at a disadvantage of not being able to deal directly with local communities.

And finally, ensuring that local communities benefits substantially directly and indirectly from these types of initiatives is extremely important if a tourism operator requires the goodwill and co-operation of local inhabitants. Bongani Lodge has also clearly demonstrated that there is no substitute for good management practices and financial viability when it comes the to long-term sustainability of tourism initiatives that benefit local communities.

CHAPTER 9

FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Tourism models used by the six case studies typically included the landlord/tenant and financial incentive models. Only in one instance did a community manage an initiative, in this instance the Lebatlang Reserve. Empirical findings of this study seems to suggest that although the landlord/tenant and financial incentive models are not necessarily the most desirable option to take, it did in many instances represent an acceptable and attractive option to both tourism operator and local communities. It simplified interaction between stakeholders and did not place communities and their representatives in a situation where they were totally out of their depth in their dealings with tourism operators. It nevertheless proved important for communities to obtain specialist input when negotiating agreements with tourism operators.

Communication or rather a lack there of was highlighted at most of the case-studies (Tswaing, Pilanesberg and Mthethomusha) as an under-emphasised issue that can undermine good relations between tourism ventures and neighbouring communities. Attempts to improve and streamline channels of communication should be prioritised by tourism operators dealing directly with local communities.

Benefits derived by communities were varied. Both direct and indirect benefits were generated by tourism ventures. The most common benefits were that of employment in areas bordering the ventures. Larger ventures such as the Pilanesberg and Mthethumusha provided a fairly significant number of employment opportunities to local people. Larger ventures (Pilanesberg and Mthethumusha) were also able to pay higher wages than smaller initiatives (Pafuri camp). Much more scope also exists for employees in larger ventures to be promoted.

Other direct benefits to local communities were for instance projects where financial support were provided for constructing school classrooms (Mthethumusha and Pilanesberg), the purchase of hippo water rollers (Mthethumusha) etc. In a small number of instances did local entrepreneurs and businesspeople benefit from services delivered to tourism ventures such as (Pilanesberg, Mthethumusha and Tswaing). In very few instances did local businesses and entrepreneurs benefited consistently over a longer period of time. Local businesses also had difficulty in competing with larger and better established outside competitors that could provide affordable and reliable services. Local business development were not found to benefit significantly from business generated by the six case studies under review.

The tourism initiatives made a difference to a number of peoples' lives (mostly employees and their relatives) and in certain instances, whole communities such as the Mpakeni community that received hippo water rollers which were sponsored by CC Africa's Rural Development Fund. Infrastructure development due to the establishment of tourism initiatives also played an important role in bringing water, sanitation and electricity to some rural areas.

Most of the case studies did not have any formal community participation processes in place. Examples of community participation in other case studies proved to be fairly complex with much time and energy being spent on bringing local communities onboard. Continuous long-term participation of communities or their representatives were nevertheless problematic with miscommunication and communication breakdowns a frequent occurrence.

Good relations with local communities were regarded by all the tourism initiatives as of particular importance. This was mentioned as having a direct bearing on the sustainability of the tourism

initiatives in the areas that they operated in (see Tswaing, Pafuri river camp and Mthethumusha in particular).

Private public partnerships also turned out to be problematic where incompatible agendas and aims of partners threatened the sustainability of initiatives such as Tswaing where profit motives of private investors did not fit in with the conservation mandate of the Tswaing Crater Museum. Initiatives with a conservation ethic must therefore be careful not to partner up with parties with agendas that might be detrimental to the long-term sustainability of ventures. Markedly, NGO's did not play any significant role at any of the six case studies reviewed.

Government potentially has an important role to play in supporting tourism initiatives by providing infrastructure support as well as marketing, direct and indirect financial support in some instances. Government can also support those initiatives ideally suited for environmental education projects with financial backing. It is nevertheless unwise for government institutions to become too closely involved with the day-to-day management of tourism initiatives. The Tswaing and Mthethomusha initiatives have shown that this tends to have more negative than positive spin-offs.

A number of issues that does not receive significant attention in tourism literature are that of the financial viability of tourism initiatives. With all case studies, this was emphasised as of particular importance and had the largest impact on sustainability. It also materialised that larger initiatives (Pilanesberg and Mthethumusha) were better geared to cope with financial constraints and crises than smaller initiatives such as Pafuri river camp and Lebatlane. Smaller initiatives reported comprehensive insurance coverage of facilities and marketing of their product as being extremely expensive and unaffordable. They also displayed a lower financial capacity to pay their employees competitive wages.

Tourism literature provides few guidelines on agreements between local communities and tourism operators. Despite the existence of agreements between tourism operators and local communities, in no single instance were comprehensive written agreements drawn up and implemented. This led to misunderstandings and mistrust between stakeholders in more than one instance. The importance of a written agreement between stakeholders that spells out all rules, responsibilities and codes of conduct can therefore not be overstated or emphasised enough.

Although touched upon in the literature, it would seem as if local political agendas could severely cripple projects as demonstrated at Lebatlane. Members of the BCDO received death threats that resulted in the disbandment of the committee. This saw a fairly successful initiative reduced to something that barely functions and does not contribute to the welfare of the community in any meaningful way.

Leadership, commitment and entrepreneurial and management skills of managers were also identified as of extreme importance if tourism projects were to succeed. It is clear that those initiatives that proved to be successful had skilled 'champions' that played a very important role in the success of the projects (see Mthethumusa and Tswaing for instance).

Good relations between local communities and tourism ventures are beneficial to both parties. The importance of support by local communities for tourism in their midst must therefore not be underestimated. Local community support for tourism can however not be taken for granted. It stands to reason that such support will only be generated when local people reap direct and indirect benefits from such ventures. This is of particular importance in areas where poverty prevails and where a difference can be made to the quality of life of local people.

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