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**Disjoined action in a conjoined world: An analysis
of human development governance in rural
KwaZulu Natal, South Africa.**

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ABSTRACT

Development models often aim to alleviate poverty through exploitation of ecological riches, particularly in resource rich, developing countries. South Africa has just such a development project in northern KwaZulu Natal, where the iSimangaliso Wetland Park, a UN World Heritage Site, is part of a broader economic development project, the Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative, targeting local socio-economic development. This policy framework falls under the umbrella of a progressive national Constitution and the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area. It has been set up to direct the broader governance system to benefit both the environment and the people in this region, a socio-ecological system. This study investigates why acute poverty still remains under this socio-ecological friendly development framework by analysing the multiple actors that participate in the delivery of poverty alleviation. Data collection included semi-structured interviews of the state and non-state actors contributing to the governance system and observations gathered through active participation while residing within the communities of the case study. By applying scale in my analysis I conclude that disconnects within the governance system explains some reasons why poverty alleviation is not adequately being implemented. Disconnects include mismatches between the actors perspectives that drive their developmental activities, being social, ecological or socio-ecological. Also, diverse sources of influence from local, national and international levels, that enable the actor's performance through means of finance and enforcement, are also found to hinder the governance system. A multi-level governance approach is suggested to improve the results of this ecologically sustainable development model.

Keywords: Human Development, Agency, Governance, Socio-ecological System

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ACRONYMS AND TERMS USED:

ANC	Africa National Congress
HDI	Human Development Index
IDP	(Municipal) Integrated Development Plan
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IMP	(iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority) Integrated Management Plan
IWPA	iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority
inDuna	(Zulu) community leaders appointed by the Nkosi. They are members of the TA.
izinDuna	(Zulu) plural form of inDuna
KZN	KwaZulu Natal Province
LSDI	Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative
LTFCFA	Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area
NGO	Non-governmental organization
Nkosi	Zulu clan chief
NPO	Non-profit organization
PTO	Permission to occupy
SA	South Africa
SES	Socio-ecological system
TA	Tribal Authority

1. INTRODUCTION:

Many developing countries of Sub-Saharan Africa are resource rich and depend on the use of their natural resources for poverty alleviation (World Bank 1996). At the same time the condition of ecological systems that contain these natural resources are not meant to be sacrificed. Environmental sustainable development has become a dominant discourse to guide the development of Sub-Saharan African countries (Ibid) where the goal is to develop economically without environmental degradation including deforestation, loss of biodiversity¹, access to safe drinking water and land degradation. This two-part agenda of development and environmental protection is difficult to maintain as a win-win situation where internal tensions remain causing either the environment or people to supersede (Brockington et al 2006).

In Sub-Saharan Africa development through wildlife conservation is a dominant strategy. It has been argued to be a win-win situation (Roe and Elliot 2006, IUCN 2002) for environment and the people. Yet, in many places where such development agendas exist acute poverty still remains. This suggests that establishing a win-win development through conservation policy has not been sufficient to alleviate poverty. Exploring the barriers to successful *implementation* of development through conservation has inspired this research project.

This thesis analyses a case example of human development in rural KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, an area that is still responding to a harsh political history of economic and social injustices. In this area ecological and social needs top the development agenda, which is acted out through government and non-government agents within a broader regional policy of economic development and maintaining the wealth of biodiversity. This two-part agenda specifically targets protection of natural world heritage and relieving acute poverty. However, even though a clear policy framework has been laid out by the state, poverty still exists.

I. Aim:

This thesis is a presentation of a human development governance analysis that focuses on the actors, comprised of various organizations, contributing towards (or hindering) human development. My goal was to identify some of the challenges of policy implementation to relieving poverty in an environmental and social developmental policy.

My research included data collection regarding the South African government's institutional set-up, the relevant development policy frameworks the identification of organisations participating in the human

¹ Of which, South Africa is considered to be the third most bio-diverse country in the world, behind Brazil and Indonesia. It contains between 250,000 and one million species, of which most are endemic (WCMC 1992)

development governance system and their supposed and actual roles, their interconnections and disconnects. This is presented in the Results Section. The remainder of this thesis analyses the governance system through the concept of scale to offer insight regarding the limits of this governance system to delivering human development.

Academically I hope to contribute to sustainability science through this thesis by offering an analysis of governance and scale through an empirical case focused on agency.

II. Research Questions:

To attain my research objectives I have used the following research question, along with four sub-questions, to guide me:

- I. What are the challenges of poverty alleviation under the current human development governance system?
 - a. Who are the organizations participating in the allocation of resources needed to alleviate poverty?
 - b. How do these organizations work together as an ensemble? i.e. What are their linkages and disconnects?
 - c. What social, ecological, socio-ecological perspective directs the agents' modes of operation?

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK:

In this section I introduce the dominant concepts and theories that underpin this study. I include definitions, brief reviews from relevant literature and relevant criticism of the theories used. The concepts discussed are socio-ecological system, human development, governance system, agency and scale.

I. Socio-Ecological System

It is a common perspective to consider the ecological system independent from the economy and society, which I integrate into one: the social system. However, in many contexts the social system and the ecological system are easily conceptualised as being interconnected. This is considered a 'coupled human environment system' (Gallopín 1989), or a socio ecological system (SES).

An SES is comprised of a social subsystem and an ecological subsystem that is interconnected through dynamic linkages, or 'mutual interactions' (Gallopín 2006, Gallopín 1991). These are interdependent across multi-scales of space and time (Brondizio et al 2009). According to Berkes and Folke (1998), studying ecological systems separate from social systems is 'artificial and arbitrary', due to the dynamic inter-linkages and their performance as complex adaptive systems. The relationship between social systems and ecological systems can cause dynamic feedback loops, where individuals and/or

organisations in society influence and are influenced by ecosystem activities (Cumming 2006, originally stated in Levin 1999).

Though the SES concept is prominent in this thesis – and I argue favourably towards this concept – It is important to mention some criticism on the subject. SES can be considered as a discourse that influences regulatory frameworks and policy, which in turn affects people’s interaction with the local environment, including resource access. Ribot and Peluso (2003) warn that the dangers of such a discourse being embraced, is that an ‘expert status’ can arise that excludes information, accessibility of organizations and individuals to participate in decisions, and mould the governance structure. An expert status may arise when people, organizations and information are needed to reflect specifically within the SES discourse, since “non-experts” are (in theory) not able to participate. Ribot and Peluso (2003) further suggest that a SES narrative can result in a justification for state control over resources.

In the Background section, I will discuss how this study was set within the context of a SES, including some observations that I made during the field work process.

II. Human Development - the Capabilities Approach²

The Capabilities Approach to development, or human development, is the development framework I use in the thesis. This is instead of the commonly used perspective of Economic Development. Human development focuses on providing a broad range of basic needs to people within a society, considering equal distribution and the upliftment of public care and social organization (Anand 2000). The UN recognizes the indicator of human development to be the Human Development Index (HDI) which includes life expectancy, adult literacy and income for a decent living standard (UN 1990). Economic Development is a simplified measure of progress, which considers the aggregate level wealth accumulation of a given society (Sen 1999). It is measured by gross national product (GNP) and does not consider the distribution of wealth or the effects of wealth on a society (Anand 2000).

How can human development be implemented? Human development focuses on expanding the capabilities of an individual, through achieving functionings necessary for them to lead a fulfilling life (Srinivasan 1994). Functionings are the 'various things a person may value doing or being' (Sen 1999 p75) such as having access to a health clinic, employment and/or being socially accepted. Capability refers to an individual or group's ability to promote or attain relevant functions or groups of functions (Alkire 2002 p6, Sen 2005). Attaining capabilities allows for people to be agents instead of patients, where they have the ability to self-organise and work towards meeting the social needs of society (Sen 1999 p11).

² For an in depth discussion of the Capabilities Approach Please refer to the thesis of Yi Fan Chung (2008-2010) at www.lumes.lu.se

The result of human development is to alleviate poverty. In the sense of human development poverty is defined as: 'deprivation of basic capabilities' (Sen 1999 p87). This is unlike the common notion of poverty, which is a lack of financial wealth. Within the paradigm of the Capabilities Approach, financial wealth in a country is accepted to be incapable of providing the functionings and capabilities necessary for individuals to be able to assist themselves and their community to attain their desired outcomes – to have a 'good life'.

Functionings are not defined or exclusively described as a set list, nor is what it is to have a 'good life'. In Sen's view this has been done purposely to leave the qualities of life to be decided through public reasoning (Sen 1999). In the Background section I include a list of functionings applicable to this study.

III. Governance System

My purpose of this thesis is not to theoretically frame or discuss the different approaches to governance, of which there are many to a great diversity³. What is relevant is the definition, explaining what governance is in the context of my research.

I define a governance system as: *A system of relatively self-governing state and non-state actors that collectively interact over blurred jurisdictional boundaries through exercising control and coordination of allocation of resources. (Stoker 98, Rhodes 1996).*

In this way, power and influence over the allocation of resources is accepted to be spread broadly over multiple actors, not just the government. Governance is similar to the traditional view of government in that there is the same output. The difference is the process of non-centralised control of state and non-state actors, which both contribute to the same output, yet their roles are unclear and blurred (Stoker 1998). These actors are relatively autonomous from each other (Torfing 2005).

In addition to the state actor, there are also non-state actors that contribute to rule making and resource allocation, including businesses and non-profit organizations. The various relationships of these state and non-state actors include functioning together in: i. Parallel, ii. Cooperation (public-private partnership), or iii. Competition (because of overlapping roles and responsibilities) (Torfing 2005).

IV. Agency

Individuals or organisations that are directly responsible for the allocation of resources within the governance system I refer to as agents. The agents I am concerned with in this research are the actors actively participating within the communities of focus to contribute towards human development.

³ See Van Kersbergen and Van Waarden (2004) for more information

Thus, I define an *agent* of human development as a *relatively independent actor who is directly responsible for implementing and/or initiating activities that allocate social needs to individuals or groups, within a society, that bring them closer to attaining the capabilities necessary for a 'good life'*. This is my interpretation from the definition of agency by Willbanks and Kates (1999) who define it as “direct human action”.

Influences of Agency: Legitimacy and Enablers of Agency

Agents may be relatively independent, but they are not completely independent and do not necessarily act on their own free will. What makes an agent legitimate? – and what enables them to act? – are important notions to consider. The *legitimacy* of actors refers to the action or law that justifies the actors the right to exist in society (Suchman 1995). Legitimacy can come in the form of law or custom (Ribot and Peluso 2003). For an actor to have the right to exist in a given society, their actions (intended and delivered), in terms of agency, are justified within that society. However, when it comes to performance, most actors are bound by laws, regulations and financial ability, limiting their independence to act in line with their specific intentions. I mean to say that if agents are only relatively independent within a society, there certainly are entities that influence, or enable, the output of agents (i.e. poverty alleviation). These entities can be laws and/or other organizations that provide the necessary resources including financial support. I term these *'enablers of agency'*.

These influences on Agents are important to consider, because they may explain the reason for the particular actions of agents, since my research is concerned with what activities are being implemented. It is assumed that there are differences between intended output and actual output of an agent within a governance system. One reason why this is so, is because the intended output of agency by the *'enablers of agency'*, compared to the agent itself, is subjective – depending on their own perceived importance, while the actual output is objective (Suchman 1995). There can be a discrepancy between the intended output of an agent versus the actual output, since the *'enablers of agency'* can have a great deal of influence.

V. Scale

Scale as a tool for Analysis:

My inquiry into poverty of rural South Africa involved a system of diverse actors ranging from the local to the global, state and non-state, with interests ranging from social, socio-ecological, to ecological.

Analysing such a *'diverse phenomena'* makes scale a useful tool (Kates 2003) to locate system linkages, disconnects and drivers. I consider it a constructive means to mentally organize the situation (Herrod and Wright 2002). Thus, my approach was to use scale as a tool to organize the complex situation that defines the human development governance system guided by my research questions. Both a vertical and a horizontal scale are applied.

I define a scale as a combination of dimensions that include different processes and patterns (Cumming 2006). In a scale, there are a set of relatively independent levels, defined by the processes and patterns that explain why social actors exercise their activities (Herod and Wright 2002). An example of a basic scale is one that categorizes a certain phenomenon on a global level and a local level.

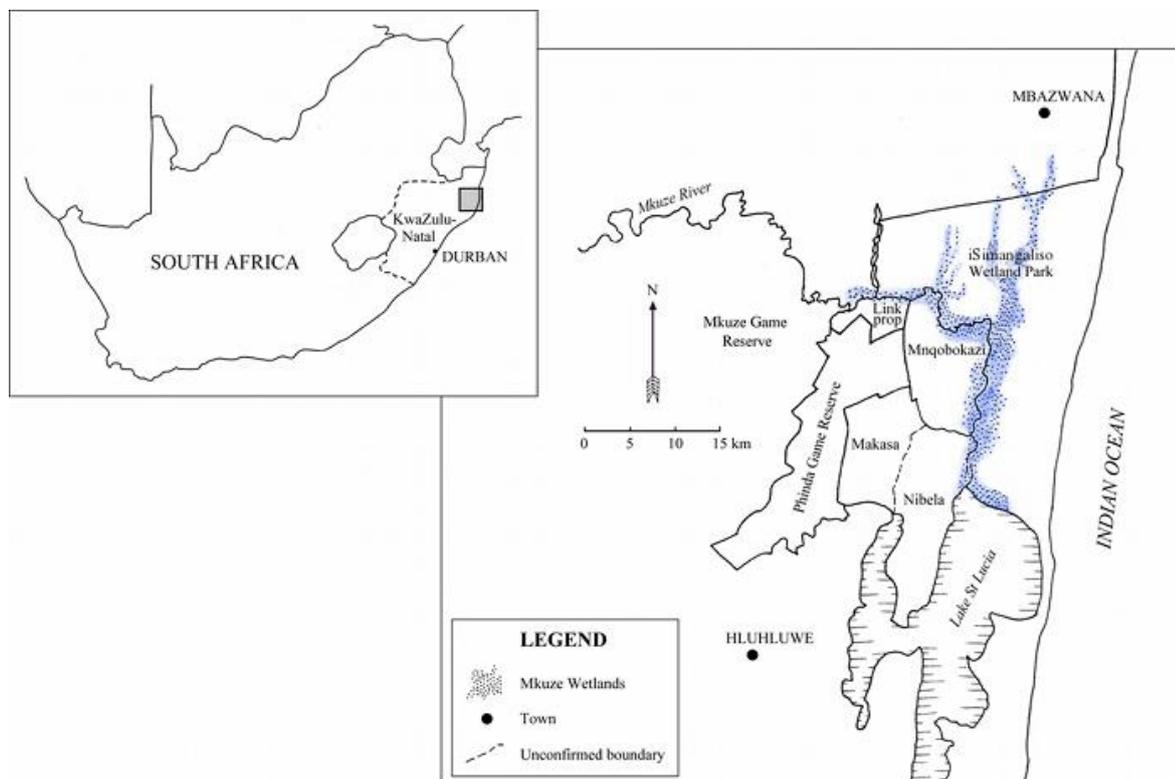
It is important to note that I do acknowledge that the scales I define are constructed by me and are not objectively ‘real’, since no organisation or perspectives are bound at a static location. There are many factors and influences that allow one to argue between which levels are designated to the subject.

3. BACKGROUND

In this section I will set the stage for the study completed in northern KwaZulu Natal South Africa. I will: present the case site including I. a description of the ecosystem and its management II. A description of the three communities of focus and their current state of poverty (from a human development perspective), which comprises the local social. III. The relevant social and ecological connections IV. the development model created to reduce the poverty of the region.

Finally, I will explain the current South African government framework that includes the structure, laws and policies from the international to the local level that govern the social, economic, and environmental aspects of the study site.

Figure 1: Location of the case study



(Dahlberg and Burlando 2009)

The area of study falls within the coastal plains of KwaZulu-Natal in the Lubombo region, straddling Swaziland, Mozambique and South Africa. It is comprised of agricultural land and protected nature reserves, most notably the iSimangaliso Wetland Park, a designated World Heritage Site. The region falls under the regional Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative, which aims to reduce high rates of poverty by utilizing the economic potential (via eco-tourism) of the World Heritage Site. Another important development project in the region is the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area (LTCA)⁴.

As a country, South Africa is still responding to a political history where the pre-1994 government had governed the society with elements of injustice concerning -but not limited to- land use, environmental management, and the provision of basic individual needs. Currently, the nation is challenged with healing those scars, while addressing social and ecological sustainability. This particular region of KwaZulu Natal was a previous homeland, given relative autonomy by the South African apartheid regime until 1994, which was and still is a place of acute poverty.

Three communities from this region were selected for this study: Nibela, Mngobokazi, and Makhasa. They lie adjacent to the iSimangaliso Wetland Park and fall under the jurisdiction of the Big Five False Bay Local Municipality. In addition, these communities remain clans of the Zulu Kingdom and have a traditional government that manages the community. This is referred to as the Traditional Authority (TA)⁵.

I. The Ecological System and its Management

The ecological system found within the area of study includes five identified ecosystems within marine, wetland and savannah environments: the coastline with sandy beaches and a tidal zone rich in corals and reef life; dune forests consisting of tropical and subtropical evergreen trees reaching up to 70-120m in height; grasslands located between freshwater lakes and dune forests; swamp forests adjacent to the lakes and the aquatic ecosystem of the lakes including 5 Ramsar sites (IWPA 2009). 6,295 species have been identified in this area (2,505 plant, 1,258 fish, and 521 bird species). 168 are endemic, 48 are internationally recognized as threatened species and 147 are listed on the CITES list (Dahlberg and Burlando 2009).

⁴ A transfrontier conservation area is region of land that crosses two or more countries and is jointly managed to ensure the long term sustainable use of natural resources. It includes different bordering components of land that may be national parks, private game-reserves, communal protected areas, or hunting areas, (Dept. Environmental Affairs 2011)

⁵ The province of KwaZulu Natal was able to establish a constitutional monarchy – the Zulu Kingdom, which includes the Traditional Authorities - that runs parallel to the democratically elected government. This was decided in the new Constitution of 1994 after negotiations between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress (ANC). (Koelbe and Lipuma 2011).

A significant portion of this ecosystem is within iSimangaliso World Heritage Site. Originally named the Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park, this was the first World Heritage Site to be declared in South Africa, in 1999⁶. It is a 239,566 ha² area that reaches from the border of Mozambique in the north, to Cape St. Lucia in the south.

II. The Social System and the Communities Studied

Within this rural KwaZulu Natal region studied, traditional Zulu clans or communities exist. I use the term ‘community’ from here on to denote a group of people that falls under the rule of an accepted tribal authority, within a politically demarcated Ward, by the Municipal Structures Act (2002). Due to the structure of the traditional authority, I view a community as a finite grouping. The Traditional Authority has a large influence over the people: they are the land owner – and are responsible for managing land use (including property rights); controlling immigration of inhabitants; controlling the social events and activities that fall within their land; managing problems and serving punishments; and are a link between the people and other governing bodies (Traditional Leadership and Governance Act and Pers. Obs.)⁷.

This study focuses on three such communities: the Nibela, Makhasa and Mngqobokazi communities, falling under the jurisdiction of the Big Five False Bay Local Municipality (See Figure 1). The communities are varied by their populations, geographic locations and relationships with external authorities. For example, the relationship with the iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority (IWPA), the governing body of iSimangaliso Wetland Park, is defined through the land resettlement process, where access and rights are determined by their historic connections to the land.

Makhasa: This community is located along the R22 highway, a major road connecting Durban in the south and Maputo in the north. The population was estimated in 2006 to be 10,544 people (IDP 2010) and borders the Makhasa and Phinda nature reserves.

Nibela: The Nibela community is situated on a 3690 ha peninsula between lake St. Lucia and False Bay. This population of 10,572 (IDP 2010) is the only community not situated on the R22 highway.

Mngqobokazi: This community is located along the R22 highway. People have accessed natural resources in the now protected Mkhuze wetland area for hundreds of years, though they are not

⁶ It was proclaimed a world heritage site according to criteria vii, ix and x of the World Heritage Convention (WHS ACT, 1999): vii) *to contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance, ix) to be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals, x) to contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.*

⁷ For further reading on the role of the Traditional government see Sibanda 2010 and Sklar 1994.

considered original settlers. As of 2006 the population was 11,958 residents (IDP 2010) living on about 5,000 ha bordering Makhasa, Phinda nature reserves and iSimangaliso Wetland Park (Dahlberg and Burlando 2009).

State of Poverty

The state of poverty of the rural population residing in the area of focus, which includes the Mngobokazi, Nibela, and Makhasa communities, is extensive, as this region of South Africa is among the poorest in the country. These populations suffer from high rates of unemployment (64.6%) where 92% of people live under \$2 US per day. Also, the rates of HIV/AIDs is among the highest in the country (at 39.7% compared to the national rate of 29.4%) which places a high need for access to health care.

According to the 2010 municipal needs analysis of the Big Five False Bay Local Municipality (IDP 2010) the most desired resources by the public that were not being adequately provided include access to basic services like water; electricity (67.4% are without); sanitation; refuse collection; education and technical skills; and local economic development.

Table 1 summarizes the social and economic state of the population that falls within the Big Five False Bay Local Municipality. Statistics of the broader population of South Africa are included to serve as a reference to the reader.

Table 1: Social and Economic statistics

Statistic	Big Five False Bay Local Municipality	South Africa
Population	43,000	49,991,300
Unemployment Rate	64.6% ⁸	24% ⁹
GDP		\$US 285 billion ¹⁰
Per capita income	\$US 720 per year (2007)	\$US 10,500 per year (2010)
Reliance on grants	88-72%	
Human Development Index	.4 ¹¹	.597 ¹²
HIV/AIDS infected rate of pregnant women	39.7	29.4% ¹³
Education	33% have no schooling	
Live under \$2/day	92%	
Live under \$1/day	65%	
Access to electricity	67.4% ¹⁴	

Why is poverty unusually high here, compared to the rest of the country? This question is important to consider throughout this thesis because it highlights some of the unique contextual historical socio-political characteristics of South Africa. A complete explanation is beyond the scope of this thesis, but I can suggest a few factors:

Firstly, this northern region of KwaZulu Natal was a former homeland¹⁵ during the years of apartheid. These previous homelands currently have the highest rates of poverty (Koelbe and Lipuma 2011). Secondly there is a history of land eviction in the region during the previous colonial and apartheid eras; where in some cases people were forcibly moved to make way for nature reserves (IDRC 1995). Then, after 1994, conservation has been connected with issues of human rights, natural resource access, and equity, as well as in environmental sustainability in the socio-political arena (Wynberg 2002). One example is the Restitution of Land Rights Act (Act 22 of 1994, South African Constitution) where victims of land eviction were able to gain back their land or receive compensation for it¹⁶

⁸ KZN Provincial Treasury, 2007

⁹ StatsSA, 2010

¹⁰ World Bank, 2009

¹¹ KZN Provincial Treasury, 2007

¹² UNDP 2010. South Africa is ranked 110 of 169 countries.

¹³ Department of Health 2010

¹⁴ IDP 2010

¹⁵ A homeland was a territory set aside for black ethnic groups during the apartheid era. Some were independent from South Africa, others were semi-autonomous. KwaZulu was the homeland of the study site.

¹⁶ See Walker 2008 for a detailed reading about land claims and land restitution in South Africa

Below I have included two lists of social needs reflected by the communities studied, that describe the state of poverty from a human development perspective. Included is the current list of needs stated in the IDP and the other lists priority needs, as stated to me by a representative of the Traditional Authority, reflecting their personal opinion. I supplement the published findings with my observations for two reasons: 1. From my interactions with community members there is a broad array of human development needs and no consensus of ‘priority needs’ was visible; 2. The needs that are a result of my personal observations offer a different voice to that of the municipal’s IDP stated perceived needs (since the reality of participation during the IDP process is stated to be questionable by the agents I interacted with).

Table 2: Perceived Needs of the Communities.

Makhasa	IDP	Electricity, police station, cattle dams, taxi rank, MPCC, Matric Finishing School (High School), Sanitation, Community Hall, Orphan Care centre, Crèche
	Community Leader	Care for elderly people, since most are left alone at home during the day.
Mngobokazi	IDP	Electricity, access roads (district roads), High School, Police Station and access to policing facilities, finishing school and FET, Crèche, Cattle Dams, Clinic upgrade, Water connection, community hall
	Community Leader	High schools, roads, water connections (especially for old ladies), jobs=food (interconnected), post matric training, a bigger clinic
Nibela	IDP	Electricity, high school, community hall/centre, mobile clinic shelter and facilities, dam for cattle, matric finishing school, library, old age home, cell mask/tower, crèche
	Community Leader	1. Agriculture (food production and jobs are the same thing according to the inDuna) 2. Schools. 3. More NGOs (like Sifisulwazi) 4. Electricity 5. Water connections, particularly for old women.

III. Social and Ecological Linkages

The study area is considered to be a socio-ecological system due to the direct relationships the people within the communities have with the local ecological ecosystem. This includes the use of natural resources for cultural and economic purposes – and the overarching development strategy that aims to develop the region through wise-use of the ecological system.

The residents of the communities spoken with and the interviewed informants within the community highlighted the most important use of natural resources is for personal subsistence and commercial

activities from their local natural environment (within and outside the protected area boundaries)¹⁷: They have also confirmed the presence of feedback within this SES, since certain livelihood aspects are threatened without access to the natural resources and the state of the ecological system is affected by natural resource use.

The most commonly used natural resources by the local communities are:

- Ncema reeds (*Juncus kraussii*) (from wetland areas) for matt making, and building of traditional Zulu structures
- iLala palm (*Hyphaene coriacea*) trees for production of ilala wine
- Fish from the coastal area
- Land used for cattle grazing that is cleared and managed through the use of fire and routine cattle grazing

Also observed through interaction with the community members was the illegal harvesting of cycads and firewood for income generation, the occasional hunt for buck, and the extraction of wild plants for medicines. All of these resources I consider as functionings, where without access economic and cultural values and activities would not exist.

Furthermore, the instituted development policies, including the Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative, Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area and the 1999 World Heritage Act (discussed in the next section), have instituted linkages between the ecological system and the resident communities. Social well-being is supposed to be improved through eco-tourism: a portion of tourist entry fees into the park are given to the communities, residents are offered business opportunities, employment opportunities and capacity building to operate businesses in and around the park. The health of the ecological system is maintained through its world heritage status requiring the management and protection of natural resource extraction.

The World Heritage Act (1999) has enabled the IWPA to manage the social and ecological relationship of the community stakeholders to the world heritage site through co-management agreements. Agreements have been signed with the Makhasa and Nibela communities, but not with the Mngqobokazi community. Since the Mngqobokazi community had not originally been settled within the Wetland Park they did not gain a land claim (Dahlberg and Burlando 2009). However, since they had historic ties to the use of natural resources within the Wetland Park they have proceeded with negotiations with iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority. The agreement has not been signed, according to the Mngqobokazi Tribal Authority informant.

¹⁷ According to: Nibela TA informant 1, 2 Mngqobokazi TA informant, Makhasa TA informant 1, 2, Nibela NPO informant, Makhasa NPO informant 1

IV. The Development Model

The Development Policies:

The extent of poverty in this region, the recognition of previous social injustices, and the ecological richness are included in the instituted framework for development in this area. Two regional policies between Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa have been established to integrate economic development with this internationally accepted area of world heritage and ecological endemism via the expansion of eco-tourism. These are the Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative (LSDI) and the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area (LTCA).

The LSDI is a regional economic development project as part of the Spatial Development Initiative program established in 1995 (Jourdan 1998). Included in this national development plan are nine areas, or Presidential nodes, which are targeted as being previously disadvantaged economically and politically. The study area of this research project is one such Presidential node, which has established the policy of development through eco-tourism. This LSDI has been implemented by declaring an international tourism destination where the local residents will benefit (Jourdan 1998), the vehicle of this is iSimangaliso Wetland Park.

The LTCA is a project to unite conservation areas that straddles between the borders of Mozambique, Swaziland and South Africa to increase regional cooperation and development, signed in June 2000. The aim of the project is both conservation of endangered ecosystems and biodiversity and the development of tourism to contribute to poverty alleviation within residents near to the conservation area, according to the SADC (SADC –FANR).

These two regional policies serve as the overarching frameworks that outline development to guide implementation by the national, provincial and municipal governments. The government bodies' roles will be discussed in the next section.

Though the Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative is guided by economic development principles, in this thesis I use the concept of human development and not the more commonly assumed definition as economic development. I argue that I may contradict the common definition in my research for several reasons. Firstly, the societal needs according to the Municipality (IDP 2010) and my own findings show that there are many more needs, or functions, desired other than employment (see the needs in Table 2). Therefore economic development would be too simplified. Also, the economic situation in the rural area is extremely poor, including 80% unemployment. Current potential opportunities for jobs are very low and the economy is already based on social grants from the state. Therefore, immediate economic development at the macro scale is not realistic.

V. The Government Structure

The management of society found within this socio-ecological system is organized through multiple layers of the South African government, including the national, provincial, municipal and traditional governments. In this section I will introduce the stated roles and relationships established by law. First I will introduce the national Constitution, which sets the stage for the rest of the government framework. Next will be a description of the different components of government. The government structure is necessary to understand because it has given rise to the many actors that contribute to development and environmental management. The particular actors will be discussed in detail in the results section.

Constitution of South Africa: *Ecological Sustainable Development, Social Equity*

The present day Constitution of South Africa was passed and accepted in 1996¹⁸. It is the indisputable authority and “everything and everybody is subject to it” (Section 1 and 2, Constitution of Republic of South Africa). Thus, it is the basis for all the other aspects of the governmental framework.

Particularly important to this study is the inclusion of Acts and a Bill of Rights which are intended to benefit both the social system and the ecological system, as well as important legislation that promotes human development.

In separate sections the Constitution lays out South Africa’s responsibility to protect its biological diversity, through the legislation of international environmental agreements, including the Convention on Biological Diversity, Ramsar Convention and the World Heritage Convention (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, Section 24) and its dedication to eliminate poverty (The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, Section 27).

In addition, it contains a ‘progressive’ Bill of Rights that integrates environmental and social development through ‘Ecological Sustainability’. Section 24 of the Bill of Rights states that: “everyone has the right to have the environment protected, for the present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that i. prevent pollution and ecological degradation ii. Promote conservation and iii. Secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development.”

The Constitution also includes particular aspects necessary for human development by legally entitling all individuals to relevant human development needs including: democracy (ch 2 section 16-19, 31), social justice (ch 2 section 9, 10, 25), social freedom (ch 2 section 12-15), social development (ch 2 section 25-30) and ecological sustainability (ch 2 section 24) (Constitution of South Africa, 1996).

¹⁸ See Jung and Shapiro (1995) for details on the historical transition

Architecture of the Government: the three spheres

The Constitution as discussed above has prepared the arena for all South Africans to strive towards decent living conditions including "the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms", such as property, housing, education, health care, water, food, social security, and "use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development" (Bill of Rights, Constitution of South Africa, 1996).

The allocation of rights, freedoms and resources are implemented through coordination of the three spheres of government as architected by the Constitution. The spheres include the national sphere of government, provincial sphere and a local sphere. The national sphere includes the various ministries ex Basic Education, Traditional Leadership, Health, Environmental Affairs etc. The provincial sphere includes the various Members of the Executive Council (commonly known as 'departments') that act within a particular province such as the KwaZulu Natal Departments of Transport, Education etc. (It is important to note that there exists an additional government body, the district that is responsible for allocating the majority of bulk services including water and sanitation. The officials are not elected and there is little direct interaction between the District and the residents.) The local sphere includes the municipal government and in the case of KwaZulu Natal the traditional government.

The presence of a traditional government is an important intricacy of the South African constitution where it allows the traditional government to act through customary law¹⁹ to function within the local governance sphere (ch 12, Traditional Leadership and Governance Act, 2003). This traditional government is commonly referred to as the Traditional Authority or the Traditional Authority composed of an Nkosi, or chief, and izinDuna²⁰, or headmen that oversee the community. These spheres are stated to be "distinctive, interdependent and interrelated" (Ch 3 section 40, South Africa Constitution, 1996) though, they are nested within each other (Ch 6 Section 104, South Africa Constitution, 1996) and have to work within the limits set above them. At the same time, the government was designed to be decentralised of power and authority where the provincial and especially the local sphere have much of the power over the allocation of rights and resources. These spheres have been created to equitably provide basic services to the people, such as food, water and housing, and to implement the routes of democratic participation to the previously marginalised people (Koelbe and Lipuma 2011).

¹⁹ This has resulted in the Province of KwaZulu Natal to have a constitutional monarchy in their provincial Constitution within the Republic of South Africa (Sklar 1994 Khounou 2009) where they work in cooperation with the municipal government (Traditional Leadership and Governance Act, 2003), though the cooperative roles are unclear (Municipal Community Services Informant, interview

²⁰ izinDuna is the plural form of inDuna)

4. METHODOLOGY

The field of governance studies is a complex one, with many elements requiring consideration (Bierman et al 2009). My study contributes to this field by applying the concept of scale to agency to better understand the limits of human development governance within a socio-ecological system. The research questions guided me in the field to collect relevant data, while I made effort to consider research ethics²¹ and to respect the Zulu traditions, so as not to disrespect or endanger the individuals who participated.

Research Question:

- II. What are the challenges of poverty alleviation under the current human development governance system?

Between February and March 2011, I completed a single case study of the human development governance system involving the Nibela, Makhasa, and Mnqobokazi rural communities, located within the Big Five False Bay Municipality. Yin (2009) defines a case study as an in-depth analysis of a ‘contemporary phenomenon’ within its unique reality, or context. It is applicable especially when there is overlap between the generalizable phenomenon and the particular context it is set in (Ibid). In my study the phenomenon is human development within a socio-ecological setting, in the context of rural KwaZulu Natal.

I selected to study these communities after an initial assessment of the coastal communities found within this region (between Kosi Bay and St. Lucia) because:

- They were a typical example in terms of level of the poverty in the Lubombo region
- They were easily accessible from the main road
- They reside adjacent to iSimangaliso Wetland Park, where two of the three communities have signed co-management agreements.

I did not elect to focus on one specific community because there was not enough access to data to study a place in depth in the 6 weeks I had available to complete field work. In order to study a community in depth I would be required to follow a traditional protocol of meeting with the Traditional Authority and community members, to request permission. Also, there was a lot of variability of relationships between communities and external organizations making a study less generalizable. Lastly, I did not want to cause suspicion or unrest within the area, since the presence of outsiders can be a source of gossip and unwanted rumours, particularly if I had chosen one community over another.

²¹ My ethics came from a University of Johannesburg social research guideline publication: “Guidelines for negotiating social research in communities living adjacent to transboundary protected areas: Kruger National Park” (Tapela et al 2009).

I. Methods:

A series of tools were applied to the data collection and analysis processes. Data collection was primarily completed through semi-structured interviews and active participatory observations. Also, relevant policy documents including the Constitution, Municipal IDP and non-profit organization documents were collected as sources of data. To improve the confidence of my results I verified most of my findings through triangulation.

Once my data was collected, transcription and content analysis were used to organise the results. My discussion regarding the challenges of the current human development governance system considers a perspective of scale – this is presented in the Analysis section.

Interviews:

Semi-structured interviews were used to allow for flexibility in responses provided by interviewees, so that data collected was not limited or restricted by my interview guide (Bryman 2008 p438). Each interview was conducted over a two hour period and covered topics of (but not limited to): perceived poverty in the communities, their role in poverty alleviation i.e. projects and services provided, other organization's roles in poverty alleviation, their relationships with other organizations, and their knowledge of relationships between other organizations (3rd parties).

Semi-structured interviews were attempted to be made with all actors (organizations) involved in human development governance. The key agents were identified in this process and nearly all identified agents participated. Since my research was concerned with the organizations participating in human development – and due to time constraints, I targeted one individual representative of each organization who holds a senior position. (See interview table in Appendix II)

I was refused access into the IWPA for unclear reasons. During my trial to obtain permission to study I did have two meetings with senior representatives where some information was gathered.

The individuals interviewed included two municipal officers: the town planner/IDP manager and the community services manager, the directors of the NPOs, and up to two Tribal Authority members of each TA. In regards to the TA, the interviewed individuals were chosen by convenience. This is because I informally achieved contact with the TA members through non-profit organizations, whereas a formal appointment would have been a time consuming process. Also, the Tribal Authority is organized as a collective – and thus is meant to be fully participative and transparent, where the leaders (consisting of *izinDuna*, or headmen, and the *Nkosi*, or chief) should have uniform knowledge regarding their community. Access into the Tribal Authority was made via the respective NPOs, since they had a close relationship with the traditional leaders.

Observations:

Through the entire period of fieldwork I collected data based on active participation. Active participation is getting involved within the community of study and not to observe from a distance by watching (Bryman 2008 p412-413). Data collection through active participation includes any information gathered outside of formal interviews, including NPO meetings and site visits – and other community events such as recreational sport and socializing with community residents. In addition, I resided within the Makhasa community with the family of the Makhasa 1 NPO, where I gained access to community events.

The purpose of the observations, in terms of data collection, was to gain a better understanding of the social system within the community and its relationship with the Agents. This makes up a large part of the context necessary to understand this social research study and could not be gathered from interviews or from secondary research. Also, observations were necessary to acquire information from community members that could compliment, confirm or question data received from interviews.

I did not take the role as an ethnographer or anthropologist since my observations were not my main source of data, nor was I there for a period long enough to make firm conclusions based on observation (Bryman 2008 p410-413).

Triangulation:

Triangulation is the use of additional sources of data to examine the reliability of research findings (Bryman 2008 p700). I included triangulation to make my data reliable in two ways. First I verified statements made in interviews by comparing them to the data gathered from observations. Also, I communicated with individuals from neighbouring communities outside of the research area, including NPOs, Tribal Authority representatives and community members. (Interview details are presented in Appendix II)

Having access to information outside of the communities of focus allowed me to cross-check both the state of poverty and the dynamics within the human development governance systems. Data that was not confirmed via triangulation was still considered, since misinformation or “I don’t know” were representative of communication disconnects, awareness and/or purposeful gaps.

Content Analysis:

Content analysis was an approach I used to categorize data into preselected categories in a systematic and replicable manner (Bryman 2008 p 275). This technique enabled me to define the perspectives and operations of the organisations as ecological, social, and/or socio-ecological.

The tool used corresponds with the appropriate research question:

a) *Who are the organizations participating in the allocation of resources needed to alleviate poverty?*

Tool: Observations and interviews.

b) *How do these organizations work together as an ensemble? i.e. What are their linkages and disconnects?*

Tool: Interviews and observations. Data was coded regarding the inter-organizational relationships to discover whether relationships between organisations were present or absent. Data was also coded for relationships that interfered or supported the organisations' intended activities.

c) *What social, ecological, socio-ecological perspective directs the agents' modes of operation?*

Tool: Content analysis of the South African Constitution, NPO constitutions, and transcribed interviews

Scale

Scale was used to guide the analysis of my findings, in order to discuss the reasons for disconnects and linkages within the governance system. I selected scale as the method of analysis for my study because it has been widely promoted in sustainability science as a tool to better understand complicated socio-ecological issues (Kates et al 2001, Kates 2003, among others).

In my case study, the 'complicated socio-ecological issues' are the divergent goals of poverty alleviation, conservation and ecological sustainable development that are included in the governance of this region. These goals are implemented at the local level from a series of actors that I describe as being internationally, nationally or locally based. Applying scale to a governance analysis, like in this case study presents the diversity of influences that drive a development project. It is relevant to policy makers and agents within the governance system.

The vertical scale I apply in my analysis is defined by levels based on judicial boundaries, similar to Cash (2000). The levels are: municipality, provincial, national and global

The horizontal scale applied categorizes the social, ecological and/or socio-ecological constructs of the agent's performance concluded by a content analysis. The boundaries are decided by the terms, goals, and general language spoken when talking about the agent's particular actions concerning the case study.

By breaking down the system and identifying scale mismatches, it is possible to identify disconnects in the system. According to Cumming et al (2006) a scale mismatch is when a scale of one system and the governing system are not aligned, causing a disruption of social and/or ecological functions. These gaps will be discussed in the Analysis section, where I will suggest reasons for the inadequate human development governance system.

II. Study Limitations:

There are weaknesses to this study, leading to questions around replicability and validity. Firstly, the local level of governance is always changing with the arrival and departure of new NPOs, as well as variation in inter-organisation relations. Due to the high turn-over rate of organisations and changing fluctuating relationships it is difficult to replicate this study. Though, this does not necessarily mean the conclusions would be different. Secondly, the validity of the conclusions made can be questioned since they were based on a small sampling size of interviews. I interviewed one or two individuals of each organisation, assuming that they could represent the organisation as a whole. A more empirically-sound study would have included many more interviews within and around the agents. Also, no interviews were made with IWPA so I had to make assumptions or rely on third-party information to be able to make some conclusions.

Limitations of Scale in my analysis:

Scale is a perspective that can help understand the functions of a complex phenomenon. It is only a perspective and it cannot offer an objective truth about the complex problem studied.

Disconnects within the human development governance system were identified as a result of applying scale in my analysis. The resulting disconnects from my research are presented in my results section and discussed in the discussion section. It is important to note that I do not provide a complete understanding of the governance system, nor of all the disconnects. Numerous other factors that are not considered by my construct of scale remain, including:

- Organisations are made of individuals and the actions of an organisation can be largely influenced through specific individual leadership. The mandate or mode of operation is not the only influence of an organisation.
- Organisations and individuals responsible for representing the organisations were found to have their own self-interests and sometimes hidden interests that are not considered by scale.
- Some gaps in the system are caused by the lack of enforcement of goals or laws which is out of the scope of a scale analysis.
- Gaps in the system were also observed at organisations found within the same vertical and horizontal scale, including the Tribal Authority and Municipality. The gap between these agents I defined as 'unclear' roles. This cannot be described by a scale issue.

5. RESULTS

Governance -- Limitations of Government

In implementation, the government of South Africa is not functioning only through the three spheres of government described in the background section. Human development, or the enabling of capabilities, is actually part of a bigger picture of additional non-state actors²²: including businesses, church groups, activist organisations, charitable/non-profit organisations.

The presence of these additional is partly because the services and provisions meant to be provided by state actors are not occurring efficiently. For instance, at the local level the Municipal Community Services Informant (interview) stated to me that the low density, non-payment of bulk rates, and lack of adequate rates were factors that prevented a finance-strapped municipality to provide the needed services to the residents. The slack is picked up by other organisations, such as non-profits in the example of health care.

In reality, the state and non-state actors were coexisting within a human development governance system were observed to function in parallel, cooperative (public-private partnership), and competitive (because of overlapping mandates) relationships as theorised by Torfing 2005). Specific examples are presented in Appendix IV.

In this section I present my data collected in two parts. First I describe the agents identified participating in the human development governance system including what or who has provided their mandate, what level of governance directs their actions, their role in human development, and their social, ecological and socio-ecological perspective that dictates their mode of operation. The Agents are summarized in Table 3. The second section describes the relationships, including the linkages and disconnects, between the organizations acting within the governance system.

I. Agents of the human development governance system:

Agent 1: iSimangaliso Wetland Park Authority (IWPA)

The IWPA is the management body of iSimangaliso Wetland Park that has been instituted as a result of the World Heritage Act (1999), which must abide by the UN World Heritage Convention. The Act gives the Authority social and environmental responsibilities including ensuring the ecological integrity "for all of humanity" (Preamble, World Heritage Act, 1999) and social justice and development (Chapter 1, World Heritage Act, 1999). Hence, the Authority has a socio-ecological perspective that directs their mode of operation.

²² Terminology to describe non-state actors is diversely used in academic literature whether or not private enterprises are included, if it is charitable organisations, or volunteer organisations etc. (Salamon and Anheier 1992). I use the word non-profit organisation to refer to non-state and non-enterprise organisations.

The IWPA can also be considered as having an ecological perspective since in interviews many others consider them as primarily concerned about wildlife protection. The specific social and ecological functions of the Authority are meant to be decided through stakeholder participation and officiated every 5 years through an Integrated Management Plan (Chapter IV, World Heritage Act 1999). Co-management agreements made through land resettlement actions by the communities need to be considered when formulating the Plan.

Monitoring and reporting of IWPA's activities is done by the national Department of Environmental Affairs, though the UN World Heritage Convention ultimately governs the Authority. Also, iSimangaliso is governed by an executive board which includes representatives from the local TAs. Therefore, I categorize the IWPA as being part of both the international and local level of governance.

Role in Human Development:

I identify the Authority as an agent of human development due to their clear management role of use and non-use of natural resources and the additional social services they offer to the communities that relate to human development as part of their co-management agreements.

Agent II: Municipality

The Municipality has been mandated authority over the residents that fall within its jurisdiction as a result of the 1998 Municipal Structures Act and the 2000 Municipal Systems Act in the South African Constitution (1996). The overall goal of the Municipality is to “to move progressively towards the social and economic upliftment of communities and the provision of basic services to all our people, and specifically the poor and the disadvantaged” (Preamble, Municipal Systems Act 2000). The perspective of the Big Five False Bay municipality operations is largely social²³.

The Municipal government is organised into two parts: the administration and the elected officials. The elected officials act as the link between traditional leaders, and their communities, or ‘wards’, and the municipal office²⁴. There are 4 Ward Councillors elected in each community who reports to the Municipal Councillor (IDP 2010). Their role is to exercise the Municipality's executive and legislative powers, to govern the local government affairs of the local community, and to impose fees and taxes to finance the services of the municipality (Section 1 Municipal Systems Act 2000).

In five year increments the municipality formulates an Integrated Development Plan (IDP) with an annual review released every year. The process of creating an IDP or a review is participatory and

²³ However, the IDP manager of the municipal office uniquely reflected a socio-ecological perspective of their operations (interview).

²⁴ Municipal Community Services Informant, pers. obs.

includes local municipality council and administrative members, provincial government department officials, private industry representatives, and non-profit representatives (IDP 2010). The IDP includes a municipal overview containing a community-specific needs analysis, and the current status of service delivery and infrastructure development amongst other sections (IDP 2010). The objective of the IDP is meant to be poverty reduction, sustainable development (of 'environments' including built, agricultural land, housing, sensitive and important ecosystems), and service delivery (IDP 2010).

The municipality is enabled at the local level of governance since monitoring, reporting and influence comes largely from within the municipality. The elected council (is supposed) to act according to the public it represents and the municipal administration reports to the municipal manager.

Role in Human Development:

As an Agent of human development, the municipality has multiple relevant functions. Firstly, it is the direct provider of social services (IDP 2010). A complete list is provided in Appendix III. Also the municipality empowers the individuals to have a voice in society via elected officials and relevant municipal-run committees. They also act as the link between the community and government departments responsible for the needed services that they do not provide. Examples are education services from the Provincial Department of Education and health services from the National Department of Health.

Agent III: Tribal Authority

The Tribal Authority is a key institution in the local governance system, allocated formal power by the Traditional Leadership and Governance Act, 2003. Informal legitimacy is maintained by the community they serve, since they are respected as the over-arching umbrella of authority led by a chief, or Nkosi, assisted by appointed izinDuna, or headmen. Decision-making, however, includes all the members of the clan through participatory community meetings. The Tribal Authority also contains internal committees that focus their efforts on particular foci within the community, such as the Tribal Trust committee and the Land Claims committee.

As can be imagined, it is difficult to adequately define the roles, etiquettes and duties of traditional authorities, since these are somewhere between the nexus of customs and formal law within the local sphere. Formally, the role outlined in the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act of 2003 (ch2 section 4, 2003) is to support the municipality in their identification of community needs; facilitate the IDP; promote cooperative governance; sustainable development and service delivery; promote indigenous knowledge systems for sustainable development and disaster management; and promote functions under customary law. However the TA does coexist with the municipality in this local sphere in a seemingly unclear relationship. As confusing as it is for the observer, the municipal officials spoken to during my research agreed that their roles of authority were unclear. This includes

the degree of rule over their communities, versus the municipality, and the division between their roles and the municipality roles in terms of poverty alleviation (Municipal Community Services Informant, Municipal Planner Informant, interviews).

Concerning customary law²⁵, the Tribal Authority has significant authority over the community. The leader, or the chief, is respected as the land steward of the land within his jurisdiction where the TA allots and leases out to residents²⁶. In addition, the chief has veto power over municipal land planning that concerns his land. The TA is also respected as an authority over many social activities, including social disputes and the arrival of new organisations/authorities that function within the community, including non-profit organisations. During times when I met with representatives of the TAs I witnessed definite respect given by community members. During my observations, I also learned that specific roles of the TA which were acknowledged by the community members were as intra-community problem managers and messengers of all activities affecting the community from within and outside. Thus, I categorize the TA to the local level of governance since they, the community and chief maintain their existence and direct their mode of operation.

It must be noted that as much freedom as the traditional authorities have to act in line with their customs, they must still reflect the Bill of Rights of the Constitution that define the country, including for example: preventing unfair discrimination (regarding gender); promoting equality; and seeking to progressively advance gender representation in leadership position (Preamble, chapter 2 Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act of 2003).

Human Development:

To clarify, the traditional authority certainly has a role in human development. As one Traditional Authority placed it metaphorically "the Traditional Authority is like the father of the community" (Mnqobokazi TA informant, interview). As it is, through my observation, the traditional authority is considered as being the ears and the voice linking the community to organisations and individuals that contribute to human development. At the individual level they allocate jobs and training opportunities. They are the court system when disputes occur (pers. obs.). They are the community legislative body creating rules and regulations (pers. obs.). This occurs through the direct participation of community members in weekly community meetings (pers. obs.). In addition, the tribal authorities preside over a

²⁵ Legally recognised under the Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework Act 2003

²⁶ This land ownership also controls migration into the community. The majority of residents are Zulu of the tribe they were born into, but there are a few other residents including Zulu people from other tribes such as the ones I encountered in my study: South Africans of European descent, Indian descent, Chinese migrants, and European migrants. It was observed that non-Zulu residents were treated differently in different communities (depending on the inDuna), for example they were observed to pay inflated rates for land leases.

tribal trust, where community members have an opportunity to apply to access for local economic development opportunities (Mnqobokazi TA informant, interview).

From researching the activities performed and the interviews with TA members the mode of operation was driven by a social or a socio-ecological perspective (pers. obs.). The perspective differed from TA representative to representative. No members of the TA could be described as having an ecological perspective.

Agent IV: Non-profit organisations

The most notable of the non-state actors present in the research site are the non-profit organizations (NPOs) (pers. obs.). They are based at the community level, yet many operate in multiple communities, with prior permission by the respective Traditional Authority. Each of the three communities was observed to have at least one NPO currently functioning within.

All the NPOs that I investigated had a social perspective of human development with the exception of And Beyond Foundation who maintained a socio-ecological perspective. The Nibela, Mnqobokazi NPOs were dominantly focused on healthcare. Makhasa I and II were mostly focused on education. And Beyond NPO was assisting the Makhasa and Nibela communities with education, economic generation projects and healthcare. And Beyond was directly connected to a wildlife tourism company and thus had several projects that linked the community with wildlife conservation, including skills training and employment opportunities – often linking the social and environmental projects together.

The NPOs have been given the right to exist both through the Non-Profit Organizations Act (1997, South African Constitution) and by the TA. The Non-Profit Organisations Act (1997) outlines the administrative and regulatory framework to set up an environment in which non-profits can 'flourish' (Preamble, Non-Profit Organisations Act 1997). Legislatively they must be registered with the national Ministry for Welfare and Population Development (chapter 2 section 4) with a constitution created by a 9 person board. This board is responsible for monitoring the activities and overseeing the finances (Nibela NPO informant, interview).

For a NPO to function within a community they must be given formal permission by the respective TA. Of the TAs encountered, some have been created from within the community. For example, the Nibela NPO arose after the inDuna and community members decided that there had to be 'strategic healthcare assistance' in 2005 when 'too many people were dying' (Nibela NPO informant). Others have been established by individuals from outside the communities²⁷.

²⁷ It is important to note, not all NPOs were benefiting people and some were confirmed by informants to be attracting

Human Development:

I cannot clearly define their roles in human development since the NPOs were observed to function in multiple aspects of society (more will be said in the analysis). Being non-profits, these functions were limited to external financial support, which may come from governmental departments (ex. Nibela NPO) or from private parties (usually international funders) (ex. Makhasa 1, 2) or run based on by volunteers with no income (ex. Mngqobokazi NPO). The NPOs I studied had a broad range of activities they are responsible for providing within their constitution, except that only the activities currently being funded were actually being implemented.

Due to this reason of the NPOs dependence on external funding to perform in the human development governance system, I categorize the NPOs based on their primary funder. These Enablers of Agency were either at the provincial, national or international level.

Table 3 below illustrates agents, legitimacy (mandate), level (international, national and local) and the primary role in human development. It presents the social, ecological or socio-ecological system to which the actor's activities are guided towards. Also included is a signifier: "primary concern", which exemplifies to the reader the agent's (social, ecological or socio-ecological) perspective. The 'primary concern' was the response of the respondent given during interviews regarding their organisations' primary concern of the community in regards to human development, or what was extracted through analysis of policy documents. An Enabler was identified based on the policy that provides their mandate and the source of financial support in this context, because I observed these are what empower an organisation to function.

funding without providing services. These NPOs were not used for data collection. In my brief research visit all but one NPO interviewed had an indirect or direct connection to politics.

<i>Agent</i>	<i>Representative</i>	<i>Primary Concern of representative</i>	<i>Social</i>	<i>Ecological</i>	<i>Socio-Ecological</i>	<i>Enabler</i>	<i>Reports to</i>	<i>Level</i>
<i>NPO</i>	Nibela	Healthcare	X			Department of Health	Department of Health	Provincial
	Mnqobokazi	Healthcare	X			Department of Safety and Community Liaison	Community Liaison	Provincial
	Makhasa 1	Adult Education	X			Oxfam Australia	Operation Upgrade	Provincial and International
	Makhasa 2	Education	X			Oxfam Australia, Adventist church	Adventist Church, Oxfam Australia	International
	And Beyond	Needs of neighbouring communities			X	And Beyond Corporation, private funder	And Beyond Corporation, private funder	National and International
<i>Municipality</i>	Community Services	Economic Development	X			Municipal Structures Act and Municipal Systems Act	<i>Council:</i> Public <i>Admin.:</i> M Manager?	<i>Local</i>
	Planner	Attracting tourists to the Municipality			X			
	Municipal Systems Act	Social and economic upliftment of local communities”	X					
<i>iSimangaliso</i>	Community Services	Conservation and Development Tradeoffs			X	World Heritage Act, UN World Heritage Convention	National Department of Environmental Affairs	International and Local
	?(Representatives)	? NOT ACCESSED			?			
	World Heritage Act	“Environmental Protection and Sustainable Development”			X			
<i>Tribal Authority</i>	Nibela 1	Education and Natural Resource Access			X	Local, the Chief	Their community.	Local
	Nibela 2	Support for agriculture	X					
	Makhasa 1	Care of Old people, natural resource access (reeds)			X			
	Makhasa 2	Agriculture and Construction training	X					
	Mnqobokazi	Education/natural resource access (grazing)			X			

Table 3 The Agents of the Governance System

II. Linkages and Disconnects:

In the following section, I present the linkages and disconnects between all the agents considered. This data are part of the findings of my interviews and observations, where representatives of the agents were asked about their organisation's relationships with other agents, and about other agents' relationships, to verify information gathered from other interviews.

Municipality and Tribal Authority

Since they both represent the local sphere, overlapping of authority was observed, though a few mutually understood roles were also found.

The Tribal Authority was found to have a clear role of providing access of the Municipality into the community and facilitating community meetings. They provided access for the Ward Councillor to relay information from the Municipality to the communities and vice versa via the IDP planning process²⁸. The particular roles where the TA facilitates meetings and the Ward Councillor acts as the representative of the community to the Municipality was clarified through a Memorandum of Understanding, according to the Municipal Community Services Informant.

The cooperative linkage between the Municipality and the Tribal Authority appeared robust since both organisations relied on each other services. For the Ward Councillors of the Municipality this relationship is an important political link since The Tribal Authority can be used to gain political support from the community (Municipal Community Services informant). The TA observes this relationship to be necessary for the provision of general services. The Municipality is the linkage to the provincial and national sphere of government in regards to service provision. In interviews with the Nibela, Mngqobokazi, Makhasa Tribal Authority informants, they routinely blamed the Municipality for lack of services.

Unclear roles over land use management were observed. The Nkosi, or chief, is respected as the land owner of their respective community's jurisdiction within the Municipality, according to both the TA and Municipal informants (interviews). This land falls under the jurisdiction of the Municipality in terms of land use planning. According to the Municipal Planner informant, the Tribal Authority is entitled to veto Municipal land use plans. The overlap exists since the Municipal's function is in land use planning and economic development, however, when it comes to

²⁸ According to the Municipal Planner informant, Nibela TA informant, Makhasa TA informant 1, 2, Mngqobokazi TA informant

the Nkosi's land they are just able to advise (Municipal Planner informant). "It's a time bomb waiting to go off" stated the Municipal Community Services Informant when considering potential extreme cases of non-agreed development plans: "who will have the final say?"

Disconnects:

1. Payment for services the Municipality provides: The cash strapped Municipality does not receive taxes or fees from residents or businesses located on the Nkosi's land. A business is obliged to pay fees for bulk services, only if a formal commercial lease is registered, as opposed to the customary verbal lease: Permission to Occupy (PTO) (Municipal Planner informant).

2. Clarity of land entitlement: Acquiring land can be complex for an individual or business. Formally getting a land deed consists of first gaining a verbal PTO agreement from the Tribal Authority and then applying through the Provincial government to get a formal deed²⁹. Few residents or businesses appeared to do both from my observations, which have financial consequences mentioned above.

3. Political Promises --> implementation: There is a disconnect between Municipal promises and implementation. This was blamed on political priorities, where the Councillors of the municipality agree to serve the needs of the people just to gain popularity³⁰. The Traditional Authority is not able to enforce the promises (pers. obs.).

4. Degree of communication into the Community: According to the Makhasa Tribal Authority 1 informant, Municipal meetings in the community are not attended by many members of the community. According to one community leader, this problem of participation may be because the people are not business minded and do not know how to approach the outside world for their needs (Mnqobokazi Tribal Authority informant). Also, because their respective inDuna recaps the municipal meeting the following day which is when more people come (Makhasa Tribal Authority 1 informant). It is suggested that the Traditional Authority does not consistently relay the information from the Municipality to the community³¹

²⁹ According to: pers. obs., Nibela NPO informant, Nibela TA informant 1)

³⁰ According to: Nibela NPO informant, Makhasa NPO 1, 2 informants, Municipal Community Services Manager

³¹ According to: Makhasa Tribal Authority 1, Nibela NPO informant

Municipality and iSimangaliso Wetland Authority

There is currently no concrete linkage, particularly a communication connection between the Municipality and IWPA. Communication is possible, according to Municipal and iSimangaliso Authority representatives, since it is permitted to comment on each other's plans: the Municipal IDP and iSimangaliso's IMP. The Municipal Planner informant suggests that this should be happening since it is the responsibility of the neighbour to inform about 'development' activities happening close by (interview). According to the iSimangaliso representative they do not participate because the Plans are 'irrelevant to each other': the IDP has to do with the development of structures while the IMP is management of natural resources and tourist activities (iSimangaliso Authority informant.).

This lack of communication between the two agents may be a problem in the second half of 2011 where, according to the Municipal Planner informant, the Municipality will gain responsibility of providing services to people residing within the World Heritage Boundaries. Here the land will be managed by IWPA, but the needs of the community will be served by the Municipality³². How this will occur without a current communicative relationship with iSimangaliso Authority remains a concern for the Municipal Planning informant (interview).

Disconnects:

1. **Participation in planning:** IDP and IMP plans do not currently include the participation of the Municipality or the IWPA as stakeholders, even though there is an interest to participate. The Municipal Planning Informant stated that IWPA representatives are invited to participate at planning meetings, but they have not attended nor have they sent apologies³³. The Planning Informant further stated that the Municipality has not been consulted with regarding the current IMP.

2. **Awareness of IWPA Activity:** "There is the odd public relations event, but is it getting deep enough?" (Municipal Planning Informant). "The community relationship with iSimangaliso Wetland Authority is not up to speed," according to the Municipal Community Services Informant.

Both Municipal informants did not show comprehensive knowledge of what development activities

³² This event was confirmed as being 'potential' by the IWPA informant

³³ An apology, or statement, that they are not coming, is a common response by those who have been invited to meetings, but cannot attend.

IWPA was performing in the communities (Municipal Community Services and Planner informants). One major reason is because the activities provided by the IWPA enter the community via the TA and not the Municipality (pers. obs.).

3. **Communication:** “They are running in isolation, what are they? Are they an NGO or something” (Municipal Community Services Informant). There is a clear absence of communication between the Municipality office and iSimangaliso Wetland Authority. The Municipal officials state that there is a need for communication: though they do not have access into iSimangaliso Wetland Authority as they have not introduced themselves nor is there contact information available including names or faces of people (Municipal Community Services, Planner informants).

4. **Cooperation:** “It is like an unhappy marriage where marriage counselling is needed” (Municipal Planning informant). In the municipal planer's perspective all are working for ‘sustainability’, so all the people need to get on board. “New developments (activities and infrastructures), including the IMP, that is in close proximity to the Municipality needs to be brought to the attention of them”, according to the Municipal Planning Informant.

Municipality and Non-Profit Organisations (NPO)

The Municipality and NPOs have a relatively extensive relationship in providing resources and activities to the community, though the extent and quality of support was perceived differently by the various organisations. The Municipality did suggest their role as being a monitor of NPO activities, a link to external financial donors, and an advisor for project development based on their IDP (Municipal Community Services informant). In general, however, several of the NPOs did state the lack of support of the Municipality and suggested that they were being used politically (Makhasa NPO informant A) and/or picking up the slack of the Municipality (Makhasa NPO informant B).

There have been instances of direct Municipal influence of NPOs where the activities provided by NPOs have specific political interests. For example, the Big Five False Bay Municipal Councillor had recently setup an NPO, The Big Five Rural Action Group, to function throughout the Municipality, including healthcare assistance that was overlapping with other NPO work³⁴. It had been linked with funding from the Spanish Government (pers. obs. Nibela NPO Informant).

³⁴ According to: Pers. Obs. Nibela NPO Informant, Makhasa NPO 2 informant, interview

My research concluded that the roles of the NPO in their relationship with the Municipality were: (a) as participants³⁵ (b) to compliment and reinforce municipal services, and (C) as initiators of Municipal-run activities and programmes concerning human development.

(a). Participation: One role of an NPO is participation in IDP planning phase (Municipal Planning Informant) and as a consultant for the Municipal Councillor in giving input to other municipal planning events.

(b). According to the NPOs, they are not there to provide the jobs of the Municipality but to assist where the municipality does not have capacity, including access, finances and staffing³⁶. Since they are based at the household level, the NPOs see one of their roles as referring individuals in need to the Municipality to implement projects such as food packages or the distribution of blankets to the needy, or formalising identification through the attainment of needed identification documents (pers. obs.).

c. “We start. Then we invite the government” (And Beyond NPO Informant). Another potential linkage as witnessed by the activities of And Beyond NPO is to initiate the process of implementing projects that enable human development by forcing their way through the bureaucracy and making direct contacts to the relevant government departments, then getting the Municipality involved to maintain the projects (Confirmed by Municipal Planner Informant).

Disconnect:

1. **NPO Participation in Municipal Planning:** Though Participation exists, I observed the only participant to the IDP planning process was Operation Upgrade (IDP publication, Makhasa NPO informant B) because they were the only one invited and informed of the meeting (Makhasa NPO Informant B). NPOs reported that they were not included to participate because the NPO directors supported the opposition political party³⁷.

2. **Corruption:** There is no monitor or enforcement against illegitimate financial gain from NPO funders – either by NPO or Municipal individuals. There have been instances where political

³⁵ Though participation is limited. See the disconnects of this section.

³⁶ According to: Nibela NPO Informant, Makhasa NPO 1, 2 Mngobokazi NPO informants

³⁷ According to: Nibela NPO, Makhasa NPO A, B, Mngobokazi NPO Informants

officials have kept portions of outside funds that were directed to NPOs via the Municipality³⁸. Political officials have also taken the credit for NPO activities and without giving recognition to NPOs, in order to boost political support (Makhasa NPO 1, 2, Nibela NPO informants).

3. NPO Representation: NPOs have no authority or representative within the Municipality. For example, to organise an NGO forum to benefit themselves, they are powerless in creating it within the Municipality, according to the Nibela NPO informant.

4. Clear and Agreed Roles: There are no formal roles instituted between the Municipality and the NPOs. My data collected showed there were unfair relationships involved since roles had not been agreed upon, for example, NPOs do perform services for the Municipality without receiving recognition or compensation³⁹.

5. Cooperation of NPOs with the Municipality: NPOs sometimes implement projects alone and do not cooperate with the Municipality (Municipal Planner and Community Services Informants) leading to potentially inefficient progress towards human development. The reason might be because they ‘probably don’t like going through all the red tape, which can be a problem because the municipality knows where and what is needed’ (Municipality Planner Informant).

And Beyond NPO is an exception to this lack of cooperation, according to the Municipal Community Services Informant. Described as a preferred model, “They always consult with the municipality whenever they do something” (Municipal Community Services Informant).

NPO and Tribal Authority

The observed linkage between the NPO and the Tribal Authority was a one-sided dependant relationship, where the NPO is not able to function without the acceptance by the TA. The permission to exist occurs upon the initial establishment of the NPO where they require assistance as gate-openers into the community and enablers of land acquirement⁴⁰. Whereas once they are up and running they are allowed to function relatively independently⁴¹. Once an NPO is established,

³⁸ According to: Makhasa TA 1, Makhasa NPO 2, Nibela NPO, Nibela TA 2 informants

³⁹ According to: Nibela NPO informant, Makhasa NPO informant

⁴⁰ According to: Nibela NPO Informant, Makhasa A, B, NPO Informants, Nibela Tribal Authority informant, Makhasa Tribal Authority Informant, Mngqobokazi Tribal Authority Informant, Mbila Tribal Authority informant, Mbila NPO informant

⁴¹ According to: Nibela NPO, Makhasa NPO A informants

the Traditional Authority remains a link to the community to access volunteers and/or employees, among other resources. And Beyond NPO emphasized that this role of the TA as being the neutral reach into the community was important for an NPO to seek assistance from the TA so as not to allow the community to consider the NPO as functioning based on favouritism (And Beyond NPO informant).

Another linkage revolves around the Tribal Trust Fund, which the TA oversees. NPOs within a community have an opportunity to access financial support for projects and programmes from this community trust fund (Mnqobokazi TA informant, Mnqobokazi NPO informant).

Disconnect:

1. **Flow of communication into the communities:** The TA does not relay information adequately into the community about human development services or opportunities. According to the Nibela NPO informant, he is an unusual example that knows most activities going on in the community since he is connected 'at the household level', otherwise few community members know about the existing opportunities (confirmed by Makhasa A NPO informant).

NPO and iSimangaliso Wetland Authority

There is no observed direct connection between the NPOs existing in the communities and the IWPA. The NPOs were all aware of the IWPA and the fact that they provided services to the communities⁴², while IWPA was unaware of the NPOs (my observations during my first research meeting with iSimangaliso Wetland Authority).

The IWPA representatives were not aware of NPOs in the community. As one representative stated: "For some reason NPOs are not interested in this area." The only NPOs referred to were related to wildlife conservation based in St. Lucia, which was outside of the case area.

An indirect linkage was observed. The Nibela NPO was found to give application assistance to recent high school graduates applying for post-secondary education bursaries from IWPA (Nibela NPO 1 informant, interview).

⁴² According to: Nibela NPO, Makhasa A, B, Mnqobokazi NPO Informants

Disconnect:

1. **Awareness** of NPOs by the IWPA appears to be non-existent.

2. Collaboration: Communication between NPOs and IWPA is non-existent. And Beyond NPO performs conservation programmes including conservation education, introducing the youth into nature and awareness programmes of poaching techniques to better train them as informants. These projects are similar to the projects of the IWPA, and the And Beyond NPO Informant stated that he would like to “cooperate with to learn about each other’s programmes.” He is unaware how to contact them.

IWPA and Tribal Authority

There is a clear reciprocal linkage between these two organisations. The TA is the primary link between the IWPA into the community, while the IWPA provides a significant source of services and programmes to the community originating from international and national funding. The IWPA is also a source of income to the Traditional Authority since a percentage of the income earned from tourism is allocated to their Tribal Trust Fund⁴³.

The Traditional Authority⁴⁴ acts as the middle man communicating needs and desires in both directions. It acts as the communicator of the community needs and it represents the community in negotiations with the IWPA in regards to human development.

Also, the Traditional Authority facilitates IWPA’s projects and programmes by allowing them access to the community. The TA arranges community participants for trainings, employment and grant opportunities⁴⁵.

The Traditional Authority, due to its respect in the community, is also the communicator of the IWPA goals, rules and regulations. This particular role in the relationship is significant since the word of the Traditional Authority carries a lot of weight. For example, enforcing the boundary between the community and the protected area requires the active input of the Traditional Authority (Nibela TA 1, Mngobokazi Ta, pers. obs.).

⁴³According to the IWPA informant, Mngobokazi TA informant, Nibela TA 1, 2 informants

⁴⁴ technically via the Land Claim Committee which is within the Traditional Authority according to an IWPA representative

⁴⁵According to Nibela TA 1, 2, Mngobokazi TA, Makhasa 2, Nibela NPO, informants

Disconnect:

1. **Unsettled agreements:** According to the Mngobokazi Tribal Authority Informant his community, who does not yet have a signed co-management plan, has a very poor relationship with the IWPA where verbal agreements are not respected by either party. Firstly, an agreed portion of the gate fees has not been allocated to the community by the IWPA. Also the Mngobokazi Tribal Authority has not cooperated by restricting access into the Wetland Park, particularly for cattle grazing. The existence of informal and unenforced agreements limits the implementation of programmes and services by the IWPA and enforcement of rules and regulations by the Traditional Authority.

2. **Communication** (potential disconnect): The Nibela Traditional Authority Informant 1 explained that the IWPA representatives only come when something is necessary to discuss. The opportunities to share information and news were limited. It is important to note that members of the TA sit on the IWPA governing board (iSimangaliso Authority informant), but the degree of communication between the Tribal Authority and the IWPA is unknown.

3. **Inaction of implementing community's perceived needs:** As the Nibela Tribal Authority informant 2 states, "the reason for the Tribal Authority to not obey the requests of iSimangaliso (the IWPA), is because they are not listening (to us)..." This informant was referring to a discussion we had about why communities have been known to protest the actions of the IWPA such as the erection of a fence.

4. **Equitable relationship:** The Mngobokazi Traditional Authority Informant stated: "(It) feels like we are in jail when working with iSimangaliso (the IWPA)...it's the government and we have no rights⁴⁶ and no compensation." The Mngobokazi informant explained that the following week after our interview there was a meeting called with the IWPA to clarify two specific issues: (a) why employment opportunities as part of an invasive species control project in Mkhuzi game reserve was cancelled early and (b) why meetings called by IWPA are called on short notice, usually two days before leaving the community little time to prepare. (Mngobokazi Tribal Authority Informant).

⁴⁶ 'rights' refers to the natural resource access restrictions placed by the IWPA

6. ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION

As presented in the results section, my empirical findings show that the human development efforts in the region are inadequate to alleviate poverty, which are the goals of the policy regime the governance system falls within. My findings are from a governance analysis of the organisations who participate in human development, their performance within the governance system and their drivers that enable the organisations to operate.

In this section I analyse why human development governance system, which includes state actors: the municipality, the IWPA and the tribal authorities and non-state actors: non-profits organisations, is lacking in its capability to deliver. I apply scale to my findings to explain the governance system disconnects discovered through my research. These disconnects are summarised in Table 4 below. In addition, I will present recommendations to improve the governance system that considers the particular context of the Mngobokazi, Nibela and Makhasa communities located within the Big Five False Bay Municipality

- III. The research questions that guided this analysis are: *What are the challenges of poverty alleviation under the current human development governance system?*
- a. ~~*Who are the organizations participating in the allocation of resources needed to alleviate poverty?*~~
 - b. *How do these organizations work together as an ensemble? i.e. What are their linkages and disconnects?*
 - c. *What drivers enable the modes of operation of the organisations?*

Table 4 Disconnects Between Agents

<i>Agent</i>	<i>Disconnect</i>	<i>Agent</i>
<i>Municipality (M)</i>	NPO Participation in planning Corruption in (M) or (NPO) NPO representation Clear and Agreed Roles (NPO) cooperation with (M)	<i>NPO</i>
<i>Municipality (M)</i>	(M) Political promises vs. implementation (TA) Degree of Communication into the community Clarity of land entitlement (TA) Payment for Municipal Services	<i>Tribal Authority (TA)</i>
<i>NPO</i>	Lack of uniform communication within (TA)	<i>Tribal Authority (TA)</i>
<i>NPO</i>	(IWPA) Awareness of (NPO) Collaboration	<i>IWPA</i>
<i>Tribal Authority (TA)</i>	Unsettled Agreements (Potentially) Inter-Communication IWPA implementation of Community desires Equitable Relationship	<i>IWPA</i>
<i>IWPA</i>	Awareness of IWPA activities Availability and communication of IWPA	<i>Municipality (M)</i>

I. Analysing with Scale

The situation that the communities of focus are set in is complex and I have attempted to get that across in this writing. It would be out of the scope of this thesis to provide a comprehensive analysis of the governance system that includes all the factors that limit human development. I do offer one perspective, by applying scale, to offer an explanation as to why the human development governance system is not functioning effectively. My application of scale in this analysis arises from my theoretical framework – governance, socio-ecological system, and agency – which brings a diversity of influences that affect human development and contribute to the rules and regulations that govern it.

Below I discuss how scale is applied: I. First, how the presence of a local to global hierarchy of Enablers within the governance system may explain some of the communicative disconnects; and II. How the presence of a spread of SES perspectives that directs the mode of operations can explain

some of the reasons for non-cooperation when these perspectives are mismatched. These mismatches of the agent-specific perspectives explain the reasons for cooperative breakdown in the system. Finally in section III I present a multi-level approach to managing the system towards poverty alleviation.

A. Local to Global scale: Municipal, provincial, national, international connects

In Table 3 I have illustrated the primary influences of the agents, the Enablers of Agents, whom makes it feasible to implement their programs by financing and/or enforcing them along the vertical scale. I define the vertical levels of local, municipal, provincial, national, international not by geographic borders, but by a scale of jurisdiction where the levels are defined by the political or legal authority (Young 2006).

On the vertical scale, IWPA is given its mandate by the national Department of Environmental Affairs (through the World Heritage Act) who monitors actions of the IWPA. The Municipality is enabled to implement its activities at the municipal level by nature of the decentralised government laid out by the Constitution. It can be defined in two parts: A. the voters enable the elected officials B. the Municipal Manager enables the non-elected officials. The Traditional Authority remains independent, but their actions are largely influenced at the community level by the Chief, who remains at the top of the hierarchical tribal government system. The NPOs are enabled by the funders; since they cannot function without financial support, regardless as to what their constitution or board of members' states (i.e. what is stated in their constitution is not reflected at implementation in observations).

This vertical scale of jurisdictional boundaries, ranging from the local to global, is important to consider because human development governance at the community level is influenced concurrently by pressures from lower and higher ends of the scale. Understanding this dynamic is the only way a system can be meaningfully understood at any one scale (Cash 2000). In my example, the IWPA and some NPOs are acting within the system, with influence from the international level, while the Tribal Authority, Municipality and some NPOs are functioning with influence from the community level.

They each have their own modes of operation, which are influenced by these levels, driven by different interests that may or may not be in sync with the level of the community. For example, the Nibela NPO, Mngqobokazi NPO are agents that were created from the bottom up as a result of the

observed health needs of the communities (i.e. to provide home-care, food security and orphan support projects). Though, only home-care for those suffering from HIV/AIDS was being implemented at the time of research (pers. obs.). When inquiring why the other activities the NPOs wished to perform were stagnant, the explanation was a lack of funding. The current home-care activities were financed by the Provincial Departments of Health and Community Liaison. This exemplifies the influence other levels have on the allocation of services, where even if the community preferred a different service, it could only be implemented depending on the Enabler.

Explaining the Disconnects

1. *“Simangaliso (the IWPA) bypasses the Municipality because they have a direct connection to the national government...”* (Community Planner Informant)

A mismatch between agents and levels of enablers is a cause of communication gaps. Such is the case between the IWPA and the Municipality, where the Authority is monitored by the national Department of Environmental Affairs – and the Municipality is influenced at the local level. Though the South African government framework clearly states interaction between different government entities, there is no apparent enforcement of this rule. The Municipality has attempted to communicate with the IWPA, but the cooperation has not been received nor reciprocated

In my observations, these agents have limited staff, limited work hours available and may not have the capacity to interact with other agents. I, for example, was not able to access officials of IWPA during the research phase for this reason, according to the research director of the IWPA. Interactions between agents appeared to be limited since it is not considered a mutual priority nor is it enforced.

The exception in this study is the Tribal Authority, which all agents are in contact with. The Tribal Authority is a unique case however, since their existence is made legitimate from within their community, as a cultural norm. In this way, this agent simultaneously acts as a representative for the community, "like the role of a father" according to Mnqobokazi TA informant, as well as a contributor to poverty alleviation within the governance system.

2. Mismatch between local context and Enablers interests:

The higher up on a vertical scale the less likely the Enabler of the Agent is to be knowledgeable about the local context of the human development system. They are unaware of the

interconnections and potential linkages that can hurt or help the agent they are responsible for. For example, when representatives of Oxfam Australia come to visit the Makhasa NPO 1 and Makhasa NPO 2, they stay in bed and breakfasts in Hluhluwe town and Durban (Makhasa NPO 1 informant). It is questionable to what depth their understanding of the socio-ecological context of the governance system in which they operate extends. Thus, the influence this funder places on the agents will be limited to what they observe from their brief site visits.

Similarly, the Municipality, Tribal Authority and NPOs who are influenced at the municipal (local) level, are not in tune with the perspective of the IWPA or other NPOs. These are primarily steered by trends and goals set at the global level, such as biodiversity protection and world heritage. These trends may not be regarded as highly by agents and their Enablers at the local level – and as a consequence, the goals that drive the implementation of human development become different and perhaps incompatible.

Advantages of vertical scale:

Some of the faults in the governance system studied can be explained by mismatches along the vertical scale. However, it is important to recognise the potential benefits from having global to local ties.

Potential Connect: Higher levels act as linkages to more resources.

Linkages to the international level can provide opportunities of funding, ideas, and training, etc. Though an agent operating in the community may be largely influenced at the international level, it has the potential to provide an important linkage and opportunity to expanding resources necessary for human development. The World Heritage Site status is an internationally respected identifier that could serve to bring in other financial and non-financial support. Also, the global significance attracts the attention of researchers interested in contributing to the local context. Not to mention, the international status can act to put the local on the map, since World Heritage Site status acts as a branding and attracts tourists (Reinus and Fredman 2007)

The diverse local to global linkages mentioned above could be considered a strength to the development system, since poverty probably cannot be alleviated by a homogenous government system at the local level. At this community and municipal level, as I observed, there are few educated and financially capable individuals able to work alone to alleviate poverty. The skilled individuals with ties to the area often become examples of a brain drain where they end up in

Empangeni, Richard's Bay, or Durban (pers. obs.).

B. Scaling the development perspectives: social, ecological, socio-ecological:

Another factor considered in this governance analysis was the social, ecological or socio-ecological perspective that influenced the agents implementation of human development activities. The particular interest that drives the agent can be found in Table 3 and observed in Figure 2 on the x axis.

The agents exhibited a diversity of perspectives. From interviews, policy review and my observations, I categorised the NPOs (with the exception of And Beyond), and the Municipality as functioning from a social system perspective. The Tribal Authorities were observed to be functioning from a social system perspective based on the activities implemented. Though in interviews half of the representatives referred to the environment and social system as being interconnected suggesting that they are motivated by a socio-ecological perspective. Access into IWPA was highly limited, but as a result of their policies and brief interaction with IWPA members I concluded that they function within a socio-ecological system. It is important to note that the general perception of the IWPA by other agents was that they are environmentally focused (i.e. having an ecological perspective).

Studying the perspective that drives the modes of operations of the agents is necessary because mismatches between the development perspective that drives the agents and a mismatch between the socio-ecological overarching development framework and the agents will result with an inadequate governance system. Specifically, mismatches will (a) limit cooperation between organisations and (b) risk disturbance of the social or ecological component of the SES.

(a) .Development perspective mismatches can limit cooperation between Agents.

My data retrieved from the field suggest that agents may not function effectively within the human development system when the agents' efforts are not aligned along the same development perspective. The simplified modes of operation of the agents result in either social or ecological focused activities within the human development system. This resulted in agents isolating themselves from one another.

A significant cooperation gap was observed to be between the NPOs and the IWPA. The NPOs predominantly function from a social system perspective, while the IWPA has been instituted within a socio-ecological perspective at the national level. (Though, the IWPA is also largely influenced by

the global level). Having disparate perspectives of development, human vs. environmental, as their main mode of operation, limits the likeliness of interaction. As my results show, the IWPA was completely unaware of any of the existing NPOs who function from a social system perspective. Even though in my research, there were two exceptions of NPOs who did see the potential of connecting development with ecological preservation: The Mbila NPO informant (located outside of the case study) wanted to create an indigenous tree planting programme and host conservation awareness programmes in the Mbila Community, while And Beyond wanted to collaborate to exchange knowledge about the bursary programme and conservation awareness programmes.

It appeared that attaining a broader socio-ecological mode of operation is necessary for agents to at least be more aware of other inter-linkages, which is an important step to closing the communication gap. Thus, it is needed for the organisations to become aware that they have something in common, and then the capacity of the organisation should be adapted to implement activities that strengthen a relationship. Flexibility is important, where over a short term and long term period of time it is necessary for cooperation between the different organisations and the community. Since the financiers of the NPOs are what drive their mode of operation, pressure should be placed here to function within a socio-ecological perspective.

(b). Narrow perspectives risk disturbances in the socio-ecological system

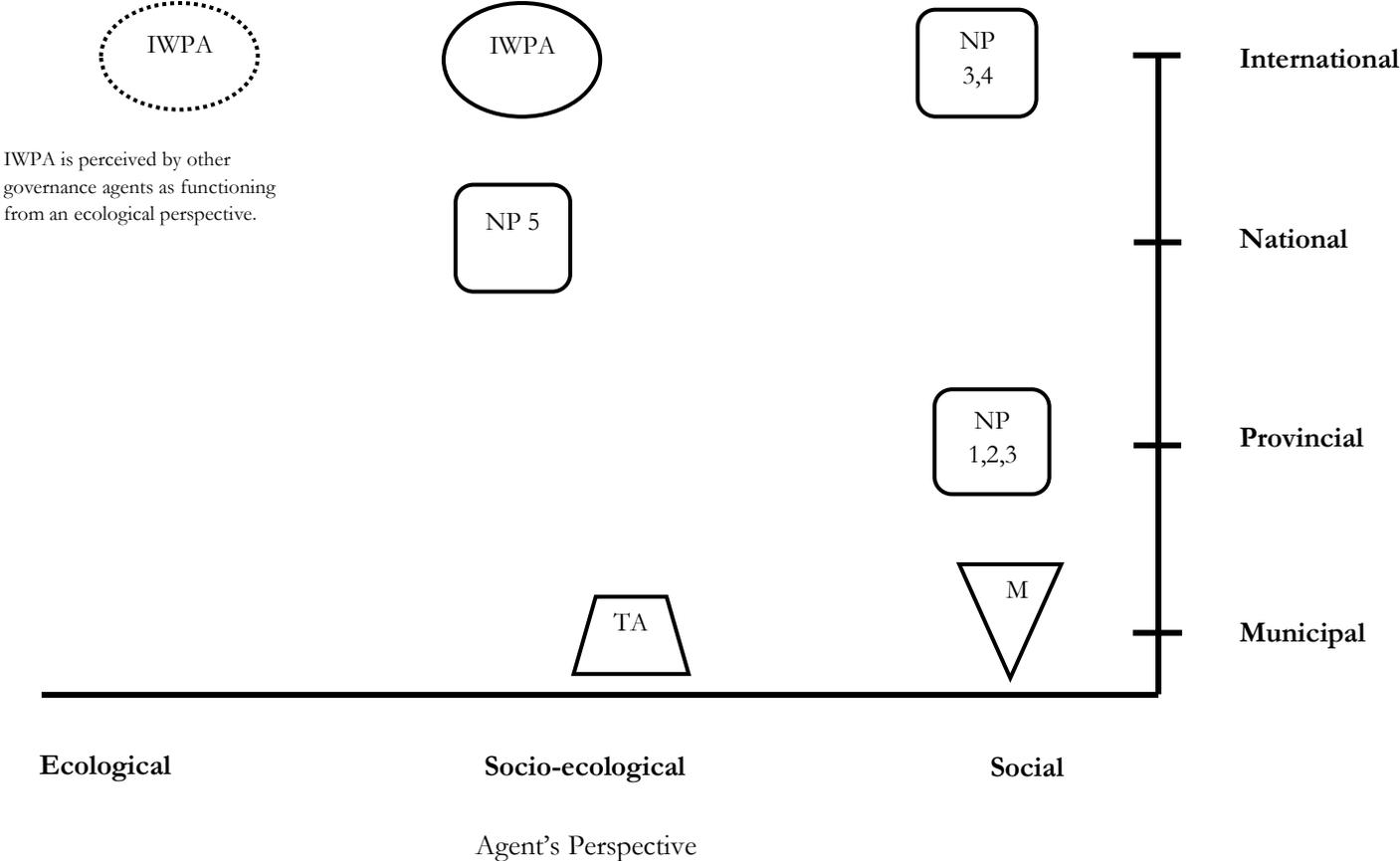
Narrowly directing their development activities from a social or ecological perspective can cause negative effects on the component of the SES not considered. Activities targeting social development can cause negative effects on the ecological system, which consequentially will perturb the human development system without a purposeful intention, or vice versa.

For example, limiting natural resource access of the Mnqobokazi, Nibela and Makhasa communities by the IWPA to protect the land is driven by the globally accepted notion that biodiversity protection is necessary. The resulting feedback in the studied system will be a limitation of desired access to the land, a functioning of the community. Land provides numerous opportunities for the local residents, such as ncema grass collection for mats, grazing land for cattle, ilala palm for alcohol use which correlate to financial wealth and individual pleasure.

In a similar notion narrowly focusing on development from a social perspective can disrupt the local ecology because of unmanaged use. Income generation projects are a common example, such as expanding the local craft market to sell carvings and weavings made from local natural resources to passing tourists.

Figure 2: The Scalar Influences of the Agent’s Operations:

The X axis identifies the social, socio-ecological, or ecological perspective that drives the performance of the agents. The Y axis identifies the judicial boundary the agent is enabled from (i.e. enforced, funded, reports to): local, provincial, national, or international.



NP 1, 2 : Nibela NPO, Mngobokazi NPO
 NP 5: And Beyond NPO

NP 3,4: Makhasa 1 NPO and Makhasa 2 NPO

II. Towards a Better System

As I have shown, South Africa has established a progressive legislative framework towards poverty alleviation – while at the same time aiming to maintain its unique ecological heritage. My case study analysis illustrates the main problems with the governance regime towards achieving human development at the local level. This is, at least in part, a problem of scale as discussed above.

By analysing the agents that together define the governance system, I have found that a national policy framework is not enough to get the desired results of development and conservation. Multiple interests are vested by multiple organisations that are driven by different judicial levels of society.

What is needed is to engage the agents of the human development regime into a fully-linked system, flexible enough to be able to act according to local to global needs, including poverty alleviation and conservation. I suggest the need for a multi-level approach to steer the current governance system. Table 5, highlights my recommendations of what to target and what actions are needed as a result of this study.

Table 5 Multi-level approach to steering a human development governance system

Level	Target	Recommendation
Global	Enablers of IWPA and NPOs	Pressurize to institute SES perspective
	IWPA	Pressurize to Cooperate with other agents
National	Government Departments	Monitor and Enforce instituted roles (in Constitution) Pressurize to institute SES perspective
Provincial	Government Departments	Monitor and Enforce instituted roles (in Constitution) Pressurize to institute SES perspective
Local	Municipality	Establish NPO Forum to promote cooperation
	Municipality and Tribal Authority	Clarify Roles
	Municipality	Pressurize to institute SES perspective
	Tribal Authority	Empowerment: provide greater access to their rights through increasing knowledge of laws and strengthening their voice in inter-agent communication.

Above, the table is organised by the judicial boundaries of the agents that enable them to perform, including global, national, provincial or local. The recommendations I have arrived to come from my analysis of the governance system, based on the gaps and disconnects that I observed to exist.

There are specific weaknesses of each agent that I considered as well as overall limiting factors of the governance system. Most notably, I consider a significant need of the system is for all the agents to institute an approach to development that considers the socio-ecological system they are functioning within to match the overarching policy framework as well as the communities' needs.

7. CONCLUSION:

Through this thesis, I have found that variety of interests drive the individual organisations that contribute to a human development governance system. Even though the overarching policy framework is sensitive to both environmental and social issues of the region, the agents may not.

At the same time, I found the various agents within the governance system are directed, enforced, and/or are mandated to perform from various rule-making levels of society ranging from the municipal to international. With various interests directed by various judicial boundaries gaps and disconnects arise between agents of the governance system. As a result, poverty alleviation is limited by this dysfunctional performance. It is therefore suggested that a multi-level approach be implemented to appropriately mend the gaps and disconnects of the governance system, since organisations at the local level are unlikely able to adapt to the socio-ecological needs of the system.

There is not a single solution that can be prescribed to solve a complex case of development through conservation such as this example concerning three of the rural communities of Big Five False Bay Municipality in KwaZulu Natal. I have recommended that cooperation between agents is needed to maximize resources and to limit competition that can make the situation worse, similar to Cash et al 2006. For this to occur more incentives and enforcement are needed to increase cooperation between and within government agents and with non-government agents – since the legislature is there, but it is not being implemented. Some of the organizations already function in terms of co-management, such as the IWPA, however they are missing effective trust relationships and leadership, limiting adequate evidence of co-management. In particular, a broader socio-ecological operative approach to development is needed by all parts of the governance system – and I have suggested targeting the Enablers of Agents.

Many instances of development projects involve the prescribed win-win environment and social aspects of development. This study has hopefully contributed positively to the implementation challenges of these sustainable development goals.

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- Traditional Leadership and Governance Act (Act 10 of 1997), South African Constitution
- World Heritage Act. (Act 49 of 1999), South African Constitution

APPENDIX

- I. Below are the questions included in the semi-structured interviews. The interviews were each about 2 hours long and held at the interviewees' office or home.
 - a) What is your relationship with the community?
 - b) (for TA interviewees) What do the people in your community need the most?
 - c) What projects and services are/have been occurring in the community to help the people?
 - d) What organisations are contributing to these projects and services?
 - e) What is your organization's relationship with other organisations? (agents – Municipality, TA, iSimangaliso , NPO)
 - f) As for the other organisations, do they work with one another? Do they communicate?
 - g) What are the relationships of other organisations with the community?
 - h) If your organization could get assistance from the other agents, what would you want?

- II. Below is a list of the interviews completed as part of my research. It includes representatives from the Mngobokazi, Nibela, and Makhasa communities and the representatives outside of the research area of which was used for triangulation.

In addition, two meetings were held with iSimangaliso Authority to discuss my research. The first was on 11 February 2011 with Nerosha Govender, the Research Manager, and Bronwyn James. The second was 14 February 2011 with Sizo the Community Relations Manager. Further access to iSimangaliso Wetland Authority was not permitted.

Individuals Interviewed:

ID	Individual Interviewed	Date	Organization	Position
Municipal Planner informant	Annejtjie Van Syl	2 Feb 2011, 16, March 2011	Big Five False Bay Municipality	IDP manager and Town planner
Municipal Community Services informant	Israel Ngidi	22 Feb 2011	Big Five False Bay Municipality	LED Manager and Community Services Manager
Makhasa NPO 1 informant	Pinky Petersen	2 Feb 2011	Operation Upgrade	Coordinator
Nibela NPO informant	Nkothini Ngubane	24 Feb 2011	Sifisulwazi	Coordinator
Makhasa NPO 2 informant	Thandi Masuko	28 Feb 2011	Advent Hope Education and Community Development	Coordinator
And Beyond informant	Bheki Ntuni	1 March 2011	& Beyond	Coordinator
Nibela TA 1 informant	Anonymous	25 Feb 2011	Nibela TA	TA official
Nibela TA 2 informant	Anonymous	24 Feb 2011	Nibela TA	inDuna
Mnqobokazi TA informant	Anonymous	15 March 2011	Mnqobokazi TA	inDuna
Makhasa TA 1 informant	Anonymous	21 March 2011	Makhasa TA	inDuna
Makhasa TA informant	Anonymous	7 March 2011	Makhasa TA	inDuna
Mnqobokazi TA informant	Anonymous	15 March 2011	Mnqobokazi TA	inDuna

Interviewees outside of Research area – but used in triangulation.

Mbila TA 1 informant	Anonymous	20 Feb 2011	Mbila TA	inDuna
Mbila NPO informant	Ronell Mostert	17, 18 Feb 2011	Barefoot Community Works	Director
Mbila Community member	Anonymous	18 Feb 2011	Mbila community member	Fisherman
Sodwana Concessioner	Anonymous	19 Feb 2011	Anonymous	Sodwana Bay Business owner
Kosi Bay guide	Bongani	11 March 2011	Uvoyo Lodge owner	Guide

III.

Table 6 Services delivered by the government and non-government actors

Agent	iSimangaliso	Municipality	District	NPO	Traditional Authority
Human Development Services	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Post-secondary education bursaries - Skills training programmes - Small, medium, micro business development - Conservation awareness programmes - Percentage of Tourism income 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Road connections - Water connections - Disaster Relief - Crèche - Development planning and monitoring new development - Link to provincial and national services and funding 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - District roads - Water supply - Sanitation - Disaster Management 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Healthcare - Literacy - Disaster Relief - Culture Activities - Orphan assistance - Job opportunities - Skill training - Assist with applications to other programmes - Link to services of provincial and national departments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Represent community to other agents - Manage community trust fund - Conflict resolution - Land use management - Link to provincial and national authorities

IV.

Three examples of these types of governance of the allocation of social needs from my study, as described in Torfing (2005).

i. Parallel: Operation Upgrade is a non-profit organisation working throughout the case site (Umkhanyegude District Municipality is their jurisdiction) in education. They are and have been running self-funded adult literacy classes, while becoming aware of pertinent topics (decided within these classes) such as HIV/AIDs and food production. They have gained permission by the traditional tribal council to work and are known by the Municipality, but do not have any other linkages regarding their education service. (pers. obs.)

ii. Cooperation through Public-Private partnership: And Beyond Foundation is a non-profit subsidiary of CC Africa (a conservation tourism company) who owns a private game reserve that incorporates parts of the Makhasa and Nibela communal land. This non-profit attends to many of the needs of these communities upon request, including construction assistance for clinics and schools. All the while, their projects are in partnership with the applicable government body. Once a school construction project has begun, for example, And Beyond Foundation communicates with the tribal council and the municipality in regards to site location, and with the KwaZulu Provincial Department of Education to ensure the school will be registered and teacher(s) will be funded. (And Beyond NPO informant and Municipal Community Services Informant, interviews).

iii. Competition: The Big Five Rural Action Group non-profit organization was delivering home-based care (for HIV/AIDs patients) in areas where a non-profit was already functioning. This non-profit organization was functioning without communicating with other home-based care organizations and it is seeking to provide care to as many IFP members as possible to win political favor. (Friction due to political battles between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the African National Congress is a common phenomenon in this part of South Africa.) This resulted in the competition between home-based care organizations for patients and disrupted the functions of the already established non-profits, according to the Nibela NPO Informant and Makhasa 2 NPO Informant (Interviews).