



# A Political Ecological Analysis of the Pilanesberg National Park and the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve, South Africa

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## Abstract

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Located in the North West Province of South Africa, the Pilanesberg National Park and the Lebatlane Tribal reserve, are examples of the many conservation-tourism opportunities in the country that have been identified as nodes for tourism growth. The reasons for which are associated with the potentially high economic spin-offs, that are recognised as a critical component of growth, development and poverty alleviation in post-apartheid South Africa. Firm foundations for such visions are evident in the government's policies on sustainable rural development aimed at redressing the inequalities of the past and improving the livelihoods of the previously marginalized and disenfranchised black population. It follows that core to these developments is the inclusion of the community. While it is evident that policies are in place, praxis is what appears to be missing or misdirected. This paper seeks, through the study of the two community based conservation-tourism initiatives, to explore the dynamics at play within a political ecological framework. Specific attention is given to the actors and their agendas in terms of who or what benefits, and how. By applying elements of the pro-poor tourism methodology, which is fitting in terms of South African context, , it is hoped that the study will shed light on opportunities for improving the impact and relevance of development interventions that fulfil the objectives of conservation while enhancing the livelihoods of communities of the targeted areas. The study reveals that, as with of other similar cases in South Africa, that there is no 'blueprint' for designing and implementing tourism initiatives and there are a number of highly variable contextual factors largely determined by the motives and interests of the actors involved. These are often beyond the control of those most affected by the initiative, commonly the local community. It is found that rather than applying sets of rules and models to these complex studies, that only lessons and experiences can be learned and shared and that an adaptive management strategy is the most reasonable approach to take, to ensure long-term sustainability.

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## LIST OF COMMONLY USED ABBREVIATIONS

<b>ANC</b> African National Congress
<b>CAMPFIRE</b> Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
<b>CBNRM</b> Community Natural Resource Management
<b>CDO</b> Community Development Organisation (BCDO –Bakgatla CDO)
<b>CWM</b> Community Wildlife Management
<b>DEAT</b> Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
<b>FOPS</b> Friends of the Pilanesberg Society
<b>GEAR</b> Growth, Employment and Redistribution
<b>MDF</b> Mankwe Development Foundation
<b>NWPTB</b> North West Parks and Tourism Board
<b>PNP</b> Pilanesberg National Park
<b>PPT</b> Pro-poor Tourism
<b>RDP</b> Reconstruction and Development Programme
<b>TA</b> Tribal Authority

# 1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The promotion of community participation in conservation-tourism initiatives has been recognised as a critical component of growth, development and poverty alleviation in post-apartheid South Africa. Firm foundations for such a vision are evident in the government's policies on sustainable rural development aimed at improving the welfare of the country's poor people. The strategies are laid out in The White Paper on the '*Promotion and Development of Tourism in South Africa*' (1996) which identifies the role of communities and more specifically rural communities in tourism and the need to enable them to take charge of the development process in their own areas. It promotes the idea of partnerships and highlights the fact that the under-developed tourism industry in South Africa has the potential for improving the quality of life for all South Africans provided that it is managed in a sustainable manner.

However not all documented community based conservation-tourism projects have succeeded in terms of fulfilling social, economic and ecological goals. A clear gap exists between theory and practice. The main aim of this research is to gain insight into the theoretical, practical and political-ecological dynamics that are major determinants for successful community-based conservation-tourism projects, and to evaluate how and if national, privately and communally run national parks and game reserves, can through community-based tourism initiatives meet goals of poverty alleviation and conservation. As the success of any such initiative is so heavily reliant on the actors, their role and their underlying interests will be investigated.

It has been argued by a variety of authors that without the involvement and active participation of local communities, conservation-tourism ventures may not reach their full potential and may even fail (cf., for example Brandon & Wells, 1992 or Fabricius et al., 2001). Furthermore, even under the guise of similarly coined phrases such as 'community-based tourism' 'community conservation' and 'eco-tourism', human-environmental relations of local communities often change as a result of tourism thus encouraging new economic activities and a process of rapid modernization (Gössling 2003). Ultimately this has the potential to lead to the demise of the livelihoods of those that depend on these resources while undermining the principles of conservation. This is especially relevant in the South African context where the definition and approach to ecotourism has been one that has focused on community economic development (Fennell, 2003). As a result, Fennell (2003) points out that ecotourism in South Africa may face an uncoordinated life cycle where it is 'ruled by economic development rather than other more intrinsic elements.'

## 1.1 Community based Conservation-Tourism Discourse in South Africa

In order to analyse and describe the cases (the Pilanesberg National Park and the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve) from the conservation-tourism perspectives it is necessary to review the dominating theories which have influenced National policies and strategies for conservation and tourism. While the idea of community-based tourism is not new, the approaches to the subject have evolved, as is evident from the large amount of literature on the subject.

It is also equally important to note that while community conservation approaches may not refer to tourism per se, the fact that tourism is so often very closely associated with conservation requires an understanding of the conservation approaches. This has been exemplified by the common notion and realisation that conservation areas should pay for themselves which was once again highlighted at the 5<sup>th</sup> World Parks Congress held in South Africa, September 2003. The key theme 'Benefits beyond Boundaries (<http://iucn.org/themes/wcpa>) not only implies that Parks should pay for themselves but also suggests that they should provide additional benefits. Special attention was given to the role of protected areas in alleviating poverty. This idea is particularly dominant in Africa where it is often cited that if conservation does not pay for itself, a rich heritage along with the 'cornerstone' of its' tourism potential will be lost (Farreira, 2003). Farreira (2003, p.36-42), further describes the relationship between tourism and conservation in South Africa as 'fusion of mutually interdependent issues'.

In Southern Africa, the community-based conservation paradigm has dominated. According to Hulme & Murphree (2001 p. 25-37), community conservation refers to 'those principles and practices that argue that conservation goals should be pursued by strategies that emphasise the role of local residents in decision-making about natural resources'. Thus it is important to trace the origins and evolution of the discourse that

was directly influenced by the wave of democracy that swept across the sub-region in the 80's and 90's. The adoption of the principles of community-based conservation was largely in response to the recognition that the 'centralised blueprint approaches to wildlife management of the colonial era' had generated a range of social conflicts (Fabricius et al, 2001) that now ironically endanger the future of the very areas they set out to protect. Consequently this has resulted in the popularity of the community-based Conservation approaches in South Africa. In a series of studies that were commissioned for the Evaluating Eden Project <sup>1</sup>(2001), a number of other factors that contributed to this shift in conservation approach in Africa were identified in Evaluating Eden No.6. These factors included:

- 'The pressure to promote development by using wildlife in rural areas
- A need to diversify the economy and move away from agricultural- based system to tourism and natural resource use
- The desire to conserve wildlife populations outside protected areas
- Community pressure and subversiveness
- Pressure for land reform
- A desire for conservation organisations to acquire new land for conservation
- Political expediency and recognition by governments that rural voters are important' (Fabricius et al, 2001, p. 13-17. Evaluation Eden No.6)

There are two distinct elements that characterise community conservation:

- to allow communities living in and around the conservation areas to participate in the management of the conservation resources and
- to link conservation objectives to development needs of a community (Hulme & Murphree, 2001).

Fabricius et al. (2001) go on to identify three main forms of community conservation.

1. At one extreme are the minimalist 'park outreach' initiatives that give national parks neighbours limited access to park benefits (e.g. that distribute a small share of the gate takings to passive communities). The Pilanesberg National Park would illustrate a milder example of this.
2. Collaborative management where conservation authority agree to joint management of some resources with the local communities.
3. In contrast there are the Community-based Natural Resource Management initiatives (CBNRM) where local community institutions are responsible for management of key resources, the most well cited example of this being the Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) programme in Zimbabwe. The Lebatlane Tribal Reserve is another variation on this example.

According to Fabricius et al. (2001) Community Wildlife management in Southern Africa has been influenced primarily by CBNRM and one of its off-shoots, Community-based Wildlife Management (CWM). While both paradigms focus on promoting rural development through the active participation of the community in the management and decision making regarding natural resource use, 'it is CWM that emphasises more strongly on community development'. It does this by promoting local self government through the creation of local institutions for the management of common property natural resources (Fabricius et al, 2001, p.13-17). More specifically, this approach was taken in the establishment of the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve, where local institutional structures were core to the development of the reserve.

### **1.1.1 Conservation-Tourism Models**

A number of community based conservation-tourism initiatives were piloted in South Africa during the Apartheid years (Fabricius et al, 2001), these initiatives typically originated in former independent homeland states. One such example is the Pilanesberg National Park in Bophuthatswana. Post 1994, this and similar initiatives provided 'points of reference' which other National Parks could base their revised, community-inclusive management strategies. However, central to the community based conservation-tourism rhetoric are that benefits should be accrued by the local communities, which has not always evident in these examples

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<sup>1</sup> The project emerged from an earlier review on key issues of CWM in Africa– the 'Whose Eden?' report (1994) The idea behind the Evaluating Eden project an IIED publication series was to take forward the debate on CWM, by widening the geographical focus and looking at what changes have taken place since 1994 ([www.iied.org](http://www.iied.org)).

(Collinson & Magome, 1998). Ultimately the scale of benefits accrued by a community depends on the communities ability to participate economically in the industry (Ashley et al., 2000). In reality, many of these early examples demonstrated inadequate community participation that resulted in few benefits to the communities (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003).

**CAMPFIRE model:** The Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe, has until recently been one of the most effective ‘models’ of where communities have been the main beneficiaries. The three key benefits were to improve the livelihoods of rural people, impart a sense of self-management and self-reliance and provide an incentive for rural communities to protect wildlife (Murombedzi , 2003) Central to the success of CAMPFIRE was that it ensured that wildlife revenues were made available for individual household accumulation through the devolution of power facilitated by a multiple tier co-management structure (Hasler , 1995; Murombedzi, 2003). As Hasler pointed out in 1995 the ultimate outcome of CAMPFIRE is dependent on the politics within the social organisations which facilitate CAMPFIRE. Today this is without question true, albeit in a negative light – the current political situation of the country has infiltrated the multi-tier co-management structure and has lead to the breakdown of CAMPFIRE. This serves to validate Haslers’s claim and emphasises the difficulty for community operated projects to function as autonomous units and remain uninfluenced by more centrally conceived ideas. Similarly caution should be applied when introducing or importing a model into another area because of the very different contextual political ecologies of each case.

**Co-management model:** Similarly, the Madikwe Model, a 75 000ha game reserve in the NW Province, attempts to engage community development in conservation-tourism through co-management. In this case, the implementation has eventually burdened Madikwe with broader social issues. Considering the community is also not a homogenous unit, participation has been found to be complex and expensive where the reality of ‘equal partnership’ is constrained by undefined tenure through the lack of ownership of land (Fakir et al., 2000).

The **Contractual park model** is another community-orientated alternative that is being used to include previously land dispossessed communities. The most well cited case being that of the Makuleke community which was showcased at the World Parks Congress in Durban, September 2003. In this example 24 000ha of land was returned to the previously land-dispossessed community adjacent to the Kruger National Park. The Makuleke community signed a joint agreement with SANPARKS, the conservation authority which sets aside the land for conservation use only. The community, however still holds the land rights and also benefits from receiving a percentage of the profits generated from tourist-related activities (Reid, 2001). According to Magome et al. (2003) a further benefit is that, land falling within a contract National Park can, because of the economic potential associated with conservation-tourism activities, double in value. The national conservation authorities gain the advantage of increasing area for maintaining biodiversity (Reid, 2001; Magome & Murombezi, 2003). Through private sector investment the community will eventually be in a position to manage its own land. This example illustrates the importance of benefits such as ownership, capacity building and empowerment which are widely considered to be key to the success of any community based conservation-tourism initiative.

Closely linked with CWM approaches has been the evolution of the more recent idea of **Pro-poor tourism** initiatives (PPT) (Ashely et al, 2000) to determine how tourism affects the livelihoods of the poor and how positive impacts can be enhanced. According to Ashley (2002 p.18) ‘PPT is not a specific product or niche sector but an approach to tourism development and management. It enhances the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people, so that tourism's contribution to poverty reduction is increased and poor people are able to participate more effectively in product development.’ Essentially this is what many conservation-tourism initiatives that attempt to include the local community implicitly set out to achieve. Ashley (2002) goes on to describe the many different types of pro-poor tourism strategies, ranging from increasing local employment to building mechanisms for consultation. Importantly PPT is not directed at any specific actor for an example it can involve - a small lodge, a large hotel, a tour operator, a conservation authority. In terms of environmental considerations ‘PPT strategies focus less on expanding the overall size of tourism, and more on unlocking opportunities for specific groups within it’ (Ashley, 2002 p.18). Most importantly is that any increase in the net benefits should be directed at poor people and that this can be demonstrated.

In the context of South Africa this appears to be a realistic model to follow considering the demands of the government to address poverty and unemployment through tourism. While not explicitly implemented, most of the models described above have an implicit PPT approach.

What becomes apparent from the many Community based conservation-tourism models that have been implemented, is that there are often a number of incongruent goals that are influenced by a myriad of contextual factors. The challenge appears to be in 'clarifying the desired outcomes and end goals, coming to terms with the fact that different role players do have different goals and taking into consideration that their end goals may change over time' (Fabricius et al., 2001, p.27-37). Also, it is clear that the performance of conservation-tourism initiatives, is highly dependant on factors beyond their control such as the performance of the entire country. The inherent contextual and political undertones of such initiatives further implies that there cannot be any 'blueprint'.

## **1.2 Aims and Objectives**

Through the study of two cases that have involved communities in the tourism initiatives in national and communal conservation areas, the following main research questions will be investigated:

- 1) To what extent has the local community been involved in the initiative and how do they benefit?
- 2) How does this determine or influence the sustainability of this conservation-tourism initiative?
- 3) What are the interests of actors in the community based/ pro-poor tourism initiatives with respect to the conservation and use of the environment for conservation-tourism?
- 4) How can conservation and natural resource use be integrated with community development activities (tourism related) in National Parks/Conservation Areas to ensure the long term sustainability of both?

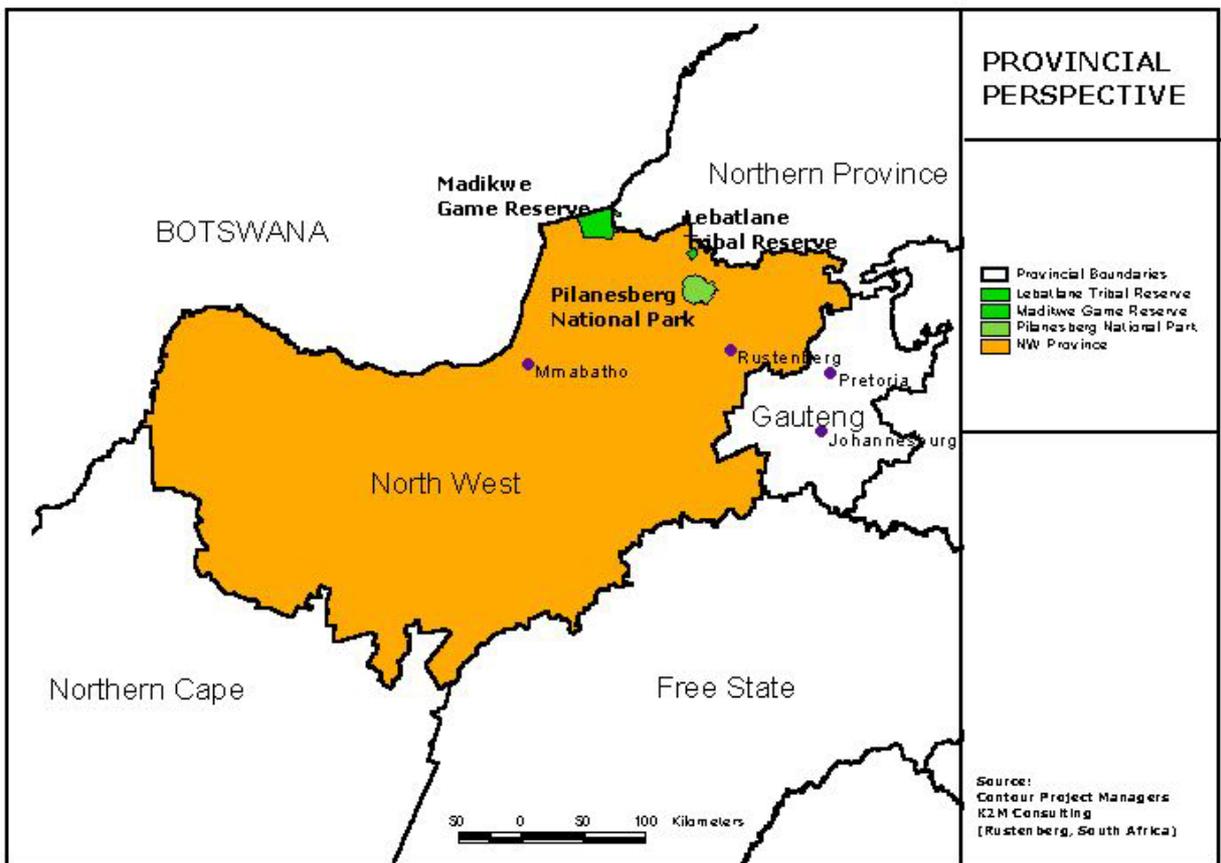
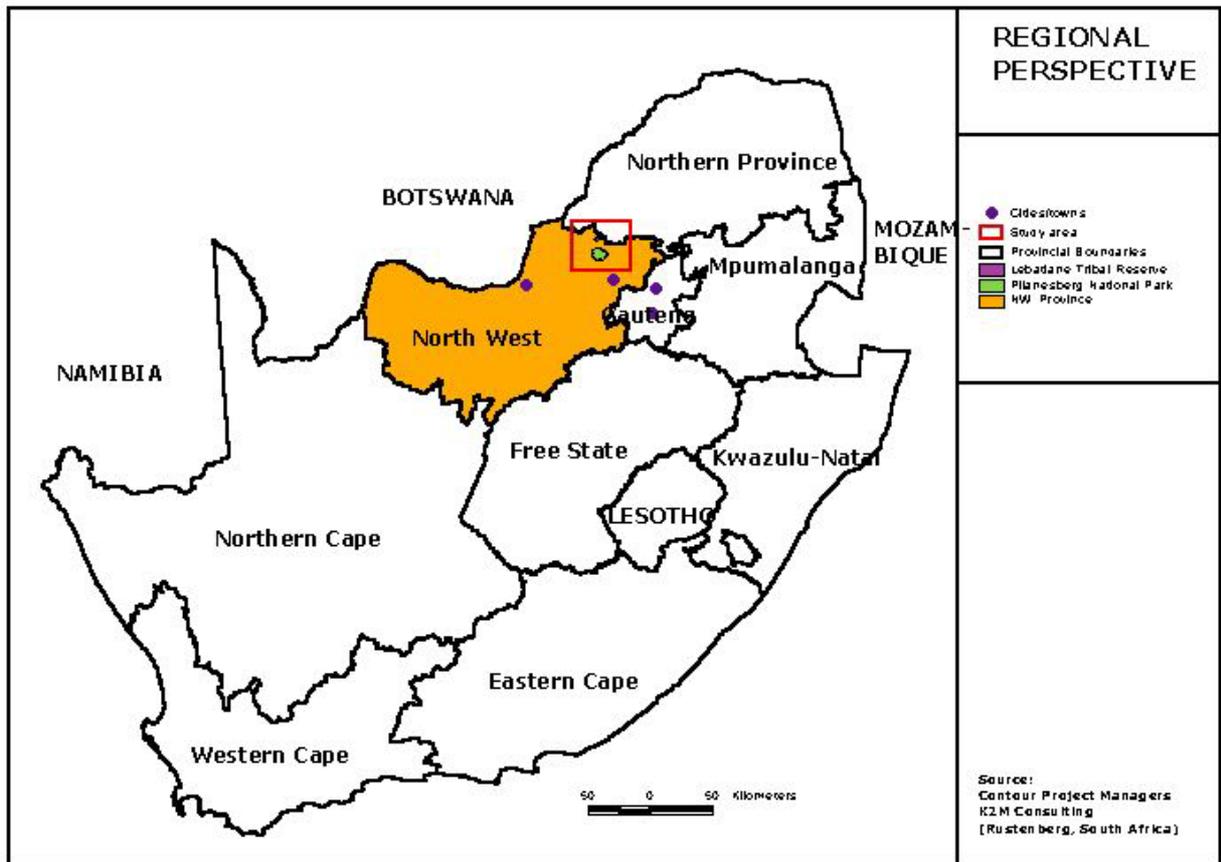
With these main questions in mind, the objectives of the study are to:

- To analyse and compare a community initiated conservation project with that of a well-established and apparently successful National Park.
- To evaluate and analyse the history behind these initiatives.
- To review the political and institutional settings.
- To investigate the roles and interests of the respective actors.
- To appraise the level and success of community participation in the both case studies.
- To investigate how conservation/tourism nodes have been integrated into the regional economy and development plans and how future plans for tourism development take into account pro-poor tourism initiatives.
- To review who benefits from conservation-tourism initiatives.
- To determine what constitutes a sustainable conservation-tourism initiative.

## **1.3 Methodology**

### **1.3.1 Case Studies**

Two case studies, the Pilanesberg National Park and the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve, (See map 1 &2) have been selected to suite the objectives of this research. They represent a variety of aspects, principally in terms of conservation, tourism focus, geographical location, level of community participation, government, and private sector involvement as well as management styles. Both are located in the North West Province of South Africa. Although they are both closely associated in terms of geographical location and the communities which they affect, they demonstrate different examples of community involvement due to the differing nature and circumstances under which the projects were developed.



Map 1&2: The regional and provincial location of the Pilanesberg National Park and the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve

### 1.3.2 Analytical Framework

According to Gössling (2003 p.10-11) ‘the political ecological approach has provided new insights into how national and international political, social and economic institutions drive local resource use policies and practices and has thus proved to be a powerful tool in understanding conflicts surrounding environmental conflicts.’ Stott and Sullivan (2000), describe political ecology as ‘tracing the history of narratives, including the power relationships supported by these narratives’. Simply, it refers to ‘the process whereby different levels of vested interest organise themselves in relation to ecological resources’ (Hasler, 1995 p.10-11).

In the context of South Africa, it is evident that the highly politically-orientated history of the country has had a significant influence on conservation-tourism developments. This is certainly true for both case studies – the Pilanesberg National Park (PNP) and the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve. This also becomes more apparent by realising the correlation between the establishment of conservation-tourism initiatives with land dispossession, environmental degradation and poverty, all of which are direct causes of the policies of the apartheid era. Therefore it follows that in order to understand the nature and functioning of these community-based conservation-tourism cases studies in South Africa, it is essential to analyse them in a political ecological context.

Central to this approach is the inclusion of economic and political elements in the analysis that enable the complexity of human interactions linked to the alteration of the environment to be explored. However the political elements will be more closely followed in this study. It therefore follows that a political ecological study requires a strong focus on the actors’ interests and ideologies as they determine the outcomes of an observed development.

### 1.3.3 Method

A political ecological analysis is conducted on the two case studies together by applying elements of the Overseas Development Institutes (ODI) Pro-Poor Tourism methodology (PPT), therefore ensuring that a multi-disciplinary approach is taken. The Pro-poor tourism methodology has been recently developed in response to the idea of harnessing tourism more effectively as a means toward involving the community and addressing poverty alleviation (Ashley, 2002). It has so far been used as an effective tool for assessing the impacts of tourism development on the poor, commonly the local communities residing adjacent to the initiative. As this methodology provides an appropriate framework for addressing many of the questions of the study, it will be used and adapted to take into account the issues pertaining to the conservation-tourism use of both cases. More so, in the context of the post-apartheid Government Policies, which recognise the need to alleviate poverty and create the conditions for sustainable economic development, the PPT approach is therefore fitting. The PPT methodology is typically descriptive and analytical. It is briefly outlined below, essentially there are three parts documentation, assessment and evaluation which involve the following components.

- Defining the Initiative: the scope and details of the case study
- Assessment of the tourism strategies and impacts. This provides a framework to analyse what actions are being adopted and how these are impacting on the local communities.
- The specific actions that have been taken to involve the community and how barriers to participation have or have not been addressed.
- Who has benefited from the initiative - which stakeholders, what are the benefits in terms of financial, capacity building and empowerment. Through the use of matrices as guidelines, benefits and problems/losses with regard to the livelihoods of the local community can be identified
- How has the initiative impacted on the natural environment - observational and interviews.
- Identifying some of the challenges and problems.

Primary data has been gathered in the form of structured and unstructured qualitative interviews with key actors/stakeholders. This has entailed interviewing a number of key actors that range from government to parks management representatives, local tribal authorities and key community members (a list of all those interviewed can be found under the referencing section). The interviews generally followed a similar format but were altered according the profession/ role of the person interviewed (Appendix A). All interviews were recorded and transcribed. In only one instance was a translator needed. These, together with a literature review (reports, publications, documentation) and observations were used to compile the baseline

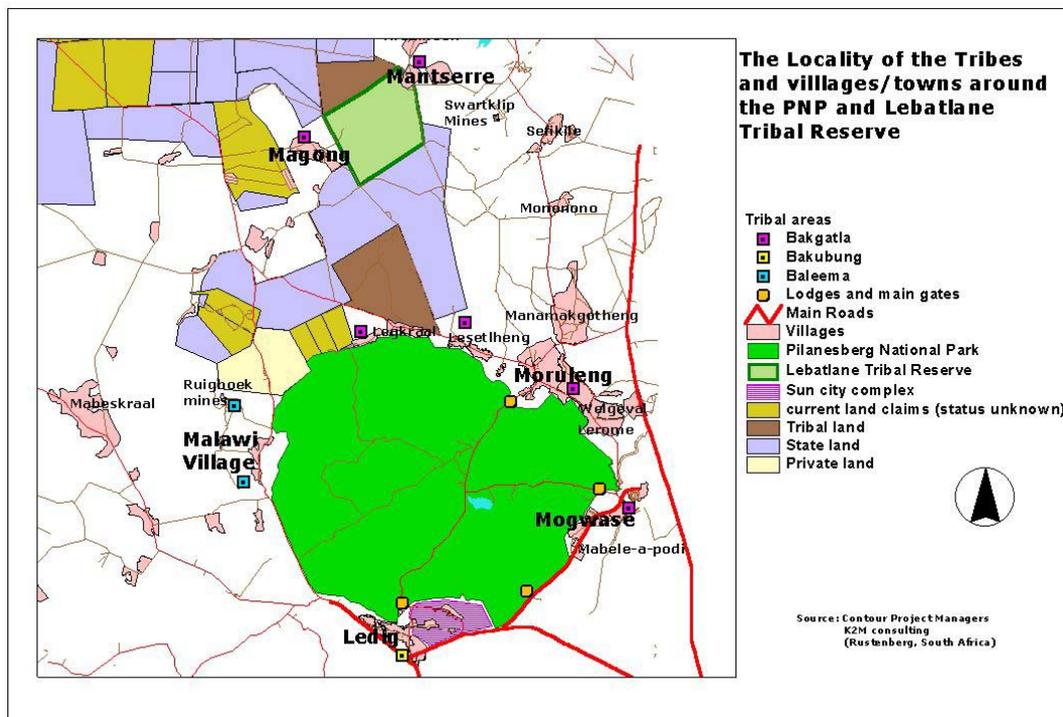
documentation, discussion, analysis and conclusions of the study. The structure of the paper will follow with a short description of the various actors and the location of the case studies. Each case will be individually described in terms of its history and current situation and will then be analysed in context of the actors and the achievements (benefits of the tourism-conservation initiative). This is followed by a final discussion and analysis of both case studies from which conclusions will be drawn.

### 1.3.4 Limitations

The qualitative nature of the study, inherently implies that it potentially runs the risk of becoming a subjective, ‘snap shot’ study. Bearing this limitation in mind will therefore allow for more objective and less exaggerated assessment of the cases. As the case study sample was limited to two related cases, findings should not be generalized or assumed applicable to similar initiatives. The fact that data capture was qualitative in nature, implies that views expressed by those interviewed are about perceptions and attitudes, thus potentially biasing the results that may in some instances be exaggerations or underplayings of the truth. The availability of information has also been to some degree limiting, as access to financial records and confidential plans has often been impossible. Similarly the reluctance of some of the prospective interviewees to participate has implications for the findings. However, keeping these limiting factors in mind, this study does not claim to provide all the definitive answers to the questions raised, it rather attempts to contribute to a greater understanding of the dynamics at play.

## 1.4 Locality of the Case Studies

Both the Pilanesberg National Park and the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve are located in the Mankwe district within the North West Province of South Africa (see Map 1, 2) The Mankwe district falls within the jurisdiction of the Moses Kotane Local Municipality. One hundred and nine towns and villages are widely dispersed through the local municipality and are characterized by poor accessibility, low density and large distances between settlements (IDP, 2001). One of the largest concentration of settlements occurs to north-east of Pilanesberg National Park (around Moruleng) (refer to Map 3).



Map 3: Shows main localities of the three tribes as well as the land ownership around the PNP and Lebatlane Tribal Reserve.

Mogwase, located along the northern border of PNP is the main town in the Mankwe district. Based on the 1996 census figures the largest population concentrations are in Lediq (15145) and Mogwase (9993). The

larger villages bordering the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve (situated approximately 30km north of the PNP) are Magong (2140) and Mantserre (3883) (figures derived from [www.demarcation.org.za](http://www.demarcation.org.za)).

The Mankwe District is predominantly used for cattle farming and dry land crops. Mining of platinum and chrome occurs mainly on the periphery, while the Sun City complex and the Pilanesberg National Park are an important tourism node. Limited industrial activities occur at Mogwase (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002).

The 1999 population in Moses Kotane Local Municipality, which the community is a part of was estimated at 250 600 (IDP, 2002). Referring to the figures provided by the Municipal Demarcation Board ([www.demarcation.org.za](http://www.demarcation.org.za)), the approximate population of the respective communities based on the villages which border the PNP and the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve are 55 021 and 17 577 respectively, totalling a 72 598, 'directly' affected community.

## 1.5 The Institutional Setting: Policy and Strategy context

Following the release of Nelson Mandela in 1992 the first, free and fair elections took place. The South African political structures were radically transformed and the newly elected Government was amongst other tasks, assigned the role of addressing the immense inequalities resulting from the 50 year-rule of the Apartheid regime. In accordance with the world dominating, economically orientated development paradigm, economic growth was identified as key to achieving these goals. This shift is reflected in many of the revised policies and development strategies that were adopted by the South African Government, the most well-known of these being the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). The RDP was later revised (1996) into the framework for Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) and is described as a 'conventional neo-classical macroeconomic recipe for economic growth' (Aliber, 2001, p.2). Key outcomes for GEAR are that community-based initiatives and co-management have been promoted in natural resource management which has specific implications for conservation to which tourism is intimately connected. (Isaacs & Mohamed, 2000).

It follows that tourism was not left out of the economic strategies of the GEAR, the reasons for which are many. South Africa is known for its incredible wealth of natural assets which when equated into economic terms through tourism, runs into billions of dollars. In 2000, R24 billion was spent by the foreign and domestic tourists in South Africa, making tourism the fourth largest generator of foreign exchange in the country (Spencely, 2003). Many of the tourist attractions are in line with global trends for alternative tourism; the fact that tourism encourages private sector involvement and also provides opportunities for small medium, micro enterprise development (SMMEs). Clearly tourism has the potential to directly and indirectly create employment opportunities and its value in terms of the growing foreign tourist market is unquestionable (Rogerson, 2003 & Spencely, 2003). This realisation of the economic potential of tourism is reflected in the policies and strategies of the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT). '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). This anticipated goal, appears to be realised as evidenced by the increase in the increase in foreign tourism earnings from 5.2% to 13% between 1988 in 1999 (DEAT 1999a in Spencely, 2003). There was also a 37% increase in foreign tourist arrivals to South Africa between 1994 and 1999 (SATOUR 1999 in Spencely, 2003).

Furthermore, the long term vision and role of tourism in economic development is emphasised in *The White Paper for the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa* (1996). This report identifies tourism as 'an engine of growth, capable of dynamising and rejuvenating other sectors'. It also suggests that the tourism sector could provide the basis for sustaining the RDP/GEAR. The key objectives of the White Paper on Tourism in ascending order include economic, social and environmental goals. The first and very strongly angled economic objective is 'to generate economic growth by aggressively developing and promoting tourism'. Implicitly this demand has serious implications for conservation areas and natural resource use which essentially are the tourism product, thus the management and use of South Africa's conservation areas become inseparable from tourism. The importance of the *conservation* component, has also been realised. Since 1994, 300 000ha has been added to conservation land, mainly through transboundary conservation areas (Fakier, 2003). This follows closely with both Nelson Mandela's pledges and a commitment of the ruling party, the African National Congress (ANC) to increase the land under protection from 6% to 10%, as recommended by the IUCN (Honey, 1999).

The fact that the White Paper on Tourism closely aligns itself with the GEAR, also requires that economic objectives are linked to community involvement. Thus the 'people-driven' principle is adhered to, where active involvement of all citizens irrespective of their age, sex, financial status, urban or rural is encouraged (White Paper Tourism, 1996). Here, tourism is to be used to aid the development of rural communities and to create sustainable employment opportunities, while their role in tourism development is described as 'vital'. A number of other closely related Government policies and strategies reflect the importance of economic growth and its association with rural upliftment. Most recently, with the release of the Protected Areas Bill in August 2003<sup>2</sup>, which has indirect implications for the tourism sector. Here, there is strong stance toward conserving and expanding conservation areas. The underlying aim is to once again enhance economic activity and at the same time, work toward poverty alleviation. Operating in conjunction with the Biodiversity Bill (2002) released in 2002, its influence on the future management of the Pilanesberg and other National Parks is quite significant in that it does not simply ensure that certain standards are maintained which ultimately contribute to the conservation of biodiversity, but also that a strong social focus is maintained. Provision for co-management of protected areas with local communities is regarded as key. A further important implication of the Protected Areas Bill is that in order for it to remain consistent with the discourse that conservation assets have economic utility, it empowers conservation management agencies such as the North West Parks and Tourism Board (NWPTB), which manage the Pilanesberg National Park, to operate as business entities where they are encouraged to engage in the commercialisation of their assets. The most obvious of these, being through tourism.

### 1.5.1 Strategies and Programmes

Spencely (2003) identifies a number of Government strategies and programmes that are being implemented to stimulate sustainable economic growth based on tourism development with the aim of addressing poverty and promoting opportunities for the historically disadvantaged. These initiatives typically address spatial planning and capacity building. The four main spatial development initiatives are:

**Priority Areas for Tourism Infrastructure Investment (PATII)** – Nineteen such areas have been identified, the Pilanesberg region, commonly referred to as the Heritage Park (which also includes the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve) is one such area that has been identified in the North West Province, as having substantial possibilities for further development based on the current supply and demand of tourism infrastructure (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002).

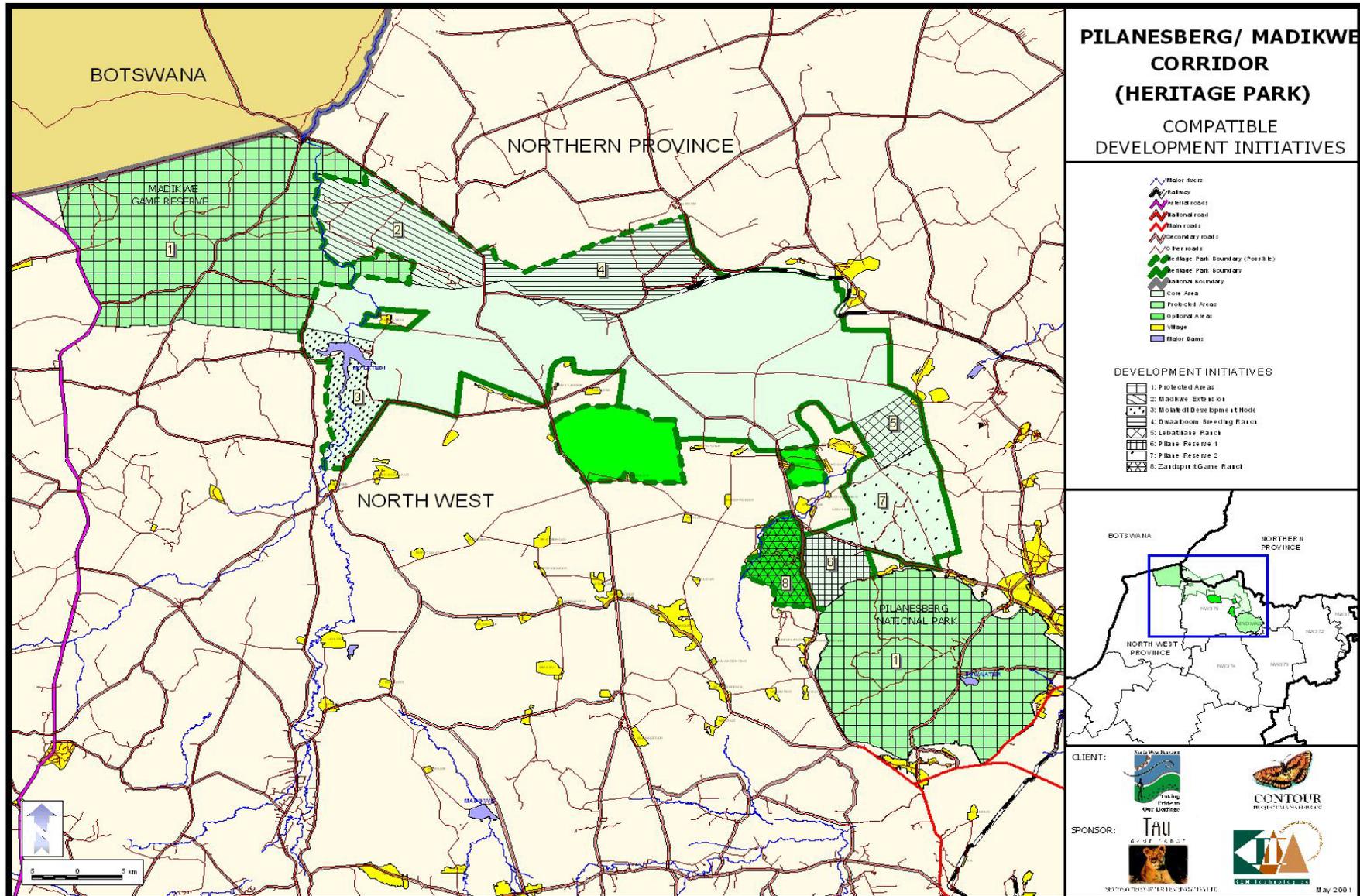
**Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs)** – The objective of SDIs is to reverse some the economic damage that was incurred during apartheid years through encouraging an export-oriented growth strategy. Private sector investment is encouraged into areas of under-utilised economic potential to promote spatial and sectoral growth (Spencely, 2003)

**Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TCFAs)** – TCFAs or 'peace parks' as they are commonly referred to, are international co-operation initiatives between two or more countries for achieving a common goal in the management of a shared ecological unit on either side of an international boundary<sup>3</sup> (de Villiers, 1999). The benefits of such initiatives include ecological as well as social and economic aspects, as they provide larger areas in which greater populations can survive and they provide stimulation for socio-economic upliftment and empowerment of marginalised, poor communities through participation (Spencely, 2003). In context of the Pilanesberg National Park and Lebatlane Tribal Reserve, the plan is to eventually link up the Heritage Park Corridor (within which both PNP and Lebatlane fall) to a cross-border protected area in Botswana (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002) ultimately forming a TCFA. Currently there are negotiations underway.

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<sup>2</sup> Falling, within the overarching National Environmental management Act (NEMA) of 1998, the purpose of this Bill has been to classify protected areas into one of four categories: special nature reserve, a national park, a nature reserve, or a protected environment. In order to be classified into each of the groups, a number of legally binding standards or requirements will have to be adhered to. In this way, the government is for the first time, obliged to set performance criteria for the different types of national and provincial protected areas authorities (Fakir, 2003).

<sup>3</sup> Other TCFAs that are currently being implemented or planned include the Kgalagadi TFCA that crosses the border with Botswana, the Maloti-Drakensberg TFCA, the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou TFCA, the Maputaland TFCA, and the Richtersveld TFCA.



Map 4: The Heritage Park will include both the Pilanesberg National Park (No.1) and the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve (No.5). The proposed plan is to join Madikwe Game Reserve (70 000ha) with the Pilanesberg National Park (55 000ha) over a 10-15 year period, through the incorporation of other smaller game reserves, tribal and private land (Source: Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002 – Heritage park Concept Plan)

**UNESCO World Heritage Sites** - Although the Pilanesberg Region does not fall directly within to the 'Cradle of Mankind' World Heritage Site, an area rich in palaeontological, archaeological, historical and cultural resources, it none the less provides an effective tourism link with the Heritage site playing an important role in the development of the so called 'Heritage Route' which now will be extended to include Madikwe forming the proposed 'Heritage Park' (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002).

The projected impact that the proposed 'Heritage Park' will have on the region in terms of employment and associated social upliftment opportunities is vast. The current tourism demand for lodging in the NW province is anticipated to grow from 270 000 room-nights per year to 410 000 by 2020 (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002). This initiative also has the potential to roughly double the amount of conservation land in the North West province from 4 % - 8% (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002). This expansion will assist South Africa in fulfilling the goal of having 10% of its land surface under state protection. Magome and Murombedzi (2003 p.109-131) concisely sum up the evolution of development and environmental policy initiatives in the recently democratised South Africa (since 1994) ;,

"They are attempting to strike a balance between two urgent sets of political pressures. The first is to address the pressing needs and aspirations of the previously disenfranchised and marginalised black community. The second are the requirements of the highly politicised but equally powerful global environmental agendas."

This assessment is reinforced by the fact that DEAT is a step closer to the target of assigning 8% of the country, by 2010, to protected areas status through a 120 000 ha contribution<sup>4</sup>. The 'critical part' occurs over the next three years when 3000 temporary jobs and 100 permanent posts are expected to be created (The Star newspaper, 10 October 2003).

## 1.6 The Actors

Typically, political ecological studies entail the consideration of place-based and non-place-based actors (figure 1). Both are applicable in the context of this study, therefore it is important to make the distinction between the two. As Hasler (1995) describes, these political ecologies of scale are often hierarchical in nature<sup>5</sup>. Figure 1 shows how the various actors interact with the management of the natural resource (PNP and Lebatlane Reserve), be it localised or remote, direct or indirect. In this paper, the actors will be described along with their relation to the natural resources (i.e. the PNP and the Lebatlane Tribal reserve) and how they coordinate with one another. Actor analysis will be detailed later.

### 1.6.1 Non place-based actors

#### International

According to Gössling (2003), there is a wide range of international actor groups that typically in context of the subject include those from the International Conservation and Tourism industries such as the World Tourism Organisation (WTO), The World Conservation Union (IUCN), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), the World wildlife fund for Nature (WWF) and other economic and politically driven organisations such as the World Bank (WB), the World Trade Organisation (WTO). While their interests and activities with regard to the case studies appears very remote, they are none the less highly influential in determining the National Policy agenda with regard to conservation and tourism. For an example, South Africa is a signatory of a number of Global environment-related conventions which, in turn, have implications for conservation-tourism strategies that are adopted by the government.

#### National

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT), is the ministry of the South African Government that is responsible for all conservation and tourism related policy development and implementation. The department is also responsible for ratifying any international environmental and conservation related conventions. It is clear that their mandate closely follows those promoted by global institutions such as the IUCN and the WTO and that they adhere to the policies, principles and practices of

<sup>4</sup> So far an additional 300 000 ha of land have been given conservation status since 1994.

<sup>5</sup> For a clearer understanding of the interactions between the various actors Matthias Bodenhöfer (2003), from the University of Helsingborg suggest sconstructing a diagram which depicts these relationships.

sustainable development. South African Tourism (SATOUR), is the official international marketing organisation of South Africa as a tourist destination ([www.southafrica.net](http://www.southafrica.net)).

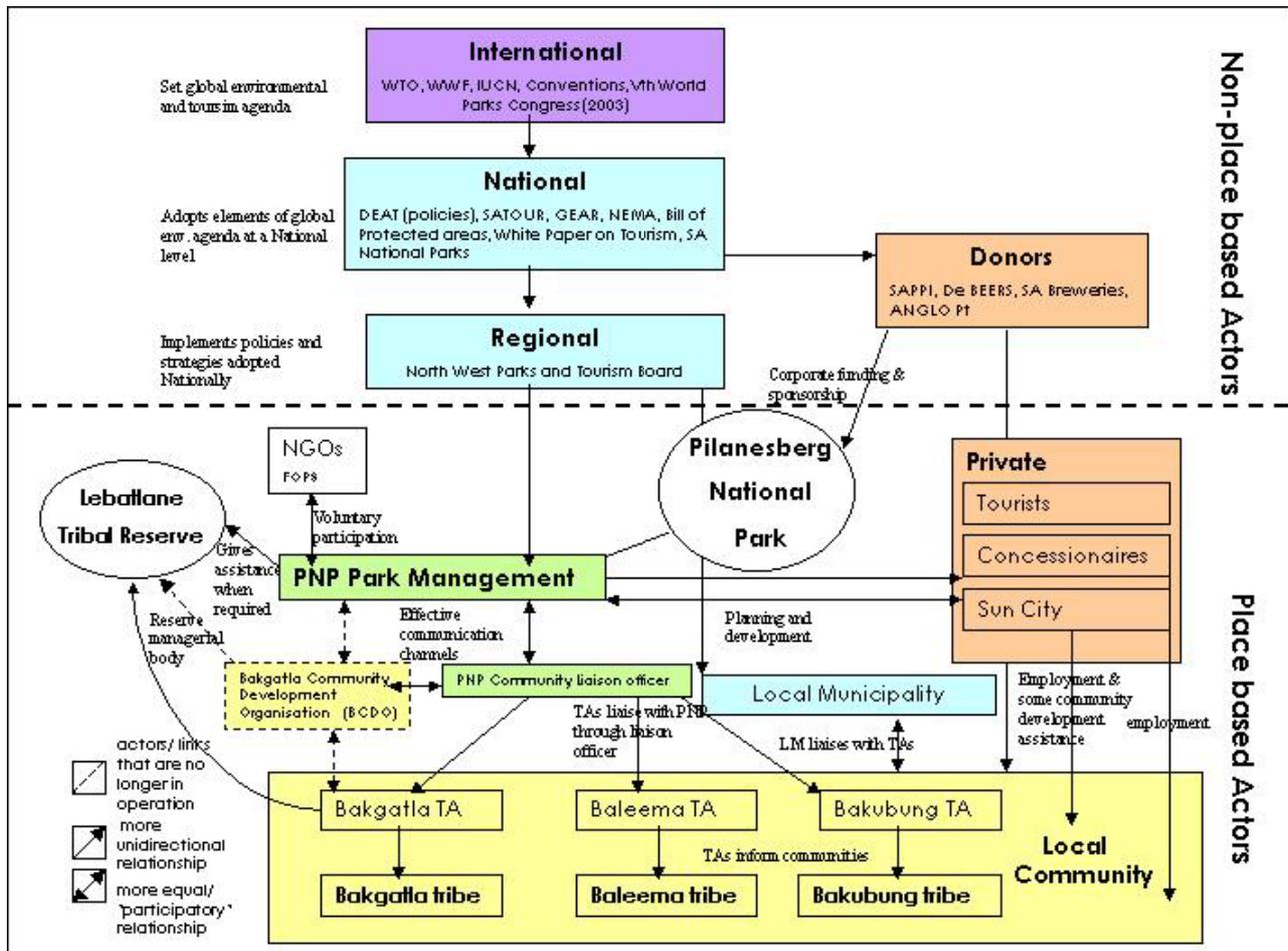


Figure 1: Shows linkages (interactions) between place-based and non place-based actors in the PNP and Lebatlane Tribal Reserve

### Regional

Based in Mmabatho, the North West Parks and Tourism Board (NWPTB) is the Conservation Authority responsible for national parks and game reserves within the North West Province. Responsible for two large parks, the Pilanesberg National Park and Madikwe Game Reserve, and a eleven other smaller reserves and parks, the NWPTB Board is "committed to the upliftment of the quality of life in the North West Province through the conserving of wild plants, animals and landscapes for the benefit of the people" ([www.parksnorthwest.co.za](http://www.parksnorthwest.co.za)). The NWPTB strategies and policies follow closely the mandate on tourism, conservation and development as set out by the National Policies. These will be described in the Policy section. More specifically is the NWPTB concept of the Heritage Park, that will 'establish a conservation corridor' linking the Pilanesberg National park with Madikwe Game Reserve as nature-based tourism anchor project and primary economic catalyst for the region' (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002, p.10-14 ) (See Map 1). This project has been described by the planners as a 'synergistic culmination of a number of regional initiatives' which focus primarily on tourism-conservation development. The proposed Heritage Park is strategically situated between existing protected areas and has the capacity to form a significant regional cross-border conservation area of one million hectares (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002, p.10-14).

### Donors

A number of donors have helped with the various Pilanesberg Park developments since its inception in 1979, such as the South African Nature Foundation that was responsible for initiating Operation Genesis, the largest game reintroduction campaign ever attempted (Brett, 1989), the environmental education Centre was funded by Gold Fields, De Beers, Anglo American and SA Breweries. Other more recent sponsors have

included Sun City who apparently funded the reintroduction of lion into the park in 1994. SAPPI has assisted with elephant reintroduction and the sponsorship of game hide construction in the park. It is well known that corporate sponsorship goes hand in hand with the common requirement of businesses to fulfil an ‘almost’ obligatory social/environmental responsibility. It is obvious that it is politically motivated and that both actors – the PNP and the donor benefit.

## 1.6.2 Place-based actors

### Community

As the community is an integral part of the analysis, a specific definition of ‘community’ is needed to establish the boundaries of this study. According to the overview on ‘Community approaches to Wildlife Management’ (IIED, 1994), the definition of the community is contextual and should be considered in terms of spatial, social, cultural and economic terms. Humle and Murphree (2001, p 281), go on to define ‘community’ in terms of the following parameters: ‘the community is an entity socially bound by a common cultural identity, living within a defined spatial boundary and having a common economic interest in the resources of this area’. In the context of this study, the local community constitutes all those communities living adjacent to the PNP and the Lebatlane Tribal reserve, all of which fall within the Mankwe District. These communities not only reside in close proximity to the PNP, but they also currently own or have owned land within and/or adjacent to the reserve boundaries.

Essentially there are three communities which are comprised primarily of SeTswana people, while other tribal groups such as Ndebele, Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Swazi and Basotho are in the minority and have come from other areas of the country. Each of the tribal groups can simply be distinguished by their different totem animals. The three main tribes are:

- The **Bakubung-ba Ratheo** (the tribe of the Hippo) under the leadership of Chief Monnakgotla are located on the southern rim of the Pilanesberg crater near Sun City. The main village the Bakubung occupy is Ledig (refer to Map 4).
- The **Batlhako-ba Baleema** (the tribe of the Wild dog) are an eastern Tswana tribe are located in Ruighoek/Malawi village area, west of the Pilanesberg crater. They are under the leadership of Chief Batleng Leema.
- The **Bakgatla-ba Kgafela** (the tribe of the Vervet Monkey), under the leadership of Chief Nyalala Pilane is the largest of all the tribes and is concentrated on the north side of the Pilanesberg crater, near Moruleng/Saulspoor.

There are three main centres either towns or villages that border to the fence. These are Mogwase, the largest which is a light industrial town, Saulspoor (Moruleng), the main Bakgatla village both of which fall under the Bakgatla jurisdiction (Oelefse, 2003) and Ledig (Bakubung). In terms of the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve, the Bakgatla ba Kgafela are solely the community of concern. The communities will be discussed in more detail in the later chapters.

### Tribal Authorities

The participation of the communities (the Bakgatla, the Bakubung and the Baleema) is and has been represented and facilitated by the institutional body of the traditional authorities (TA). According to Butler (2002 p.3-9) ‘the traditional authorities perform various judicial functions under customary law, dispute resolution, and land allocation and administration’. They are therefore central to the decision making in rural areas in South Africa. They do, in no way replace the role of local government i.e. municipalities, but more so work and consult with the local government. However the almost dual nature of local government and TA often gives rise to political disputes and clashes of interest (Butler, 2002). Typically the local government will consult with the TA before making any decision (Johnson Maoka, Chief Park Warden PNP & Prince Monnakgotla, Acting Baleema Chief, July 2003). Each TA is headed by a chief or *Nkosi* that is based on inheritance rather than through community appointment. Councillors are elected from the constituent tribal wards, as a result the extent to which chiefs can be regarded as ‘traditional’ is a highly disputed issue (Butler, 2002) The TAs therefore, are, the main points of contact between the PNP and the community and are thus considered to be the ‘representative’ of the communities.

### Community Development Organisation (CDO)

Community elected organisations typically have representatives from the community and the tribal authority and are key in the negotiating processes between the park and the community (Fabricius et al., 2001). The

CDO, a former community elected organisations was instrumental in establishing links with the communities, tribal authorities and the PNP management and the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve. One of the key functions of the CDO was to take responsibility for the community revenue that was generated by the PNP and make decisions with respect to how it would be used. This will be discussed in detail later.

### **Pilanesberg Park Management**

The PNP management falls within the NWPTB which was previously under the Bop Parks management prior to 1994. The PNP is recognised by the North West Province as the park with the highest economic potential and the second highest environmental value ([www.parksnorthwest.co.za](http://www.parksnorthwest.co.za)), therefore it is fitting that parks management plan has a number of objectives to fulfil in order to ensure the park is managed sustainably. Some of the key objectives include:

- ‘conserving the system's biodiversity, unique landscape and historical / archaeological sites;
- while at the same time utilising the system's renewable natural resources for the enduring socio-economic benefit of the neighbouring communities primarily, and international, national and provincial stakeholders secondarily.’ ([www.parksnorthwest.co.za](http://www.parksnorthwest.co.za))

The PNP management consider their key partners to be the NWPTB whose role should be to ensure the provision of the conservation infrastructure required to fulfil their management strategy. The NWPTB should also help to facilitate and co-ordinate the involvement of the other key partners, the private sector and local communities. The PNP Community Liaison officer is the main channel for communication between the park and the communities

### **Local Municipality**

The Moses Kotane local municipality (represents the local government in the study area), has very little involvement with either of the cases. It does however liaise with the tribal authorities and occasionally the PNP management and as such should be considered in this analysis.

### **Concessionaires**

All accommodation and services, such as hunting and safari drives that are provided in the Pilanesberg Park are operated by private companies. These include the Legacy hotel group which operate the upmarket Kwa Maritane and Bakubung lodges, and Golden Leopard Resorts operates the Bakgatla and Manyane camps. It is within their interests to adhere to requirements that are stipulated by the PNP and NWPTB with respect to their activities and the way in which they operate. Likewise, certain National policies such as elements of the GEAR, particularly in terms of employment are also of relevance to the way in which they operate.

### **Sun City**

While the Sun City and the Lost City complex it is an entertainment development by nature (opposed to a conservation tourism development), its proximity to the PNP borders and its huge contribution to tourism development in the region makes this an influential actor. It was by no coincidence established in 1980, the same time as the PNP. Owned and managed by Sun International, the resort also benefits from traversing rights within PNP (Spencely & Seif, 2003).

### **NGOs**

The Friends of the Pilanesberg Society (FOPS) is a voluntary body of members of the public that was formed in 1982 to assist the Bop Government with the management of the PNP. Involved principally with fundraising, sponsorship and general maintenance related activities such as the removal of alien vegetation, it was encouraged by PNP to further develop their role in the running of the park. Although the primary aim of the society is to protect and conserve the flora and fauna of the park ([www.fops.org.za](http://www.fops.org.za)) they have since extended their activities to include educational training through running a year long National Qualification in conservation (Maria Cazzavillan, Bushveld Mosaic Programme Manager 25 September 2003).

## 2 THE PILANESBERG NATIONAL PARK (PNP)

The Pilanesberg National Park (PNP) was founded in 1979, within one of the homeland states, Bophuthutswana (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 1.2 billion 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 Parks' very high conservation value (PNP Management Plan, 2000).

### 2.1 Park Management History

While the park was only formalised in 1979, the concept of forming a national park, was first highlighted in 1969, by the University of Potchefstroom who were responsible for the regional planning report. 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 Bophuthutswana (Bop) President, Lucas Mangope, who decided to promote conservation and tourism with formation of the 55 000ha park<sup>6</sup>.

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 the 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 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

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<sup>6</sup> 46 000ha of the area to be included in the park was stateland, purchased by the then Department of Bantu Affairs from white farmers, a further 8500ha belonged to the Bakgatla tribe and the remaining 1000ha belonged to private landowners (Keenan, 1984).

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) One, 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) Secondly, 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) Finally, 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 (Willie Boonzaaier, Director Contour Consulting, 13 August 2003).

## **2.2 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 tourist 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 number of Park visitors are evidenced by the increased demand for game viewing and other activities and size and number of lodges (Gus van Dyk. Operations and Tourism Manager PNP, 15 July 2003).

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 on 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 (Johnson Maoka, Chief Warden PNP & Gus van Dyk, Operations and Tourism Manager PNP, 15 July 2003). This becomes more relevant considering that park budgets are being cut every year (Matsima Makakgala, Parks Manager NWPTB & Johnson Maoka, Chief Warden, 12 August 2003), 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 (Gus van Dyk. Operations and Tourism Manager PNP, 15 July 2003). 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 (Johnson

Maoke, Chief Warden PNP, 15 July 2003). 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 types<sup>7</sup>. 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 (Gus van Dyk, Operations and Tourism Manager PNP, 15 July 2003).

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, visitor will be encouraged to use a 'park and ride' facility thus maximising the passenger per vehicle ratio and the reducing the amount of traffic (Johnson Maoka, Chief Warden PNP, 15 July 2003).

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 (pers comm.,21 July 2003), 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.

### **2.2.1 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 (Gus van Dyk, Operations and Tourism manager PNP, 15 July 2003). 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 starting 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 Seif and Spencely (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 (Dan Ntsala, Community Development Manager Sun City, 23 July 2003).

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 (~US\$1 million) of local infrastructure projects such as classrooms, vegetable gardens and early learning centres (Seif & Spencely, 2002). More recently, R500 000 (~US\$57,274) was donated to the Pilanesberg Wildlife Trust (Dan Ntsala, Community Development Manager Sun City, 23 July 2003). While

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<sup>7</sup> 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.

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.

## **2.2.2 Financing**

The PNP, the Madikwe Game Reserve and the Kruger National Park are a few national parks in South Africa that are financially sustainable (Gus van Dyk, Operations and Tourism Manager PNP, 15 July 2003). Currently, the PNP receives an annual Government budget of R11million (\$1.375 million), most of which goes to park employee salaries. A further R14million (\$1,75 million) generated through tourism is used for the management of the reserve (Johnson Maoka, Chief Warden PNP, 15 July 2003). Matsima Makakgala (Park Manager of NWPTB, 12 August 2003) believes the financial position is much less positive. He estimates that the PNP only 'breaks even' at best and is usually short of R1million.

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.

## **2.3 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.

### **2.3.1 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 (Nyalala Pilane, Chief of Bakgatla Tribe, 12 August 2003). 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 the 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 (Nyalala Pilane, Chief Bakgatla Tribe & Kobedi Pilane, Deputy Chief, 16 July, 12 August 2003). Furthermore, the lack of formalisation contributed to the ongoing misunderstandings, dissatisfaction and resentment that has been expressed over the years and still is 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 (12 August 2003), 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.

### **2.3.2 The Bakabung-ba Ratheo (The tribe of the Hippo)**

The Bakabung 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 contributing to 4500ha<sup>8</sup> 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 Bakabung 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 Bakabung 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 Bakabung, the issues around the land ownership are still disputed (23 July 2003). Park Management claims that this land was sold to Bop Parks during the consolidation of the reserve (Hector Magome, Director SANPARKS; Johnson Maoka, Chief Warden PNP & Matsima Magakala, Director Parks NWPTB, July/August, 2003) hence, the Bakabung 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 Bakabung 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 Bakabung 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 Bakabung 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 Bakabung does not take issue with the land being incorporated into Pilanesberg Park, but rather as 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 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 of the Park (Keenan, 1984). Currently, the Bakabung appear more concerned with how the Sun City complex can assist their community. (Seif & Spencely, 2002)

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

The Baleema tribe, like the Bakabung, 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 Bakabung. 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 (pers comm., August 2003), the Leema tribal land was incorporated into the reserve and a once-off gratuity

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<sup>8</sup> The 3 farms are Ledig, Koedoesfontein and Wydhok

payment was made to the tribe during the consolidation of the park in the 1979. There was again no formalisation of agreements with the Bop Government at the time.

### **2.3.4 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 BCDO was however short-lived and 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 passing 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 and empowerment, 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 etc<sup>9</sup>. It is planned that within the next five years the MDF will be completely community operated and managed (Berger Oelefse, coordinator of the MDF, Sept 2003). 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 an example pottery, vegetable gardening and encourages development of their skills through the establishment of small enterprises.

## **2.4 Outcomes**

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

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<sup>9</sup> 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.

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
- 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.

#### **2.4.1 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 p. 1-6) note that while tangible benefits are no doubt very important, in terms of the pro-poor tourism strategy, stresses '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.

#### **2.4.2 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 p.15), '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 (Hector Magome, Dir. Conservation SANPARKS and former Dir. Conservation Bop Parks, 4 August 2003). 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 Baleema 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 (~US\$ 25 500) was made (Brayshaw, 1999). According to Sagmeeda Hendriks, the financial controller of NWPTB (August 2003), 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 (~US\$116 500). 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 (~US\$140 200) (Sagmeeda Hendriks, NWPTB financial controller, August 2003). Earlier records of payments are not available. However it would appear that payments were made from 1994 even if they were not necessarily on the 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 an example 12 of the 14 gate attendants are women (Gus van Dyk, Operations and Tourism Manager PNP, 15 July 2003). 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.

	<b>No. Employees</b>	<b>Percentage local</b>
<b>PNP Management</b>	67	55%
<b>Manyane Camp<sup>10</sup></b>	90	90%
<b>Bakgatla Camp</b>	56	60%
<b>Kwa Maritane Lodge</b>	160	90%
<b>Bakubung Lodge</b>	219	85%
<b>TOTAL</b>	536	average 76%

Table 1: Employment opportunities (data:personal comments: Jo Hof., Manager Manyane, Sam Stemmet, Manager Bakgatla camp, Karen Finney, PA Dir Kwa Maritane Lodge, Bakubung Lodge, Peace Mosala, Chief guide, (July -August 2003).

According to the Park Community Liaison Officer, Ephraim Morei (pers.comm.,15 July 2003), 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.

<sup>10</sup> A full-time starting wage such as that which would be paid to a cleaner or waitress is between R1200 -R1400 per month (US\$150 -US\$175/mth) (Joe hof, Manager Manyane Camp, August 2003)

## **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 Grace Masuku (retired Principal and community projects facilitator, 22 July 2003), the net profit from the 20th year celebration event was in the region of R60 000 (~US\$8300), 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 (Grace Masuku, Community projects facilitator, 22 July 2003) 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’ (Grace Masuku, Community project facilitator, 22 July 2003) 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 (Deputy Bakgatla Chief; Grace Masuku, Community project facilitator 16 July 2003) 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 p.7) has shown ‘tourism can encourage the abandonment of traditional- resource use systems’. This should not necessarily be viewed negatively. This can be reflected in that 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 (Gus van Dyk, Operations and Tourism Manager, 15 July 2003).

### **2.4.3 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 (15 July 2003). While training programmes have been fairly varied, according to Gus van Dyk (Operations and Tourism Manager, 15 July 2003) 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 (Peace Mosala, Lead Game guide Bakubung Lodge, 21 July 2003)<sup>11</sup>.

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 (pers comm.14 August 2003) 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 (Chief Nyalala Pilane, 14 August 2003), thus denying the community the chance to participate in a co-managerial or joint venture manner.

While the 8500ha of land that 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 (Nyalala Pilane, Chief Bakgatla tribe, 14 August 2003) 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 programmes' the success. Land use rights for the Bakgatla will impart a true sense of land 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 (15 July 2003).

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 a 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 (Johnson Moaka, Chief Park warden, 15 July 2003). 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

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<sup>11</sup> 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 a also an example of the current socio-political situation in South Africa.

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 (Johnson Maoka, Chief Park Warden, 15 July 2003). 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 closely also 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 (Chief Nyalala Pilane & Matsima Makakgala, Dir. Parks NWPTB, August 2003). Since his resignation from the Board in 2000, no other replacement has been appointed to represent the Pilanesberg community. Meanwhile the Bakubung and the Baleema 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 (Matsima Makakgala, Dir. Parks NWPTB, 11 August 2003). 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 (Ephraim Morei, Community Liaison officer PNP, 15 July 2003). 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 p.5 -6). 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 p.2 ) 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 lead 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 (Johnson Maoka, PNP Park Warden; Moses Thebe, EE centre manager; Mr Masilela, Teacher Intumeleng School; Grace Masuku, Voluntary community project developer; Dan Ntsala, former CDO member) 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

Up to 15 000 school children visited the EE Centre every year (Johnson Maoka, Chief Park Warden, 15 July 2003). Six teachers were seconded by the Department of Education to the PNP. Typically, a two-day long programme would could accommodate up to 360 children at a time. As the programme was heavily subsidised by the Government, the service was made available to schools from the local predominantly black communities. The link between the Bop Parks Board and Education Department helped to get the word out to schools advising them about the Pilanesberg EE facility and thus ensure a high number of school visits.

Certainly one of the stronger aspects of the children's learning experience was that it did not simply end after a visit to the PNP. EE clubs under the name of the Lengua Conservation Club Network, were set up in most of these local schools' villages (Mr Masilela, teacher Itumeleng Secondary high School, 12 August 2003). Follow-up work and projects were facilitated through these clubs with the assistance from the EE Centre staff. A donated vehicle enabled the EE staff to make visits to the schools and also penetrate areas that were not previously accessible (Willie Boonzaaier, Director Contour consulting, 14 August 2003). Teachers in charge of the school clubs would meet regularly to discuss and exchange ideas. Grace Masuku (retired Principal and community projects facilitator, 22 July 2003) has also facilitated Indigenous Knowledge programmes through the clubs. During school holidays, the Department of Education together with the EE centre employees also provided certified EE-related training courses for teachers.

It was only until the change of Government that the programme started to decline (Maoka J., Thebe M., Masuku G., Moremi G., Ntsala D., pers comm., 2003). This may be attributed to a number of reasons.

- The new Government's restructuring of various departments, created confusion and frustration.
- Some of the staff were seconded to new jobs elsewhere, those left behind were uncertain who they were working for.
- These disruptions were compounded by the fact that there is no enthusiastic motivator running the programme (Moses Thebe, EE centre manager, 24 July 2003).
- Subsidies were withdrawn making the cost of trips far too high for most schools.

As a result numbers have since declined to about 5000 pupils per year, few of who are from local schools and only two staff are employed. It is clear that the centre is highly under-utilised and that the motivation has been lost. It is also evident that a very positive relations medium between Park and people has been lost. Similarly few of the school environmental clubs are still in operation. While the value of the EE Centre has been recognised by Park Management, Tribal Authorities as well as staff from local schools, little has been done in the last seven years to resurrect the Centre.

However, recently 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 in association with FOPS) to assist with fulfilling the community training needs. Course co-ordinators realised the need to reach a far wider audience ([www.bushveld-mosaic.org.za](http://www.bushveld-mosaic.org.za)) 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 organize 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 (Maria Cazzavillan, Bushveld Mosaic programme coordinator, 24 Sept 2003). 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 (Masuku G., Masilela, Morei E., Ntsala D., pers comm., 2003)

### **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 (Comfort Makakaba, Heritage Centre curator, 16 July 2003). 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 Environment and Tourism 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 (Ephraim Morei, Community Liaison officer PNP, 15 July 2003). 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 (Kobedi Pilane, Deputy Chief Bakgatla tribe, 16 July 2003).

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 emphasizing the importance of intangible benefits. The completion of the first phase coincided with the National Holiday, Heritage Day, 24 September 2003, and was attended 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 community (Kobedi Pilane, deputy Chief Bakgatla tribe, 16 July 2003). While all communities have access to the area within PNP, they still have to pay the R20 (~US\$3) 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 (~US\$14 000) toward the recreation facility, which included a swimming pool, stage, performing area, soccer field, and picnic and ablution facilities (Johnson Maoka, Chief Park Warden PNP, 15 July 2003). 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, Raseparane has been under utilised and is falling into disrepair.

## 2.5 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 that 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 apparently still in the negotiation process (Johnson Maoka, Chief Park Warden, 15 July 2003). Surprisingly, there appears to be no animosity between the tribes regarding the dispensation of benefits.

Since 1998, at least R922 000 (~US\$140 000) 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 with 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 (pers.comm., 12 August, 2003) points out that it is equally important to consider the relative value of the funds received (currently about R 400 000 - R500 000/year {~ US\$70 000}). 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 (Gus van Dyk, Operations and Tourism Manager PNP, 15 July 2003). 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.

In the PPT method, identifying barriers that limit the participation and the economic involvement of the poor (local community) in tourism is important for assessing how Pro-poor the initiative is. An adaptation of one of the matrices in the Pro-poor tourism methodology is aptly applied to summarize the community participation in tourism related activities around the PNP (Table 2). Here issues are identified and classified as being either as or as not a barrier to the communities participation in tourism related activities. Actions taken by the various actors to address this barrier are then described.

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 meet these needs either financial or in capacity 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.

<b>Issue</b>	<b>Identified as a barrier</b>	<b>Means of overcoming it</b>
<b>Lack of human capital eg skills</b>	<i>Yes. there are few external training options available for those wishing to be involved in tourism . Also a general lack of capacity of the communities to participate in Community public-participation-partnerships (CPPP) and tenders, in this way they are often excluded.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>New employees receive in- house training by PNP and pvt concessionaires (lodges).</i></li> <li>• <i>Indigenous Knowledge training courses provided by Grace Masuku (voluntary)</i></li> <li>• <i>Wildlife Trust will provide scholarships community member interested in conservation and wildlife management careers</i></li> <li>• <i>PNP provides hospitality training for community B'n Bs.</i></li> <li>• <i>MDF can potentially facilitate training once 'up and running'</i></li> <li>• <i>Bushveld mosaic programme could involve more from communities (funding dependant)</i></li> </ul>
<b>Lack of financial capital</b>	<i>Yes, limited credit available Access to capital</i>	<i>MDF may be able to assist with this once 'up and running' * former CDO was able to assist with local development projects through the securing of funds from other sources</i>
<b>Lack of social capital (organisational)</b>	<i>Yes. No strong community organisational structures in place</i>	<i>The recently launched MDF may be able to fulfil this function * former CDO was a very successful community organisation during the early 90s before it was disbanded.</i>
<b>Gender norms and constraints</b>	<i>Not a barrier. Both men and women in PNP and lodges</i>	<i>Women outnumber men in employment at PNP</i>
<b>Incompatibility with existing livelihood strategy</b>	<i>Not identified as a barrier.</i>	-
<b>Location</b>	<i>Not identified as a barrier</i>	-
<b>Lack of land owner/tenure</b>	<i>Yes. Despite Bakgatla tribe having ownership, land use rights have still not been processed.  Bakubung and Baleema land claims issue</i>	<i>Lands-use rights should be formalised soon which will give the Bakgatla greater negotiating power  Needs to be investigated and resolved</i>
<b>Lack of product</b>	<i>Yes. The local community has nothing to sell to the lodges or tourists in any formal sense.</i>	<i>There initiatives are a few underway to establish tourism products e.g. the Bakgatla heritage centre, the curio selling facility at Manyane gate Sporadic ethnic cooking for large functions</i>
<b>Planning process favours others</b>	<i>Yes. No appropriate institutional mechanism exists to promote interaction between private businesses eg. lodges and community</i>	<i>MDF may help to address this issue Securing land use rights may improve the situation for the Bakgatla</i>
<b>Lack of linkages between formal and informal sector/local suppliers</b>	<i>Yes. Private sector (lodges) operators lack knowledge of local suppliers or are active in supporting those that exist</i>	<i>Wherever possible PNP notifies local enterprises regarding tenders. MDF could fulfil this function together with the community liaison officer</i>
<b>Tourist market inappropriate</b>	<i>Not identified as a barrier</i>	-
<b>Lack of pro-active government support</b>	<i>Yes. General lack of training support for community members as well as limited access to finances Pro-poor tourism measures need to be included in management plans and strategies and contractors should be made aware of their PPT obligations</i>	-

Table 2: Actions to address barriers to participation of the community in tourism (adapted from the PPT methods, Ashley, 2002)

### 3 THE LEBATLANE TRIBAL RESERVE

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 en route to Magong (Map 1,2,3,4). The area is typically comprised of thornveld and some mixed bushveld<sup>12</sup> 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. This chapter will investigate why a community tourism project that appeared to have every reason to succeed has not done so.

#### 3.1 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 (Dan Ntsala, former BCDO member and Community Development Manager Sun City, 23 July 2003). This pioneering attitude was also complementary to the RDP that was initiated by the new South African Government in 1994. The farm was bought for a sum of R750 000 (~US\$ 100 000). Each adult male community member contributed R40 each (~US\$16) for the purchase of the land. Royalties earned from mining companies were used to erect a R250 000 (~US\$ 35 000) 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.

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

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<sup>12</sup> 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.

- 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.

## 3.2 Management

### 3.2.1 Community institutions: BakGatla Community Development Organisation (BCDO)

According to Palmer (2003, p.6) ‘Community-Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) and suchlike are usually seeking power and control over natural resources (i.e., entitlements) in order to attain other end goals, mainly improved livelihoods.’ In this case, the vehicle was tourism. Capacity building and enabling mechanisms such as community institutions can be used to achieved these goals through catalysing natural resource use into investments which local people have rights to and which they can use (Palmer, 2003). The BCDO<sup>13</sup> is one such example of a community institution that mobilised natural resource use.

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 Bop 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 improved through the development of the BCDO (Ntsala, 1994).

The BCDO was registered as a voluntary association and as a Section 21 company<sup>14</sup>. 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 Reconstruction and Development Programme (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 community<sup>15</sup>. 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).

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 the 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

<sup>13</sup> The BCDO was a democratically elected committee (Hector Magome, Dir Conservation SANPARKS, former Cons Manager Bop Parks, 4 August 2003).

<sup>14</sup> A section 21 company is that which is not for profit gain

<sup>15</sup> 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.

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 (Dan Ntsala, Kobedi Pilane & Johnson Maoka, pers comm. 2003). 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 Lebatlane 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 CPA (Community Property Association). 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.

### 3.2.2 The role of the PNP

Crucial to the Lebatlane Initiative was the commitment of the PNP (Bop 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 Lebatlane 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 (Geoff Moremi, former Lebatlane Park Warden, 14 August 2003).

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 (Geoff Moremi, Former Lebatlane reserve manager, 14 August 2003). This voluntary assistance has been recognised by the Bakgatla TA (Kobedi Pilane, Deputy Chief Bakgatla tribe, 16 July 2003). 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 (Geoff Moremi, former Lebatlane reserve manager, 14 August 2003). Today the TA admits that the project has been badly managed and that the PNP is slow to respond whenever there are problems at Lebatlane (Kobedi Pilane, Deputy Chief Bakgatla tribe, 16 July 2003).

### 3.2.3 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 (~US\$100 000). 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 (~US\$35 000) for the maintenance of the farm. Once the fences had been erected and roads had been graded, a further R1 million (~US\$140 000) 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 (Geoff Moremi, former Lebatlane reserve manager & Grace Masuku, former CDO member, August 2003).

### **3.2.4 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 (~US\$700) each (Edwin Pilane, Lebatlane Reserve manager, 13 August 2003). 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 (Edwin Pilane, Lebatlane Reserve manager, 13 August 2003). 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.

### **3.2.5 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 (Refer to map 3) (Boonzaaier & Lourens, 2002). This point is further emphasised by the 'actions to address the barriers' in Table 3. 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.

## **3.3 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. With 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, 4 August 2003) 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 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 (Hector Magome, former Bop Conservation manager & Edwin Pilane, Lebatlane reserve manager, August 2003). 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, 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 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.

<b>Issue</b>	<b>Identified as a barrier</b>	<b>Means of overcoming it</b>
<b>Lack of human capital e.g. skills</b>	<i>Yes. there are few external training options available for those wishing to be involved in tourism . Also a general lack of capacity of the communities to participate in Community public-participation-partnerships (CPPP) and tenders, in this way they are often excluded.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <i>The inclusion of the reserve into the Heritage Park plans may provide some scope for building capacity</i></li> <li>• <i>Indigenous Knowledge training courses provided by Grace Masuku (voluntary)</i></li> <li>• <i>MDF can potentially facilitate training once ‘up and running’</i></li> <li>• <i>Bushveld mosaic programme could involve teachers from the neighbouring schools (funding dependant)</i></li> </ul>
<b>Lack of financial capital</b>	<i>Yes, the TA has ‘no’ budget available for the reserve maintenance Access to capital was never a problem in the early years but now is</i>	<i>MDF may be able to assist with this once ‘up and running’ * former CDO was key in securing funding for the reserve ie need for a community organisation other than the TA</i>
<b>Lack of social capital (organisational)</b>	<i>No strong community organisational structures in place since the disbanding of the CDO</i>	<i>Possibly through the MDF or through the Heritage park planning</i>
<b>Incompatibility with existing livelihood strategy</b>	<i>Land that had been used for grazing is not available. Fences are broken to give livestock access to the reserve</i>	<i>No actions have been proposed</i>
<b>Location</b>	<i>The location of Lebatlane, has proved difficult to attract tourist to the area. 30km of mostly unsurfaced road and monotonous landscape</i>	<i>If included in the greater Heritage Park plan, it may be able to benefit from associated infrastructure and derive benefit from other tourist attractions with which it will be associated with.</i>
<b>Lack of land owner/tenure</b>	<i>No. The land is owned by the Bakgatla tribe.</i>	-
<b>Lack of product</b>	<i>Yes. Apart from hunting there is nothing to do or see for the visitor.</i>	<i>Need to establish other attractions to the reserve. Eg cultural heritage routes, indigenous knowledge training courses.</i>
<b>Planning process favours others</b>	<i>Local and regional plans tend to favour the bigger ‘draw cards’ such as the PNP or Sun City, therefore Lebatlane has little room to compete</i>	<i>The Heritage Park plans may address this since they will have a strong community focus.</i>
<b>Lack of linkages between formal and informal sector</b>	<i>Not applicable. Private sector is has not even been involved with the Lebatlane Reserve.</i>	<i>Private sector involvement may be included through the MDF and Heritage park plans.</i>
<b>Lack of pro-active government support</b>	<i>Yes. Most of the support received by Lebatlane was provided by NGOs and other donors</i>	<i>New government policies, that make provision for rural communities may help with addressing this. Eg The Tourism Enterprise Support Programme launched by DEAT 2003</i>

Table 3: Barriers which have impacted on Lebatlane Tribal Reserve participation in the Tourism Sector

## 4 DISCUSSION

### 4.1 The variation of contextual factors

As Fabricius et al., (2002) have identified, studies on community-based conservation-tourism are not homogenous as a result of numerous and highly variable contextual factors. The most influential of these factors are the motivation for establishment, land tenure, community cohesiveness, communities capacity, authorities capacity, revenue-generating potential, control of access, role players participation and donor support. In both the Lebatlane and the PNP cases, not all the factors apply to the same degree, however they do share commonalities. This highlights the importance of analysing initiatives separately, but also finding parallels with other cases. An adaptation of a table presented by Fabricius et al. (2002) can be used to summarise the differences and similarities in terms of contextual factors in the case studies.

<b>Contextual Factor</b>	<b>Pilanesberg National Park</b>	<b>Lebatlane Tribal Reserve</b>
<b>Reason for Initiative</b>	economic, also biodiversity and Conservation,	Mainly for development and rural upliftment
<b>How access is controlled</b>	Park management	Community
<b>Level of participation</b>	Low	Community-driven
<b>Type of land tenure</b>	State and communal	Communal
<b>Level of community cohesion</b>	High, diverse	High, divided
<b>Communities management capacity</b>	Low	Low
<b>Authorities management capacity</b>	High	Low
<b>Extent of donor support</b>	High	Low
<b>Relative revenue gathering potential at the locality</b>	High	Medium to low

Table 4: Contextual factors that influence Community based conservation-tourism initiatives, which show how each case is different and therefore require different approaches in their management and implementation (adapted from Fabricius et al., 2001 p. 29)

Evidently the summary table points to some fundamental differences that ultimately determine how 'successful' the initiative is. One of the more striking points is that a more 'top down' or centralised management approach appears to be more successful for long term 'survival' than the more progressive community-orientated approach taken in the Lebatlane case. This is contrary to the current community-based conservation-tourism discourse. This, however, does not imply that this is the correct way to manage or that community management does not work. As Gössling (2003) has shown, tourism related initiatives and discourses are usually maintained by national governments, as has also been shown in these case studies. Directives are commonly associated and linked with those of the international actors such as the World Trade Organisation (WTO), International Tourism industries, environmental actors etc., while the local communities seem to have little or no influence. However, there are other factors at play that should be considered, such as the reasons for the initiative, the managerial capacity, the revenue gathering potential etc. all which have a significant influence on the end result.

### 4.2 Reasons for the initiatives

Applying the political ecological approach to this study reveals that the reasons for such initiatives vary considerably. Simply, the motivation behind the PNP was a combination of ecological, political and economic incentives, whereas that of Lebatlane was primarily economic. The 'end' goals of such initiatives are also commonly not stated or are transparent. If they are stated, they vary greatly between the actors over time. Succinctly put 'it depends on whom you ask and when you ask them' (Fabricius et al.2002 p.29).

Both the future of the PNP and Lebatlane Tribal Reserve will be influenced by the Heritage Park plans, the reason for this initiative are heavily focussed on creating substantial investment in the areas adjacent to conservation sites, however such strategies should be considered with caution. These development may not be beneficial from both an ecological and social perspectives as they often act as magnets to migrants or create growth poles (Brandon & Wells, 1992). This potential problem has also been recognised by other authors which describe tourism in South Africa as being highly uneven and polarised in terms of the space economy (Visser, 2003). This uneven distribution of the benefits from tourism expansion, the concentration of investment and earning potential does little to meet the Government's goals of alleviating poverty in rural areas. Conservation-tourism initiatives should therefore not be seen as the sole remedy for rural upliftment and, therefore, be burdened with the responsibility of alleviating poverty. Rather, they should be viewed as a *part* of a larger integrated development plan to benefit poor rural communities.

### **4.3 Expectations of tourism-conservation (benefits)**

Expectations are closely linked to the reasons for the initiative. Core to any such conservation-tourism project is the inherent goal of deriving some form of benefit, whether it be economic, social or ecological. The ability of the project to deliver and the extent to which it is able to deliver is dependant on the contextual factors outlined in Table 4. It is through the fulfilment of the benefits that project is judged a success or failure. In both case studies the benefits have been slow to materialize, contributing to a general dissatisfaction within the community. It is also important to consider the magnitude of the benefits in relation to the community size i.e. there are only a limited number of employment opportunities that can be created. This points to a commonly overlooked reality; that the benefits derived from conservation-tourism initiatives can only increase up to a point, after which they will become unsustainable through the erosion of the tourism product, in this case, the natural resource.

The importance of the 'product' that is being offered to the tourist (highlighted in tables 2 & 3) is also a significant determinant of the 'success' of the initiative. Evidently Lebatlane had high expectations of their tourism product with the idea that the reserve would also feature a cultural village and ethno tourism opportunities. Considering the disadvantage of the locality in terms of accessibility, the attractiveness of landscape features and the lack of wildlife experience, their expectations were perhaps unrealistic. In contrast, the PNP has numerous advantages, the 'Big Five' wildlife attraction together and the tourist infrastructure to support it, and the added advantages of being well-established, well marketed and supported by private donors.

### **4.4 Passive vs Active involvement**

Based on the information in Table 4 and from the discussions in Chapters 2 and 3, it can be argued that the affected communities remain more passive than active beneficiaries in the participation and management of the PNP (Tables 2 & 3 outline these barriers). While it is easy to criticise the various actors such as the PNP management, the provincial authorities and private investors (concessionaires) for their lack of community involvement, it would be unjust to not recognise the positive steps that they have been taken since the Park's inception 24 years ago. Much has been done to improve the position of the communities in terms of participation and benefits. Many of these changes have been brought about by political transformation in the country that forced actors to implement participatory and equitable policies. However, it is also apparent that not all proactive moves to include or involve the communities were necessarily driven by national policy reforms. Some of the examples described above occurred before the change in government and were largely influenced by the popularity of CBRNM strategies in the region. Other factors are also linked with economic incentives. For example, locality of a workforce makes it more feasible to employ who do have long commutes to work, thus reducing the late arrivals and time spent away from their families. Some of the more striking examples that demonstrate the PNPs, intention to involve the community include:

- Community involvement in the park has always been in the PNP management plans. The difference now is that it is also part of provincial and national policy, which implies that it is mandatory whereas before it was 'voluntary'.
- The appointment of a Community Liaison Officer demonstrates the PNP managements' realisation that community participation requires a dedicated channel through which to operate.
- The more recent (since 1994) commitment to fulfilling the agreement to make annual payments to the Bakgatla community.

- Allowing access to natural resources within the park on request.
- The proactive stance the PNP and the concessionaires have taken to employing locals first, and ensuring that training is provided to all employees.
- Assisting with the establishment of the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve over a 3 year period
- Providing an effective Environmental Education facility for local schools and teachers particularly prior to the new dispensation.
- A community representative on the NWPTB board

This does not infer that these efforts have been adequate, effective or necessarily appropriate. It does however demonstrate the attempts by the PNP to become more community focused. Also, these efforts appear to have a time dependant variable. In other words, they have not all occurred at the same time and also do not necessarily continue. As would be expected, achievements should fluctuate, as will the benefit accrued, emphasising the dynamic nature of such initiatives.

Furthermore, the role and responsibility of the community institutions such as the Tribal Authorities as important facilitators should not be excluded. It is apparent that the Bakgatla TA does not encourage or facilitate the participation of the Bakgatla community in decision making and planning.

#### **4.5 The value of cohesive representative community bodies**

It is beyond the core function of the PNP to fulfil the needs and wants of the communities. If it were, it would require the commitment, assistance and participation of other actors such as the Government, the private sector, NGOs *and* the community. The CAMPFIRE programme in Zimbabwe and the Makuleke community of the Kruger National Park demonstrate that community institutions appear to have been key to their successes so far. Similarly, the Bakgatla CDO fulfilled a very valuable role during its operational period by linking the community and the PNP and the other actors. Hulme et al.(2001) noted that small institutions increase the willingness and efficiency to take responsibility and decrease the likelihood of corruption. They also enhance a feeling of collective identity. This holds true for the first few years of the establishment of the Lebatlane Tribal Reserve which was successfully assisted by the presence of the BCDO. It is apparent that the role of the BCDO was significant and fulfilled a valuable function of linking the TA and the community. The BCDO operated through joint ventures with sponsoring companies and institutions and may be viewed as the mediator or the 'link' between the donor/support institution and the community. It maintained an important communication channel that was community driven and demonstrated, a good example of a joint venture which typically entails private sector involvement.

However, the experience of the BCDO for Lebatlane, adds to the growing evidence in South Africa that it is unfortunately naïve to think that community-based organisations can provide the forum for local government and management institutions. As Fabricius et al. (2001 p. 36) observes, in many cases community-based organisations that are initially set up to manage revenue from tourism and natural resource use often become the sites of 'acute intra-community conflict'. While community institutions are valuable to the participatory process, it is naïve to assume that they can provide the structure for local management or that the devolution of power to a more local level will result in good management. The Bakgatla CDO demonstrated the need for a neutral mediator. The recently-launched Mankwe Development Forum (MDF) has the potential to represent the entire district, but also runs the risk of not addressing local needs as effectively as a CDO because it will, as a result of its size, be forced to act more centrally rather than locally.

#### **4.6 The power of ownership and land-use rights**

The PNP, as with other conservation areas in South Africa, has not been immune to the issue of land restitution. This has had very important implications for facilitating and speeding up the participation of communities in land management issues. A number of land claims in the PNP have played an important role in bringing the various actors together. In the case of PNP, the Bakgalta tribe were always in possession of the ownership rights of the 8500ha of land, but this did not put them in a secure negotiating position as they lacked the *land-use* rights. These are now (2003) finally being processed. In contrast, land ownership and *land use* rights for the Lebatlane reserve were solely in the hands of the community and they were therefore able to be proactive in the decision making regarding the use of the land. In addition, the community has been represented on the NWPTB board (even though not currently). This has important consequences for the

community; they will have full discretion in the planning of and implementation of any other further tourism programmes. Finally it should be noted that while land claims processes are lengthy and financially demanding processes, it is apparent that they are essential in ensuring that key pro-poor tourism objectives are fulfilled in a sustainable manner. This can be supported by other case studies such as the Makuleke community. In this case the acquisition of land ownership and land use rights has been singled out as the most important factor that enabled the community to pursue tourism projects that derive maximum economic and social benefits (Mahoney & van Zyl, 2001).

## 4.7 Communities as homogenous entities

Closely related to contextual variation within different conservation-tourism initiatives is the fact that communities are not homogenous. This has been identified in much of the literature (IIED, 1994, Hulme & Murphree, 2001, Fabricius et al., 2001, Spencely, 2002) and is also true for the case studies. The communities have been treated homogeneously and, in most instances, the community is referred to as the Bakgatla, while the Baleema and Bakubung tribes are rarely considered or simply 'included' in the Bakgatla community. While the three communities are very similar in that they share the same language and some of their cultural background, there are many subtle differences too, which relate to land tenure, ownership, economic status and interests. The most obvious of these differences is that the Bakgatla tribe is the wealthiest tribe through land ownership and platinum mining rights.

Each tribe also has internal differences. For an example, Grace Masuku (Community project facilitator, 22 July 2003) identifies many villages falling under the Bakgatla Tribal Authority on 'specialist' activities particular to that village such as pottery and vegetable gardening. Further evidence of differences in a community is evident in the Bakubung where the community has been split by social engineering (Keenan, 1984). This, in turn, has had an effect on how these communities have been involved with the PNP. Similarly, the disbanding of the BCDO was caused by divisions and differences within the Bakgatla community.

## 5 CONCLUSIONS

Some of the more significant findings in this study are summarised below:

- Both the PNP and the Lebatlane Tribal reserve illustrate how a variation in contextual factors and the roles of the actors involved have a marked influence on the outcomes, thus highlighting the importance of actor analysis in such studies.
- Both case studies have subscribed to varying degrees of implementing objectives of pro-poor tourism and have shown that it is possible to adapt tourism to be more pro-poor. In order for this to be effective, however, the initiative needs to be supported by the government through policies oriented to these Pro-poor objectives.
- It is important for communities to be in a position to take responsibility for the management and implementation of pro-poor tourism policies. It has been demonstrated in the case studies that lack of empowerment and capacity consequently weakens the communities' positions and their potential to participate in the management of conservation-tourism initiatives. Their potential to maximize tangible benefits is also decreased. It is therefore apparent that the values of intangible benefits are what ultimately contribute to a more sustainable, participative and inclusive management process.
- The acquisition of land and land-use rights is critical to maximizing tangible and intangible benefits. The case studies have shown that without land-use rights, communities essentially remain powerless.
- Community-elected apolitical institutions help to ensure that tangible and intangible benefits become a reality for the community. It is also clear that they cannot operate in isolation; there is a need for external mediators to ensure that inter- and intra tribal conflicts and corruption do not disrupt the functioning of such committees.
- There are opportunity costs (financial and value of time) associated with the promotion of pro-poor tourism, the most notable being the high operation costs. Success stories such as the Makuleke and Manyeleti cases have relied extensively on Government, donor and other support, and will continue to do so. Without significant financial support, it would prove difficult to ensure that the objectives of pro-poor tourism are achieved in the PNP.

- While studies on community tourism-based initiatives are quick to label the project as a success or failure, few consider the dynamic nature of such projects, They should be expected to go through cycles of achievement and under achievement. In the analyses of the Pilanesberg and Lebatlane, both demonstrate temporal variations.
- Considering the dynamic nature of conservation tourism initiatives, there is no blueprint for success and caution should be applied when implementing other models. Both case studies are proof of this fact. An adaptive management approach is the most appropriate and reasonable to take.
- Finally, this research has highlighted the fact that Conservation-tourism initiatives should not be seen as the sole remedy for rural upliftment. Nor should they be burdened with the responsibility of alleviating poverty. Rather, they should be seen as a *component* of rural development plans.

It is evident that there has been an immense pressure from the South African Government to develop tourism in South Africa as a means toward economic development and poverty alleviation. Development and conservation policies and strategies are closely aligned by the dominating discourse that economic growth can sustain both. Both the PNP and the Lebatlane initiatives do implicitly subscribe (to varying degrees) to some of the objectives of pro-poor tourism. Both cases illustrate that it is possible to adapt tourism to be more pro-poor, and that government, community as well as the other actors have the ability to direct tourism initiatives towards the attainment of pro-poor objectives.

There are however opportunity costs in terms of finances and time associated with the promotion of pro-poor tourism, the most notable being the high operation costs. The fact that the budgets of the PNP and other parks are continually being cut while at the same time they are expected by the Government to deliver more and more 'benefits' implies that parks are being forced into the position of exploiting every income generating measure, potentially leading to unsustainable activities. Perhaps the most interesting, finding was that concern for the protection of the very resource that all actors are directly dependant upon was rarely expressed in the interviews and not raised as an issue of concern. This points to an intrinsic assumption that the resource is under protection and that the possibility of exploiting it to the extent to which its ecological integrity is lost is virtually nil. It is worrying that very little mention or concern afforded this very real threat, especially considering the pressure that is being put on the PNP and surrounding areas though ever-increasing tourist numbers to the region and the proposed Heritage Park plans.

In conclusion, it is evident that the sustainability of the PNP and the Lebatlane Tribal reserve is, as with other conservation-tourism initiatives in South Africa, heavily dependant on the policies and strategies that are adopted and implemented by the remote actors such as DEAT and the NWPTB. The thrust of these policies are economic with a strong community focus, while the actual conservation of biodiversity is seemingly secondary in importance. Closely linked with this is the financial dependency of such initiatives on donor support. Failure to approach conservation tourism initiatives without regard for fulfilling these objectives and the inability to secure funding from external sources (i.e. the private sector) could result in the project failure. Clearly the conservation-tourism discourse and more so the practice is not simple. The notion that community based conservation-tourism initiatives undergo cycles of 'achievement and under-achievement' has been demonstrated in both cases, which on closer inspection is obvious in that they are so intricately linked to social, economic, political and ecological factors which are by nature are dynamic. In simple words fluctuations are to be expected. Rather than applying sets of rules and models to these complex studies, it is evident that only lessons can be learned from them and that an adaptive management strategy is the most reasonable approach to take.

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[www.fops.org.za](http://www.fops.org.za) : Friends of the Pilanesberg Society

[www.iied.org](http://www.iied.org) : International Institute for Environment and Development

[www.parksnorthwest.co.za](http://www.parksnorthwest.co.za) : The North West Parks and Tourism Board

<http://iucn.org/themes/wcpa/wpc2003/index.htm>: The IUCN 5<sup>th</sup> World Parks Congress, September 2003

[www.southafrica.net](http://www.southafrica.net): South African Tourism

## **Personal Communication**

### **All interviewed between July – September 2003**

Boonzaaier, Willie: Director Contour Consulting, involvement with PNP management over 20 years.

Cazzavillan, Maria: Programme co-ordinator Bushveld-Mosiac

Finney, Karen: secretary Bakubung Lodge

Hendriks, Sagmeeda: Financial controller NWPTB

Hof, Joe: Manager Manyane Camp

Leema, Batleng: Chief of the Leema tribe

Mabiletsa : Secretary of farmers association and former member of CDO

Makakaba, Comfort: Curator Bakgatla Heritage Museum

Maoka, Johnson: Chief Warden Pilanesberg National Park

Magome, Hector: Director Conservation Services of South Africa National Parks (SANPARKS) and former Director of Bop Parks.

Makakgala, Matsima: Parks manager of North West Parks and Tourism Board (NWPTB)

Masilela M: Teacher at Itumeleng Secondary high School, Ledig and organizer of Env. Clubs

Masuku, Grace: retired principal and organizer of community projects, former member of CDO.

Monnakgotla, Prince: acting chief of the Baleema tribe on behalf of father Chief Monnakgotla.

Molwane, Cornelius: Molwane attorneys, Rustenberg

Momberg, Mandy: PNP ecologist

Morebi, Bernard: Director Mankwe Safaris

Morei, Ephraim: Community liaison officer PNP

Moremi, Geoff: PNP Environmental Education Officer and former manager of Lebatlane Tribal Reserve.

Mosala, Peace: Lead game guide Bakubung Lodge

Ntsala, Daniel: Community development manager Sun City and former member of CDO

Ntswagong, Jacob: Mogwase Local municipality.

Oeufse, Berger: Co-ordinator of the Mankwe Development Foundation

Pilane, Edwin: Game scout in charge of Lebatlane Tribal Reserve

Pilane, Kobedi: Deputy chief Bakgatla tribe

Pilane, Nyalala: Chief of the Bakgatla tribe.

Shroyer, Maretha: Parks development manager NWPTB

Stemmet, Sam: Manager Bakgatla Camp.

Thebe, Moses: Environmental Education center manager –Bosele camp

Tshegameno, David: Deputy Chief of Baleema

Van Dyk, Gus: Operations and Tourism manager PNP

# APPENDICES

Sample of a typical questionnaire that formed the basis for all actors interviewed:

## **Chief Park Warden - Johnson Maoka - Pilanesberg National Park**

### **General**

- 1) How long have you worked here?
- 2) What is your role – job description?
- 3) What percentage of your management team is from the local communities?
- 4) Training of your staff has this been ‘aggressive’ as stated in the management plan?

### **Tourism**

5) How has tourism changed over the years?

Numbers:

Activities:

Developments: eg Have you marketed the cultural product, more accommodation planned

6) Effectively how many tourists could stay in/and around the Park at one time?

7) What is the average occupancy? How many visitors on average per day?

8) %National vs. international tourists?

9) Do you think the tourism development has had an impact on the tourist ‘product’?

What are the main reasons for tourists coming here?

### **Management**

10) What about the effect on the local community? Are they active/passive beneficiaries?

How do local communities profit?

11) Do you think the present management and utilisation of the reserve is sustainable?

Do you have any concerns?

12) Do you think that PNP’s objectives of involving the local community in the management of PNP have been met?

13) How often are there and how often have you been involved in joint management meetings with the local Community Development Organisation and other tribal organisations?

14) Are there any conflicting interests between the local communities and the tourism ventures of the park?

15) Do you think the management team of PNP has ‘gained the support, appreciation and commitment of the people’?

16) The Lebatlane Community conservation initiative - what do you know about this and are you anyway involved in the tourism development there?

17) Linking up with Madikwe? Views....

### **Marketing**

18) How is the Pilanesberg marketed in your view as an eco-tourism destination, nature tourism, community-based tourism initiative, sustainable tourism, cultural conservation, other .....

And what does this term mean to you?

19) Who are the beneficiaries of the tourism development of the region and why? And who benefits most?

20) At what level would you say that the tourism initiatives PNP receive institutional and financial support from the following: DEAT, NWPTB, SANPARKS, NGOs, Private, Sun City

### **Environment**

21) Which environmental problems do still exist?

22) How does tourism contribute to environmental problems?

How can this be addressed?

23) Have local resource use strategies changed through tourism? In which ways?

24) Is community-based conservation the panacea (remedy) for environmental conservation?

25) What about natural resource harvesting by local communities?

e.g. animals, fuelwood, clays, medicinal plants

How is this managed?

26) Poaching – is there any?

27) Environmental Education Programmes can you comment on the value and efficiency of these:

Bakubang Heritage Centre, Bakubang Lodge environmental school campaign, Goldfields Environmental Education Centre, Legua Conservation Club Network, Staff training (Cons-related), Other.....

28) How do you foresee the impacts of climate change in terms of the long terms ecological viability and ultimately the sustainability of the park? i.e. shifting habitats, spp extinctions

Is this an issue than is of concern to management? Are they aware of the potential threat?

Do you think this is an issue to be considered?

Other comments