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THE CONTRIBUTION OF ECOTOURISM

TO

LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

BY

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February, 2000

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A Research Report submitted to the University of the Witwatersrand, the Faculty of Management, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management).

February, 2000

ABSTRACT

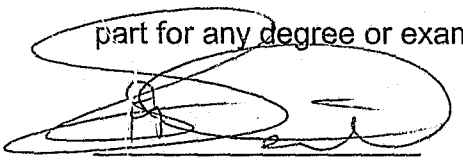
Ecotourism and Local Economic Development are increasingly confronted with arguments about their sustainability and compatibility with environmental protection and community economic development. Madikwe Game Reserve is a three-legged equal Partnership model with an aim of developing the socio-economic standard of the communities living on its fringes. All three are equally responsible and accountable in sustaining the project in accordance with integrated conservation and development principles.

The purpose of this exploratory study was to make a review of socio-economic development process contributed by MGR to the local three villages. One of the key major findings was that the Madikwe communities are independent and competitive of each other. It was also established that MGR has not yet impacted economically on the lives of these communities as it has promised during the project's initiation.

The research study concludes that ecotourism and Local Economic Development face many barriers in developing the socio-economic livelihoods of those who have been previously marginalised.

Declaration

I, Fancy Doricca Sentle, declare that this Research Report is my own unaided work except as indicated in the acknowledgments, the text and in the references. It is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Master of Management (in the field of Public and Development Management) to the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before in whole or in part for any degree or examination in this or any other university.



Fancy Doricca Sentle

DEDICATION

To my beloved daughter, Molebogeng Sentle. Darling, you have been an anchor and source of love and hope. Thank you for affording me an opportunity to study.

I remain highly indebted and grateful to my Maker, the Almighty God. Lord you are the wind beneath my wings because in your presence, I am an eagle that endlessly reaches higher heights.

Acknowledgment

I would like to express my gratitude and many thanks to the following individuals:
First to my supervisor, Professor Patrick Bond for his interest, encouragement, and persistent guidance throughout the research process.
Special thanks to Dr Hector Magome for his intellectual support and persistent nudges. This report brought a perfect battle between us. Thanks for being there and for bringing the best out of me. You are a jewel to be treasured.
To Dr John Ledger for enabling me in gaining focus on politics of conservation and development.
To Endangered Wildlife Trust for availing part of my study fees.
To Mr. Richard Davies and staff for making all the MGR data available to me.
I am grateful to Dr Fig, who laid clear paths and guidance for this report. You have been very instrumental.
To Mr Dan Ntsala for making the data on rural development available to me.

I would also like to thank the following people:
My Mom and Dad and my relatives for their unconditional support at the time of despair.

To my friends and colleagues at P&DM, Elias Mkhwanazi, Abia Litheko, Veronica Thale, Ntebatse Masiangoako and Victor Magodielo.

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List of Abbreviations

BCDO	Bakgatla Community Development Organisation
CDO	Community Development rganisation
CC	Conservation Coporation
DBSA	Development Bank of South Africa
DFID	Department for International Development
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
GEM	Group for Environmental Monitoring
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
ICLEI	The International Council for Local Environmental Initiatives
IDRC	The international Development Research

	Center
IUCN	The World Conservation Union
LED	Local Economic Development
MGR	Madikwe Game Reserve
MI	Madikwe Initiative
NEPA	Ntsika Enterprise Promotion Agency
NWP&TB	North West Parks and Tourism Board
SANP	South African National Parks
SETPLAN	Settlement Planning Services
SMMEs	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises
RDC	Rustenburg District Council
RDP	The Reconstruction and Development

	Programme
UNEP	The United Nations Environment Programme
UNRISD	The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development
WCED	World Conservation for Environment and Development

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STAKEHOLDERS ANALYSIS

Community Structures:

1. **Village-Based CDOs**

A legally constituted an effectively functioning CDO for each of the three beneficiary villages

2. The CDO Forum

A proper functioning collective forum involving representation from village-based CDOs. Forum is the formal means of communication between Mafisa and the beneficiary communities.

The Conservation Coporation

Represents the Private Sector. Did major investment in development and management of tourism facilities and activities in the MGR. It also plays a key role in establishing an internationally competitive, high value tourism in MGR. Presently operates Tau Lodge

DBSA

Major funder of MGR. DBSA initiated a baseline Socio-Economic survey of the three villages in 1993, with the aim of involving the communities in MGR development processes. Perkins D. did the study.

Department of Water affairs and Forestry

Donated R1. Million for the project, "Working for Water Programme". The project is bush clearing programme that aimed at maximising the number of temporary jobs through labour intensive methods.

DFID

The British Department For International Development donated SAR4.0 Million for the capacity-building process of MGR communities.

Madikwe Development Trust

Undertakes the financial management of MGR. Provides funding for development of beneficiary communities.

MAFISA

A consulting agency commissioned by NWP &TB DFID to facilitate the community capacity building process at Madikwe

NWP &TB

The principal partner in MGR and initiated the project. Tasked with fulfillment of the management of conservation priorities that have been set Regionally, Provincially and Nationally (SANP).

Rustenburg and Central District Councils

Local Government Agencies that are responsible for long term development of Madikwe Distrcit. Presently involved in Tented Lodge on the shore of Molatedi dam. The agencies raised R1.4 million to fund the project.

The Tribal Authority

Though the villages are relatively small and closer to each other, each has a tribal chief who pioneers all development process in the village. Chief Suping V. forSuping village, Chief Matlapeng for Molatedi and the Chief for Lekgophung.

Chapter 1: Research Background and Research Problem

1.1. Introduction

South Africa has not yet proceeded on the arduous road of socio-economic change and development. Population explosion, poverty, high rate of unemployment and absence of skilled human resource forms a vicious cycle of dependency, crime and debt. During the Sixties and Seventies, the development policies and strategies were tailor-made to achieve rapid economic growth and accumulation of wealth. To remedy the repetitive circle of poverty, dependency and crime, new development strategies are eminent. There is a need for an economic development paradigm shift right now, due to poverty crises in the rural areas.

South Africa's new policies and strategies that are now in place seek to uproot poverty and its roots from its victims, in this context, the rural poor. The issue of interest is, will South Africa finally uproot poverty and its ills? Unfortunately, these policies and strategies need not be followed slavishly; because "human societies or communities are not homogeneous; but differ greatly in culture, history, religion, politics, institutions and traditions" (IUCN, UNEP AND WWF 1991, p.8). What worked at Kwazulu Natal may not necessarily work at Madikwe region or in Soweto. Communities differ in their origin, their way of looking at things and even perceive and understand development differently.

The initiative that was adopted at Madikwe Game Reserve (MGR) was to remedy the ills inherited from the past government that was based on social and economic discrimination. These ills were inherited from an

irrelevant education system and they form lack of knowledge and dependence.

1.2. Background

MGR is quite a natural area, untouched by modern development. A place of quietness and tranquility. MGR "consists mainly of extensive plains which slope gently in a north-easterly direction towards the Marico river" (Davies, 1997, p.4). Acocks, (1998) surveyed the vegetation of MGR and classified it into the following areas: Kalahari Thornveld, Mixed Bushveld, Arid Sweet Bushveld and other Turf Thornveld. Driving through the reserve, one can enjoy the scenery and variety animals, including the big five that freely roam the area. On the fringes of this beautiful place, live three communities.

MGR too has many sources of pressure that it is currently enduring. On the one hand, pressure comes from conservationists, policy analysts and researchers who want to find out about the success or failure behind the objectives set for MGR. On the other hand, the South African National Parks (SANP) also want to be successful in fulfilling their promises and reaching their objectives. Pressure also comes from the beneficiary communities who are actually hopeful for more socio-economic benefits flowing from MGR. These benefits vary from employment to supply of infrastructure such as water, sanitation, electricity and housing.

The pressure comes from the developers, who want to see how much progress there is within a specified period. The pressure is worldwide as everybody wants to know the strategies and barriers that were encountered in implementing a successful Public-Private Partnership that would benefit a rural area like the Madikwe region.

One actually wonders whether MGR will reach the objectives it has set for itself. Will it be able to meet the high expectations of benefits by the communities? Above all can this rural, disadvantaged and undeveloped region be left entirely to MGR alone to develop?

Proponents of ecotourism believe that it is an industry that can "provide tangible benefits to the disadvantaged, particularly in rural areas where it is most needed" (Group for Environmental Monitoring, (GEM), 1994, p.6). Is ecotourism a rural reconstruction tool? As stated in the GEM (1994, p.6), document "the ultimate goal of ecotourism development is for it to contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of our people, particularly those living in and around areas of particular ecological and cultural value, both through direct gain and economic spin-off". In other words, will MGR be able to provide employment, business opportunities, skill development and capacity building, infrastructure such as schools, roads, telephones and health clinics?

Tourism has been identified as one of the "major cultural and economic forces in the world today" (Schaller, 1998, p.1). Little wonder then that since the 1960s, tourism has often been seen as "a dynamic engine for economic development in both high and low income countries" (Schaller, 1998, p.1). But is it really "a reconstruction tool for rural South Africa?" (GEM, 1994, p.1). Can the strategy also be used in developing countries, especially rural and poverty stricken areas?

Not only is tourism clearly a growth industry but it is argued that "it can help diversify an economy and is virtually immune to economic protectionism" (Pearce, 1981). However, Mountain (1990), warns us about the development process and environmental considerations believed to be innate to the entire development process and that the totality of sustainable development "is difficult to grasp analytically."

The major concern of this research endeavour is to review the socio-economic development processes that are brought by MGR to the three neighbouring villages. Ecotourism is believed to be a potential instrument that can be applied to develop the rural economy while it conserves the environment.

The Madikwe project has been running for a period of seven years, (1991-1998). The difficulty in this study is in deciding whether seven years equates to "sooner rather than later" as mentioned by Davies (1997, p.5). Nevertheless, the researcher contends that seven years is sufficient enough to allow a critical review of the process that was followed and also an assessment of whether or not the Madikwe project is meeting its stated objectives.

The following section introduces the reader to the research problem under investigation.

1.3. The research problem and sub-problems

Ecotourism is commonly recognised as a burgeoning industry with significant prospects for rural communities. The proponents of ecotourism argue that nature-based tourism is the solution to poverty and underdevelopment. It is often seen as a reconstruction tool to the rural backwaters, a foreign exchange earner of the country and a great contributor to Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

However, ecotourism poses serious inherent problems that frequently result in the failure of economic delivery in rural areas. In most disadvantaged parts of the country where ecotourism destinations are located, the local economic development potential of ecotourism has, on the whole fallen short.

Magome (1996, p.1) informs us that "while the economic benefits of ecotourism cannot be disputed, at this stage, they are not being fully realised". He postulates that "ecotourism has a time lag between initiation and realisation of its full potential" (1996, p.12). Other factors that need to be put in place before rural areas can reap the economic benefits of this tourism industry include the personal safety of tourists, good infrastructure such as roads and health facilities that are often lacking in rural areas. He further argues that because of this time lag, "ecotourism is an over-romanticised notion or a pie in the sky for South African rural communities" (Magome, 1996, p.1).

This scenario depicts various problems that are inherent in employing ecotourism as a rural reconstruction tool. The most common problem that "prevents ecotourism from redistributing wealth in rural backwaters is the leakage of profits out of the host country to developed countries as well as from the countryside to the cities" (Koch, 1993, p.3). This leakage is inevitable when tourism expands rapidly (and often at the cost of the environment). Underdeveloped regional economy that lack the capacity to produce qualitative goods and competitive services that are required by the tourism enterprise.

MGR has been established primarily on the socio- conomic advantages it can bring to the surrounding areas. But for it to succeed, it needs the effective participation of local rural residents in Madikwe and the full support of the private sector.

The aim of this study is to explore the development processes that are currently undertaken by MGR with an objective of uplifting the rural economy by trying to look for answers to the following:

What has MGR achieved in terms of the objectives it has set itself? How far has it succeeded in developing the local economy and

devolved power to the community now that they (SANP, Private Sector and Community) are equal partners in this venture? Does the community participate effectively for the success of this project? Or are they just passive and dependent recipients of the benefits that flow from the MGR project?

1.4. Access and Limitations of the Research

A review of the role played by the MGR and its contribution to developing the economy of the villages living on its fringes was greatly enhanced by the researcher's experience and voluntary involvement in community development issues. The fact that the researcher comes from a rural setting is an advantage and strength. Exposure to poverty and high levels of illiteracy made her find ways of curbing the problems experienced by these rural poor people.

Factors such as these influenced, to a great extent, the researcher's voluntary involvement in the Bakgatla Community Development Organisation (BCDO). The organisation mobilised the viable economic resources as presented by Pilanesburg National Park, Sun City and Anglo American Platinum Mines (AMPLATS). These organisations together with the local community, joined hands to meet some of the needs of the communities.[1]

During March 1998, the researcher was assigned by Mafisa (a consulting company assigned by MGR to develop the area) to conduct base-line research on the community's perceptions of MGR. This gave her an opportunity to form sound and trusted relationships with the key players at the reserve, with the community development organisation

[1] All the 28 Bakgatla villagers living on the fringes of the Pilanesburg National Park.

members and also with the communities of the three villages that are presently under investigation.

However, the researcher's involvement in community development issues became a limitation during the analysis of the data. Problems such as subjectivity and biases were encountered. Finance was also a limitation. The researcher did not secure any funding and she alone bears the costs involved. Not all interviews were conducted face-to-face as initially planned, but were done telephonically.

1.5. Content Framework

Chapter Two describes the research methodology and questions that guided the research work.

Chapter Three is concerned with the literature review of the concepts Ecotourism and Local Economic Development. Discussions on how these can be applied in rural economy are central to this chapter.

Chapter Four presents the case study of the project area, the Madikwe Game Reserve. It attempts to identify the socio-economic initiatives and efforts implemented by MGR in the three villages. Issues of participatory development are significant in this section.

Chapter Five is an analysis of the research findings. The chapter opens with the profile of the three villages under discussion and closes with an analysis of the present scenario at MGR.

Chapter Six is involved with an interpretation of the results. The various that factors that form the bar MGR from delivery is discussed.

Chapter Seven is the conclusion of the research report that is followed by recommendations.

These are followed by a list of **references** and **appendices**.

Chapter 2: Research Methodology and Questions

2.1. Introduction

The study attempts to review the socio-economic development processes that are currently undertaken by MGR to the rural local communities made up of three villages named Lekgophung, Molatedi and Suping. This section of the report covers the research questions that guided the study, phases of exploratory case study design; the methods employed in the collection of data; how the data was analysed and finally how the researcher arrived at recommendations and conclusions. A discussion outline relied heavily on qualitative evidence. Most of the data collected is verbal; therefore the methodology employed is qualitative. Leedy, (1993, p.136) asserts this view when he said, "the nature of data dictates the methodology".

How does MGR ensure that it does not encourage dependency but rather is indeed "a ray of light" for communities? What knowledge and skill development processes can be adapted to address future needs and improvements desired by the participants?

Trying to address these issues, the researcher was forced to make reference to other methods (or "steal ideas") from research such as participatory approaches. Though the method of inquiry is basically exploratory in nature, participatory approaches emphasise "a bottom-up approach with a focus on locally defined priorities and local perspectives" (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995, p.1667). The reader is therefore warned that he/she may not find

this work to be a conventional research report which tends to generate knowledge for understanding, and seeks to generate as Cornwall and Jewkes, (1995, p.1667) put it "knowledge for action".

2.2. Research Design and Methodology

An exploratory case study research methodology has been used. Yin (1981a and1981b) defines the case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between the phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; in which multiple sources of evidence are used." Data relevant to ecotourism and how it cor ibutes to local economic development together with the possibilities of both constructing the rural economy has been explored. The culture of the Batswana tribe and debates on community participation that are expressed in literary works such as journals, newspapers and books were explored. Most data about Madikwe has been adopted from formal academic work and interviews with community members.

The case study database was created through constant documentary reviews of publications such as environmental journals, public policy documents, newspaper reports and government reports. Yin (1985, p.20) emphasises the fact that "the case study's unique strength is its ability to deal with a full variety of evidence documents, artifacts, interviews and observations".

The case study method was chosen for the following reasons:

- MGR is an ecotourism development venture, which aims to alleviate poverty in an undeveloped rural area. It represents a model of Public-Private Partnership, which can be used as a benchmark to test and measure the core research questions. Indicative questions

such as ecotourism and rural development would be found, the role-played by local government and the private sector and community participation in development issues would also be found.

- The case study method enables the researcher to apply a variety of data collection such as observations, documents which are both published and unpublished, interviews that may be conducted directly or telephonically or even through the electronic mail. Direct observation was also exercised during the collection of data.

2.3. The problem statement

"Madikwe should not be looked at as solely a protected area or tourism destination - in truth, the reserve acts as a major social and economic core and engine around which the development of the entire region can be based" (Davies, 1997, p.2).

The problem that this study needed to explore was to find out the development progress carried out by MGR in building or promoting the local economy of the three neighbouring villages.

Issues of effective community participation were central to this study. Beneficiary communities are in equal partnership with the South African National Parks and the Conservation Corporation that operates as a private sector. The communities in this partnership, were not potrayed as dependent beneficiaries, but were seen as active participants who suffered both costs and benefits towards the success of MGR.

2.4. Key research questions

This study seeks to address the following key questions:

Which benefits accrue to the communities and what are other benefits that the communities would like to receive from MGR?

Which factors inhibit purposeful, qualitative and effective community participation at the MGR and how do you encourage purposeful and effective community participation?

What potential does eco-tourism and local economic development have on alleviating rural poverty in South Africa?

Which factors inhibit ecotourism as a means of redistribution of revenue and resources to the poorest strata of the society? And, most importantly, can we rely on ecotourism alone to bring development to rural areas?

2.4.1. Sub questions

How does the community participate in the development processes brought by MGR?

What are the wild-life cultural beliefs of the Batswana and how do they contribute to the preservation of the environment?

Is skill development and training done in accordance with future employment opportunities?

What knowledge and skill development processes can be adapted to address future needs and improvements desired by

the participants?

2.5. The research propositions

The researcher has chosen to exclude hypotheses because rigorous statistical testing must be applied during the analysis of data. Rigorous statistical testing is inappropriate and not relevant to this study. For the purposes of this research report, propositions are developed since they are deemed more appropriate when qualitative research techniques are applied.

The propositions of this study were therefore enunciated as follows:

2.5.1. Proposition One

- The ability of MGR to reach its objectives of developing the rural economy of villages living on its fringes is limited by the capacity of Community Development Organisation (CDO) to manage development processes on their own and competition amongst the three Communites. Ecotourism development ventures cannot be sustained without full and meaningful contribution of local communities. Both are equal partners in sustaining the projects. Communities are not just beneficiaries, but are active and do bear costs too.

2.5.2. Proposition Two

- Communities cannot be viewed as equal partners in ecotourism ventures without defined tenure and skills to manage these projects effectively. This leaves them powerless and dependent. Accountability is not encouraged and sense of ownership is absent.

2.5.3. Proposition Three

- Development is a messy ordeal, highly unpredictable and cyclic in nature. Development means different things to the same community because a community is not homogenous but heterogenous in nature, which must be taken into cognisance when involved in any community development project.

2.6. Phases of research

There are various phases into which this research has been divided:

2.6.1. First phase:

During the formulation of the research topic an interview with the previous director of GEM, Dr. Fig (who has now joined the Wits Geography Department) was held. This interview formed the basic guideline and focus. It also added more value to the researchers intended study. The business opportunities that are brought by ecotourism ventures were the main issues discussed. A literature study of the concept 'ecotourism' and what it generally considers to contribute in developing the local economy of disadvantaged rural communities. Factors that lead to unsuccessful projects such as lack of finance, lack of visionary traditional leaders and lack of community participation were explored.

2.6.2. Second phase: Data Collection

Yin (1985; p.14) draws our attention to the fact that "the distinctive need for case studies arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena. In brief, the case study allows an investigation to retain the

holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events". Secondary data was collected.

2.6.2.1. Unstructured Interviews

This phase was essential because it helped the researcher to get clearer knowledge and insight to the problem under investigation. During this phase, partially unstructured interviews were held with the communities of the three villages living on the fringes of MGR. Fifteen villagers were randomly selected from each village.

Because the Madikwe community is weary of many researchers who continuously come to interview them, it was very important to do the introductions well and as a result it was time consuming. The researcher had to give a full account of who she is, why she was there, where she works and, how P&DM-WITS was involved in Madikwe projects and so forth. Most interviewees, especially women were highly hopeful and expected more benefits to flow after the interview.

Even though the sample from the community was randomly done, sequencing, or chains of interviews were carried out where the first participants lead to others who were knowledgeable in particular issues. In order to enable the researcher to unearth critical and fundamental issues regarding the potential of ecotourism in improving the life of an ordinary person in the rural area, "local people were encouraged to suggest their own solutions according to their priorities" (Cornwall, and Jewkes, 1995, p.1668).

Furthermore, the CDO members were selected subjectively. This was done by interest, participation, commitment and insight to development processes they are involved in. This sample was interviewed informally.

A formal interview was held with the two chiefs of Lekgophung and Molatedi villages while the chiefs assistant and right hand man at Suping village represented the chief.

To verify and correlate the information, constant interviews and correspondence was held with Mr. Bennert Marobe, the community development liaison officer, Mr. Moses Ramantsi, the Madikwe Initiative (MI) project coordinator, Mr. Hector Magome; who is responsible for process monitoring and evaluation of MI and Mr. Conrad Steenkamp who is responsible for Institution building and process facilitation of the CDO's. These personnel gave the researcher insight and information pertaining to the process of development and real issues involved in the difficulties of their implementation. Please refer to Appendix 1 for an item list that formed an integral part of the interview discussion.

2.6.2.2. Review of primary and secondary documents

The case study database was created through constant documentary reviews of publications such as environmental journals, public policy documents, newspaper reports and government reports.

2.6.2.3 Participant observations

Firstly, the researcher observed the meeting of the "kgotla". (meeting place of the chief and his councilors) at Molatedi, Suping and Lekgophung. The meeting was for requesting permission to do this study and what it was about.

Secondly, the researcher participated in a capacity-building workshop that was facilitated by Mr. Conrad Steenkamp and Mr. Hector Magome. at Madikwe. This workshop was for the community development

organisation and was designed to build bookkeeping skills of community workers. A series of workshops are offered by Mafisa; a development consultancy assigned by the Department for International Development (DFID), to run capacity-building for Community development forums at Madikwe

Thirdly, the researcher visited each of the three vegetable gardens for each village at Molatedi, Suping and Lekgophung. Informal interviews were held with them while carrying out the various chores in the garden. Further insight was gained from Mrs. Tiny Mokgohloa, the project leader involved in establishing vegetable gardens for each of these three villages.

Lastly, the researcher observed and participated in the bush-clearing project that formed part of job-creation. The researcher had the opportunity to establish stronger relations to the villagers and together worked and talked about critical issues involved in MGR.

2.6.3. Third phase

A thorough literature review on democracy and people participation was done. This area called for a review on aspects such as legislation, shareholding and ownership of land as prerequisites of power issues. Thorough investigations of cultural diversities and beliefs were done as their influence on development and conservation became central.

2.6.4. Fourth phase

This phase was greatly dominated by attempts to develop local economic strategies of integrated conservation and development. Issues such as human development, education, culture and preservation of the environment became the guiding principles of these

strategies.

2.6.5. Fifth Phase: Data Analysis

This phase is characterised by the analysis of data. The researcher sought to maintain a chain of evidence and a logical link between the questions, the data, the recommendations and the conclusion.

Analysis of data started from the data collection and formulation of questions. However, the following modes and sequence of data analysis were adhered to:

- Preliminary conclusions were drawn from primary source documents used in the first phase of this research project. An analysis from theoretical and experiential base became critical and necessary.
- Repeated observation analysis was made on a cross-sectional basis. Repetition across the three villages as units of analysis was applied. This became instrumental when the researcher collated and cross-referenced the data.
- In order to have an effective analysis a reassessment of the preliminary conclusions in view of the data gained from partially structured interviews was done.

Draft conclusions were made. Theory base strategy became instrumental in focusing the data relevant to the study. Final conclusions and recommendations were made.

In conclusion, Babbie (1989, p.81) warns us that "the chief shortcoming of exploratory studies is that they seldom provide satisfactory answers to research questions". But exploratory studies are very valuable in social scientific research whenever "a researcher is breaking new ground, and they can almost always yield new insights into a topic for

research" (Babbie 1989, p.81).

The following chapter discusses issues of ecotourism and how it impacts on the local economy of the rural areas. The reader may find this literature review to be biased because it argues that ecotourism is just a pie in the sky for rural communities and that local economic projects initiated in the rural areas are not sustainable.

Chapter 3: Literature Review
Ecotourism: An Environmental Paradigm Shift

3.1. Introduction

This chapter opens with an investigation of the concept of 'ecotourism', the contribution it can make in alleviating poverty in rural areas such as the Madikwe region and how it fails to bring socio-economic upliftment in those undeveloped areas. The study explores the development and business opportunities that are currently offered by MGR, a socio-economic development project that will significantly benefit the stakeholders. The local economic impacts of ecotourism in rural villages, how ecotourism interacts with cultural norms and beliefs of the local Batswana people and their participation as equal partners in development is of central importance to this study.

3.2. What is Ecotourism?

The term ecotourism is generally attributed to Ceballos-Lascurain. During 1987 he defined ecotourism as "travelling to relatively undisturbed or uncontaminated natural areas with the specific objective of studying, admiring and enjoying the scenery and its wild plants and animals, as well as any existing cultural manifestations" (Munasinghe and McNeely, 1994, p.236). The Ecotourism Society (Fowkes and Jonsson 1996,p.1) defines ecotourism as "travel to relatively undisturbed areas for study, enjoyment, or volunteer assistance that concerns itself with the flora, fauna, geology and ecosystem of an area, as well as the people who live nearby, their needs, their culture and their relationship to the land". Fig (GEM, 1994, p.50) defined ecotourism as "purposeful travel to natural areas to understand the

culture and natural history of the environment, taking care not to alter the integrity of the ecosystem, producing economic opportunities that make the conservation of natural resources beneficial to local people".

Bogdonov and Henry (undated) view ecotourism as "a conservation strategy, a tool for community development and a means of strengthening and supporting the unique cultures of many host communities". Ecotourism, an alternative to tourism, when viewed from another side may be no more inchoate[2] (not fully formed for it has just begun) than any other approach and in some ways it may be as progressive as any economic theory. Paulo Jordan, the minister of tourism, conceives the tourism sector as "South Africa's greatest potential job creator and earner of foreign exchange (Star 1998, p.4).

The implication that arises from the prefix 'eco' in the term ecotourism[3] is that this form of tourism is "ecologically based, ecologically friendly, ecologically sound and ecologically sustainable" (Furze, De Lacy, and Birckhead, 1996; p.149). If it is understood correctly, ecotourism is an environmentally friendly approach or mode of tourism in a natural habitat. According to Furze *et al* (1996, p.149) "ecotourism strengthens the cultural traits and values of the area".

Tourists should learn, experience and develop an understanding of cultural and natural processes of the area visited. An ecological approach to development is holistic in the sense that it takes into account "the complete set of circumstances and factors that are mutually interrelated" (Glaeser, 1977, p.140). Eco-development as a developmental strategy "requires working out practical approaches, with

[2] Rural communities do not have the required infrastructure and human resources to tap maximum benefits out of ecotourism ventures.
[3] Ecotourism is sometimes used synonymously with other terms such as responsible tourism, alternative tourism, sustainable tourism, adventure tourism and special interest tourism (Valentine 1993).

active participation and understanding of the people concerned, to reorient the socio-economic and technological forces so as to lead to conditions of realistic but dynamic human creativity" (Glaeser 1977, p.140). Tourism can also be seen as an industry, which is labour intensive. A given level of revenue supports many more jobs than other labour sectors. "It is an important source of inter-regional and international cash-flow. The tourist analysts occasionally use the concept of multipliers as part of their estimation of the economic impact of tourism" (Smith, 1989; p.5).

3.3. Principles of Ecotourism

Beyond definitions, Furze *et al* (1996, p151) and Sproule (1998) identified a set of principles which may be viewed in the following page labelled Box 1. If ecotourism is to contribute seriously to conservation and development, certain basic guidelines should be followed. The benefits that flow from ecotourism to local people should be significant. For example, we should not be blinded by quantitative numerical figures but view the quality of jobs that are offered (at MGR). The current approach that is presently practised at MGR is far more different from other approaches practised in other protected areas. The approach has "significant beneficial impacts on local and regional economies. It greatly contributes towards the overall improvement in the quality of life of largely disadvantaged rural communities and individuals" (Davies, 1997, p.2).

It is not always easy to track the qualitative impacts of tourism in the development process of local communities. Ecotourism should incorporate environmental education for tourists and residents and should minimise negative impacts on the environment and local culture

(WRI, IUCN, UNEP, 1992, p.89). In this context, ecotourism should not be seen as a type of rural development.

Box 1: *Possible ways or getting the community on board in order to involve them during the initiation of a development process included the following:*

The setting: The setting of ecotourism involves natural, protected areas or places with special cultural, biological and ecological interest.

Conservation benefits: Ecotourism benefits and promotes conservation. This is achieved by changing the perceptions and patterns of consumption of the community through education and by influencing political and social priorities.

Benefits to local people: Ecotourism should generate economic, cultural and social benefits for local people. Benefits may be monetary i.e. Payment of concessionary fees. Increased entrepreneurial or employment opportunities are other options that may be made available to the local community. It also strengthens the cultural traits and values of the area.

Tourist experience: Tourists should learn, experience and develop an understanding of cultural and natural processes of the area visited

Principles of ecotourism according to Furze et al,1996.

Ecotourism should be seen as a type of tourism that plays a significant role in improving the quality of life of local communities, supporting capacity-building so as to empower communities to participate

effectively towards development projects and decisions affecting their lives. Ecotourism is a combination of aims and interests derived from economic, environmental and social concerns that incorporates both a sense of commitment to the conservation and preservation of nature, together with a sense of socio-economic responsibility.

3.4 Culture and Wildlife Conservation of Batswana

The other aspect that ecotourism encompasses is culture. Ecotourism denotes that a holistic approach be adopted in understanding the local people and cultural diversities and how these articulate or fail to articulate to the development processes that are brought by ecotourism ventures. There is the ironical situation in South Africa where conservation experts propose to teach African people about the environment when it is part of African culture and tradition to be intimately associated with nature. The Batswana people have demonstrated sustainable systems in health, forest management and wildlife animals.

One of the mistakes that domestic and international development organisations, including the NGOs make is to assume that Less Developed Countries do not have power and need to be empowered in a certain way. They often ignore the traditional power held by rural people, including the informal networks. Bartlett (1993) postulates that "this form of power must be valued and built on, not simply replaced by an outsiders' versions of power". Often Colonial and post-colonial attitudes result in the loss of real pride and identity and erode local knowledge and culture which can form important building blocks for governance, sustainable development and poverty alleviation. This view is further acknowledged by Furze, *et al* (1996, p.37) by denoting that" anthropological and sociological understandings form an essential part of coming to terms with any local level development projects". Other

cultural impediments could be language, tribal and religious differences, complex systems of land tenure and extended family systems together with the backwardness of most rural areas.

This section intends to explode the myth that at the time of colonisation, the tribal people of Africa were barbarians who irresponsibly destroyed their resources due to lack of laws or ethics. The communities living in the Madikwe region are the Batswana. By studying their traditions a picture in total contrast to this myth emerges. "The mere fact that the Batswana had to survive off nature dictated that their survival was dependent on them living in total harmony with their wildlife resources," cites Shuping and Collinson (1994, p101). This was particularly necessary considering the harsh and arid land at their disposal in what now constitutes the countries of North Western Botswana. "In order to maintain this harmony they evolved through the ages a highly sophisticated conservation ethic. This ethic was expressed in taboos, totem animals, laws and customs which were passed on from generation to generation by word of mouth through the ages" Shuping and Collinson, (1994, p.105).

3.4.1 Traditional Significance of Totem

This deserves special mention because the totem highlights the Batswana's reference to wildlife. "The totem stood for a complex system of legal and moral imperatives and of rights and obligations on which unity and solidarity within a tribe was founded" (Shuping and Collinson, 1994, p.103). "Due to their close dependence on nature, each of the tribes and clans of the Batswana selected an animal species as its totem" Shuping and Collinson, (1994, p.103).
Even today the majority of the Batswana, be they urban or rural, continue religiously to observe this tradition.

3.4.2. Bogwera or Traditional Initiation School

The most important forum for passing on this conservation ethic to each new generation was Bogwera or traditional initiation school. At this school a great deal of attention was given to stressing the importance of nature conservation and its significance to tribal survival. Attention was given to the identification of and naming of plants and animals, many and various uses of these plants and animals and finally, to the role and functioning of these plants and animals in relation to each other and the physical environment. This clearly illustrates that the Western concept of environmental education, ecology and taxonomy were nothing new to the Batswana community.

3.4.3. Tribal Wildlife laws

"With regard to tribal wildlife laws, all authority was, by tradition, vested in chieftainship. These laws were strict and complex but in most cases they were rational and based on sound principles" (Shuping and Collinson, 1994, p.101). The traditional laws pertaining to trees best illustrate this. Because of the many uses ranging from shade, fuel and structural material on the one hand and medicine on the other, most tree species could not be clean-felled other than in exceptional circumstances and with prior permission from the chief.

The available evidence in sub-Saharan Africa shows that development project interventions generated by outsiders and not linked to local cultural institutional realities tend to fail. Note must also be taken of a number of cultural features which, to a greater or lesser extent, tend to impede economic development. Cox and Elmquist (1997) argues that "if we can define ethnocentricism as the deep-seated belief that the Western way of doing things is superior to indigenous paradigm, then

we must reluctantly admit that the spirit of Colonialism is still with us, even though its political infrastructure is gradually being disassembled".

3.5 Ecotourism A 'Pie in the Sky' to Rural South Africans

There are key factors that need to be put in place before the full potential of ecotourism as a rural reconstruction tool can be realised. In South Africa, efforts adopted toward creating an integrated approach to ecotourism and local or regional economic development shows a large degree of fragmentation. Lack of qualitative participation of local communities; lack of share-holding and land ownership options available to communities in partnerships for business enterprises; high expectations of immediate benefits and absence of infrastructure in rural areas are forms of barriers to maximum performance of ecotourism. Can ecotourism then be trusted to bring development to rural areas? After eight years of existence, has MGR reached the objectives? What are the impediments, especially from the community's side? The key barriers are discussed below.

3.5.1 Structural Changes and Dependency

Ecotourism actually hinders development in instances where major structural changes are absent. Ngobese (GEM, 1994, p.48) states that "Community-based ecotourism will never succeed without major structural changes in the sector itself, with respect to ownership, management and otherwise". This occurs when increased dependency is fostered on local communities by the ecotourism development project. In other words, ecotourism in practice may not offer an autonomous and a self-reliant mode of mobilising resources at the local level, as its proponents would like us to belief.

At the moment, the ecotourism development projects, critically depend on external input and technical assistance and as such increases the dependency of local people, their lack of commitment and accountability. As if in appeal Magome, in his paper about the Rural Development and Conservation in Africa said that "if the right management mechanisms are in place, we can return the management of wildlife to rural communities so that they can reap direct benefits, ending or at least amelorating the conflict that is endemic in rural Africa"(1996, p.12). "Ecotourism enterprises are run by state-backed conservation agencies or by locally-owned companies, such as the Conservation Corporation. Most of these agencies are committed, at least in theory, to the idea of ploughing a significant share of profits back into the local community" (Koch, 1994, p.8).

3.5.2. Leakage of Profits

"The most common factor that prevents ecotourism from redistributing wealth in rural backwaters is the leakage of profits out of the host country to developed countries as well as from the countryside to the cities." (Koch, 1993, p.7). The author shares this view. An economic leakage occurs whenever a Rand is invested outside the community because every Rand spent within a community, whether for retail and wholesale goods and services or for other industrial inputs, "contributes to the community' employment and income" (Nel and Lindie, 1996, p.35). In ecotourism, lack of substantial local ownership of services such as airlines, hotels and transportation companies may result in leakages of up to 90% of the revenue generated.

Common examples of leakages are the repatriation of profits by hotel groups, car rental groups, oil imports, overseas marketing etc. At the local level, revenue is siphoned off by many participants involved in the creation of the tourism product, starting with consumes, through to retailers, wholesalers, infrastructure, to the nature resources and

ultimately to the raw, natural resources. Leakages also result from the continued need for imported skills, technologies and commodities to serve the tourism sector, repatriation of profits from hotels, restaurants and car rental agencies that are owned by foreign companies, expatriates involved in managing tourism activities; importers of consumer goods and advertising and marketing efforts that are done abroad.

In rural areas, entrepreneurs and property owners make this situation worse by lack of capital, skill and tourism ventures. "Rural areas may have both higher economic leakages and lower multipliers than urban areas. In most situations, the lack of rural enterprises translates into reduced ways for currency to stimulate local economies"
(Koch, 1994, p.8).

3.5.3. Lack of Integrated Regional and or National Planning

Ngobese argues that "increased dependency is generally due to micro-macro disarticulation" (GEM, 1994, p.44). This micro-macro disarticulation reflects a lack of planning which does not fit into an overall economic plan for the region. Koch (1994, p.9) warns us "while countries may be quick to promote ecotourism as a source of regional growth, promotion is often emphasised at the expense of planning". In many cases, lack of integration at local level plans with national level policy has greatly led to reduced potential of ecotourism.

Planning is often done in isolation without the needs, values and aspirations of the community and is done in isolation without National Economic policy considerations and local economic ones.
"A lack of integration at local level plans with national level policy has led to greatly reduced potential for ecotourism" (Koch, p.9). The failure

to integrate ecotourism schemes into larger development plans is often a related impediment in the way of successful rural development.

The reader may find this work biased because the researcher tries to guard against the romantic notion that "ecotourism is a magical panacea for poverty in the rural areas" (Koch, 1993). In reality, "we cannot ignore that ecotourism is highly sensitive to over-exploitation and to external factors such as crime and the leakage of revenues outside the communities, which in turn becomes the primary impediment to equitable distribution of ecotourism benefits to the rural backwaters" (Koch, 1993). Ecotourism, by its very nature, has limited linkages with other sectors of the rural economy and does not generate additional local economic activities.

3.5.4 Lack of effective Community Participation

The following is a common perception in rural areas: Tourist development fails to materially benefit those most affected by conservation policy, the people most directly affected by land acquisitions. Lack of community control over this style of economic development results in the perception that it is for animals and rich tourists. Increasingly, the new trend of state conservation bodies, along with private developers, instead of involving resident communities as a third and equal partner, alienate these owners of land from some form of control over the development of their resources and from real sustained benefits from ecotourism.

Fowkes and Johnson (1996, p.8) also hold the view that "tourism development tended to cater for the middle class to upper classes, who were mostly white. Revenues derived from tourism went into central government coffers. If any of that revenue made its way back to local communities there was no direct linkage between the source of

revenue - the protected area and the beneficiaries - the local community. Such economic benefit that flowed from tourism was either jobs - generally menial - or sales of crafts." Sturgeon (1996, p.18) postulates that "the principal benefits of tourism are without exception not found in the host country".

3.6. Growth and Development

In order to understand the concept of Local Economic development, it is imperative to grasp the contrast that exists between growth and development.

Kindlerberger and Herrick (1977, p.3) distinguishes economic growth and economic development as follows: "Economic growth means more output, while economic development implies both more output and changes in the technical and institutional arrangements by which it is produced and distributed. As with humans, to stress "growth" or Growth National Product (GNP) while emphasising development, draws attention to changes in functional capacities - in physical co-ordination for example, or learning capacity (or inability of the economy to adapt)" (Kindler and Herrick 1977, p.3).

Wolman and Spitzley (1996, p.116) expose this contrast though they are mutually inclusive concepts. They denote that commonly the term "economic development is often used to refer to what is essentially land development or physical development, frequently project based, even if these efforts are not directed at or do not increase income or employment". This kind of development is conceptually concerned with "growth" because it is project based; it focuses on land and physical development rather than on "increases in income or employment" (Wolman and Spitzley, 1996, p.116).

The concept of economic development implies improvement of material well being, improvement in the distribution of income and "greater participation of broadly based groups in making decisions about directions, economic and otherwise, in which they should move to improve their welfare" (Kindlerberger and Herrick, 1977, p.1). Fowler (1997, p.15) calls our attention to the fact that "projects serve the bureaucracy of aid system more than the micro- or macro tasks. Development is an unfolding process that needs time. It cannot be predetermined. Project-based tasks are "time-bound, with predefined sets of objectives, with assumptions, without activities and local human resources which should lead to measurable, beneficial impacts" (Fowler, 1997, p.15). What he implies is that projects are most suitable when development means building physical infrastructure and is least appropriate for complex change involving human beings.

This research work is concerned with the economic well-being of area residents, usually manifested by positive changes in the level and distribution of area employment, skill development and training that has been brought by MGR. This has been motivated by considerations given to the central assumption of a project-based development approach that is assumed to construct a defined future of development, without impacting negatively on people's attitudes and way of life. In other words, there is a need for projects that reflect how societies change.

3.7. Local Economic Development Defined

Local Economic Development (LED) is defined as "a locally-driven process designed to identify, harness and utilise resources to stimulate the economy and create new job opportunities. LED is not one specific action or programme, rather it is the sum total of the individual contributions of a broad spectrum of the community."

(National Business Initiative and International Republican Institute, 1998, p.2).

Approaches involved in LED are geared towards the empowerment of local communities, by creating greater local-level self determination and promoting the satisfaction of basic needs. Nel (1996, p.3) postulates that the process of LED is characterised by the participation of local political, community and business actors in the economic and social development of their urban area and region". "Most importantly, individuals strive to improve their economic status by combining skills, resources and ideas" (National Business Initiative and International Republican Institute, 1998, p.2). The acceptance by community and business leaders that their development success depends largely on grassroot initiatives, properly supported by local, regional, provincial as well as national government support" (Lipton, de Klerk and Lipton, 1996, p.335).

LED can be viewed as an alternative form of development. It is not complete in itself, nor does it appear as a game of the winner takes all. It is not a complete alternative. It can never triumph. As an ideology, it argues for the rectification of existing imbalances in social, economic and political power. Centered on people rather than on profits, it faces a profit-driven development as its dialectical other. Actual development will always be the historical outcome to the ideological and political conflicts between them.

The objective of an alternative form of development is to humanise a system that has shut the community out. It accomplishes this through forms of everyday resistance and political struggle that insist on the rights of the excluded population as human beings, as citizens, and as persons intent on realising their loving and creative powers within. Its

central objective is their inclusion in a restructured system that does not make them redundant.

LED has one primary goal as articulated by Giloth and Meier in Blakely (1989), "to increase the number and variety of job opportunities available to local people. To perform these activities, local governments and or community groups must take on an initiating rather than a passive role". In other words, it implies that the process of LED should lead community-based organisations and local governments to take a new and different perspective toward planned, coordinated development initiatives.

The theoretical aspect of local economic development (LED) and the role that it plays in increasing the variety of business and employment opportunities is the concern of this section. Emphasis is placed on how Ecotourism contributes to the upliftment of rural economy through LED led strategies. The strategy that is emphasised in this work is that of developing the human resource base of the local people in empowering them to become more self-reliant. Contextually, human resource development is a key focus to developing a locally based economy to avoid dependency in rural areas.

The basic problem that rural people have experienced for some time is "long-term economic decline, the lack of a skilled labour force, the deteriorating conditions and the obsolesce of public and private capital stock" (Blakely, 1994, p.5).

This literature review is limited to economic development within a rural area. By a rural area the researcher means an undeveloped area, an area without infrastructure such as roads, telephones, running water, electricity, poor quality of schools and health facilities.

Blakely (1994, p.29) conscientises us about the fact that "no community

is an economic island. All cities and towns, rural and urban alike, share the same economic plight". He says that no matter how "small rural communities may be, they are still part of the global economy" (Blakely, 1994, p.29). "Regions within nations form the economic building blocks and this results in rural areas becoming part of the world economy" (Blakely, 1994, p.29).

3.7.1. Conceptual framework for Local Economic Development

The conceptual framework for local economic development emerges from basic development theories cited by Blakely (1994, p.49-50):

- Local economic development is process oriented. That is, it is a process involving the formation of new institutions, the development of alternative industries, the improvements of the capacity of existing employers to produce better products, the identification of new markets, the transfer of knowledge and the nurturing of new firms and enterprises.
- The central feature of locally based economic development is endogenous development by using the potential of local human and physical resources to create new employment opportunities and to stimulate new, locally-based economic activity.

Blakely (1994, p.63) argues that local economic development is a process that emphasises the full use of existing human and natural resources to build employment and create wealth within a defined locality and does not encourage an exogenous kind of development. He also views the context for any economic development strategy to be as follows: "build quality jobs for the current population, achieve local economic stability and build a diverse economic and employment base" (Blakely 1994, p.134). The new approaches to Local Economic Development (LED) emphasise local entrepreneuralism and the

communities' innovative and active roles in securing growth and development. Local authorities have to recognise that in the face of global economic changes, simply continuing the traditional activities of local government is not sufficient. Instead, they must engage in new lifestyles of operating, which emphasise entrepreneurialism, facilitation and local processes. "These strategies must build on the capacity in local communities to be effective and sustainable" (Dauskardt, 1994, p.2).

This work rests on Political Economy Theory. Korten (1990, p.113) notes that "it is impossible to be a true development agency without a theory that directs action to the underlying causes of underdevelopment. In the absence of a theory, the aspiring development almost inevitably becomes a ship without a rudder instead of an assistance agency engaged in relieving the more visible symptoms of underdevelopment through relief and welfare measures".

LED captures its uniqueness through its preoccupation of harmonising local endogenous development with the growing demand for global activities. Applying a political economic perspective is "not a linear process but requires a clear recognition of the political dynamics and structures of power that are central to the way development occurs" (Bingham and Mier, 1993, p.176).

The Political Economic Approach as cited by Holupka and Shlay in (Bingham and Mier, 1993, p.186-7) is directed at creating an informed public who have available to them a complete account of the costs and benefits associated with development. The objective is making institutions accountable as well as law abiding. In this sense, a political economy perspective leans toward efforts that promote fairness and justice. One then can draw the following conclusions from this statement according to Bingham and Mier (1993, p.179) that:

- There is a constellation of specific local actors and institutions that play key roles in determining how local development occurs. Metropolitan patterns are not emergent phenomena to local organisations.
- The distribution of benefits from development are highly skewed; those at the top reap the benefits from development while the public largely pays the costs of development, and lastly,
- Metropolitan development decision-making processes tend to be undemocratic. Critical decisions are typically hidden from the public view and the public serves to legitimise decisions rather than to play a material role in making them.

LED "links development objectives with political empowerment goals. It represents a block of interests of poor and working class residents fighting for a more equitable distribution of public resource allocation" (Bingham and Mier, 1993, p.197).

3.7.2 South Africa and LED

Local economic development is of vital importance for South Africa due to following reasons: Substantial capacity exists in the diverse community, business and local government stakeholders of each village, city and town. It is these stakeholders who are in closest contact with, and who best understand, the particular challenges, opportunities and strengths of their local economies. Successful and vibrant economies can be built at this level.

In addition LED is conceived and fostered correctly, it has the potential to unleash the considerable capacity for economic growth that lies at the local level throughout the country. Many projects rural South Africa fail after money, efforts and time are highly invested in them. As soon

as consultants, funders and government agencies pack their bags, these projects crumble before they can even unpack them in their homes. LED is essential in instances such as these because it develops self-reliance.

3.7.3 Led Techniques

There are various LED techniques such as Enterprise support, Regional linkages, plugging the leakages, business retention expansion and attraction. Consideration is given to the three of these.

3.7.3 1. Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise Development

The National Business Initiative and International Republican Institute (1998, p.8) labels Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMMEs) as "true engines of local economic development". SMMEs rather than big businesses are being recognised as employment avenues for most South Africans. Several programmes have been put in place to support small business by "facilitating access to finance, training and development, research and information, markets and linkages, incentives and new technology" (The National Business Initiative and International Republican Institute 1998, p.8). Local authorities can make the community aware of organisations such as the Department of Trade and Industry, (DTI), Khula Finance Ltd and Ntsika Enterprise Promotoin Agency (NEPA).

In South Africa, local authority interventions in issues dealing with micro enterprise are limited. The only success story that South Africans can learn from is the Stutterheim Initiative. Although SMMEs is an area of LED in which local authority can play an important enabling role, for example in terms of tender procedures, "the promotion of small

enterprise development is one of the weakest facets of local authority intervention" (Rogerson, p.12).

3.7.3.2. SMME and Tender Procedures

Tender procedures in rural areas are presently not transparent because there are existing problems that are embedded. Tenders can be used by local authorities to ensure that money stays in the local economy and that small businesses "gain access to the mainstream procurement activities of local government" (National Business Initiative and International Republican Institute, 1998).

3.7.3.3. Community Development and Public Private Partnerships

Public Private Partnerships is seen as one of the most significant approaches to LED that reflects the new local entropreneurialism in the cities. Partnership approaches built from grassroots " is an essential element in achievement of the objectives of sustainable development" (Roberts, 1995, p.70). All partners are involved in work to promote a common model of structure and organisation that allows for a considerable degree of latitude at local level and for the establishment of an appropriate local partnership. The business sector is thus given an opportunity to make a contribution at all levels from the local to the global to the achievement of sustainable development.

The LED partnerships have to address social needs and absolute poverty levels. Cashdan (1997, p.41) postulates that "the key is to be clear at the outset what the purpose of the partnership is and what benefits are anticipated at each place involved. It would be a mistake to assume that "all participants have common interests, but this does not preclude cooperation where there are some common objectives". Blakely (1994, p.292-294) exposes six key guidelines for a successful partnership. "Communities, large and small need to understand that, no

matter how depressed or wealthy they are, local government, community institutions and the private sector are essential partners in the economic development process" (Blakely, 1989, p.52).

3.7.3.4. Human Resource Development

Any efforts to develop the economy centers on the development of the human resource base. In the social and cultural context, human resource development helps people to be complete and to be self-actualised. In this context, Human Resource Development should be seen in economic terms, in which it could be described as the accumulation of human capital within a sustainable economy. Cooke (1997, p.289) contends that "sustainable development is dependent on the empowerment of people to sustain their own development in order to be the sustainers of development in their communities".

3.8 Why LED projects are not sustainable/fail

There is the danger that when development strategies, promoted by development agencies and NGOs that espouse the idea of local empowerment, abruptly pull disadvantaged and unskilled communities into the global economy without first building solid ground for the development process. These projects, unable to be successfully completed and lacking bargaining power, readily fail "leaving people discouraged and disenchanted about working together on development efforts" (Bartlett, 1993, p.1858).

3.8.1 Implementation of LED is Project-based

Fowler (1997, p.15) calls our attention to the fact that "projects serve the bureaucracy of aid system more than the micro-macro tasks.

Development is an unfolding process that needs time. It cannot be predetermined. Project-based tasks are time-bound, with predefined sets of objectives, with assumptions, without activities and local human resources which should lead to measurable, beneficial impacts". Projects are most suitable when development means building physical infrastructure and least appropriate for complex change involving human beings.

3.8.2. Global Competition

"Local responses to global competition are more likely to be about competing even harder rather than about co-operating more effectively" (Peck and Adam, 1994, p.317). All the local economic strategies are not geared towards augmenting or cooperating with global strategies but are rather geared towards holding them down. Peck and Adam (1994, p.325) postulates that "solutions to the crisis of uneven development are unlikely to come from the bottom-*through local competition*-but instead must begin with action from above *through national and global co-ordination*".

LED strategies such as Public Private Partnerships, vigorous marketing and workforce training are the "reflection of the global context within which these strategies are being formulated". (Peck and Adam, 1994, p.319). Such strategies try to establish local order in the face of global disorder. This poses a problem because "progressive local social contracts will be difficult to sustain in the face of the jungle law at the global level" (Peck and Adam, 1994, p.319).

Local Economic intervention is typically limited to supply-side and infrastructure measures are geared to the creation of a so-called 'good business environment'. Social stability can only be achieved by means of a complex set of complementary, compatible and cohesive

institutions. These institutions must prevent the regulatory undercutting that is becoming a feature of national and regional competition, which renders regional economies vulnerable to the vagaries of capital and undermines social contracts. Further, these institutions must mitigate and contain uneven development, which both disenfranchise poor regions and places unsustainable pressures on growth areas. Lastly, and most importantly, they must be sustainable in social and ecological as well as economic terms. LED strategies find it hard to attract growth and "keeping it will prove harder still" (Peck and Tickel, 1994, p.324).

3.8.3. LED may promote dependency

Intermediate development organisations with the aim of facilitating local economic programs, run the risk of replacing or promoting dependency if they conceive their role as "long-term conduits of external resources for the participating villagers" (Bartlett 1993, p.1859)."This results in "a bureaucratic relationship stifling the creative self-reliant efforts of citizens" (Bartlett, 1993, p.1859).

According to Benneh, Morgan and Uitto (1996, p.362), "the LED parallel dependency theory in seeking to disengage the local from external dependency, takes it further to develop it as a power and/or knowledge regime". Economic security and employment remains the fundamental hallmarks of citizenship. The basis of social and economic status according to Blakely (1994, p.2) is "work and the absence of it or the lack of opportunity to work, destroys the basic building block of the nation's socio-political system".

3.9. Local Economic Development Policies fail to bring Local Economic Development

The White paper on Local Government is quite optimistic about improving local employment and income. But this is constrained by two factors according to Wolman and Spitzley (1996, p.134). First is the "inability to affect the external demand for the goods and services produced in the area in the short run". Although they argue in the longer run, local government action might be able to improve the area's performance through improving the productivity of its factors of production by providing higher skilled labour force through better education and training policies.

Secondly LED policies fail to bring Local economy development because local governments do not comprise a functional local economy but are part of a larger metropolitan-wide economy"
(Wolman and Spitzley, 1996, p.134). Economic demands and expectations are usually beyond the local government's control.

3.10. National Economic Policy and Local Economic Development

The South African government's economic strategy GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy) is a philosophy at the heart of the Spatial Development Initiative (SDI), currently being promoted by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), constantly comes under scrutiny due to many people pressing for alternative solutions to the country's urgent development questions.

Others have been arguing that creating more output in the manufacturing industry does not necessarily boost job creation, which is supposed to be the priority. While there has been substantial recent growth in the capital-intensive heavy industries of chemical processing and basic metals, jobs have not been created alongside this growth.

There are not only serious environmental implications from such a narrow focus, but also serious social consequences of not planning properly and inclusively for sustainable job creation. The question remains, who is really benefiting from GEAR?

Viewed within the National Economic Policy, local government economic development policy is unlikely to make much difference. Local government officials do not simply respond, in knee jerk fashion to the pressures of growth. Stone (1987, p.4) argues that "these local government officials make genuine choices, albeit within structural boundaries. Local decision makers do not simply follow the imperatives that emanate from national political economy" What he meant was that Local government officials interpret those imperatives that arise from national economic policy, apply them to local conditions, and act on them within the political arrangements they build and maintain.

The needs for national economy and growth may clash with the needs of the political system that local government officials, communities and the private sector operate within. The economic decisions made at the national level "must be filtered through *local political systems* with particular rules, power arrangements, and perceptions of the governmental marketplace" (Swanstrom, 1985, p.33).

This literature review argued that growth is different from development. Even though LED proponents laid down the strategies in policies, these techniques when implemented fails especially in rural areas. LED projects are not sustainable. This could be due to political factors that are rife in localities, lack of skilled labour force and dependency that might be mistaken for development. The following chapter presents the Madikwe Case Study and how it promotes the local economy of the rural villages.

Chapter 4: Description of Project Area: Madikwe Game Reserve

4.1. Introduction

The aim of this section is to examine MGR with particular reference o LED activities in Molatedi, Suping and Lekgophung Villages. The issue of land and democratic process are central to this discussion. Critical success factors relating to the MGR objectives are discussed.

4.2 Project Location

MGR is located in the Madikwe district of North West Province 31 kilometres from the eastern boundary of Botswana. The district according to Setplan is "poorly endowed with resources, has a fragile economic base and is sparsely populated"(Setplan, p.4). The location of MGR is of strategic significance as a sought-after tourist attraction. It is located centrally between the Molatedi dam and predominantly rural residential areas of Molatedi Suping and Lekgophung villages. **(see appendix 3: The Location of Madikwe Game Reserve).**

The villages of Supingstad and Lekgophung are situated eleven and sixteen kilometers respectively, to the west of the reserve, while Molatedi is located six kilometers to the south-east of the reserve near Molatedi dam" (Davies, 1997, p. 14).

The communities living on the fringes of MGR are undeveloped and unskilled and as a result face high rates of unemployment and poverty. Given the scenario, we can see MGR through the eyes of Mountain, (1990, p.124) when he described the Maputaland as "a paradise that is under pressure".

4.3. Historical Background

MGR consists of 28 farms straddled between the Lehurutshe and Madikwe districts. On the farm, Vleisfontein, approximately 80 hectares, was privately owned and occupied by a Catholic Mission Station and a mission school. The farm was later incorporated into Bophuthatswana, "since the South African Government has been unable to purchase the land" (Setplan, p.5).

The socio-economic status of the Madikwe community impelled the then independent Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBVC) homeland states; Bophuthatswana (Bop) and the National Parks Board (NPB), former Bop Parks, to adopt neighbouring villages as equal partners on the Madikwe ecotourism development venture. This initiative concurs with the mission statement of the NPB, which states as follows: "to contribute towards improving the quality of lives of people in the North West Province by conserving wild plants, animals and landscapes" (Magome 1996, p.2).

According to Magome, Grossman, Fakir and Stowell (1998, p.1) Madikwe was created on the following three assumptions: firstly, wildlife-based tourism was the best economic use of the acquired land; secondly, the conservation value of the land would be increased by wildlife tourism development; and lastly, those neighbouring communities would benefit economically from this form of land use.

The MGR was established in 1991. Decades before the project initiation, the area had been used for "cattle farming and some dry land arable agriculture" (Davies, 1997, p.3). During the late 1980's, the South African apartheid government expropriated 28 farmlands belonging to white commercial farmers in the Madikwe region. These

farms were to be redistributed by the Bop government to emerging black farmers" (Magome *et al*, 1998, p.2).

4.4. MGR and Land

Though agriculture played a significant role in the Madikwe economy and people's consciousness, its greatest impact was social and environmental rather than economic. "The land was degraded" (Magome ital, 1998, p.2) and much of the vegetation in the area was also degraded due to "mismanagement and inappropriate farming practices" (Davies, 1997, p.3). This made the NPB skeptical about the best use of this of land. As a result, the board wanted to find out "whether or not cattle ranching was the most environmentally appropriate and economic form of land use" (Davies, 1997, p.3).

In order to answer the question and remove doubts, government departments[4] together with organisations involved in the land transfer, commissioned the independent consultants Settlement Planning Services of Bop Pty Ltd. (SETPLAN). They were tasked "to undertake a study of the area and motivate a recommendation on the future development of land that would be in Bop's best interest" (see executive summary, SETPLAN, 1991, p.1).

The consultants identified that most of the incorporated farmland in the Madikwe-Dwarsberg district was suitable for two forms of development, namely cattle ranching and tourist development associated with wildlife, accommodating the "big five"[5] (SETPLAN 1991, p.1). Furthermore, the consultants identified "a large water allocation from Molatedi dam[6] in the area which is not in use, and has no fixed proposals" (SETPLAN, 1991, p.1). Subsequently, the consultants undertook an extensive

[4] Agricor, Bophuthatswana National Parks Board and the Department of Water affairs.
[5] Elephant, Rhino, Leopard, Lion and Buffalo.
[6] Molatedi dam is considered a resource in one of the study villages called Molatedi.

evaluation of the independent development options for the study area namely:

- *Development of cattle ranching versus the development of tourism associated with a wildlife area.*

In evaluating which of these options were in Bophuthatswana's best interests, the consultants considered social, economic, financial, institutional, technical, environmental and strategic factors. The cattle ranching option, although still favourable, was not as positive or as promising as the wildlife-based ecotourism option (Davies, 1997, p.12). The results of the evaluation of the options are summarised in **appendix 2.**

Historically, the land was reported to be overgrazed at the time of the project's initiation. The only area with irrigation potential is around Molatedi dam; situated in Molatedi village. "The size of the local market for agriculture is limited but Gaborone, about 30 km away, is a potential market" (Setplan, p.4). Along the east bank of the Marico River, farmers carried out irrigation mainly in the form of cash crops with a relatively low rate of return. This is because distance to major markets precludes the cultivation of high return crops such as vegetables.

The land, from a climatic and vegetation point of view, is suited for cattle ranching though supplementary water points and drought feed would have been required during drought periods. Recent overgrazing would have required that the area be given a chance to recover prior to restocking to normal carrying capacity.

According to a socio-economic survey conducted by Agricor in 1986, neither Molatedi nor Supingstad were practising any form of agriculture

other than extensive cattle farming, no cultivation of fields were noted and only very few vegetable gardens could be observed.

Following a land feasibility study, wildlife-based tourism was found to be the most economically efficient and environmentally appropriate form of land-use as opposed to cattle ranching (see table 1 below).

Table 1: Evaluation of Land use Options for Madikwe: Social And Economic Quantitative variables

	Ranching	*Wild Life Tourism*
Jobs created	80	1 214
Cost per job	R150 000	R25 000
Wages paid (p.a.)	R480 000	R7 3000 000
Capital cost to Government	R4 550 000	R10 350 000
Recurrent cost to Government (p.a.)	R100 000	R1 000 000
Net Income to Government (p.a.)	R80 000	R4 840 000

Source: Collinson (1992) Occasional Paper No. 6.

4.4.1 Cost-benefit analysis of land use options

The scenario of developing ranching was realistic with "the attraction of a low capital development, as well as low levels of state intervention" (Setplan, p.10). Ranching is however susceptible to periodic droughts during which government will have to give some form of relief to the affected farmers. Employment generation from this form of land-use option would be limited to 80 jobs as compared to wildlife tourism. Bop at that time, "did not have sufficient commercial cattle farmers to

effectively develop the area in accordance with the Land Allocation Board requirements" (Setplan, 1991, p.10). The spin-offs or multiplier effect from ranching would be considerably less than that of the game park.

If ranching was pursued as a cattle farming training programme, it would have required extensive technical support designed only for the privileged few. Recruitment and importation of farmers would have been necessary and the establishment of local farmer support groups would take time to develop. Ranching does not have the potential to diversify the narrow economic base and the region would be highly susceptible to fluctuations in the cattle industry. Because the area was overgrazed, risk existed that incoming farmers would not have sustainably managed the environment, resulting in serious degradation of the land.

There was no resettlement required to implement the game park option because the land was not occupied at the time. Supingstad on the western side and Molatedi on the eastern side were already established service centres from which the game park could draw support. The Molatedi dam, situated on the southeastern corner of the study area, completed in 1985, became the main infrastructure investment for the project. Further, an Escom electricity supply line to Botswana traversed the study area. Most of the area had telephone links from the post-office in Nietverdiend.

Even though Madikwe was a government-initiated project, the community readily accepted it. The NPB embarked on a ranger-training programme from which many Batswana living within the area benefited. In addition to direct employment creation in the safari camps, hunting camps and park maintenance and administration, there was the

potential of job creation through the development of spin-off industries normally associated with tourism.

Despite large capital investment required by the public and private sectors, the returns expected from the game park exceeded those of ranching. Local communities did not loose access to the land. Arrangements were made to grant the local communities, including herbalists, controlled access to the park for collection of wood and herbs. The game park offered the potential to diversify the local economic base into commerce, local handicrafts, neighbouring resort development and other benefits that would accrue to the local villages. The recurrent costs to government from the game were considerably more than those associated with farming. (SETPLAN, 1991).

4.4.2 Operation Phoenix

Operation Phoenix was the name given to the exciting re- introduction of wildlife and the monitoring of the project that took place during the establishment of MGR in 1991, was seen as "the biggest restocking programme in the world" (Madikwe Initative: Project Summary, 1999, p.1 and Collinson, 1992, p.5). Hofmeyer (1997, p.3) postulates that "Madikwe has been transformed through the visionary policies of the North West Parks Board, formerly Bop Parks, from degraded cattle farms into one of the most sexciting game reserves". "Madikwe is certainly "the phoenix that has risen from the ashes" (Hofmeyer, 1997, p.3).

4.5. Project Description

4.5.1.Objectives of MGR

"Madikwe's primary objective is "to satisfy the social and economic needs of local communities" (Davies, Trieloff, and Wells, 1997, p.12). MGR was created on three assumptions. Firstly, that wildlife-based tourism was the best economic use of the acquired land. Secondly, that the conservation value of the land would be increased by wildlife-based tourism development. Thirdly, neighbouring communities would benefit economically from this form of land use. But before it can reach the primary socio-economic objective, it must first be able to do the following:

It must be able to finance all of its capital and operational costs, so as to generate revenue to pay dividend to beneficiaries.

It must stimulate and maximise economic activity in the areas adjacent to it by stimulating small-and medium-sized enterprises and job creation.

It must optimise economic return from wildlife resource for society's benefit.

Ecotourism's twin development goals - conserving the environment and benefiting local people - is increasingly seen, both within and outside tourism circles, as interdependent. Without economic development, many argue that environmental conservation is neither ethical nor sustainable (Boo, 1990, p.1, West and Brechin, 1992; p.14, Brandon and Wells, 1992).

MGR portrays the interdependence and intergratedness of both conservation goals and development visions. Primarily established for socio-economic reasons of the region, it continually strives to stimulate and maximise economic activity in the areas adjacent to it through job creation and stimulation of small-medium enterprises. Davies *et al* (1997, p.3) cites that "the primary aim of Madikwe has meant that attention has had to be paid in fine detail, to the financial sustainability of the reserve, as well as the economic opportunities that can be developed from it".

This makes it unique as compared to other conservation-based protected areas. MGR can be seen as one of South Africa's prime attempts of a successful reconstruction and development programme project. "It is believed now that wildlife conservation in protected areas cannot be sustained without acceptance and support of the rural communities that surround them" (Cunningham, 1994).

4.6. Involvement of MGR Role Players

In order to understand the level of commitment to the MGR project, it is imperative take a brief look at the roles played by each, including the amount of power it possesses.

4.6.1. The Role played by the Parks Board

As a representative of the state, the Parks Board is "the principal partner" (Davies, 1997, p.5) and accordingly "sets out the responsibilities and *modus operandi* of the other role players" (Madikwe Development Task Team, 1997; p.3). The Parks Board provides and ensures that the entire conservation infrastructure is managed according to the plans, objectives and policies set out in the

management plan. The Parks Board co-ordinates the inputs and activities of the stakeholders and assists, where necessary, in improving the economic and social status of the Madikwe region.

4.6.2. The Role of the Private Sector

The role that the Private Sector the Conservation Coporation plays in Madikwe partnership is also summarised by Davies (1997, p.8) who stated that "it is the private sector on which the ultimate success of the Madikwe project depends. Without the private sector's investment in the development and management of a range of tourism facilities and activities in the reserve, Madikwe would not be able to meet its conservation and community development objectives. This is because the private sector provides the financial and economic engine on which the reserve depends". Therefore, the private sector plays a key role in the 'partnership in conservation' that exists at Madikwe (Davies, 1997) and consequently, the private sector is as powerful as the Parks Board.

4.6.3. The Role-played by the Community

For the local community to benefit fully from the reserve, it must undertake five main tasks. These are:

- To provide feedback to the Parks Board and the private sector on community problems and development needs.
- To identify community-based projects, such as schools, clinics, community centres, etc. that can be funded through dividends, generated by the reserve.
- To ensure that democratic and transparent institutions and structures are in place to oversee the community development programme.
- To manage the community development programme through community development associations. These associations have representatives from established community structures, private

sector operators within the MGR, local government, members of the RDP, relevant NGOs and the Parks Board.

- To develop any business opportunities that are generated from the reserve.

4.6.4 The Role of Traditional Leaders in Development

Traditional leaders have considerable influence over development processes in rural areas even without capacity to make decisions on land reforms. Gotz (1997, p.17) postulates that "traditional authority is not simply a designation, it is an accurate description of a real form of power which in many areas still commands popular legitimacy".

In rural areas, traditionalist forms of domination is personalised; constituted and legitimated "with reference to divine authority" (Ritcken In FitzGerald *et al*, 1997, p.194). Culturally, the chieftainship plays a facilitative role of communicating with both the living and the dead, and most importantly, he is seen as the prince of peace who should maintain the harmony between the social, the natural and the supernatural.

The power of traditional authorities has an important effect in the betterment of livelihoods in rural areas. This power effect is experienced by Funders, Developers and even the National government because they "will not move without first soliciting the chief's consent for a development project" Gotz (1997, p.17). "Traditional and regional authorities also act as gatekeepers of development programmes, which cannot be introduced in areas under their jurisdiction without their permission" (Zulu, 1996; p.243).

The chief's power can be reflected through his responsibility; amongst other things to reproduce the social order; through his ability to allocate

the land and control natural resources such as the correct timing of natural resource harvesting.

Munslow *et al* (1995, p.4-5) draws our attention to the fact that "the pursuit of sustainable development requires a political system that secures effective citizen participation in decision-making". She further argues that sustainable development cannot happen easily as it requires "a massive educational effort so that citizens are made aware of the need to manage resources wisely to achieve the maximum benefits at the minimum cost, not only to fulfil their needs today, but those of their children tomorrow and of future generations" (Munslow *et al* 1995, p.4-5).

4.7. Power relations among the role-players

"The fact that MGR is run as a three-way partnership between the state, local communities and the private sector" (see Davies 1997 a and b, Davies *et al,* 1997; Hofmeyer, 1997) is presented as a statement of fact. There is a power imbalance within these three stakeholders of Madikwe. The Parks Board sets the "*modus operandi" and* it is the private sector on which the ultimate success of the Madikwe project depends. Both are powerful as one. The community is the partner with the weakest power in the Madikwe project. Their rights, obligations and tenure are not well defined and even if they were, their enforceability is highly questionable.

"Participation is promoted as a means to achieve greater efficiency in resource allocation and service provision, as well as a means of diffusing, if not resolving, the social conflict resulting from social exclusion and inequality" (Ticehurst, 1998, pp.12-18). In practice, civil society participation is becoming the key component of the new political and social context. At the same time, the capacity to participate is even

important in order to access resources and social services and in r to influence policy and practice that affect people's lives.

4.7.1. The Effect of Power Imbalance

Given the analysis of power relations amongst the three stakeholders, does this power imbalance disrupt effective community participation at Madikwe? Can this power imbalance ever be shifted sufficiently in favour of the communities? What is required to achieve this?

It is commonly believed that the more balanced the power, the better the outcome. Polsby, (1963, p.4) argues that "identifying who prevails in decision-making seems the best way to determine which individuals and groups have 'more' power in social life, because direct conflict between actors presents a situation most closely approximating an experimental test of their capacities to affect outcomes". Polsby's argument is on who initiates, decides and vetoes policies.

Bachrach and Baratz (1963, pp.641-651) view that "it is important to look not at decisions but also at non-decisions. That is measures that result in suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values or interests of the decision-makers". Non-decision-making is, according to Bachrach and Baratz (1963, pp. 641-651) "a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are voiced; or kept covert; or killed before they gain access to the relevant decision-making arena; or failing all three things, maimed or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of policy process".

All these views take the position that conflict is necessary for power; or that power only shows up in cases of actual conflict. An extreme imbalance of power, however, can create tensions and conflict. These

tensions and conflicts have been observed at Madikwe. The community always perceives itself as the weaker party.

This assumption is not adequate if we want to grasp a good understanding of the full dimensions of power applied at Madikwe. (Uphoff, 1977) sees power as "a generic term for general relationships of cause- and-effect in human affairs". His analysis suggests that power can be used not only to settle conflicts or to prevent them from entering a political decision-making arena but also to create relationships that are non-conflictual and yet evident of power.

In this case, the National Parks Board may be able to shape the perceptions, cognitions and preferences of other groups such as the Madikwe Development Forum; and RDP Forums to such an extent that "the latter accept their role in the existing order of development process, because they value their role as divinely ordained and beneficial" (Uphoff, 1977). This is vital because when assessing the role of RDP at the local level they are often gatekeepers of development processes.

Most of the developmental changes in rural areas where civil participation is not dominant, RDP forums tend to be problematic in terms of ownership of projects. This result in power struggle with the Development Forums and the community at large.

Given the analysis, how can having more power help the community at Madikwe achieve more benefits than they have? Or how can the Parks Board and private sector start to perceive the community as having greater power as they have?

Land ownership is the most important power variable that rural communities can possess. As summarised by Hanekom (1996, p.1-6):

> "A key component in addressing the imbalances, that are the legacies of apartheid South Africa, is to correct the balance of power between local communities and conservation authorities or private land owners. This can be achieved by communities making land claims to regain ownership of land that they may have lost. This will ensure that if the National Parks Board or private business negotiate contractual agreements with communities, communities will enter the process as equal participants. In fact, the reality of land claim processes in South Africa may indeed be the strongest mechanism to ensure maximum participation of and maximum economic benefit flow into communities".

It follows from Hanekom (1996, p.1-6) that land tenure or some form of proprietorship is the strongest variable that can give rural communities power for effective participation in conservation related activities. The communities at Madikwe do not have ownership of land and consequently lack power for effective bargaining. Understanding of tenure systems and proprietorship is important for gaining insights into the Madikwe project.

McNeely suggests the following principles for using indigenous peoples as fully fledged partners in conservation initiations: (a) Build on the foundations of the local culture; (b) Give responsibility to the local people and (c) consider returning ownership of at least some protected areas to indigenous people".

4.8. Project Process: MGR and LED

The socio-economic based approach adopted at Madikwe "is an emerging orthodoxy which stresses the need to link conservation with socio-economic development by allowing proximate communities to have sustainable access to the life supporting and income-earning

potential of nature or protected areas, (Report of the three committees of the President's Council on a National environmental, 1991).

Healy (1992) identified three important factors associated with the economic impact of tourism at the local level. These factors are forward and backward linkages between tourism and other sectors, the spatial location of tourism activities and the identities of beneficiaries.

The success and development impact of any industry can be traced through the nature of interactions with suppliers (backward linkages) and customers (forward linkages). "The capacity to stimulate secondary growth and provide opportunities for investment and entrepreneurship depends on these linkages". (Furze *et al*, 1996; p.153). While several backward linkages such as construction, transport and food can be traced, it is difficult to make future projections of forward linkages because basically it is "not a step in the production of additional activities" (Furze *et al*, 1996; p.153).

MGR in the attempt to develop the local economy, used the community's development Programme that they termed Madikwe Development Initiative. This is discussed in the following section.

4.8.1. Madikwe Development Initiative

Madikwe Initiative (MI), is a community development programme that has been initiated by the British Government's Department for International Development (DFID) together with the NWP & TB. Mafisa Research and Planning is an agency appointed by the British Government and the local residents to implement the MI.

Mafisa works closely with the Rustenburg and Central District Councils (RDC) for the long-term development activities in the Madikwe area.

The aim of the initiative is "to maximise the economic impacts that the reserve has on the surrounding economy" (MI: Project Summary, 1999, p.1). According to the project summary, MI is currently carrying out the following three basic activities in the three beneficiary villages around the MGR:

- Creating a microenvironment conducive to the delivery and long term performance of community-based development programmes and small businesses.
- Building the capacity of the local leadership and members of local village-based development institutions to participate with various levels of government in the delivery of sustainable development programmes and job-creation projects.
- Assisting communities around Madikwe in the creation of joint-venture partnerships with private investors and the Parks Board.

There are six projects that have already been implemented successfully; thirteen projects are waiting funding and four are still under consideration. In all projects, feasibility studies and participatory planning processes have been completed.

All projects have been evenly distributed in all three villages. In terms of the Madikwe contract, Mafisa's relationship to the three beneficiary villages "should be understood as that of *service provider*" (Madikwe Inception Report, 1998). To date Mafisa facilitated the development of the legally constituted and effectively functioning Community Development Organisation Forum.

The inception report reveals the following main objectives of the Madikwe initiative:

4.8.1.1. Employment opportunities

The Madikwe initiative steering group will encourage active participation in the management of the reserve by various communities. Employment for local residents is promoted at all levels of management within the reserve. Magome and Sentle (1998, p.13) argues that "in terms of job creation (Table 2), Madikwe has already exceeded the 80 cattle ranching jobs". The quality of the jobs in terms of salaries is also far better than if the land had been used as a cattle ranch.

Table 2. Curent Employment at MGR.

	River Lodge	Tau Lodge	Corp. Lodge	Honey Guide	Parks Board
Employed	35	70	4	6	54
Locals	80%	80%	40%	40%	80%
Average salary in US$	200	200	340	340	400

Adopted from Magome and Sentle (1998, p.13)

Note: Corp=Corporate and 6SAR=1US$

If, as predicted by Davies *et al* (1997), all the lodges can be developed within the next ten years, MGR is most likely to impact positively on the lives of the residents in the three villages.

4.8.1.2. Equitable Distribution of Revenue

Revenues generated by the reserve and associated tourism projects will be paid into and managed by the Madikwe Development Trust and these will be allocated for community development programmes.

4.8.1.3. Promoting Integrated Regional Economy

Leadership structures and local residents will become involved in the planning of an integrated regional economy. The tourism industry in the reserve will act as a lead economic agent.

4.8.1.4. Small Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME's)

The Small business in construction material project was initiated at the request of a group of small businessmen at Supingstad. The objective of this project is to ascertain the possibility of setting up small business development in the wholesale of construction material. Two consultants have been identified to undertake a pre-feasibility study, to explore options and potential in all three villages in the study area. Findings will later be discussed with community members. This feasibility study will then be converted into a business plan, and other partners will be identified.

Tourism related enterprises such as clay craft, cultural villages and woodcarving are given preference. Presently the SMMEs that are attached to parks are "wood collection activities, game viewing drives, tour operations and rubbish collection" (MGR Development Policy, Undated). Potential entrepreneurial activities that are already identified are as follows: track making, fence maintenance, building, painting, building maintenance, poultry and vegetable farming.

4.8.1.5. Cultural center at Molatedi

The cultural centre project is initiated by the community through the CDO. It is already operating and is located on near the Molatedi dam. The name is Ramoreana Tented Lodge. The objective of this initiative is to provide cultural activities to local lodges and tourists. Residents of

Molatedi will also be able to conduct courses in oral history, local history, theatre, photography, film and crafts. A feasibility study was conducted in conjunction with members of the CDO. The idea of a cultural village was strongly supported, according to the report. A series of interviews and workshops with residents of Molatedi village were held and lodge owners and RDC are key players in this venture. Funding and technical support comes from the RDC.

4.8.1.6. Bush thinning project:

This is a labour intensive project, which is financed by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry. Mafisa[7] obtained access to R1 million; particularly for capacity-building and temporary job creation. The vision of the project was to offer a contract to successful team leaders. These would operate on their own account and employ people under the same fair labour conditions. The objectives of this project are as follows:

To add value to the wood produced by exploring possibilities of charcoal production, to maximise the number of temporary jobs by employing labour intensive methods, to restore dense thicket areas to a more open savanna, in an environmentally responsible manner and finally, to develop at least three entrepreneurs who could continue to operate as bush clearing contractors in the longer term.

4.8.1.7. Capacity-building

Strengthening the capacity of local residents and their elected representatives will enable them to participate effectively and efficiently in negotiations, bargaining, planning, administration, management and other associated activities.

4.9. Current Status: MGR, A Partnership in Conservation

A partnership is the simplest form of organisation involving more than one person. "Any actions outside the ordinary course of business, however, must normally receive the consent of all or a majority of other partners depending upon the terms of partnership agreement" (Meade, 1997, p.10). Partnerships are usually formed by a written partnership agreement. Legally it is strongly recommended that partnerships require a written agreement. The partnership agreement is important since it sets the rules by which the partnership will be managed and the levels of power pertaining to each partnership player.

The purpose of the agreement is to cover all major issues, which may affect the partnership. These include according to Meade (1997, p.11), "the division of profits and losses, the arrangement of business management, the items which require other partner's consent, and any other provision which the partners deem important".

MGR potrays a tripod model in which the community is in equal partnership with the Parks Board and the private sector. It is worth noting that Madikwe is not a classical community-based conservation project. This implies that MGR is not community-owned, nor community-initiated and not even a community-managed venture.

The partnership at MGR is of benefit to all parties involved. The success and establishment of MGR is based on a foundation of good and strong partnerships that have been forged between a number of stakeholders. Refer to appendix C for an analysis of stakeholders.

According to Davies (1997, p.3) "working in partnerships have the

[7] Mafisa is a consulting agency commissioned by the Parks Board and the British Department of Foreign Intenational Development(DFID) in order to facilitate the community capacity building process at Madikwe.

advantages of bringing diversity, expertise and discussions which strengthens the institutional arrangements of MGR". There is a tremendous amount of synergy that is built. Partnerships have the advantage of spreading the risks involved in the establishment of MGR and its management significantly.

Davies (1997, p.5) contends that "without full and meaningful participation and successful contribution of each one of these partners, the Madikwe project would fail-sooner rather than later". Bartlett (1993) asserts that "organisational strength and sustainability are increasingly being understood as the most important pillars of success in the development process, success defined as the degree of human empowerment and self reliance achievement.

Rosenberg, SATOUR marketing sub-committee member and Sabi Sabi marketing director warn conservationists by informing them that "communities that are not involved in conservation will be undermined. If they do not see the benefits they will not support it" (Business day, 1998, p.20). He contends that "the country is at the coal-face of ecotourism". To him ecotourism boils down to sustainability and has three pillars of support-tourism, conservation and community.

But what does participation mean? Participation is a buzzword used in development circles for its generally positive connotations. Yet on the contrary depending on how a participatory process was formulated and implemented, the results can range from very positive to the opposite extreme. According to Sachs (1993, p.123) to participate means "to live and to relate differently. It implies, above all, the recovery of one's inner freedom, that is, to learn to listen and to share, free from any fear or predefined conclusion, belief or judgement".

Living differently (according to him) does not mean to "conform to a preordained pattern or ideal designed by others, or even one designed by conditioned ideals" (Sachs, 1993, p.123). Sturgeon (1996, p.12) share the same view when he strongly argues that "the marginalisation of local communities is built into the economic structure of tourism before you even consider whether or not they have been built into a project as real partners and not just as providers of labour".

This approach serves as one of the reasons for the failure of most development projects, says Rahman (1993, p.128). He postulates that "participation of the community takes place in the form of community development organisations, which serve as organised forms of participation or mobilisation, which either serve illusory purposes, or lead to superficial and fragmented achievements of no lasting impact on people's lives. Even when these seem to be beneficial to a particular group or region, their effects remain inevitably limited, in time and space, sometimes even producing opposite effects in many unforeseen and unexpected areas" (Rahman, 1993, p.128).

There are many different forms of development activities, which requires different modes of co-operation such as political; consultation, decisional and co-decisional co-operation participation. The perspective of ecotourism as a resource is one that requires a realistic assessment of both the benefits that ecotourism may produce and the costs that it may impose. "a management and planning strategy that combines business interests, environmental concerns, and social awareness can often optimise the returns from ecotourism to communities" (Smith, 1989, p.5). Even at MGR the communities have paid costs such as "restricted access to the land, loss of cattle ranching opportunities, possible dangers posed by wild animals, etc" (Davies, 1997, p.7). These costs are associated with the establishment of the reserve.

For rural people who are constrained by cycles of poverty and illiteracy, acquiring power represents a fundamental pre-requisite to combating poverty. Poor people need power that will allow them to find their individual and collective voices and gain access to education, training, technologies and resources.

4.10. Financial Management: Madikwe Development Trust

A section 21 Company known as Madikwe Game Reserve Development Trust was formed and finalised during April 1998. A Board of Trustees are elected to administer the Trust accordingly directs this trust. The Madikwe Development headed by Mr R. Davies (Resource Economist for the Parks Board) and Trieloff C. (Project Manager for financial planning, co-ordination and control in MGR) were responsible for facilitating and establishing the trust. The Madikwe Development Trust is faced with the following obligations:

- Payment of loans made previously for development of the reserve.
- To make funds available to Madikwe Community Development for community projects.
- To make funds available for conservation projects in the reserve.

"Income that is generated mainly through concession fees, is paid into the trust fund, Madikwe Trust. The monies generated for the trust represent direct cash and financial benefits for local communities" (Davies, Trieloff and Wells, 1997).

4.10.1 Trust As A Business Association Structure In Governing Resource Management

One deficiency of a trust is its inability to disseminate power to make decisions or to receive information from the local communities. This characteristic is a typical trust arrangement. Recalling that the local communities are the beneficiaries of the trust and that the Madikwe Development Forum is the trustee, the local communities do not necessarily have a right to participate in management except as provided by the trust instrument.

A trust is designed such that the trustees actively manage the trust to the benefit of the beneficiary. Thus local communities, as the beneficiaries, are not expected to be uninvolved in the management and decisions of the trust. The trust will ensure that villages are represented on the governing body and participate meaningfully in the management of their local resources" (Peterson, 1991).

The Madikwe Development Trust is therefore, a successful trust in the formal sense of the word. The purpose of a trust is for the beneficiary to receive the benefits (revenues) without taking on the burdens (management). While the inactivity of the community might be appropriate in the context of a business situation, such inactivity is inappropriate, given the goals and approach of MGR. "A trust, unless very carefully tailored to allow the beneficiary to participate meaningfully, is not the optimal business associations model for a participatory management project" (Meade, 1997, p.69). The community will be delighted about the turnovers and attainment of projects, but might also disregard meaningful participation, which is ideal for the sustainability of this project.

In conclusion, MGR presents a tripod model that needs support from all parties involved. It is the stated mission of NWP&TB that conservation of wild animals, plants and landscapes should contribute towards improving the quality of life of people in the North West Region. The NWP&TB continually strives to obtain the support and commitment of neighbouring communities to their stated mission and strategies. Wildlife based tourism became the best economic use of the acquired land.

As a result "MGR has received two prestigio[illegible] awards. Firstly, the British Air IUCN Conservation Award for good conservation management that involved the Private Sector. Secondly, the British Air Silver Otter Award for good community participation practice" (Magome *et al*, 1998,p.17). But the MGR has not yet fulfilled its third assumption of communities benefiting economically from this form of land use. The following chapter is concerned with findings of the research work.

Chapter 5: The Research Findings

The study coincided with the MGR project of the communities' first visitation to the reserve during March 1998. This happened on the eighth year since its existence in 1991. Most people have not seen nor have the knowledge of what is happening at MGR.

5.1. The Profile of the three Villages found on the fringes of MGR.

5.1.1 Lekgophung village

Lekgophung is situated about 20 km west of Madikwe and has, according to 1996 census, an estimated population of 1672. The residents of this village were found to be poor, with 90% of the residents unemployed. The landscape with various hills makes it very this area unique and full of natural wonders. Amongst the three, this village is the least developed. Though it has its own high school and health clinic, there was no electricity that was available. Only two Telkom public telephones could be seen near the clinic. There was no telephone line in the clinic nor other emergency facilities such as the ambulance.

5.1.2. Molatedi Village

Molatedi village is situated only 6km to the southeast of the Madikwe boundary. The population size of 1577 (Stats SA 1998b) is comparable to that of Lekgophung. Of the fifteen people interviewed, 11 were unemployed from this village. Twelve residents from this sample did not know MGR because they

have never been there before. The other sample knew MGR because they have been there on several occasions looking for work. Molatedi village has both a middle and high school. The health clinic is relatively small and does not have emergency equipment. Most of the households are not electrified and running water. Only one shop could be seen in the village.

5.1.3. Supingstad village

At a distance of 12km west of the reserve, the residents of Supingstad village are closer to MGR than those of Lekgophung village. The population of Supingstad is estimated at 2692 (Stats SA, 1998b). Of the 15 respondents interviewed, 7 were unemployed. The village is the most developed village as compared to Molatedi and Lekgophung. Most of the households have electricity and there are telephones available at the shops, at the health clinic and also at the "kgotla" or tribal office.The researcher could not even believe her eyes when she saw the facilities available at the health centre. It is relatively big, with five consulting rooms, a large hall, a large dispensary with adequate medicines and other health equipment. Outside were two ambulances. There is a primary, middle and a high school.

Presently the level of employment in the three villages is relatively low. **(Refer to Appendix 4 for a summary of socio-economic study around done around the area).** According to Magome and Sentle (1998, p.10) if the income of pensioners is excluded, then only 5%of Lekgophung residents are economically active, Supinstad is 9% and Molatedi, with 16%, has the highest number of people employed (refer to Table 3).

Table 3 Levels Employment at MGR

	Available for Employment	Actually Employed	% Employed
Supingstad	1448	130	9
Molatedi	692	110	16
Lekgophung	844	38	5

Source Magome and Sentle (1998,unpublished).

5.2. Role of the chiefs

During fieldwork, the researcher observed that the chiefs at Lekgophung and Molatedi were not empowered and that they were amazingly humble and eager to accept whatever development offer might have come their way. There was no weighing of the costs and benefits that may be forthcoming; nor the prons and cons of the project. It was revealed that though they usually attend the development meetings at the game reserve, the two viewed the reserve as a resource to empower themselves even though they did not know how. It is interesting to note that the administrator at Suping is conversant with the development trends and their political implications. He is also aware of opportunities that will be forthcoming from the reserve. There cannot be any project initiation in all three villages without the chiefs consent.

Old and elderly chief's advisors though, not withstanding the wealth of wisdom that may be found usually exacerbate lack of development and dependency within their own constituency. Chiefs that are not empowered (usually the elderly ones) often exercised limited judicial powers and authority over the vast heterogeneous subjects such as issues of developing local economies that they are expected to pioneer. This is negative in any development processes. "Service delivery and development have rarely been the prerogatives of traditional authorities

in practice" (McIntosh, 1996, p.249). The role of traditional authorities has usually been limited to cultural, ceremonial or religious functions and communal land allocation.

5.3. How the communities benefit from MGR

Different members of the community were asked about the benefits that they were receiving from MGR. Respondents ranged from teenagers, adults and senior citizens of the three villages. Four different benefits were identified. These were Employment Opportunities, Skill development and training, Concessionary fees and Small business development. The findings are recorded as follows:

5.3.1.Employment

The respondents said that even though there are people employed, the kinds and number of jobs offered by MGR are menial and limited. However, the community said that they are aware that the number of jobs available at MGR cannot cater for the whole community. At this stage the Lekgophung people were not yet worried about the quality or kind of jobs the residents received, as long as they could keep "the light burning, school the children and feed the family" said one resident. Respondents from Molatedi said that they were not satisfied about the employment and selection procedures that were currently used for recruiting the labour force at MGR. "Actually we do not know where jobs are they advertised" said one respondent. This female respondent from Molatedi complained of nepotism and favoritism that is commonly practised with employment procedures at MGR.

5.3.2. Temporary employment

People showed their appreciation over the available temporary employment, but were worried about their sustainablity. The sample from Suping village were not happy about the temporary jobs on bush clearing, because "it does not provide any skill development that can be of relevance in their future career planning"', responded one high school student from Suping village. Communities feel that benefits from development takes too long to come by.

5.3.3. Skill Development and Training

The Suping village women were very proud of the training they had received throughout the implementation of vegetable gardens. One woman excitedly informed the researcher that she knew how to control the funds and the marketing, of the vegetables, once the project was sustainable. At this stage, they used the vegetables to feed their families. Their vision is to secure more land and expand the project. They look forward to being the future employers and suppliers of vegetables to Madikwe lodges. The vegetable garden project was still at its initial stage. They were involved with the pilot project.

The women from Molatedi were far more developed in terms of skill training, such as book-keeping, and the overall control of their produce. One woman expressed her concern about cooperation as a need in the success of this project. The other concern that was expressed by another woman was the marketing of their products. "We are hopeful that the Tau lodge in the MGR will make us suppliers of vegetables such as butternuts"; said Mrs.

Matlapeng. They also expressed their concern over the use of water at Molatedi dam.

5.3.4. Revenue from MGR

All three communities are aware that there is a concession fee that is paid into the community coffers every year. MGR pays this money as revenue, which should be used for development in the village. They said that at the moment they do not know how much it is or how it is being used in their village. They do not have an idea of how it is distributed throughout the village. Some respondents from Molatedi and Lekgophung were not well informed about the revenue paid to their village. One respondent said "if we truly receive these funds, then there is nothing tangible that I can witness in my village". Most respondents from Suping village were satisfied about the use of the revenues received from MGR even though they did not have any idea as to how much was it.

5.3.5. Environmental education

The youth perspective about MGR is far different from adults and senior citizens. The youth from Lekgophung expressed their gratitude over the MGR wildlife project they were once involved with. One Grade twelve youth said, "the benefits from conservation cannot be experienced immediately", but what we want to see is more conservation projects to be integrated with school projects. They want to learn more about animal behaviour and how to conserve the environment in the best way. They expressed their lack of knowledge about careers associated with conservation.

5.3.6.Ramoreana Tented Lodge

This information is the result of the interview that was held with Mr. Mochine of RDC on the 8th of February 2000. Ramoreana project is a community-initiated project through the CDO. (Please refer to the section on the projects' current process in Chapter 4). Presently, Ramoreana is a 15-tented chalet. Five of these are double beds and ten are single or sharing. According to Mochine the project is ideal because of the "low economic standard and propounded with the low tax base of the area". RDC donated R1.8 Million towards the success of Ramoreana. The expected turn over from this project is estimated at R1. Million pa. According to Mochine, it was difficult to the land claim through, but finally the community succeeded in getting the ownership of this piece of land. It was initially claimed to be the state land. This project is intended for people living in the 13 Molatedi Villages.

"The people are a resource in spite of whether they are skilled or not" commented Mochin. The Molatedi Community was very instrumental in the success of this project. People cleared he bushes and women mended the linen that is currently used. However, there is no community-based management structure that has been put in place. The RDC has been tasked with finding ways of placing proper governance structures for this project and they intend to do this in collaboration with the community concerned.

5.4. Other Expected Benefits from MGR

The sample responded in the following way when asked to specify how they would like to benefit from MGR.

5.4.1. Bursaries

The respondents expressed their need for bursaries. "At least the MGR can offer bursaries to each best student from each village to study environmental science" said one youth from Molatedi Village. Another student from Lekgophung expressed her concern over MGR's involvement in improving the quality of schools and providing other infrastructure such as school halls, which could be used, for fund raising projects. "MGR is our only hope of improvement in putting tarred roads, electricity and water in our schools and village.

5.4. 2. Education Facilities

The respondents said that MGR should help to build educational facilities such as schools and libraries. If it cannot afford to, then it should at least improve the existing school buildings. Students at Suping Village informed the researcher that they have never been exposed to conservation awareness campaigns. Teachers at Suping and Molatedi middle schools did not view MGR as an educational tool or resource that they could use in their teaching, because MGR does not collaborate with them in any project.

5.4.3. Provision of Health Facilities

An interview that was held with a health professional at the Molatedi health clinic revealed that there was a serious lack of health facilities in the Madikwe region. She said, "People here bleed to death in case of emergencies because there is no ambulance to transport the injured person to the nearby hospital. Even private cars owned by individuals in the village are limited. The only person, who helps the community with transport if you

have transport fees, is one white man, who lives about twenty kilometres from the village. Besides him, we loose many lives through our hands". "MGR can help us with the vehicles or telephones" said the nursing sister at the Molatedi health clinic.

5.4.4. Community Managed Project

One elderly woman from Lekgophung village said that their place could be an attraction for overseas tourists. "It is time that the tourists should 'see' the kind of life we are living". We need the MGR to help us build a guesthouse, where people from overseas can stay in our village. MGR should help us build it and teach us how to manage it".

5.4.5. Sale of Water and Cultural Centre at Molatedi Dam

They expressed their concern over the agreements between the local chief and the MGR over the sale of water from Molatedi Dam to Botswana. Instead, the Molatedi dam can be turned into a leisure resort that can make revenue for the villagers.

The respondents are quite aware of the potential of revenue generation by the Molatedi Dam, should proper planning be put in place. One CDO member, a female from Molatedi informed the researcher of high numbers of visitors during the festive season who frequent the place. Some are entrepreneurs from nearby places such as Sun City who go there to sell food and drinks while local members do not participate in those business activities. She also said that there were local white people who made business out of fishing without paying concessionary fees for the use of the resource base.

5.4.6 Immediate Direct Benefits

Local people including businessmen and some members of the CDO are highly skeptical about investing their time and energy in the MGR project, especially when attending long tiring meetings. This is propounded by the fact that there are particularly no immediate direct benefits that are forthcoming. One member of the CDO from Suping refused to be interviewed by the researcher but aired his own concerns. He said: "there is no payment or nor transport compensation that I receive for endless meetings that I attend. Besides what more can I tell you because I am not a member of the Board" (Response from a Suping Village CDO member).

5.4.7. Transparency and consultation

The respondents expect that there should be more transparency and consultation when projects are introduced. "We do not want to be handed leftovers from the remains of other villages or follow the decisions already discussed by others, especially the CDO's", said one respondent from Suping health centre.

5.4.8. Community Representation in the Management of MGR

They need to be represented in the management of MGR "because the managers are not open with us. We are not properly consulted whenever a project starts, but we are grateful for what MGR is doing it is just that there are no people within any of the villages who are working within the management of MGR". They suggested that the infrastructure of the villages around the MGR should be improved, so as to attract more tourists.

5.4.9. Tender Procedures

Tender Procedures need to be more transparent and more competitive. There is a feeling of favoritism when it comes to tendering. One family from Molatedi complained about tenders such as providing services like picking up litter being given to the very same individual who is a friend of the community liaison officer.

5.4.10 Capacity building

Workshops on capacity should include awareness on wildlife and initiation of community-based conservation projects. One respondent felt that this exercise would help them to be represented effectively in the management of MGR.

5.5. How Does the Community Feel about MGR

When respondents were asked about what they feel about the development processes at MGR, the followings emerged:

5.5.1. Lack of Ownership and Decision Making/ Communication and Consultation

The community feels left out of the reserve and being on the other side of the fence because there is neither much consultation nor communication. They are not part of the decision-making body, hence they feel that projects are imposed on them.

A CDO member and a taxi owner from Suping Village did not want to hold any interview with the researcher. The taxi owner said "how can I make any suggestions or say anything about MGR

when I am on the outside part of the fence?" He said that the "work of CDO forum demands a lot of efforts such as attending a series of meetings and coming home very late without anything in the pockets". He feels that meetings are a waste of time as long as the MGR is using the consultants, who cannot "teach us their strategies to run the MGR as managers the consultants comes from outside, while our people are hired to clear the bush".

5.5.2. Lack of Equitable Distribution of Resources

The community from Molatedi and Lekgophung showed their dissatisfaction over the distribution of funding for the vegetable garden project, which was designed for the three villages. "This is reflected by the level of development at Suping" they said. "There are other needs like telephones and electricity that we do not have but Suping has" responded one elderly person from Molatedi. "All the development takes place around us, and nothing is forth coming to us.

The Lekgophung people will never secure the kind of assistance that the other two villages received. We are dumped and forgotten". She later explained to me that they did not secure the same amount of funding for vegetable garden as women from Suping. This causes a constraint to them. Lekgophung villagers expect more jobs to flow from MGR and more people from Lekgophung employed by MGR, "just like it happens with other villages", said the Lekgophung chief. He expressed his concern about more improvement and development "happening in our village just as it takes place in other villages".

5.5.3. Lack of Land Ownership

The community, on answering the question "whose land is?" could not give any clear indication of who owns the land. To them the question is embarrassing and amazing because, the land has always belonged to them. The communities claim parts of the land at MGR, on the basis that it "belonged to our forefathers, so it is ours now".

5.5.4. Property Rights at Madikwe

In an interview held with Mr Magome during March 1999, the following information on property rights was revealed: There are two distinct forms of property rights at Madikwe. The first one is State Property Right in which the ownership of the land and wildlife resources at Madikwe rests with government. The second one is the Private Property Right. The ownership of tourist facilities, such as lodges for accommodation, rests with individual private sector developers, the Conservation Cooperation, through lease agreements. As stated previously in this document, the property rights of the communities are not clearly defined. "The original three villages lack both the *de jure* and *de facto* mechanisms" (Magome, when responding to the communities exclusion in property rights).

5.5. 5. Centralised Planning and Decision-making

Through the discussions held with the team leaders of the bush-clearing temporary employment during March 1998, it was revealed that centralised planning and decision-making dominate the Madikwe initiative by the initiative board, the Madikwe Development Forum and the CDO's. This dominance is even extended outside the boardroom into the villages where the CDO decisions are prioritised. The researcher made observations during visitations to each village CDO

during fieldwork. The communities know the results of planning when such projects are due for implementation or after decisions have been taken. Planning of socio-economic development that is pioneered by Madikwe, should be guided by findings from participatory research approaches.

Most conventional research methods used to identify the projects planned for business and employment opportunities, "involve people merely as informants" (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995,p.1670). The argument of this view lies not in how reliable or valid the findings are. The merit lies in involving local people in the "representation of outcomes" (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995, p.1670). The emphasis is not on outcomes but on processes. This is instrumental in reversing the relations of power. In practice applications are more consultative or collaborative (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995, p.1671).

Rifking in (Cornwall and Jewkes, 1995, p.1668) informs us that "participation is more than just taking part, it involves activeness, choice and possibilities of that choice being affected". This approach offers opportunities to engage local people as active and committed contributors to the project envisaged. On the one side of the coin, lies the frustration and dilemma of planning and implementing development projects for communities with high expectations but give nothing in return. And on the other side of the coin lies an impulse of delight once those projects have been successful.

The consequence for participation can be disastrous when imposing notions' representatives in a situation of political polarisation and factionalist" (Paul and Demarest, 1984).

Madikwe community was initially left out of the political processes, which currently determines the future of their undeveloped region.

While they appreciate the efforts of the NPB and Mafisa, they never delegated any power of representation to this environmentalist community or to the consultants.

While commitment on the side of the communities is invisible, the level of expectation is highly visible every time MGR is mentioned. Working with local people is far from easy. Commitment and interest waxes and wanes over time. Chapter 6 deals with the interpretation of the findings.

Chapter 6: The Interpretation of the Research Findings

6.1. Introduction

The aim of this section is to critically analyse the findings, especially those that hampered the development at MGR.

6.2. Key Finding

Rural Communities of Madikwe Society are independent of each other and are more competitive instead of complementing each other for scarce common resources.

The first proposition suggests that MGR face certain hiccups before it can reach its objectives. The proposition is restated:

Proposition One

The ability of MGR to reach its objectives of developing the rural economy of villages living on its fringes is limited by various factors, which could be classified as follows:

- The information Gap that exist
- Lack of Positve Public Participation
- Participation of CDO is powerless
- Competition amongst the three Communities
- Political Factors such as Land Reform
- Communities do not understand Development as a concept
- Degree of power Imbalance in Partnerships
- Power

- Communites expectations are immediate without any sense of commitment to MGR success.
- The capacity of CDO to manage development process on their own is limited.

Discussions of these factors follow:

6.2.1. The information Gap that exist

The community cannot influence the decision-making processes because of communication strategies that are not in place between MGR and the community. The gap always exists between the two. Dependency is still the order of the day. There is always an information gap that exists between the MGR, the CDO and the community. Communication is through the CDO, which informs the communities of development process after decisions have been made. This makes the community loose trust in the CDO.

6.2.2 Lack of Positive Public Participation

Participation without power is an empty notion. If a population has enough power, it can set the terms for its own participation, and it can influence the direction or even stop a particular project that is generated rom the outside. To create participation in the absence of such power is a key dilemma for development projects.

Development projects are, in fact undertaken to enhance the circumstances of the powerful, with little concern for the powerless. In every development process, Public participation is crucial in all stages of developmental process-problem identification, planning, evaluation and assessment, decision-making and finally during implementation.

Not only is it an effective tool for informing the public and therefore providing quality information for decision-making, it also serves other following valuable roles: Providing a voice for indigenous communities who are most likely to be affected by planned development but lack power and resources. It integrates scientific policy analysis into democratic political processes, and is a potential means of integrating science and values democratically.

Public participation and involvement should not be equated or supplemented with a pivotal axis around which every chaotic political and developmental context rests. Public participation in nature, is part of the planning process, a process that is embedded in the political system. Inevitably projects or programs favour one sector of the society, often at the expense of others. Efforts to develop appropriate methodologies without confronting the political issues can only legitimise the projects and ultimately, the status quo.

The MGR development process has been elitist in approach. The planners became decision-makers who played an expert role with unchallenged authority bestowed upon them by their exclusive scientific and technical knowledge. This group of expertise became predominant over decision making but unfortunately became linear in approach to defining communities. The three neighbouring communities were viewed on the assumption that they have monolithic, discernible social goals which can be measured homogeneously throughout the whole process.

6.2.3. Participation of CDO is Powerless

The participation of CDO is more academically or more educational because the power sharing involved in development projects that are intended for them is very limited. CDO does not have control over the

funds nor processes or decisions that are taken. They rely on the South African National Park and Conservation Cooperation to spearhead the development process. These two also control the time frame in the context of projects initiated. As a result, the most empowered partners being the South African National Park and Conservation Cooperation play the role of advocates in the development that affect the rural community.

They are not playing a facilitative role, which is more appropriate role for attaining the objective of empowering those communities and sustaining the MGR project. If you consider Blakely's key principles of Public Private Partnerships as stipulated and discussed in Chapter two, it is possible to realise that the form of partnership implemented at MGR presents a constraint to gain the effectiveness of the CDO and the communities positive participation.

6.2.4. Competition amongst the three Communities

During the interviews it was clearly obvious that the three communities of Madikwe are independent of each other. They are therefore competitive rather than complementary to each other. They both do not hold the same ground for common goals. Competition amongst the three communities brings conflict and jealousy. This is expressed through the arguments pertaining to equal resource distribution. This resulted in the community's lack of trust in MGR and its relations to the traditional chiefs.

This factor is negative in promoting the socio-economic development of this region or even of holding the MGR project. Instead of formulating more solutions to the problems of lack of development, communities are fixated on issues of who gets how much and why. The different

demands and expectations reflect that interdependencies are still far from penetrating the community at large.

The introduction of ecotourism ventures such as MGR can reinforce existing divisions or create new ones in the communities. This situation may be more acute because all project activities such as vegetable gardens and employment involve returns that are perceived to be high.

6.2.5. Political Factors such as Land Reforms

Conservation is political. Nature conservation projects such as ecotourism require land. Land is a vital natural resource and its ownership and allocation is deeply embedded within the political arena. For many communities living on the fringes of MGR, the prospect of benefiting from it marks the turning point. Molatedi community was previously not aware of the value of this land before MGR could spear head the socio economic exercise.

Also the people from Sesobe village, who are also claiming the land, did not depend on this land according to the history. However with land claims from local communities, traditional leaders, the provincial government and the question of land ownership through land restitution and redistribution processes is a fundamental requirement.

Communities want a share of the money generated by MGR, and ironically, ecotourism ventures do not generate enough money. Ecotourism cannot undo the effect of colonialism. This leaves the MGR potentially vulnerable because it is public property. There are always constituency and party pressures, which could make the government consider passing the compensation on to MGR. This will certainly have a crippling impact in MGR reaching its stated objectives because it will be burdened with payment to all claimants that might be successful.

6.2.6. The Concept of Development

The controversy starts with the misunderstanding of the concept development. Development is intrinsically disruptive because it brings changes. Development efforts are bound to have both unanticipated and anticipated consequences. The communities at Madikwe have uncritically assumed that development automatically means "reduction in pains and hardship for every body irrespective of the positions held in society. During planning and formulation of MGR objectives it has been assumed that the results of development are possible to anticipate and control. Many promises were made. Development is a necessarily messy process and that community participation in development is almost always uneven. An exclusive focus on reducing social inequalities through state interventions is not progressive, nor enough to promote development at this stage of development and inequalities.

Should the MGR project fail to reach the objective of socio-economic development, the process will tend to break the hold of Political Economy of ecotourism in the development of society. Development along such lines is also likely to enhance the capacity of beneficial communities to manage this process especially in rural areas of South Africa. MGR is a unique game reserve with a unique approach to conservation and development.

6.3. MGR: A Closed Decision-Making Process

Magome and Sentle (1998, p.11) postulate that "generally, projects have a life cycle-a time of planning, a time of implementation, and a time of completion. Madikwe has just started the most difficult phase of implementation and already there are two major 'teething problems'".

The first problem they have identified is that "MGR was conceived and planned in a different political and economic climate". Those who made the promises were not given a chance to deliver on them. These huge promises (please see Box 2) will "haunt MGR with or without those who made them" (Magome, and Sentle, 1998, p.11).

Box 2

Extract from a speech made at Madikwe: An Address of a press conference by President L. M. Mangope during August 1991.

"Each of the lodges is estimated to produce an income of over R4 million (US$1.3m) pa. Hunting will...bring in ...over R20 million (US$6.7M). The sale of live game will generate over R2 million a year (US$670,000). This total of over R46 million (US$15.3m) does not include the possibility of a large resort-style hotel...on the Molatedi dam...a multiplier effect would result in a cash flow of over R400 million (US$133m) in the area...being stimulated".

(Magome and Sentle, 1998, p.11)

The capacity of MGR to deliver the promises made previously highlights the role of elected leaders in economic development policy making and the effects of centralised decision-making at the local level. This is emphasised by Clarke and Gaile (1992, p.574-598) when they say "the design of economic development policy rests with elected officials or those appointed by them." At that time, President Mangope was a focal point of leadership and also a pioneer of an economic development effort. Further, he played a role of negotiating economic growth deals with development interests at heart, especially with protected areas and the welfare of rural communities living on the fringes. Pilanesberg National Park and the Bakgatla tribe can be cited as an example.

He was "a potential political entrepreneur able to step forward and create effective coalitions"(Schneider and Teske, 1993, p.316) and

promises as big as those mentioned above. Feiok (1986, p215) confirms that "polic. entrepreneurs are important to the success of growth policies." Unfortunately, he was a political entrepreneur embedded within a system of centralised executive power. He was, unfortunately, a vulnerable and a critical actor in an evolving, chaotic and highly politicised environment of local economic development contravened by a weak community-based political activity. MGR as 'a big event' would have been particularly advantageous within a business sector, since business interests deal with a single, central authority in which one can make promises with the knowledge that authority can deliver on any promises made.

In development, dominant role players who turn economic development decisions into 'big events coupled with huge promises' create an environment of uncertainty for those who often share the responsibilities of implementing those policies or projects. If one can consider the literature and arguments of Magome, Grossman, Fakir and Stowell (1999) on the state, private sector and communities at Madikwe, one can conclude that MGR is a developmental policy promulgated through highly centralised decision-making process that involved prestigious professionals and political elites. The MGR decision-making processes were closed until the project was about to be consumated. This explains why initially, there was no conflict and that the communities were supportive.

Secondly, the creation of MGR was based on 'number crunching' the costs and benefits of land use" (Magome and Sentle, 1998, p.11). (See an evaluation of land use options for MGR in Table 1).

6.4. Other findings from MGR can be summarised as follows:.

Uneven development

The Lekgophung village is the least developed and Supingstad is better off. One can gain access to private and public phones, a high school and a well-built health clinic. This unevenness brings the disparities and the community from other villages questions the distribution strategies that are used and also the employment procedures.

- There is a power struggle at MGR. Both are said to be equal partners, but community and CDO do not feel that way.
- There is no sense of ownership of MGR on the communities' side. CDO and members of the community feel that they are not part of the MGR.
- There will be no regrets about the land use as long as people will be employed.
- Over reliance of CDO on external inputs.
- Lack of transparency and consultation

Chapter 7: Conclusions and Recommendations

7.1. Conclusion

It is true that the initiative adopted at MGR is unique and places the welfare of people before the interests of conservation. SANP too is faced with the challenge of developing rural communities living on the fringes of protected areas. The management of these areas is held responsible for the delivery of the policy decision undertaken by these government agencies. The aim is to conserve wildlife in the best economic and cultural conditions of the region. The approach that has been adopted at MGR forms a path within which protected area managers with the objective of improving the quality of life of rural communities can take. It is a guideline.

Nevertheless, any development initiative and transition is complemented by a corresponding or relevant political and economic transition. The symptoms of chronic economic failures are neglect of economic growth that result into a high rate of unemployment, high levels of depreciating investment and poverty. Fine and Rustomjee (1995, p.246) considers the macroeconomic policy of South Africa as follows:

> ' There has been a tendency to undertake macroeconomic analysis as if the apartheid economy were amendable to modeling like any other despite its peculiar character. This throws into doubt the frequently favorable assessments of South Africa's conduct of macroeconomic policy under apartheid regime. For this reflects an unduly narrow preoccupation with some of the standardised targets of policy, such as inflation and the balance of payments, neglects other targets such as unemployment and equity and welfare, excuses poor performance as due to external shocks without acknowledging that these were often the consequence of the apartheid regime of which the policy making institutions were a part, and it also neglects the extent and institutional structure of the financial system in

South Africa which both reflected the directions taken by the apartheid economy and consolidated its poor overall performance".

At present, the macroeconomic policy of South Africa still fails to develop the marginalised. And also MGR on its own as an ecotourism venture, cannot reconstruct the rural economy of the Madikwe District, as long as there are leakages which results from imported skills, technologies and commodities that serve the tourism sector. Successful rural development is often hampered by the failure to integrate tourism schemes into larger development plans of the country.

In MGR we have witnessed participation for incentives on the part of the community. **(Please consider a typology of Participation in Appendix 5)** These attitudes will exarcebate the failure of MGR to reach its objectives because of the high level of expectation on the part of the community. Should MGR not meet these expectations, then it is definitely not going to receive any support from these communities. It is unfortunate that the political leader who made these promises is not available to deliver them.

Even though the approach to development policy and implementation in MGR is elitist and state driven in nature, it reflects the responsiveness of MGR and the CC in reaching down the lowest strata of society in alleviating poverty by bringing development. The strategy, if seen from the political side, may be to bring under control as many institutions and activities as possible. The project was initiated during the apartheid period, in the former Bophuthatswana. These state-centred projects compelled communities to enter into new linkages over which they had little control.

The planning, implementation and management of local economy does not take place in a vacuum. It takes place within a context of community dynamics riddled with diversities and high expectations. If a community

does not make sensible use of its resources by way of investments which yield more increase in output, and if a community implements 'development' in ways that allows capital to deteriorate almost as fast as new capital is created, then further increments of manpower and finance will only reinforce present distortions.

LED as a strategy for local level growth or for addressing poverty in the larger spectrum of South Africa, is doomed. As long as it does not break free from the "association with the set of discrete, unconnected (though often mislabeled 'holistic'), marginal and demonstrably ineffectual interventions" (Bond and Mncwabeni,1999, p.124).

The linkages between the development projects initiated at Madikwe are primarily regulatory and rigid. Each development initiative is independent of each other without the reflection of integrated approach towards reaching a common purpose. These projects reflect segments of LED initiatives that compete amongst themselves. This result in small pockets of initiatives enclosed in rules and regulations under which the same people, for whom the project has been intended, find it difficult to carry out their mandates.

The end result of projects like these is despondency, withdrawal from active participation in the development sector and collapse of projects, once the government and the development agency pulls out. These projects cannot be sustainable on their own nor at the hands of the communities for which they were intended. To pursue this line of argument, the study of the sustainability of BCDO, PNP and Sun City would be of interest and would serve as a case study of failed LED initiatives in rural areas. Of paramount importance is "Why did the publicly acclaimed BCDO together with the projects the organisation was involved in collapse?".

MGR is a guideline within which Tourism Development Agencies can enhance the lives of the communities that are dependent on ecotourism industry. The researcher submitted reasons that the developers and protected area managers are interested in ecotourism in order to provide communities with the necessary resources to enhance their livelihoods, to protect their natural and cultural heritage and to provide economic opportunity for their citizens.

Tourism Development Agencies narrowly view their mission as one of promotion and marketing. They have not considered implementing or effecting their efforts within the larger context of developing the self-reliance of the community at large.

The strategic planning and implementation of ecotourism and LED ventures must be applied within contexts that would ensure their sustainability if both aim to promote self-reliance and empowerment within communities. This in turn will channel communities to be realistic in terms of development processes and outcomes or expectations. Ecotourism, in this context will be understood as a means and not as an end in reconstructing the South African rural economy. For now, ecotourism is nothing but just a pie in the sky for rural communities. This leaves the Madikwe communities with high hopes of more benefits that will flow from MGR 'as time goes on.'

A reorientation along the following lines of development that are recommended in the following section would help the rural sector and development agencies to get out of the unproductive exchanges and call for some accountability and commitment from communities for their own sustainable development.

7.2. Future Alternatives

7.2.1. The Role of the State

The scope of provision of infrastructure such as public utilities as well as housing, health, education and welfare is extremely limited and cannot be left entirely to LED or ecotourism alone to deliver. Maybe for a start we can charge the state by way of adopting the strategy espoused by Fine and Rustomjee in their conclusion of Political Economy of South:

> "We place considerable emphasis upon a state programme of public expenditure to provide social and economic infrastructure. This forms part of a strategy to provide for basic needs. The problem of how to finance such a programme is less acute than the formation of the political, social and institutional capacity to carry it out. Nor is this simply a matter of granting priority of the sate over the market. For satisfactory participation in the market requires the prior provision of such infrastructure and market demand will be stimulated by the programme" (1996, pp.252-253).

7.2.2. Strategies for Achieving bottom-up development

The present tone of cooperation and development based on partnership and mutual benefit has been set by policy makers within the new democracy of South Africa. Any local/regional integration programme will have to find ways of creating mechanisms for greater equalisation and access on all participating political economies. This will require huge sustained investment in developing human capacity, infrastructure, quality of leadership, and the institutional environment of governance system.

The communities living in the three villages located on the fringes of MGR and those living in the Madikwe district as a whole, are characterised by extreme inequalities and lack of social preconditions for their effective participation in the mainstream economy. A bottom-up

perspective is necessary and it should be facilitated by way of developing a sound and sustainable human resource base. MGR, the CC, the donors, the NWP&TB, the RDC, the SANP, the Local Government, the communities concerned and the local business enterprise in rural areas can exercise the followings:

- Mobilising long-term interregional investment in technology department and diffusion as tools to bringing rural and marginalised communities into modern economy.
- Forming stronger linkages between South African universities and other tertiary-level institutions in research implementing development initiatives. This will also enable rural communities to gain exposure and financial assistance.
- Creating regional health-care improvement programmes by focusing on capacity building and creating physical infrastructure for sustainable delivery and socio-economic development.
- Creating regional job creation programmes that aim at exploiting emerging trade, industrial and investment linkages by supporting high-growth and employment-intensive industries in the Madikwe District.
- MGR is left with the mandate of setting and enforcing minimum protection against exploitation in employment. Nepotism is alive and well in all strata of South African society. Transparency removes suspicion and accusation.
- long-term investment in public education system by way of improving existing infrastructure, granting of bursaries and scholarships and by integrating school educational programmes with wildlife activities. This will enhance the relationship between the schools and conservation programmes and will also actively involve the youth in the integrated conservation-development programmes.

7.2.3. Madikwe National Park

The future alternative faced by SANP in collaboration with NWP & TB is to declare MGR a National Park. This would enhance MGR's present marketing strategies and autonomy in competing globally and aggressively. Improved quality services and improved exposure would result into a sound economic standing.

7.2.4. Community Participation

While it is apparent that MGR alone cannot afford to develop the Madikwe region; it is necessary that the community undertake long-term integrated socio-economic development initiatives through vigorous involvement in guiding and directing the development processes. It is true that the Madikwe project cannot be a success if they are passive beneficiaries who adopt the 'wait and see' attitude. In this context MGR should play the facilitative role around which all the development processes are orientated. The relationship and commitment amongst the role players are as important as their existence in this project. Without the strength or support of any single leg of the tripod, this project would fail.

Through interactive participation, people can participate in joint analysis that leads to action plans and the strengthening of existing local groups. Such groups would take control over local decisions that enable the local people to have a stake in maintaining development structures and practices.

People can possess legal entitlements such as land tenure, technical advice in the form of MGR and MAFISA together with the assistance of financial resources from donors such as DFID. Together, these do not guarantee that the development objectives of the intended project will be reached. What guarantees the success of the project is the payment of the cost on the part of the people. The cost is ownership of and

commitment to the project, by way of making it a success because 'it is our success too' or if the project fails 'we have failed too' as the people.

7.2.5. Integrated Research on Tenure and Food Security

Research on comparative land use options should be coupled with the consideration on food security. Land tenure focuses on the links between resource use, agricultural production, income generation and employment. Food security in return would trace links from income generation to food consumption and nutritional status. Both tenure and food security are endogenous factors which cannot be viewed as separate entities.

An analysis of specific rights to land and access to food is a necessary first step towards improved policy, but attention must ultimately be directed at the political context within which these rights and access are defined. Watts and Bohle (1993, p.120-22) note that:

> "Property rights ensure access to land and other assets, but political rights are also central to the process by which claims can be made over public resources as a basis for food security, and to defined [food] entitlement...Political Economy, in other words, privileges the historical and the structural, attempting to account for how and why particular patterns of entitlement and empowerment are produced and reproduced within the society".

Improved understanding of the cyclical and dynamic relationship between land tenure and food security, as well as of household contexts within which production and consumption take place, will enhance research and better inform policy in both of these critical areas and their political economy.

7.2.6. The Problem of Power Imbalance at MGR

Power imbalance at MGR due to lack of tenure leaves the communities, the MGR and even researchers involved uncomfortable. This situation presents a paradox. Land claims on the part of the claimants, may present the process of trying to effect justice and reconciliation. Seen from another perspective those very same land claims are likely to engender further inequality and conflict as a side effect. All the stakeholders involved in land claims seem to have one of two options:

- The end can never justify the means, and that in the post-apartheid, democratic South Africa they are not prepared to take the risk of doing further injury to others, particularly as the success rate of land reform and new land settlement elsewhere in the world is dubious at best. Instead, they should place their money and energies into the amelioration of existing inequalities and conflicts, perhaps focusing on avenues such as job creation and the improvement of livelihoods.

- Can accept the tensions implicit in trying to achieve non-material goals, such as justice and reconciliation, by means of limited material goods, and argue that some justice and reconciliation is better than none - and try to be prepared for the likely costs.

If both the communities and MGR need to achieve the limited good, being the land, they both need to be as hard-headed and honest as possible about what they think the real costs - both material and non-material - are likely to be. Thereafter, each should be prepared to pay the cost of existence without the presence of the other. No longer will we hear of a 'partnership in conservation' or the 'upliftment of socio-economic livelihoods of rural communities'. It will mark the end of the story.

The researcher suggests that the land claims in progress should be seen as a vehicle for justice and reconciliation and not as a source of further inequality and conflict especially if the claimants need compensation rather than restitution.

If restitution becomes the end result of pending land claims, the state will find it impossible to restore them to their original land. Again the cost of starting again on the part of the community might be too high. The state should provide just and equitable compensation for those applicants if MGR is a public utility that conserves our environment.

7.2.7. Institutional Capacity-Building

Capacity-building efforts in the economic sector in years to follow cannot escape considering suggestions along these lines:

The development management forum in Madikwe need to encourage the linkages amongst various stakeholders by playing a role of a central authority structure that can mitigate the effects of social fragmentation. Interdependencies will slowly flow in and penetrate the community at large.

To identify new management training methods that enable prospective community managers to become more effective in developing the environment and place particular emphasis on methods that facilitate learning from experience and creative problem-solving.

There should be greater concern with development within church organisations at MGR. The church is no longer concerned with the soul alone, but with the welfare of the society. As a result these church ogranisations should expand their activities to include education and health care, but also support women's groups, environmental protection, agricultural productivity and a whole range of related development issues affecting groups of rural poor people.

There is a need to substantially reform and loosen centralised decision-making approaches. This can be achieved by strengthening the communications and feedback mechanisms that increase potential for self-direction and constructive participation at local levels, and are consistent with the development of society at large.

7.2.8. Land Ownership and Management

MGR is faced with many complex areas of land ownership and management policy and practice remain to be argued openly and in detail. Among these are:

- State, private sector, community and individual roles in land management.

- The extent and nature of rural development and the case for affirmative action.

- Socio-politically and environmentally appropriate systems of land tenure and the manner in which to implement tenure reform.

- MGR intervention and facilitative roles should be a development measure rather than a welfare gesture. It needs to allow the emergence of community dynamics that can enable these communities to move towards greater self-reliance. Do not give them bread rather give them methods of baking one.

7.2.9. Closing the Gap by Communication within the Communities

Box 3

- Employing established methods of community participation, where they exist and are acceptable to the community.
- Consultants/ researchers should work with community leaders and representative groups within the community.
- Appointing a locally based organisation or credible service organisation familiar with, and acceptable to, the community, to inform them of the proposal and to conduct meetings, workshops or interviews to ascertain the most appropriate form of community involvement.
- Display a simple and well-illustrated fact sheet of the proposal in prominent places (e.g. A notice-board in a community centre) and inviting concerned and interested people to meet with the proponent at a fixed time to discuss what form the community involvement should take, and
- Identifying key players, social groups or committees within the community through informal discussions and inviting them to participate in the process.

7.2.10 Economic Structures:

Organisations such as state, development agencies such as the DBSA, Ntsika Enterprises, Chambers of Commerce and Merchant Associations, can contribute a considerable amount of skill to the economic development process in the Madikwe District. The community should seek these institutions for guidance. It is essential to determine what each can contribute and to assess their economic development strength and credibility before they can be involved.

7.2.11. Political Institutions:

Local government together with traditional chiefs is the key to local economic development. Therefore, they must have substantive capacity through boards, commissions and agencies to be full participants. The political institutions need to avoid the narrow local

approach of tapping local resources only. They need to tap public administration skills, so that everyone knows who is responsible for arranging, programming or planning to ensure that development processes are compatible with their prioritised needs.

7.2.12. National Anti-Poverty Programme

A National anti-poverty programme, based on strong public and private sector support, but underpinned by a fundamental commitment of the state towards "bottom-up" redress is required. This should be aimed at generating new opportunities for access of the most depressed sectors to adult literacy, skills training, health-care provision and new job creation (e.g. public works, housing construction) programmes.

7.13. Research Approaches in Rural Areas

- Development practitioners need to tread a path between generating sufficient interest for community participation in development projects and that of raising hopes very carefully. While incentives are necessary for the success of participation, costs or measures to ensure the commitment and accountability of the community is of paramount importance.

- Modes of research which draw on a Freirean approach are directly concerned with relations of power which permeate relations between the researcher (or the developer) and those whom it involves and concerns. They recognise the aim to confront inequalities in access to resources and those produced by the intersection of differences in class, caste, 'race' age and gender. Affirming that people own knowledge is valuable, these approaches regard people as agents, capable of analysing their own situations and designing their own solutions.

- Participation commonly forms a central part of community development processes especially in sensitive and volatile issues of generating ownership, equity and empowerment
- If LED is considered a tool in developing the rural/urban areas, fluid situations pertaining to the involvement of local authorities and their role in SMME sector needs further research.

- Key issues' facing the government and development sector is poverty, illiteracy, and lack of skills in the rural areas especially in the former homelands. Research, possibly through pilot studies, is needed on land reform and land tenure arrangements, including the role played by chiefs in land allocation. The experiences of other African countries in carrying out land reform would also be helpful to review. The role of particular tenure arrangements in promoting sustainable development is a focus of concern; among those to be examined are communal form of tenure and the whole relationship of customary law with regard to land tenure.

7.14. Community-Based Ecotourism Development Strategy

Any community based ecotourism Development initiative must consider including the following:

- Mechanisms for communities to directly benefit from ecotourism revenues.

- The development of financial and legal mechanism to facilitate, not constrains, community-based ecotourism development.
- Improved information and communication within and between the community sector.

- Continued pursuit of the ecotourism market nationally, while striving to improve standards and criteria for services that are the cutting edge of this demand market.

- Develop support institutions for education and training and other forms of skill development within rural communities that will facilitate the youth's full participation in the ecotourism venture.

7.2.15. Community-Based Conservation and Development (CBCD)

This strategy can be adopted at Ramoreana tented lodge that is based at Molatedi village. Ramoreana is a community initiated and community owned project. Decentralised management, in conjunction with resource benefits, leads to institutional development at the community level. Local institutions are built through participatory process in which the critical element is choice. Communities have to establish the institution themselves but must make it sustainable and legitimate. This they can only achieve if they liase with MGR and RDC or alternatively can seek expect advise from consultants.

7.3. LED Future Institutional Strategies

Strategies can be drawn from proclaimed successes of effective LED implementation that have been noted in Cape Town, Durban and Stutterheim. The local authority set in motion various institutional developments that provided "a basis for the subsequent development of a coherent process of local planning" (Rogerson, p.9). The institutional process of developing a LED programme have been shifted from *ad hoc* intervention to a more coordinated approach, through the formation of economic standing committees. It is claimed that these economic standing committees are a "major success in terms of forging a dedicated economic capacity both to formulate an inclusive economic

intervention to a more coordinated approach, through the formation of economic standing committees. It is claimed that these economic standing committees are a "major success in terms of forging a dedicated economic capacity both to formulate an inclusive economic strategy and to identify key areas of LED intervention in the city" (Rogerson, p.9). In Strutte heim, Business Information Centre assists local entrepreneurs. It provides training and generate local job opportunities through the award of contracts to local contractors using labour-intensive practices.

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APPENDIX 1

Item list of discussions

A Employment

- Jobs that are directly associated with the proposed Madikwe project.
- Training is needed for the jobs defined or identified?
- Kinds of jobs that are currently occupied by employees from Molted, Lekgophung and Suping.
- Employment advertisement and selection procedures that are put in place

B Mafisa involvement and management procedures

- Capacity building
- Projects
- Business tenders

C. Discussions with village chiefs

- Benefits from MGR
- Expected benefits
- Their involvement, in decision making

- Training or workshops

D. Discussions with COD's, community.

- Land use and employment
- Benefits from MGR
- Expected benefits
- Their involvement, in decision making

Appendix 2.

Evaluation of Land Use Options

- The development of a wild based conservation and ecotourism destination (ie. A game reserve), which incorporated the "big five" would be the best form of land-use for the area.

- Once fully -established, the reserve would generate in excess of 1 200 jobs and an associated payroll in excess of R7.3 million per annum would enter the local economy;

- The spin-off effects of the reserve to the local economy, through linkages and multipliers, would be much higher than that for cattle ranching;

- The local economy, which is presently very dependent on agriculture,
  (Research problem) would be significantly diversified;

- The income accruing to government would be significantly increased (ie. Net present value of R26.2m compared to R8m from ranching) and the economic return on the government's investment would greatly exceed that of cattle ranching.

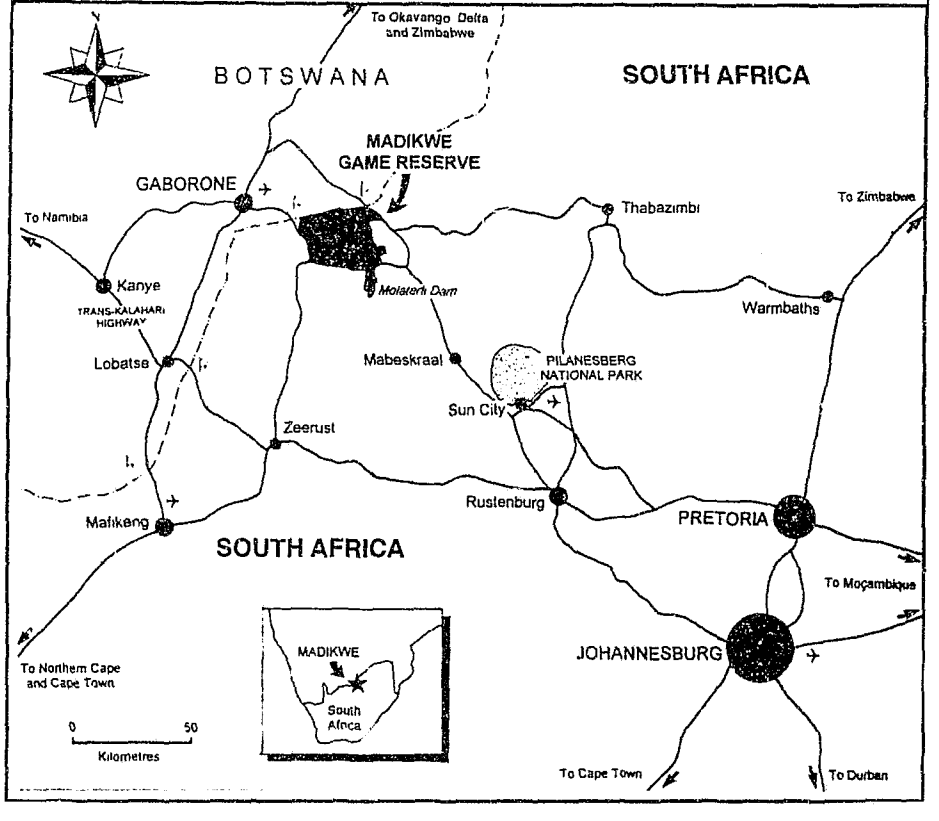
Cattle ranching, although not holding the same benefits as the tourism option, also has merit as a result of:

- Some business opportunities for successful farmers in Madikwe region may emerge;

- The capital investment and costs to government that would be significantly reduced as most of the necessary infrastructure already existed;

- The recurring costs to government from cattle ranching would be much less than those incurred by the wildlife-based ecotourism.

LOCATION OF MADIKWE GAME RESERVE



Appendix 4

A Summary of the Socio-Economic Study made by Perkins

- Communities living around Madikwe were underdeveloped and had very few economic opportunities available to them.

- They relied on income generated from outside the area with a large percentage (36 %) of the population living and employed away from their villages. Most did remit at least some of their income back into the area.

- A large section (73%) of the population was below the age of 20, while 10% was above the age of 5. This is typical of disadvantaged rural communities where large families are common and young and middle aged adults leave to search for employment elsewhere.

- Many (34%) were unemployed while only 66% was formally employed. Thus, only 0% of economically active people are employed in informal sector.

- A large number (35%) of adults were illiterate. This could limit their ability to take advantage of economic opportunities that require a certain level of education.

- Although agriculture accounted for a small amount (2%) to average household income, more than half of the population was involved, some way or another, in agricultural activity. This income was far below the minimum living level estimated at the time at R790 p.m. Per family. Further, in one of the villages, despite agriculture being the major economic activity in the area, it was shown that it was too limited to provide any welfare for almost half of the village's populace.

Appendix 5: A TYPOLOGY OF PARTICIPATION

Passive Participation

People Participate by being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.

Participation for Information giving

People participate by giving answers to questions posed by extractive researchers and project managers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research or project design are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.

Participation by Consultation

People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to views. These external agents define problems and solutions, and may modify these in he light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share in decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.

Participation for Material Incentives

People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Much *in situ* research falls in this category, as rural people provide the fields but are not involved in the experimentation or process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when the incentives end.

Functional Participation

People participate by forming groups to meet pre-determined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of externally-initiated social organisation. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decision have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external structures, but may become independent in time.

Self-mobilisation/active Participation

People Participate by taking initiatives independent of external institutions to change systems. Such self-initiated mobilisation and collective action may or may not challenge existing distribution of wealth and power.

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