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Constructing a joint vision for Johannesburg nature reserves: City Parks and users' committee engagements in Melville Koppies, Klipriviersberg and Kloofendal nature reserves

Mokgere, Tlholohelo

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Constructing a joint vision for Johannesburg nature reserves: City Parks and users' committee engagements in Melville Koppies, Klipriviersberg and Kloofendal nature reserves



Kloofendal Nature Reserve (Mokgere, May 2016)

Tlholohelo Mokgere (721930)

A research report submitted to the School of Architecture and Planning in the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for Bachelor of Science with Honours in Urban and Regional Planning

Declaration

I declare that this research report is my own. It is submitted for the Bachelor of Sciences with Honours degree in Urban and Regional Planning to the Faculty of Engineering and Built Environment, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

X

Tlholohelo Mokgere

Signed at University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg on 11 December 2016

Abstract

The research is about understanding the partnerships between Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo and nature reserves users' groups towards the joint management and development of urban nature reserves. It is a comparative study of three nature reserves (Klipriviersberg, Melville Koppies and Kloofendal nature reserves), where the engagements between the municipal entity and users' groups are studied through an ethnographic approach. It looks into genealogies and the nature of "partnerships", which are questioned under the concept of transformation, whose multiple dimensions are unpacked in post-apartheid Johannesburg.

Acknowledgments

This research would not have been possible without the aid and assistance of a number of people and organisations.

I would like to thank first my family, for believing in my dreams and aspirations and for providing me with the emotional and financial support to carry out this research.

I would like to thank the National Research Foundation and its collaborator, the Centre for Urbanism and Built Environment, which hosts the program *Practises of the States in Urban Governance* which this research is a part of. I am grateful for their financial investment into this project.

This research would not have been possible without the following organisations: Friends of Kloofendal Nature Reserve, Melville Koppies Management Committee and the Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve Forum. I thank the various members of these organisations for speaking to me and for welcoming me into their spaces, which I imagine was intimidating and sometimes uncomfortable.

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

AIC	African Independent Churches
ANC	African National Congress
CoJ	City of Johannesburg
CPF	Community Policing Forum
CUBES	Centre for Urbanism & Built Environment Studies
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme
FGASA	Field Guides Association of Southern Africa
FRoK	Friends of Kloofendal
JCPZ	Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo
KlipSA	Klipriviersberg Sustainability Association
KNR	Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve
KNRA	Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve Association
KNRF	Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve Forum
MKMC	Melville Koppies Management Committee
MKNR	Melville Koppies Nature Reserve
MoE	Municipal Owned Entity
MoA	Memorandum of Agreement
NPM	New Public Management
PSUG	Practises of the States in Urban Governance
SA	South Africa
SLA	Service-Level Agreement

Chapter 1: Introduction to the Research

1.1 Introduction

There is a growing need across municipalities to adopt more multi-pronged and less top-down approaches towards addressing the multitude of challenges that a state is faced with. These challenges range from a lack of strategic vision or direction to a lack of resources. Civil engagement has become an intrinsic and often mandatory aspect of urban management in that it avows transparency and accountability as well as also producing alternative avenues of resources in the form of funding, innovation and expertise (Ewalt, 2001).

Urban parks in South African cities are one of the many public service areas in which the state is gradually forming coalitions with communities in terms of service provision and maintenance. Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (JCPZ) is a municipal owned entity (MoE) within the City of Johannesburg (CoJ)[1] and is one such arena where civil engagement has become mandatory to City Park's fulfilment of its mandate. JCPZ stated in its *Corporate Strategic Plan* for the 2013 to 2017 period that the MoE was to be institutionally restructured (JCPZ, 2013). Prior to that date, City Parks and the Johannesburg Zoo operated as two separate entities under the municipality. This restructuring was for, amongst many reasons to increase financial sustainability as the Zoo generates income, while City Parks does not. Additionally, the restructuring was to improve institutional functionality and accountability. Preceding the 2013 restructuring, both municipal entities reported to the Environmental Sector of the metropolitan municipality. Following the restructuring, JCPZ was placed under the Community Development portfolio of the municipality where balancing biodiversity, culture and heritage, education and recreation could be better realised (JCPZ, 2013).

The restructuring might have also been to assist JCPZ in reasserting its power in parks where its presence had not been constant and recognised, the reasons of which and the beginning of this inactivity are not formally documented. In its absence, voluntary groups in nature reserves and parks assumed primary management roles. These groups are sometimes registered and established non-profit organisations which are

[1] JCPZ is a non-profit MoE under the CoJ metropolitan municipality, tasked with managing all green open spaces and cemeteries with regards to maintenance, development and conservation that fall under CoJ's jurisdiction (JCPZ, 2013).

increasingly known as Friends of the Park groups, based on a public green space management model common in the UK and the USA (Jones, 2002) – which JCPZ seemingly seeks to introduce and formalise for the management of green spaces under its auspices.

Finally, the restructuring presented intentions of socio-spatial transformation in terms of making nature reserves more accessible for more diverse user groups (in light of the spatial segregation of the apartheid period where such recreational spaces where cultivated in northern suburbs, mainly populated by white people), and democratising management (in terms of engaging with communities as well as addressing the perceptions of leadership legitimacy, specifically in relation to racial prejudice).

The institutional restructuring stated in the strategic document mandated JCPZ to start engaging with communities around all urban parks and reserves. This in part, is in order to expand the financial and the skills-based capacity required in order to fulfil certain functions that it cannot fulfil itself due to resource constraints. Additionally, within this process of community engagement, communities can play a more active role in developing visions for public green spaces. Ideas received from communities can be useful in creating inviting spaces that are responsive to people's needs and are thus well utilised. Engagement could also encourage communities to cultivate a vested interest and thus contribute to the protection and maintenance of these spaces.

This mandate to interact with the voluntary management groups of the users in parks and nature reserves (or to encourage the formation of such groups where they do not exist) can be understood as the fulfilment of the public participation obligation as well as a way to tap into resources that are possessed by different members and groups within communities.

1.2 Problem Statement

JCPZ by mandate has to engage with communities (along with or through the users' groups, sometimes referred to as Friends of the Parks, that represent them) in order to improve management (JCPZ, 2013). In engaging with communities, issues such as history, cultural differences, accessibility - for instance - are dynamics that affect how stakeholders engage with each other. JCPZ's strategic document does not make any explicit inferences towards transformation. However, given the different dynamics at play, the concept of transformation will be used in this research as an analytical conceptual framework of engagement.

The research will focus on the users' groups of three nature reserves: Kloofendal, Melville Koppies and Klipriviersberg nature reserves. All three reserves have well-established users' groups (registered as NPO's and acknowledged as the representatives of users in their respective surrounding communities) and have been active within their spaces for over ten years and thus have been interacting with JCPZ for quite a period of time. The relationships that JCPZ has with the three nature reserve committees are different, more or less developed, more or less conflict driven and constructive.

The hypothesis is that each voluntary group has engaged differently with the question of transformation, giving it a different meaning. The result is dualistic in that it has affected relationships with City Parks at large, and its officials in particular, while also affecting how transformation is conceptualised by community members themselves. One way of analysing the contested understandings of transformation is to look comparatively at the processes of co-defining a vision for the nature reserves in each of the three case studies.

Three main dimensions of transformation will be analysed. The first is state transformation, which focuses on how power has or has not been shared between officials and users' groups. The second dimension is that of access in nature reserves which discusses issues around use and user diversity. The third and final dimension discusses views and perceptions of legitimacy in terms of skills and expertise, which is highly racialised in South Africa.

1.3 Rationale

For the purpose of this research, the focus will be on the relationship that is being built between JCPZ (and particularly a number of officials within the MoE that are involved in community engagement) and users' management groups of the three nature reserves.

Nature conservators and conservation specialists are JCPZ officials that are in charge of one or more nature reserves, ridges, bird sanctuaries and state owned farms with regards to coordinating daily maintenance such as refuse removal, security issues and grounds maintenance (grass cutting, landscaping, cleaning of toilets etc.). The aforementioned experts are employed in the Protected Areas unit of City Parks, under the supervision of the Manager of Protected Areas. More broadly, as documented by the work of Bosaka (2015) the Environmental Education Unit and the Stakeholders Liaison Unit are involved in community engagement. The former employs environmental education officers whose functions include awareness programs, exhibitions and

domestic farming guidance for example. Their role extends towards the whole metropolitan area and is not limited to nature reserves. In the latter, four Stakeholder Liaison Officers focus on one or two administrative regions in which they are intended to facilitate community engagement.

Management/users' groups are committees and forums composed of members of the community surrounding a nature reserve. These are often, registered non-profit organisations that assist in the everyday maintenance and management of nature reserves, engage in marketing the reserves through the organisation of events for instance, and often garnering funding for specific improvements to nature reserves. Management groups are diverse and can promote different interests. Some are chiefly concerned with nature conservation and are strong advocates for environmental preservation, protection and education; some are focused on promoting sports and outdoor recreational activities, while others are more oriented towards tourism and development.

1.4 Expected Contribution of Research

The existing literature on the management of public green spaces such as parks and nature reserves is limited, particularly in South Africa. Much of the existing literature on these spaces focuses on conservation and development, and very little on the dialogues that take place between the different interested and affected parties involved in decision-making. The Centre for Urbanism & Built Environment Studies (CUBES) at university of the Witwatersrand hosts the research programme "Practises of the States in Urban Governance" (PSUG), which is concerned with understanding how the state works in practise to shape cities and urban societies - here understood through engagements and partnerships between the state and communities. Under this programme, - research has been conducted on how Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo has engaged with users of public green spaces.

In 2015, three Honours level reports were produced through CUBES. Two of the reports took a keen focus on understanding JCPZ's officials' views and experiences of, and approaches to participatory governance (Bosaka 2015 and Mavuso, 2016), while the third report explored the same issues from the context of user's groups of two parks (Hadebe, 2016). One park was located in the north of Johannesburg, between predominantly white populated suburbs, while the other was located in the south of Johannesburg where the population group was only black. Concurrently, a class research group of third year students undertook studies to understand participatory

governance through the lens of users' management groups of five public green spaces in Johannesburg, including Klipriviersberg and Melville Koppies nature reserves (two of the three chosen areas of study for this research report). The existing information on these two nature reserves (collated by Baloyi et al, 2015 and Hopa et al, 2015, respectively) has provided a level of familiarity that has made interacting with users' groups relatively easy. It has also exposed various entry points of engagement.

For the most part, these studies have been one-sided, focusing on either JCPZ officials' perspectives or those of the users' groups. This particular research will look at both sides simultaneously in an attempt to provide a more nuanced and balanced understanding of the different stakeholders' perceptions, attitudes and decisions.

1.5 Research Aims and Objectives

Given the background provided in the introduction of the research, and the problem statement, the research seeks:

- To understand what types of engagement take place between JCPZ and reserve users' groups and how conflicts and cooperation have manifested themselves in these engagements.
- To understand how the various engagements contribute to the definition of one or several visions for the future of the nature reserve.

Functional participation is a term used to describe goal or outcome oriented public participation. It is not limited to fulfilling the terms of a particular physical or tangible project, it also entails the ability for all participants to take part in decision-making (Cornwall, 2008). Vision building was chosen as the main theme in this research because it presents the opportunity to explore what and how a goal has or will been achieved. The idea of a vision in this instance is used to understand how engagement has crystallised; in other words, what and how goals have been defined throughout the engagement process.

1.6 Research Question and Sub-questions

The research question is formulated on the basis of assessing and understanding the developments that have come about in the interactions between JCPZ and nature reserves' users' groups. The main question and the sub-questions take cognisance of the fact that participation is, itself a developmental process. It is dependent on a

variety of factors such as but not limited to civic skills and organisational management (Glaser, 2015).

- To what extent are nature reserve committees and Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo developing joint visions for the nature reserves they are co-managing?

    1. What is the history of engagement between JCPZ and users' groups and how does that history affect the current engagement between the two parties?

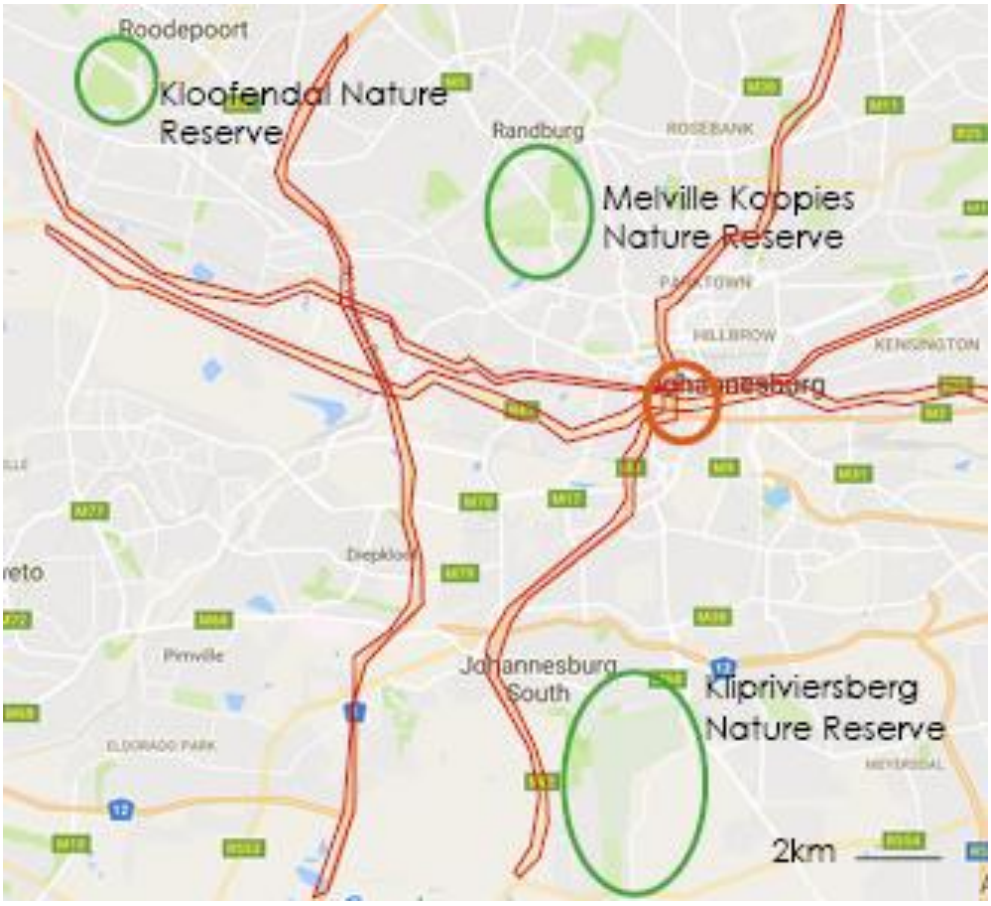
    2. What (formal and informal) processes and instruments are used by each party to shape, debate and communicate their vision for the park?

    3. To what extent are the visions for the nature reserves reflecting contested meanings of transformation?

1.7 Context and Background

This section of the research will present the case study areas (the three nature reserves and their users' groups) and the key departments in JCPZ that will contribute to the research findings.

The three nature reserves are chosen as a comparative study of the different relationships that each reserve users' group has with the specific officials in JCPZ. An overview of the three nature reserves is presented below, outlining the salient points that justify the selection of these specific nature reserves. This section also outlines the hierarchical and organisation structure of the recently institutionalised JCPZ and the departments or units that were accessed for this research report.



Map 1.7.1: Location of Kloofendal, Melville Koppies and Klipriviersberg in Johannesburg in relation to each other, major roads and the inner city (Google maps, nd))

1.7.1 Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve

Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve (KNR) is located in the southern periphery of Johannesburg between the suburbs Mondeor, Kibler Park and Glenvista. The closest public transport road to the reserve is the Old Johannesburg Road, which is further than a five metre radius of the entrance on Peggy Vera Road, and even further than the Impala Road entrance. This makes it relatively difficult to reach the reserve through public transport. The reserve is surrounded by various other public parks and open spaces, as well as the Thaba Eco Estate and Hotel to its immediate west, which offers hiking and biking trails, amongst other things (Thaba Eco Hotel, 2016).



Map 1.7.2: Klipriviersberg nature reserve and surrounding suburbs (Mokgere, 2016)

Engagement at this reserve takes place through the Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve Forum (KNRF), which has only officially been in existence since October 2015. The forum was formed in an effort to overcome conflicts between the three main stakeholders which are JCPZ, Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve Association (KNRA), established in 1981 and Klipriviersberg Sustainability Association(KlipSA), established in 2008. The forum is comprised of JCPZ officials, the KNRA (a registered NPO that works to protect the reserve in terms of conservation and to market the space), KlipSA (a local conservancy group), BaKwena ba Mogopo (a representative group of the Batswana heritage site located in the reserve), Johannesburg South Garden Club, local environmental and bird-watching clubs, The Happy Hobblers Walking Club, Thaba Eco Estate and Hotel and Community Police Forums (CPFs) for the surrounding suburbs. It is also open to any other groups and residents that have an interest in the reserve (Diener, interview 2016; Ngobeli, interview 2016 and Shoba, interview 2016).

There are currently community consultations in process concerning the development of a master plan for the reserve. This follows contention over a previous master plan that City Parks had commissioned in 2005 (Baloyi et al, 2015). The disputes between JCPZ

and the other stakeholders resulted predominantly from a lack of consultation with the community, proposals for drastic change in the existing image of the reserve, as well as inadequate attention paid to national conservation statutes (ibid).

It is interesting to note that this particular reserve is approximately 700 hectares, which makes it a large nature reserve in need of an extensive amount of resources with regards labour, equipment and expertise. The reserve's large size presents opportunities for various income generating recreational activities, which were highlighted in the 2005 master plan

1.7.2 Melville Koppies Nature Reserve

This reserve is in the north-western part of Johannesburg, within the Randburg area. It is located between the Emmarentia and Melville suburbs. The reserve is divided into the central, eastern and western sections. The central part has controlled access, with members of the committee and JCPZ officials possessing the keys to its gates (Carstens, interview 2016 and Mkhombo, interview 2016). The eastern part is open to the public; however, its access gates are well ensconced within gated residential communities. The western part is the only section of the reserve that is fully open to the public and it is close to a major motorway, Beyers Naudé. The motorway is a major taxi route, making it the most accessible section of the nature reserve.

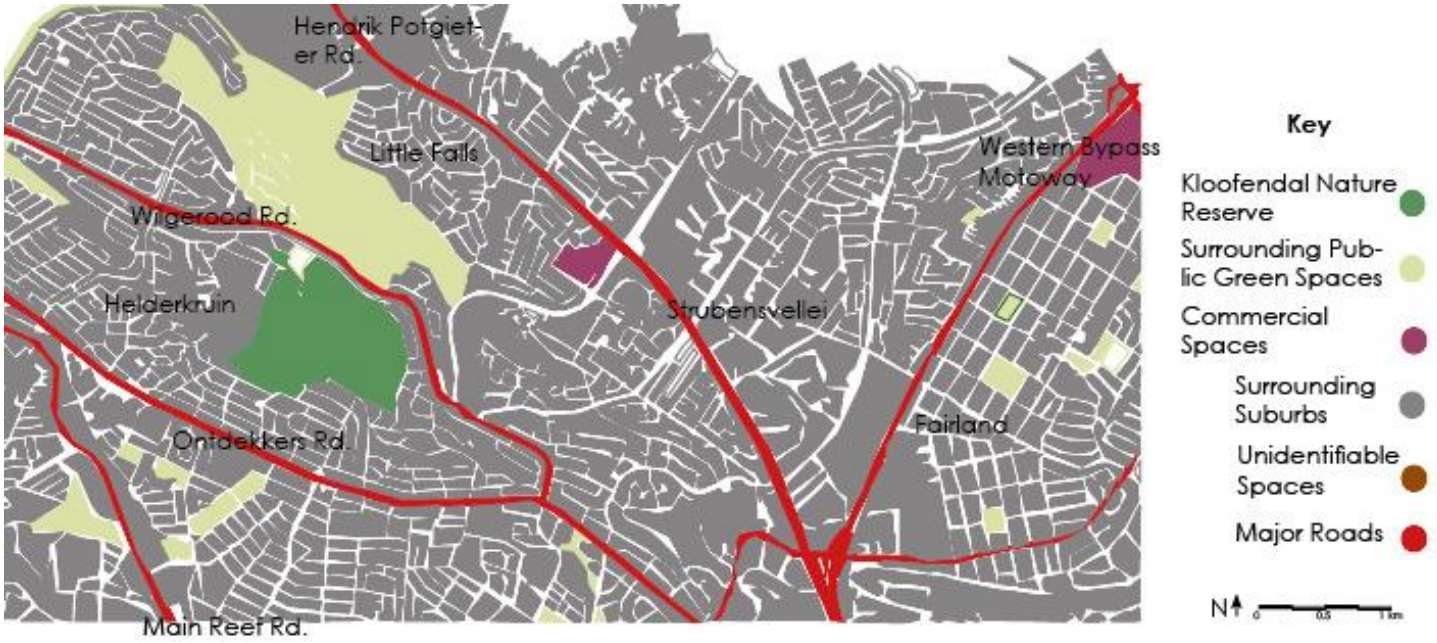


Map 1.7.3: Melville Koppies nature reserve and surrounding suburbs (Mokgere, 2016)

Melville Koppies Management Committee (MKMC) is the main voluntary group in the reserve. The African Independent Churches (AIC) form part of the reserve's stakeholders and management group as it represents churches that make frequent use of the reserve as their place of worship and act as eyes and ears of the reserve. According to Hopa et al (2015), there is weak engagement between the two abovementioned stakeholders and JCPZ, with MKMC often acting autonomously. The tension, as perceived by the reserve's management committee is that JCPZ is negligent, placing maintenance responsibilities in their hands which the committee has to fund with their own resources.

1.7.3 Kloofendal Nature Reserve

Kloofendal Nature Reserve is located in the suburb Kloofendal in Roodepoort.



Map 1.7.4: Kloofendal nature reserve and surrounding suburbs (Mokgere, 2016)

In 2015, the chairperson of Friends of Kloofendal (FRoK) expressed the committee's interest in being part of the research series on parks management via email

correspondence with Claire Bénit-Gbaffou (on 11 August 2015), the series' coordinator. However, this was not possible at that time, as case study areas had already been chosen. Another contributing factor to the selection of the reserve as part of this research is the committee's formal agreement with the Environmental Educational Unit of JCPZ in the form of a Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) - signed in February 2016. The agreement stipulates that the committee is to provide guided tours to schools, an interactive learning method recognized by the Department of Education (Friends of Kloofendal, nd). The reserve, in return has access to the nature reserve's facilities and to the ecological centre located in the reserve for the various collective activities that they wish to organise in the reserve (guided walks, bird watching, stargazing, environmental lectures etc.).

This type of agreement is not common in JCPZ and presents an opportunity to explore how such an engagement can be used to perhaps redefine or improve relationships between City Parks and management groups.

1.7.4 A comparison of the basic data of the three nature reserves

The research is intended to provide a deeper analysis of the nature of relationships and partnerships that have developed between JCPZ, nature reserve committees and closely associated stakeholders. In the case of the first two reserves mentioned, the analysis will be in order to complement the existing knowledge and research, while the third nature reserve will provide a different alternative to the approach to partnership formation between nature reserve committees and JCPZ.

The table below provides a summary of basic elements from each nature reserve that are pertinent to this comparative study. The size of the nature reserve is more significant in the case of KNR due to the intentions for development that have been presented in master plans. The nature and size of the users' group is useful in understanding the skills and capacity that can be contributed towards management of a nature reserve, while the presence of or lack of a formal agreement between JCPZ and a community group can be indicative of the type of relationship that is being built between stakeholders. The charging of entrance fees is a typically contentious issue in a "public open space" and speaks to arguments of the commodification of public open spaces. Finally, the main focus of engagement between stakeholders summarises what the main areas of contention, and of growth are in the different partnerships.

	Melville Koppies Nature Reserve	Kloofendal Nature Reserve	Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve
Size of reserve (ha) (JCPZ, nd)	141.6	125,5	713
Nature/ size of the users group	MKMC (14 members), AIC (church groups)	FRoK (8 main members)	KNRF (over 5 stakeholder groups)
Location/ accessibility	Accessible by taxi (Beyers Naudé)	Limited public transport access	Limited public transport access
Master/ Concept plan	Out-dated (date unknown)	Out-dated (date unknown)	April 2016 Concept Plan - rejected, new plan under process
Type of agreement	Undocumented – joint venture agreement	MoA signed in February 2016	Undocumented for KNRA, Open forum
Entrance fee	R 50 per adult, R 20 per child into central side of MK	Free	Free
Main focus of engagement	Conservation and general maintenance	Conservation and environmental education	Conservation and development

Table 1.7.1: Summary of key comparative elements of the nature reserves

In all three cases, it is important to note once more that these nature reserves are located in suburbs previously designated for white populations. Such groups are more likely to have had more access to higher education and thus possess certain expertise to contribute to the management of these spaces. These are perhaps not as easily found in parks and reserves in the south of the city. Furthermore, this means that the majority of the users, the committees and forums that represent them are predominantly white.

	Melville Koppies	Kloofendal	Klipriviersberg
Ward number and Suburb	Ward 87: Emmarentia	Ward 85: Kloofendal	Ward 23, 54: Kibler Park/Mondeor /Glenvista
Population Group Composition	Black: 26% White: 42% Coloured: 2% Asian/Indian: 27% Other: 3%	Black: 17% White: 75% Coloured: 5% Asian/Indian: 2% Other: 1%	Black: 35% White: 42% Coloured: 11% Asian/Indian: 10% Other: 2%
Post-Matric Education (all groups)	36%	35%	30%

Table 1.7.2: Statistics for case study areas (Quantec, 2011)

Racial differences accompany with them different histories and practices, which could possibly affect the views or perceptions around how the reserves are and should be used. The statistical information on post-matric education is significant in that, many members of users' groups possess tertiary level education and bring with them some level of expertise or resource to the management of the reserve. For instance, in MKMC, one of the committee members teaches postgraduate level Religious Studies and makes use of that in her role as liaison between the AIC and MKMC (Shaw, interview 2016). In the case of FRoK, the activities and environmental education coordinator is a FGASA[2] certified guide. At KNR, qualified professionals in ecological management, town planning, and game management for instance, contribute to the discussions around security, development and conservation of the KNR.

1.7.5 JCPZ Officials

The JCPZ corporate strategic document outlined its process of institutionalisation. In relation to this, an organogram was designed depicting the structure of positions and departments in the MoE. It is useful in understanding which areas are involved in community engagement as well as locating the departments or units wherein officials were spoken to in this research (as shown by the thick, dashed outlines).

[2] FGASA is acronym for Field Guides Association of Southern Africa. It is a professional association for guides, offering educational curriculums broadly in environmental processes and conservation (FGASA, nd).

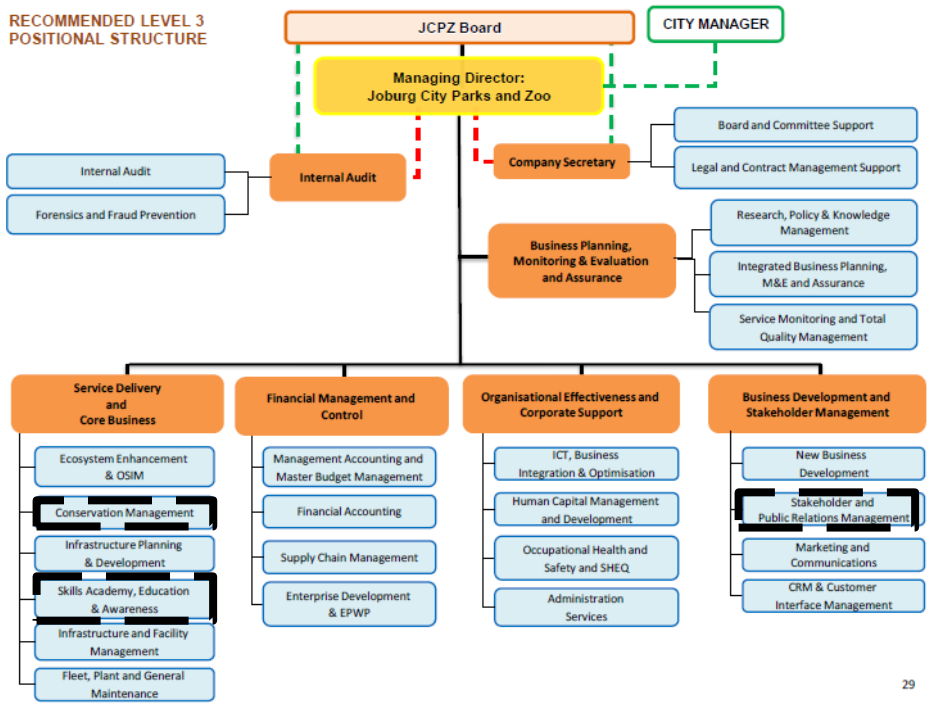


Figure 1.7.1: Organisational structure of JCPZ and accessed departments (adapted from JCPZ's Corporate Strategic Plan 2013/14- 2017/18, 2016:83)

Officials that were engaged with include:

- The manager of Protected Areas, and two nature conservators. According to Shoba (interview 2016) conservator A, is based in the north-western part of Johannesburg at Kloofendal nature reserve, and conservator B, is based in the south of Johannesburg at KNR. These officials fall under the Conservation Management unit.
- Two environmental education officers - from the Skills, Academy, Education and Awareness unit and;
- A stakeholder liaison officer - from the Stakeholder and Public Relations Management unit).

Units under the Service Delivery and Core Business department are those that deal with the day-to-day operations such as cleaning, alien vegetation removal etc. Additionally, it is also where projects physically take place and where communities are interacted

with e.g. through awareness programs and domestic farming workshops. It is obvious that this department depends a lot on its administrative and financial counterparts, however, the Stakeholder and Public Relations Management department is equally as important as it facilitates relationships between the officials in charge of the daily operations in reserves, and the community groups that they have to interact with.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

The literature review relevant for this research is divided into three thematic areas, namely: public green space management, participatory practises, and conservation versus development debates. The works reviewed respond to this research' attempt to have a better understanding of institutional practises in urban management, particularly the management and maintenance of public green spaces. Additionally, the review is to help better understand and perhaps overcome the challenges of resource insufficiency, and aligning the development and management of public spaces to environmental conservation.

2.2 Management of Public Green Spaces

There is limited literature regarding the management of public urban green spaces. The existing literature focuses on public open spaces in general, such as courtyards and landmarks. In particular, there is limited academic literature regarding how the management of urban green spaces has been approached in an era in which the general delivery of state goods and services is under increased scrutiny. Documentation and research exists in these broader fields of governance restructuring.

Ewalt (2001) makes note of the increased critique on state service provision and draws emphasis on the notion of governance and how this can reduce the pressure on the state. She asserts that there no longer exist central, all-powerful states of the Weberian sense with regards to administration; rather, we live in an 'organizational society' in which multiple organizations and programs are necessary for governing.

Various paradigms and models of governance such as 'New Public Management' (NPM) or the World Bank promoted ideology of 'Good Governance' have become adopted as dominant approaches to governing cities and improving state effectiveness. While such methods focus more on private sector and professional driven practises, they do endorse a shift from emphasis on the hierarchical machine known as government. Furthermore, the inclusion of non-governmental bodies, such as users' groups is argued to provide a more flexible way of public service/product provision while also increasing overall accountability (Savitch and Vogel, 2000). Bouckaert and Pollitt (2011), in contrast make the point that with the increased scrutiny on government to increase transparency and accountability, a myriad of methods have been

established to manipulate processes put into place to increase the public's access to information, therefore compromising the argument of transparency. More importantly, emphases on the aims of 'increasing transparency and accountability' are sometimes, if not often, used to legitimise administration actions to the public. In fact, politicians and bureaucrats make use of alternative ways of ensuring that the discussions and transactions for 'sensitive decisions' occur without leaving any paper trail (idem). Moreover, albeit the NPM goals of outsourcing and partnering with non-governmental bodies might be useful in developing partnerships with the public, the model's effectiveness is also dependent on the context in which it is applied. For instance, in 'developing countries' where the political systems are often centralist and conservative and where the infrastructure (e.g. ICT) and certain market based skills are limited, the model might be ineffective or regressive for the development (Mongkol, 2011).

Jones (2002), while exploring partnerships in public park management, similarly advocates for commitment and collaborative cooperation between the state - which is commonly known as the proponents of top-down strategies - and the voluntary or civil society groups - which are typically categorised as being bottom-up, less rigid and less technical in strategy. He takes considerable cognisance of this in his development of a framework for what he calls 'Resource Expansioning'. The framework is based on how collaboration between the state and park committees can work together in order to increase the functional resources available to manage public green spaces. He states that the framework has three stages. The first stage focuses on the identification of problem and issues that need to be addressed and the subsequent call for public participation with committee groups. In the second stage, there are often cases of inertia with regards to power sharing, decision making and trusting throughout the participation process. The third stage of the framework is characterised by a change in mind-set and the adoption of cooperative attitudes towards the state by voluntary groups. It is this last stage in the participatory process that is of paramount interest in the co-management and future development of nature reserves, but it is equally as important for the state to adopt a more cooperative mind-set to public participation and power sharing (ibid).

The framework is useful in that it provides a guiding scheme to understanding the difficulty of creating and maintaining beneficial partnerships between JCPZ officials and voluntary reserve groups and how an attempt can be made to mitigate or respond to the difficulties.

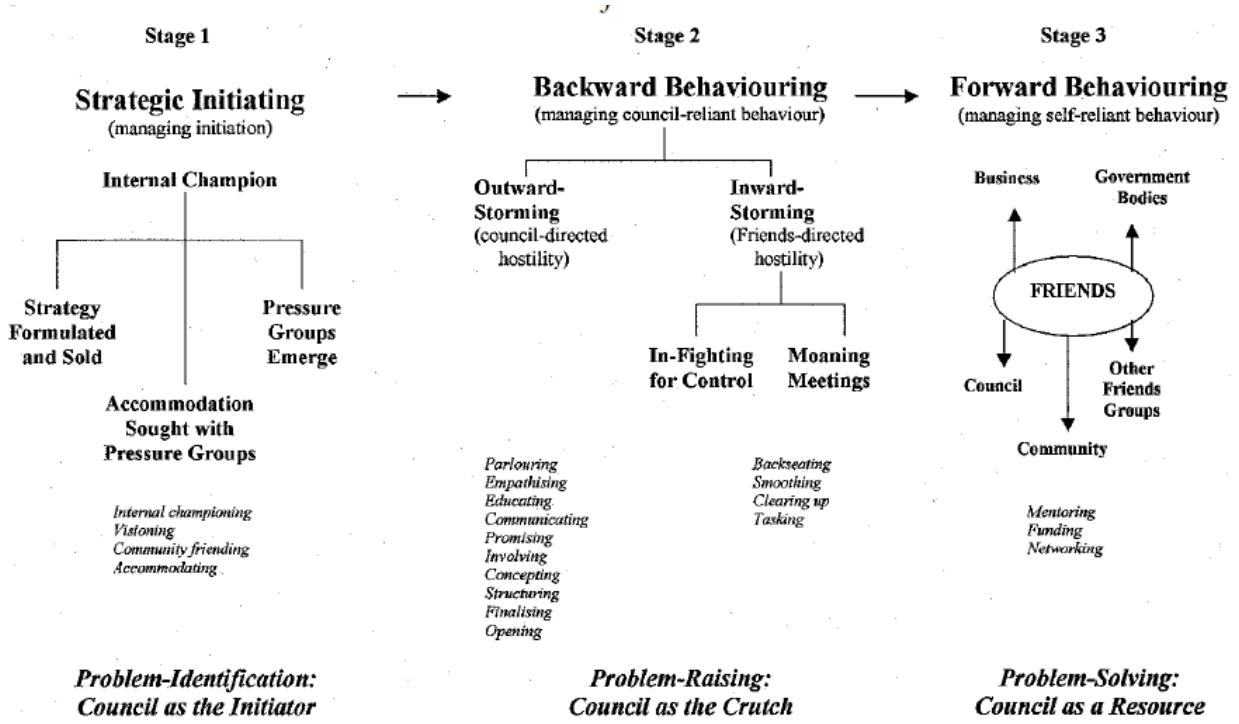


Figure 2.2.1: Resource Expansioning framework (Jones, 2002)

Bosaka (2015), in her study of the challenges experienced by JCPZ officials regarding the process of community participation, chronicles some of the difficulties and complexities that Jones makes reference to. Through Bosaka's (2015) account, it is evident that while a problem may be established, such as the lack of funding for the state to solely maintain parks, solutions are not necessarily reached by all participants. The resistance to trust and cooperate with JCPZ officials by users' groups is symbolic of a variety of issues and perceptions around the role of the state and its municipal owned entities.

There is a lack of information and understanding of the limits of the state such as their financial and administrative capacity. Furthermore, some officials themselves view engaging in the participatory processes as relinquishing their power. This could be said to contribute to resistance - and to extension - it contributes to being stuck in one stage of the resource expansioning process that Jones presents.

Communities and reserve committees tend to react in frustration when responses from City officials are not prompt and are divergent to what they deem appropriate. The predominant issue is that of communication whereby one stakeholder reacts in

frustration and makes decisions without the consultation or consideration of the other. The reports on Melville Koppies and Klipriviersberg nature reserves record that sometimes stakeholders reach an impasse on a certain matter which contributes to officials' view that consultative and participative practices are tedious and lengthy, (Baloyi et al, 2015 and Hopa, et al, 2015).

In Golden Harvest Park (one of the five third-year case studies), the users' group, Friends of Golden Harvest Park (FoGHP) and the manager of the park had organised monthly meetings in which to engage and to share solutions (Hanyane et al, 2015). Typical of many community engagements, there were instances of moaning and complaining about issues, however, both parties were able to use the space to express their discontent. The roles of stakeholders were relatively well defined, and the manager made explicit what his and his departments' limitations were. Committee members mobilised to acquire resources to supplement where City Parks was unable to (for instance, helping with litter picking, alien invasive removal and acquiring pet litter bins for the high level of pet-walkers). This was indicative of the committee helping in resolving issues and also becoming more self-reliant in growing their community space but this progress was not at the same rate as that of City Parks. What was observed was 'vertical stretching', wherein the committee wants more technical support from the manager to match their various endeavours (Jones, 2002). This took the form of urging the manager to more actively drive the initiative to have the contaminated dam in the park cleaned. This followed the committee commissioning a company of experts to test the water and provide recommendations on how this can be resolved. The committee suggested that cleaning the dam would make it more attractive for boat rowing, thus creating an income revenue that would assist City Parks in maintaining the reserve.

The partnership at Golden Harvest Park was not perfect. Every stakeholder had shortcomings but what was outstanding in the relationship was that there was a cognisance that management of Golden Harvest Park did not merely entail City Parks and the immediate department working with FoGHP, there are bureaucratic and administrative challenges that also impede officials from the doing their jobs. FoGHP was exemplary in that they made use of their own networks and initiatives to increase resources available for the maintenance of the park.

Similarly, Mavuso (2016) emphasises the importance of a partnership between JCPZ and community groups. He argues that it is imperative to include community members in the design and conceptual stages of green space development. His argument is that even stakeholder preferences affect the success of a space. For instance, engaging

more institutionalised interested groups rather than smaller, less prominent groups and residents is symbolic. This in itself conveys messages on what uses and which uses are considered legitimate within the space. The result is a lost opportunity for JCPZ to increase buy-in into a development and thus, increase the number of people willing and able to contribute to the management of the space. This is relevant in understanding City Parks' motivations for development at Klipriviersberg nature reserve.

The concept of management in itself is tricky and has a number of dimensions, as can be seen in the cases of Hanyane et al (2015) and Mavuso (2016). Management entails here a set of technical details and ways of doing guiding everyday practices of stakeholders in charge of the park. However, management can be used as a tool to understand what consensus has been reached in terms of process and in terms of outcome. The focus of this research is comprehending how the notion of a 'vision', encapsulates different interests and motives and merges them or moves them in a parallel direction.

2.3 The Value of Participatory Practises

The established need for collaboration in the form of public-private partnerships means that consultation and deliberation is necessary for all parties involved. Public participation presents a useful tool in social transformation by empowering community members and providing a platform on which some level of consensus, agreement or compromise can be reached within processes of development (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2015). However, public engagement practises are often approached in a tick- box manner rather than as a legitimate collaborative process. Politically, public participation can be used to appease communities and rather than fostering a democratic environment of consultation, politicians or other figures in authority can use participation to legitimise and reproduce inequalities. In other words, to understand public participation processes, it is necessary to acknowledge that political objectives of parties as well as those of individual leaders play a key role in driving why and for whom things are done (Bénit-Gbaffou, 2015).

The section begins first with discussing prevalent manifestations of public participation by looking at common typologies. The second part of this section discusses the invited and invented forms of public participation and how these are used by communities and officials to communicate certain issues.

2.3.1 Types and Levels of Participation

In understanding community consultation, Arnstein's *Ladder of Citizen Participation* presents a useful typology in which one can differentiate between participation and non-participation within the process of engagement. This assists us in recognising when the process of engagement is not undertaken in fairness of all stakeholders.

Arnstein presents 'Manipulation' and 'Therapy' at the lowest levels of the ladder, as they are indicative of deliberate non-consultation. This is where power-holders mostly *talk at* participants rather than *talk to* participants (1969: 217). The next four rungs are the most pertinent to this research. 'Informing', 'Consultation' and 'Placation' entail leaders informing communities of what needs to be done, and perhaps also hearing what they have to say, however without any guarantee that the final decision will indeed take into consideration their opinions. 'Partnership' characterises a level of engagement where leaders and communities collectively negotiate and come about with suggestions and solutions to problems.

This model of participation provides a useful critique of common practises by City officials or those in power, but it does not factor in the intersectionality of the stakeholders involved. For instance, the case study areas in this research report are in predominantly white, middle to upper class populated suburbs. Prior to JCPZ's restructuring and resurgence as the custodians of the space, these groups had a lot of 'citizen control' in how the reserves were managed. While Arnstein draws awareness to very strong and explicit portrayals of non-participation for community groups, particularly marginalised groups, this neglects how said groups can use their historical power to delegitimise the role of city officials, especially those that are of a different class, race and culture. Her formulation highlights the importance of democracy in civil engagement - equal right to be heard, rather than complete control by either the state or community groups (who might have views that are conservative, xenophobic, racist, sexist etc. that exclude other community group).

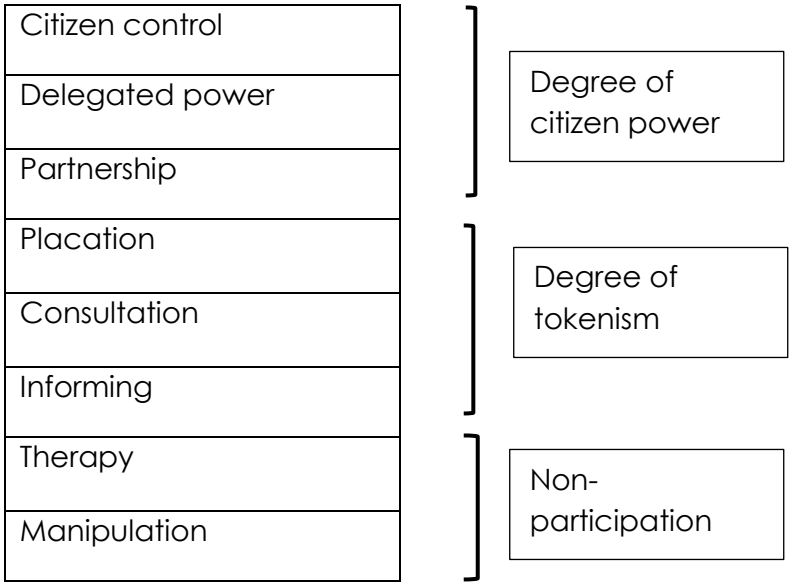


Figure 2.3.1: Arnstein's (1969) "Eight Rungs on a Ladder of Citizen Participation"

In the three nature reserves, "partnership" is presented as the objective but is often not reflected in practise or through interactions; however, an attempt towards partnership is seen in the case of Kloofendal nature reserve, symbolised and reflected in a formal Memorandum of Agreement defining the respective roles of the partners.

Cornwall (2008) in concurrence discusses Pretty's (1995) typology, which also provides degrees of participation that are along an axis of participation and non-participation. In this typology, 'Self-mobilisation' is when community members independently take it upon themselves to garner resources or establish networks that provide tangible and technical assistance. These resources and networks are retained by the community.

This is seen in the case of Melville Koppies nature reserve where much of the technical problems are addressed using resources held by the members of the committee. For instance, the repairing of the nature reserve's slats is done by a member of the committee who owns a metal works business, while land and boundary based issues are handled by a committee member who works in the local council's office.

Pretty's (1995) typology is a more practical tool in comparison Arnstein's model in that one can try to locate a situation or scenario to its closest description in order to understand how much power the users' group had in that particular instance. It is useful in that it provides a more broader analysis of participatory actions, that is less defined

than Arnstein's model, but is more aware of the human element of participation (differences in agendas, attitudes, organisational power etc.).

Type	Characteristics of each type
Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretence, with 'people's' representatives on official boards, but who are un-elected and have no power.
Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by an administration or project management without any listening to people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. External agents define problems and information-gathering processes, and so control analysis. 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 contributing resources, for example, labour, in return for food, cash or other material incentives. Farmers may provide the fields and labour, but are involved in neither experimentation nor the process of learning. It is very common to see this 'called' participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs. People may participate by forming groups to meet predetermined objectives related to the project. Such involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents. At worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals.
Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals. The process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control over local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
Self-mobilization	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over how resources are used. Self-mobilization can spread if government and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Such self-initiated mobilization may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.

Table 2.3.2: Pretty's (1995) typology of participation (Cornwall, 2008)

2.3.2 Platforms of Participation: Invented and Invited Spaces

Inherent in the consultation process is the issue of where and how participation takes place. Is it in a space where all parties feel comfortable to express themselves? Is it a policed and regulated space that suppresses stakeholders? Are some parties subject to the terms and conditions set out by another party for consultation to take place?

Invited spaces of participation are those platforms that are created by community leaders, politicians or whoever has initiated the participatory process. These spaces are

usually structured or regulated and thus, are controlled by those leading the public participation process (Cornwall, 2008). Oftentimes, the accessibility of meetings (geographic area and the time of the meeting) serve to exclude certain members of the public, which limits their opportunity to voice their opinions on public matters, and within itself decides a 'type of person' that can participate in the consultative process and thus socially excludes certain groups (Gervais-Lambony, 2015).

Regulation and control of participation in an invited space is not only about the physical space in which City officials want to conduct the participatory process, but it is also about the agenda that they set (Miraftab, 2004). Meetings to consult with communities are usually driven by a certain issue, whether it is to legitimise a certain decision or in actual fact to partner with the public, either way, such meetings are brought about by the need to address specific problems which sets the parameters of the discussion in terms of scale and/or scope - which can limit oppositional opinion and sway the public towards certain opinions (Gervais-Lambony, 2015).

Given that invited spaces are regulated and controlled, they are viewed as areas where civil engagement is more recognised. In this sense, state officials or leaders of public participation often obscure communities' attempts to get their voices across unless such discussions occur in sanctioned spaces and times (Miraftab, 2004).

In the case of KNR, the consultation regarding the development of the nature reserve was initially based on a master plan that JCPZ had already had prepared. The agenda was not to co-create a master plan and find out what the community envisions for the reserve; rather it limited their comments and contributions to objections of an existing master plan (Baloyi et al, 2015). Engagement in this manner was already based on a set of arrangements and conditions.

Invented spaces are those that people have established themselves through their own networks and perhaps their own agendas (Cornwall, 2008). These spaces are created often in response to the challenge that communities face in engaging meaningfully with authorities in spaces that they have been invited to (Rubin and Smith, 2015). An obvious example of this are the monthly meetings held by the nature reserve committees and forums. While JCPZ officials are invited to these meetings, they are chaired by committee and forum members, who also set up agendas and thus have more control on what is to be engaged with.

In an effort to circumvent participation within invited spaces where they feel they are not being heard, groups make uses of their own resources in the form of networks and

relationships with community bodies for example local newspapers, to make their discontent known. This, naturally, affects the image of JCPZ with reference to its mandate to engage more with communities. This is characteristic of grassroots strategies that communities employ so that they have the power to decide what is communicated within formalised and invited platforms of communication (Miraftab, 2005).

Kloofendal and Klipriviersberg nature reserves have made use of such grassroots strategies that Miraftab (2005) speaks of. The former makes use of local newspapers to present the work the committee does and to portray themselves as significant and positive contributors to the nature reserve and community at large. In the case of the latter, media sources are often used to express distress and discontent regarding City Parks' actions or inactions. Depending on the message conveyed, these strategies can be viewed as drastic or radical and perhaps deconstructive to existing processes of engagement; however, in each case they present an opportunity that users' groups use to set their own agendas and to communicate on platforms chosen by them (idem).

2.4 The Conservation versus Development Debate (rework)

While public consultation and participation are valuable in and of themselves within the process of urban governance, Fors et al (2015) have accurately deduced that public participation often becomes about the parties involved and their particular opinions and views. They aptly pose the question: "for the people or for the parks?" In essence, what is being called into question is the extent to which the quality of urban green spaces can be improved by the interconnected structures and groups that have come to characterise urban governance. Central to the argument of improving the quality of urban green spaces, particularly in nature reserves in Johannesburg is the conservation versus development debate, wherein development is scrutinised within the neoliberal agenda, and within the context of financial optimisation and efficiency.

2.4.1 Contextualising the Polar Understandings of Conservation as Preservation and Development as Commodification

Daneshpour and Mahmoodpour (2009) argue for the retention of green spaces in their most natural states, as they are a necessity in urbanised areas, which are largely composed of hard or built spaces. Green spaces are of benefit to users as well as non-users as they too benefit from their aesthetic contribution in urban areas that have a multitude of socio-economic and spatial ills (idem). Fors et al (2015) similarly, contend

that the physical outcomes of urban space protection are valuable. The protection of which, as already mentioned, is the responsibility of the public sector.

Conservation and development are sometimes seen as oppositional to each other, with one perspective being that development degrades natural green environment and the others being that development of these spaces is necessary so as to integrate social development into modern conservation; as well as generating the funds needed to sustainably manage biodiversity spaces such as nature reserves (Ma et al, 2009).

Arguments for conservation have often taken a preservationist approach, contending the need for natural green spaces to remain pristine, untouched and unexploited. On the other hand, development is not necessarily about exploiting reserves through income generating developments, rather it can be a way of finding the balance between economic and social goals - which include broadening access into nature reserves for different groups, for instance, by offering more desirable facilities (Baloyi et al, 2015).

Baloyi et al (2015) note that the City funding has increasingly become directed to urban development, which has taken the form of housing developments and shopping complexes. As a result, very limited resources have been invested into nature reserves and parks. Urban green spaces have, in this process become threatened by the rhetoric that because they generally do not generate any income, the City cannot afford to keep them. One of the contributing factors to the emergence of civil society groups in urban green spaces is the need to help conserve, maintain and to protect them from the threat of development (idem).

Miraftab (2005) discusses how forceful citizen participation (participation that takes place particularly where a platform was not given to groups to voice opinions or discontent) has become a response to neoliberal hegemonies where most conversations revolve around income generation under the guise of public benefit.

Cost recovery is one of the predominant challenges in City Parks, making it increasingly difficult for the MoE to maintain nature reserves sustainably. At KNR, there are tense debates regarding on the one hand developments to increase use and generate income and, on the other hand, conservation and preservation of the reserve.

Furthermore, this development, and the possibility of charging users a fee for the use of the new facilities is not unlike many neoliberal policies and practises. Consequently, it can become an exclusionary practise in which those who can afford will gain access,

and those who cannot afford, will not. This is reminiscent of Harvey's (2005) critique in *The Right to the City* of the adoption of international governance policies such as those promulgated by the IMF and World Bank that tend to depoliticise struggles of people at the grassroots level. The consequences include the rise of consumerist and cultural niche markets that legitimise participation to those who are able. For instance, the success of green spaces such the Kruger National Park, is guaranteed by those who can afford to enjoy those spaces.

Baloyi et al (2015) suggest that both economic and environmental goals can be fulfilled. They make use of the example of Table Mountain Nature Reserve in Cape Town, who's only source of income comes from cable cars that transport visitors up Table Mountain. Li et al (2009) in contrast, warn against the seduction of the supposed balance between environmental and economic agendas through projects classified as 'eco-tourism', (which the cable cars at Table Mountain Nature reserve are classified as). They argue that commodification of public interest in the environment is not without any adverse effects on nature reserves. The increased traffic or use that is intended is often enough to disturb ecosystems within a nature reserve. This essentially, encapsulates some of the arguments posed by members of Klipriviersberg management committee in Baloyi et al (2015). While the inanimate parts (rocks, soil, water bodies) of the reserve are not largely disturbed, any disturbances to birdlife, fish, rodents etc. would affect the overall manner in which the nature reserve functions as a system of life (Li et al, 2009).

Honey (2008) is quoted as saying "Much of what is marketed as ecotourism is simply conventional mass tourism wrapped in a thin veneer of green. 'Ecotourism-lite' is propelled by travel agents, tour operators, airlines and cruise lines, large hotels and resort chains, and international tourism organisations, which promote quick, superficially "green" visits within conventional packages". While she makes a valid argument, cognisance should be taken of the fact that City Parks is a non-profit organisation that lacks the budgetary capacity to adequately manage all parks and reserves under its auspices (Bosaka, 2015).

It is important to understand that these debates are not only about the revenue production, but are also about broadening access into these spaces. This highlights that conservation and development are not necessarily polar opposites, but that they blur into one another and are difficult to conceptualise.

The literature examined above is informative of the fact that in partnerships, towards any direction - whether development, preservation, conservation or management –

agreements can sometimes be tacit, hesitant, contentious or cooperative. In any scenario, the dynamics of the relationship between stakeholders is influenced by the different positions and views they hold. The intention is therefore to show that in the management of nature reserves, the relationships that have formed and the outcomes of these relationships cannot conform to any model of governance. There is no exemplary model of public participation, co-management or knowledge practise. The study of these three nature reserves will show that different methods are necessary in different contexts.

2.5 Conceptual Framework of the Research

As alluded to throughout the report, I was driven by a number of concepts regarding the management of nature reserve. The most prominent focus of all three nature reserves is conservation, and in the case of Klipriviersberg nature reserve, it has become understood within the context of development. These two concepts have already been discussed in this chapter. They play large roles as the anchors of the research in that many of the elements and concepts of the resource are interlinked with them, for instance the concepts of transformation and vision.

Transformation will be used as an analytical tool in the report, more specifically, the dimensions of it that have become patent and pertinent in this research. Three main dimensions will be used namely: state transformation - which looks at state practises within the scope of participatory democracy; transformation of access - which discusses approaches used to encourage or discourage diversity of users and of activities; and the transformation of dominant views - which seeks to understand how issues of race, history, culture and skills have manifested themselves in the relationship between the state and users' groups, around the notion of legitimacy.

2.5.1 State Transformation

This first dimension is concerned primarily with transforming how the state engages with communities and their perceptions of the process. It is about understanding how a state that is more democratic, and closer to the people can be developed, particularly in South Africa where, for the most part, decentralisation and engagement with people has become very managerialist, and in some instances, very technical rather than meaningful (Heller, 2001). In South Africa, transformation of the state into a more democratic, more accountable, closer to the people institution, has been aimed at through the constitution and various legislations. The restructuring of Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (now falling under Community Development) to some extent

participates in this shift towards servicing the people as much as the environment. It is important to interrogate how that shift influences state practices, in its everyday occurrence and manifestation.

States around the globe have increasingly adopted approaches of 'New Public Management' and 'Good Governance' to improve state efficiency. Methods and technical tools used as a way of measuring the intended efficiency include Key Performance Indicator's (KPI). This is one such approach used to ensure that performance objectives are reached and to monitor the efficiency at which services or goods are delivered. JCPZ makes use of scorecards outlining the elements of assessment, the adequate fulfilment of which results in bonuses for related City officials.

KPI's are useful in determining whether a department or unit is indeed capable a services and products numerically, however, they neglect that not all aspects of service delivery are quantifiable. For instance, the quality of the service delivered might be compromised by an official's goal to tick every box of the scorecard (Felden and Pidun, 2011). KPI's are significant in the context of this research in that they affect employees' attitudes in doing their duties, resulting in it being more of a tick-box exercise, rather than one that they fully commit to. This, as already mentioned, is significant in the case of public participation practise (Jones, 2002).

2.5.2 Transforming Access

The notion of access seems initially a simple one to understand, but it is tricky to process. It is closely related to the concept of development or the commercialisation of nature reserves and other green open spaces. Improving facilities and the infrastructure in the reserves can broaden the activities in a reserve, making them more attractive to other groups. It is a challenge to reconcile between such objectives and those of conservation. But what makes this dimension of transformation contentious is the inherence that user diversity is closely related to differences in cultural practises and perceptions of green spaces. Amin (2006) posits that it is a great a social and cultural achievement to be able to establish patterns of multiple uses and organisations in a public space. An ethos similar to when people are able to walk throughout a busy and loud square while avoiding jostling bodies, to how they are able to stand side by side with strangers gazing at a mural is useful to note because people are able to enjoy the social gains of a public space even while still tacitly noting unanticipated acts of violence that could happen anywhere (ibid).

2.5.3 Transforming Predominant Views of Legitimacy

The notion of legitimacy is complex to understand and to use as an analytical tool, but it warrants analysis because it is symbolic of the recognition or lack thereof of stakeholders in the management of nature reserves. For users' groups, their legitimacy comes from the community members who vote for them as representatives, for City Parks officials, their legitimacy is aligned mainly with the state (Katsaura and Bénit-Gbaffou, 2014). However, it is important to note that there are socio-political aspects to each parties legitimacy, particularly, it important to note that legitimacy is highly racialised in the context of post-apartheid South Africa.

In users' groups, recognition is derived not only from their election and their contributions to their organisations (e.g. fundraising, marketing, physical labour they put into the reserve and alignment to the conservation agenda), but also from the historicity of their race (white people, apartheid privileges provided, access to educational or financial resources etc. cyclically enabling forthcoming generations access to those resources). For City Parks officials in these nature reserves, historicity of their race (mostly black officials) contributes to how they seek recognition and how they assert their authority through management tactics and through their approaches to transforming access of nature reserves.

The historical differences of the different groups have resulted in disagreements based on cultural understandings of green spaces and the skills employed in managing the reserve (users' groups have members with specialist knowledge in conservation, urban planning, administration etc. while many of the officials have qualifications that are more generalised). Concurrently, there are traditional or indigenous forms of knowledge to managing natural environments that are seemingly being understood more as divergent and oppositional, rather than parallel and integrational to scientific forms of knowledge (Roth, 2014).

The above tensions can often be substantially noticeable in engagements that compromise the respect and trust between stakeholders. Sometimes, these tensions are expressed through petty remarks that often further undermine the respect one person holds for the next.

2.5.4 The concept of a "Vision"

For the purpose of this research, the concept of a vision will be understood as the achievement of consensus or the collective agreement upon a particular direction for the future of a nature reserve. A vision in this sense can be used as an important tool to

guide development or management actions. Ideally, a good vision should align well with everyone's basic values - not necessarily personal their interests or preferences - and should accumulate these values with previous experiences – incidents to learn from, including those from other organisations or groups (Forsth and Nordvik, 1995).

In building a vision, what Mohammed (2001) calls *issue processing* is unavoidable and significant in that it provides different points of interpretation for a challenge and allows people within a group to cognitively reach a consensus by virtue of being exposed to each other, where assumptions, dimensions and categories are shared. Monthly or regular meetings and forums that bring users' groups, City Parks officials and other stakeholders together are good platforms to build a vision. Discourses that take place in these platforms force people to question their ideals and beliefs against others within the group. It not only becomes a place for people to unburden themselves of problems that they have individually observed, but also a place to collectively agree on these problems and to really interrogate what they mean to or for other people.

A useful method that can be used to crystallise consensus is the collective development of a master plan. Master plans can be considered as a visual language, to depict the communication between stakeholders and the consensus that they have reached (Forsth and Nordik, 1995).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter discussed some of the existing knowledge around new ways of governing that are increasingly being adopted and adapted at the micro-level of state management, in this case at the MoE and departmental level. This change has not been without difficulty, much of which results from resource limitations experienced by the state within a neoliberal environment. Public participation practises are part of the change in governing. Against the neoliberal backdrop, citizens are questioning the developments in green spaces that seemingly seek to commercialise or commodify these spaces. Inherent in these debates are whether any form of expertise is used when making such management related decisions in nature reserves. The conceptual summary tied in these elements of governance with some important factors affecting how urban green spaces are managed in contemporary times

Chapter 3: Research Process and Methods

This chapter discusses the methods and processes employed for this research report.

A qualitative research method is used. This entails three selected case studies that will be looked at in comparison to each other. Both the processes and outcomes in each of the case studies will be considered in this comparison. While this comparison is not an international-against-local study as comparative studies often are, May's (2001) sentiments on borrowing ideas and learning from other scenarios or situations are applicable to this comparative study. This particular approach to research will also be evaluative. This is because it seeks to make a contribution to improving models, programs and procedures put into place to improve the relationship between the different stakeholders in the management of the reserves, and hence management itself (Sarantakos, 2005).

3.1 Data Collection

A qualitative approach to the research was chosen for this report. This approach, while not being a numeric or experimental at its core, presents interpretative and methodological strategies to research that enable one to try to understand and perhaps to some extent, capture the essence of lived experiences (Phillip, 1997).

From the onset, a case study strategy was chosen. It focused on the chosen areas and allowed me to analyse occurrences and phenomena that took place in different places and their structures. Three case studies were chosen for comparison. Two would possibly have sufficed, however, it was important for this research to build on the two areas that had already been researched (Baloyi et al, 215 and Hopa et al, 2015) and compare them with one that not only had not been investigated. This third case study area also presented a different phenomenon than that which had seemingly become typical behaviour in the other two, making it useful for contrast purposes. Granted, qualitative research broadly, and comparative studies more specifically are not approaches that lend themselves to generalisations. However, in comparing these three different nature reserves with different community groups' structures, some common thread can be established (Yin, 1994 and May, 2001).

This research approach and the initial strategies employed translated to a strong adoption of ethnographic methods. This included, firstly, the attendance of users' groups' meetings over a period of six months. This was a particularly important aspect of

the research because it is as a way of observing the interactions between different participants and to understand how they conceptualised 'management' amongst themselves, the vision of the park that was embedded in their practices and debates, and where stakeholders located themselves and others within that process (Hodges et al, 2008). Moreover observations were significant given the research's focus on public engagement: it entailed participant observation in participatory public meetings.

Secondly, ethnographic methods used include participant observations as well as interviews that are more formal with key participants in an effort to better understand their experiences and their positions, outside of the pressure imposed by being within an organised space with a set agenda.

3.1.1 Interviews

Thirteen interviews were conducted. Six of these were with JCPZ official (refer to chapter 1, section 1.7.5). A generic interview guideline was developed (Annexure A), but this was adapted according to the specific official or users' group member according to their position or role.

The number of people chosen to interview from each nature reserve differs. A chairperson was chosen from every representative users' group, while the other interviewees were determined more based on the role that they or their organisation's play in either the day-to-day operations or within a broader, interlinked network of organisations that can or do contribute to the day-to-day operations.

In terms of JCPZ officials, three of them were specifically chosen because of their direct interactions with one or more members of a users' group. Two more officials were interviewed because of the progressive role that their department plays in improving the partnership between JCPZ and community groups. The last official was selected in order to understand more the goal behind partnerships with communities and what the processes were. They are the closest reference to 'constant variables' within the research as they are all involved to some extent in all three nature reserves.

Community members were selected based on their or their organisations significance to overall management of the reserve. Three people were selected from the KNRF as they are or have been involved in two out of the three main stakeholder groups (KNRA and KlipSA). Two people were interviewed from FRoK. These participants play key roles in the FoP, being the main members of the organisation who interact with City Parks officials. Two people were interviewed from MKMC. These members play key roles in liaising with other stakeholders (JCPZ and AIC) involved in the management of MKNR.

These participants each had very different opinions of what management and partnerships entail, and were all generally eager to share these views.

Setting up interviews with officials was comparatively more challenging than with committee and forum members. An obvious reason for this is that all of the officials travelled between different parks and nature reserves for a variety of activities and programs. I also thought that some of the officials were hesitant to meet me because they were uncertain of my motivations, particularly in light of the often negative manner in which City Parks is written about in local or neighbourhood-level newspaper reports. What was particularly interesting and puzzling in the interviews with the officials, was their constant emphasis of JCPZ being the legal authority of the nature reserves, almost as if I, as a researcher was there to question their authority. There was much irony in this because they would also argue for the importance of users' group as resources and also emphasise that they as officials were merely public servants. Beyond these ironies, the officials were relatively forthcoming with information and did not seem to shy away from questions that brought up legal accusations that were brought up by committee and forum members. Some of the officials were able to admit they were wrong, some of them had an almost blasé attitude to the problem at hand even after any sort of admittance. This would make the official come across as both flippant and arrogant.

The interviewees from the users' groups were sometimes a bit more measured in their responses and it was comparatively more difficult for me to maintain the direction of the interviews. There was limited evasion of questions, but oftentimes, the participants rambled. In almost all of the interviews, the participants were somewhat accusatory of the other party and used the opportunity for a little complaining and whining. This was understandable to some degree given the frustration that each participant had regarding the state of matters, but it was often difficult to redirect the focus to specific questions and topics. Admittedly, deliberate allowances were made in order to allow them to say what was bothering them even if it was not directly related to the interview questions. This was often useful in that it highlighted some other relevant and complimentary points to explore in the research, but sometimes the tangent they went off on made it difficult for me to steer the conversation back to my interview guidelines. This is perhaps more of a fault on my part me as I often encouraged these 'free speeches'.

3.1.2 Field Notes: Participant Observation (A)

Participant Observation (A) entails the attendance of users' group meetings. Two of the nature reserves hold monthly meetings; the other - Kloofendal nature reserve - has only had three meetings since the commencement of fieldwork in March 2016, the last of which was their Annual General Meeting. Of all three reserves, Klipriviersberg nature reserve is the only one with an open forum attended by City Parks officials and other community members.

In Kloofendal, only two of the three meetings held by the FoP were attended (12th of April 2016 and 4th of August 2016, which were the only meetings held between April and August). Kloofendal nature reserve's agenda consisted mainly of discussions about their environmental and historical education projects (these included their school groups tours and their special events e.g. stargazing, tours of the dormant mine in the reserve, organised hikes) and of invasive alien removal initiatives. The committee offers a wide host of activities, all run by elderly and (semi) retired members. Their committee meetings were infrequent but it was obvious that communication was kept up in other ways, making the organised event more for reconciliation of occurrences since the last meeting and a platform for people to share their opinions and thoughts. Decisions and actions were taken at these meetings; however, the environment was very relaxed, possibly because these meetings were held at a committee member's residence rather than at the reserve.

MK nature reserve held meetings every first Wednesday of every monthly at the lecture area in the reserve (attendance at these meetings was from April 2016 to August 2016, including the AGM on 20th of August 2016). The monthly agendas were very similar to each other, with security and maintenance (repairs and EPWP workers) being the main areas of discussions. These meetings were well run by the chairperson; who provided a report to the committee on the on-goings of the past month and enlisted voluntary members as guides for the hikes and walks for the upcoming month. These meetings rarely ran to two hours.

The KNRF holds meetings every last Monday of the month at the KNR. I attended meetings in January 2016 and from April 2016 to July 2016. The monthly agendas are short and varied – the main topics of discussion were mainly security issues, land management (including firebreaks, management of game animals), and the master plan process. Sometimes, an organisation would have a project run in the reserve e.g. KlipSA and its partnerships with University of Johannesburg for research in and around the reserve. The meetings are sometimes lengthy, as there are numerous stakeholder

groups, (even though attendance is rarely over twenty people). Sometimes, there are heated disagreements between different members of the community and JCPZ officials.

The table below is a summary of the above and other salient aspects of the meetings attended in comparison to each other.

	FroK meetings	**MKMC meetings**	**KNRF meetings**
Days and time of the meeting	No fixed schedule for meetings. 12 April and 12 August 2016, 18h30.	Every first Wednesday of every month, 15h00.	Every last Monday of the month, 18h00.
Attendance (number)	± 8	± 10	Varies every month (ranges between 8 and 15)
Formalisation (minutes, agenda)	Y	Y	Y
Main issues tackled	Education programme / alien plant removal	Security	Game management / master plan
Presence of JCPZ official	N	N	Y
Follow up on previous issues	Y	Y	Y
General atmosphere	Relaxed/Casual environment. Some disagreement between members.	Formal, structured and fast paced meeting. Little to no disagreements between members.	Formal and structured meeting. Frequent disagreements, sometimes tense atmosphere.
Venue and Setting of the room	Sitting on couches in the chairperson's sitting/living room	All sitting on benches in the lecture area of MKNR	All sitting around a table in KNR education centre

Table 3.1.1: Comparative summary of meetings attended

I did not feel unwelcome in any of the users' groups meetings; in fact, I was often acknowledged by the person chairing the meeting. But I do feel that some participants were made uncomfortable by my presence. It is understandable to me that my presence, as a researcher observing and taking notes but not participating in the

debate, would make people feel as if they were under surveillance, and that they had to censor themselves to some extent.

3.1.3 Field Notes: Participant Observation (B)

Participant observations (B) entail physically witnessing how the reserves operate or how some of the activities that affect management are undertaken.

Two visits were made to Kloofendal nature reserve. The first (on the 2nd of April 2016) served as an introduction to the committee leaders, and to get familiar with the reserve's layout. The second visit (on the 8th of April 2016) was to observe the school tours that took place on Fridays as per the MoA that the committee signed with the JCPZ's Environmental Education unit. From an observer's perspective, learners seemed more willing to participate in learning about plant species, microorganisms and the various connections between natural systems. The last visit was a hike to observe how busy the reserve was on a warm Saturday afternoon, given its peripheral location.

A committee-organised hike was attended at MK nature reserve on the 30th of July 2016. The paid hike is the only way in which one can enter MK central. It is also the safest way for one to be able to walk all three parts of the reserve, as there are guides and private security guards escorting the hiking groups.

For Klipriviersberg nature reserve, only small portions of the reserve were traversed just, prior to attending monthly meetings (late afternoon, early evenings). On those visits, the reserve seemed well kept in terms of landscaping and the state of toilets. From the areas of the reserve that were accessed, it was not possible to make any deductions on the items in the agenda. The most significant observation was the attendance of a design workshop held on the 19th of May 2016 at Klipriviersberg Recreational Centre for the development of a new master plan, which will be discussed further in the next chapters.

3.1.4 Documents and Media

Various documents and media sources were used throughout the research. These resources were necessary analytical compliments to qualitative methods employed in the research. Analysing documents and forms of media is useful in validating one's findings and establishing a convergence or pattern in the different methods and sources of information (Philip, 1997 and Bowen, 2009). Furthermore, the use of documents helped highlight other aspects of information that were worth exploring further and incorporating into the overall design if the research.

The document and media sources are summarised into general categories and are as follows:

a) Previous reports on the case study areas: reports compiled by other members of PSUG on MKNR, KNR and JCPZ regarding state and participatory practises were the first documents to be analysed(Baloyi et al, 2015; Bosaka, 2015; Hopa et al, 2015; Masilo et al, 2015; Hadebe, 2016; and Mavuso 2016. These helped provide a better context of the partnerships between community groups and City Parks. These documents also helped better locate my research in terms of the aims and the contribution I wanted to make as a researcher.
b) Websites: users' groups' websites provided substantial information regarding what the focus of the committee was, what and when they had events. They provided a starting point for many aspects of the research and were also indicative of the resources the committee had at their disposal (time, money, skills, commitment). Some websites[3] were informative and or aesthetically appealing, while others were not. The City Parks website was useful in that it had a wide archives portal that could be used to find the period in which a major development or upgrade (such as introduction of game in a reserve) was made.
c) Minutes from users' group meetings: analysing minutes of meetings was useful in indicating what issues were discussed and whether or not actions were being taken to address issues noted in the meetings. This was relevant in order to better understand many of the claims that users' groups made regarding City Parks'/ City Parks officials' inefficiency. The chairperson of one users' group and the secretary of another had added me to a mailing list that sent out minutes and other notifications to members, which made access quite easy. Accessing minutes from the other users' group was possible but was not as automatic. The three groups made use of the same structure or system of minuting, each outlining the points discussed in relation to the agenda.
d) Government and legal documents: these documents were necessary in order to under the structure of JCPZ and the formalised partnerships it had or intended to establish with community groups.
e) Master/development and ecological plans: these highlighted some aspects of management and were useful in familiarising oneself with the layout that landscape management manifested itself in. The documents were also used by

[3] http://kloofendalfriends.yolasite.com/, http://www.klipriviersberg.org.za/ , http://www.mk.org.za/, http://www.jhbcityparks.com/ ,http://www.klipsa.org.za/

different parties to challenge certain actions taken by JCPZ, and to argue for different visions. The challenge with these is that they were not always easily accessible as they are not available in the public sphere.

3.1.5 Challenges experienced in collecting the data

The first challenge was that I had not factored in the tangible or more physical elements that were necessary to complete the fieldwork, such as accessibility of the nature reserves and related meeting areas, the costs and the time. It took me three taxis and a bus ride to get to Kloofendal nature reserve, costing me approximately R25. When factoring in all the walking between points and the waiting for taxis to depart, it took me approximately 90 minutes. All of which was for a single trip. A bus ride and a single taxi, costing approximately R10 was all it took to get to Melville Koppies nature. However, I had to walk over 2,5km from the Corner of Beyers Naudé Drive and Judith Road (which is a major crime hotspot) to get to where the meeting is held at the end of Kafue Road, in a gated community. The walking alone took at least an hour. This was also for a single trip. There are no taxis going directly or close Klipriviersberg nature reserve, in fact very few of the taxi marshals or drivers I asked new about the reserve. Fortunately, my supervisor offered to go with me to the meetings at KNR.

After a few meetings, I realised that the above methods were overall not conducive. Initially I began taking an Uber taxi to MKNR. This cost me R60 for a single trip, but it was a small price to pay for safety and to limit physical and mental exertion. I knew that I could not do this for the other nature reserves at they were 10km from my departure point, which would have resulted in me spending over R200 for each of them for a single trip. Fortunately, I was able to source a vehicle to use for six weeks. This meant that I had to do all my interviews within those weeks, as most of them were either at people's homes or in eateries (which were mostly located in suburbs near the reserve). I was also able to attend any meetings that came up in those weeks.

Secondly, it was sometimes difficult accessing documents that were not readily available in the public domain. In particular, some City Parks officials ignored email requests for these documents. When called, there were promises to send a particular document through but it would not be done until a follow up call was made. In one instance, copies of master plans and ecological evaluation reports were requested and promised in interviews but later, two of the officials contacted telephonically maintained that the other was supposed to have sent them already. In the case of users' groups, some participants would provide monosyllabic answers in interviews or in emails, seemingly uninterested in answering certain questions.

The third and most prevalent negative experience was being on the receiving end of prejudiced comments made by some users' groups' members. These comments often made me more conscious of my position as a female of colour, and in some instances of my young age. The comments were not dissimilar from those experienced when working on a research report on Golden Harvest Park in 2015, which was another green space located in a predominantly white suburb (Hanyane et al, 2015). For the most part, it through me off because I had to process those emotions in that moment and decide on my reaction without having it affect the manner in which I conducted interviews or how I conducted myself in the meetings. There was an element of sacrificing one's own self-respect because of the research's dependence on people actually agreeing to be interviewed, extending invites to meetings and other events as well sharing documents or other forms of information that might become useful.

Related to speaking out was the difficulty of not reacting when racial remarks were made against black people. In the interviews specifically, a few members made remarks in the 'all black people, except you' manner, which were equally offensive and uncomfortable.

3.2 Ethical Considerations in the Research

There were no explicit ethical regulations to consider in the research, as no vulnerable groups were included as participants. Permission to record was requested from those who did participate, as well in the closed meetings that were held by committees (Bulmer, 2009). While none of the participants requested anonymity, given the small community that is Protected Areas (specific officials that engage with all three of the nature reserves in the research) it became increasingly patent that naming individuals could possibly exacerbate exiting tensions between certain stakeholders. There was a lot of uncertainty regarding this decision, more so because the report was initially intended to appeal to all stakeholders (both JCPZ officials and users' group members), imploring all parties to make effort to understand theirs and their colleagues' actions and behaviours though the eyes of an external person. Anonymity of the participants does not necessarily preclude identifiability between the stakeholders but it lessens the likelihood of participants feeling targeted or attacked.

It was difficult to decide on what role to play in the meetings – should one just quietly observe from their seat? Can I make suggestions to help address some of the challenges I observed, or would that be influencing the subjects of my study,

therefore affecting the overall findings? (more especially if this would inadvertently influence how people would respond to me in a one-on-one interview?)

In one of the meetings, my supervisor and I sent a few comments to one of the users' groups. These were generic statements on participatory practises, that we had discussed and felt would be useful to the forum members engaged in a participatory process with JCPZ – where we suggested that the Forum might have a greater chance to be heard by CJPZ in the participatory process, if they managed through their own process to agree on a set of joint principles or suggestions. Generally, there were no overt changes in demeanour indicating that the suggestions were negatively received, but in one of the interviews that followed, the participant seemed more guarded and defensive in reference to them. The question asked was around the master plan and the participant's thoughts on the engagement process. He emphasised that the forum was a platform of differences in opinions and interests and that it is not easy to get different organisations to act collectively, as we had alluded to in our comments

Speaking out overall, as already mentioned earlier on in the chapter, did not seem like an option because of the fear that it would affect people's willingness to participate in the research, as well as influence unduly what I was observing. This issue pertained to both the JCPZ officials and the community groups' end of the spectrum. The need to appeal to both sides has made it increasingly challenging to document the issues that were dealt with without seeming accusatory of one group or reinforcing tensions between groups.

Concomitantly, it was a struggle to decide on whether or not to make the research report available to all participants, as many of them had requested, and were promised feedback. Making the research report available in its current format would limit my intellectual freedom in documenting my findings in that a degree of censorship would be required so as not to aggravate tensions between stakeholders. The research is in fact, intended to be a useful resource in understanding and learning more on the co-management of open green spaces for both JCPZ officials and members of the users' groups. Through discussions with my supervisor, it was therefore decided that a report back to stakeholders would be provided in a different document, where the findings would be packaged differently, separately from this report, and presented in a format that would be less detailed and easier for the stakeholders to accept, to engage and to learn from.

Whether or not this research report would be circulated to stakeholders and make public, would be decided as a separate matter.

Conclusion

The chapter presented the research methods used in collecting data. It was not an easy process; there were a lot of unanticipated difficulties, access to study sites being one of the biggest challenges. The research questions and aims have remained the same throughout the process; however, it was difficult to ensure that the right questions were asked to interviewees in order to respond specifically to the 'vision' aspect of the main research question.

The previous chapter also highlighted the concern of intellectual freedom, particularly when there is a promise to provide research participants with feedback. This had a substantial impact on how I wrote the two findings chapters and how I formulated by thoughts.

Chapter 4: Genealogy of City Parks and users' groups partnership - establishment, formalisation and the evolution of roles

Following its 2011 institutional restructuring, City Parks has seemingly endeavoured to cultivate a model of partnership with users' committees in an effort to increase their disposable resources, and perhaps to increase buy-in into their projects. A part of increasing resources is collaborating with these groups in the day-to-day management of the nature reserves. Oftentimes, users' groups take it upon themselves to resolve issues - whether they be repairs or minor cosmetic constructions. However, there are often tensions that are the result of how users' groups convey and address the challenges or issues that they have come across in their observatory capacity, and or how City Parks officials respond to these challenges.

The following chapter provides a descriptive presentation of the nature of the partnerships between the different stakeholders in each nature reserve. It seeks to present how partnerships have been established, formalised and strengthened through day-to-day practises; what method of formalisation was used, if any, what the structure of the users' groups is and how the different parties contribute to the general operation of the reserve on a regular basis. The formalisation and the structures of users' groups are significantly important in understanding what the focus of the community group is and what aspects of the daily management they commit their resources to. Concurrently, the research seeks to better understand how stakeholders have steered management towards a certain direction or vision through these day-to-day operations. Central to this is the need to understand how stakeholders engage with each other in terms of how they communicate their own interests and how they conceptualise others.

The structure of this chapter is such that the reserves will be discussed one after the other because of the complexity and specificity of each of them. The chapter will conclude by comparing the three reserves.

4.1 MKMC – structure, partnerships and activities

MKMC is a registered NPO, representing the interests of users of and residents surrounding the reserve. As mentioned in chapter one, the reserve is divided into three sections wherein the central section is controlled access, opened only for specific events. The western part of the reserve in particular favoured by many church groups,

who make up a large portion of its users. The different church groups are represented by the African Independent Churches (AIC). The AIC has been incorporated as part of the reserve's management structure. A key aspect of their responsibilities is to keep the western section of the reserve - specifically the areas around their designated prayer/church group circle - clean (Hopa et al, 2015). MKMC and the AIC together represent the different communities as well as manage many aspects of the daily operations in the reserve.

The table below is provides the structure and size of the MKMC. Members are elected annually; the current chairperson has been re-elected into the position since 2001, after being a volunteer for four years prior to that. In comparison to the other two nature reserves in this study, the chairperson and the user group in question have been established the longest.

Name	**Title/Job**
Wendy Carstens	Chairperson, PR, Treasurer, conservation, guide
George Hofmeyr	Vice chair, security, MK East walks
Bernice Aspoas	Botanical Society Rep, guide
Tony Nunes	Structural maintenance, guide, security
Shayleen Peekes	Committee member
Lis Jones	PR, administration
John Cartwright	Guiding
Lori Coogan	Conservation
Barbara Shaw	Website
Lucky Nyathi Mdluli	Conservation, security, AIC rep,
Clement Ndlovu	Conservation, security
Vaughan Russell	Accountant
Tony Lelliott	Chairperson MK West Sub-committee
Pat Richards	Ward councillor (ex officio)

Table 4.1: MKMC current committee (Melville Koppies Management Committee, 2016)

The chairperson is present in the reserve on a daily basis in a supervisory role for the grounds workers. In addition to this, she organises and conducts group tours, with the assistance of a number of committee members. Committee members pledge their availability and other resources to address issues that are discussed in the meetings, such volunteering to guide tour groups, and doing repairs (committee member in charge of structural maintenance owns a metal works business).

4.1.1 What type of partnership exists between JCPZ and MKMC?

According to a report written by Carstens (2009) upon the reserve's establishment in 1959, a voluntary group, the Johannesburg Council for Natural History was selected by the then Council to provide assistance and advice on the management of the space.

The report further states that MKMC was formed in 1992 and entered a Joint Venture (JV) agreement with City Parks. When asked about this agreement, the chairperson of the committee said it was not legally formalised and she could not provide further information, nor make a copy of the Joint venture document available, unfortunately. No official was able to provide information regarding this JV agreement either.

The 2009 report suggests that over the years the role of the MKMC has evolved from having an advisory capacity to City Parks, to City Parks being more the advisor while the committee maintains the bulk of the conservation, the maintenance in the form of minor repairs, security, providing recreational and education tours and advertising.

> "The plan was that the MKMC would in time take over the full management of the reserve" (Carstens, 2009: 1).

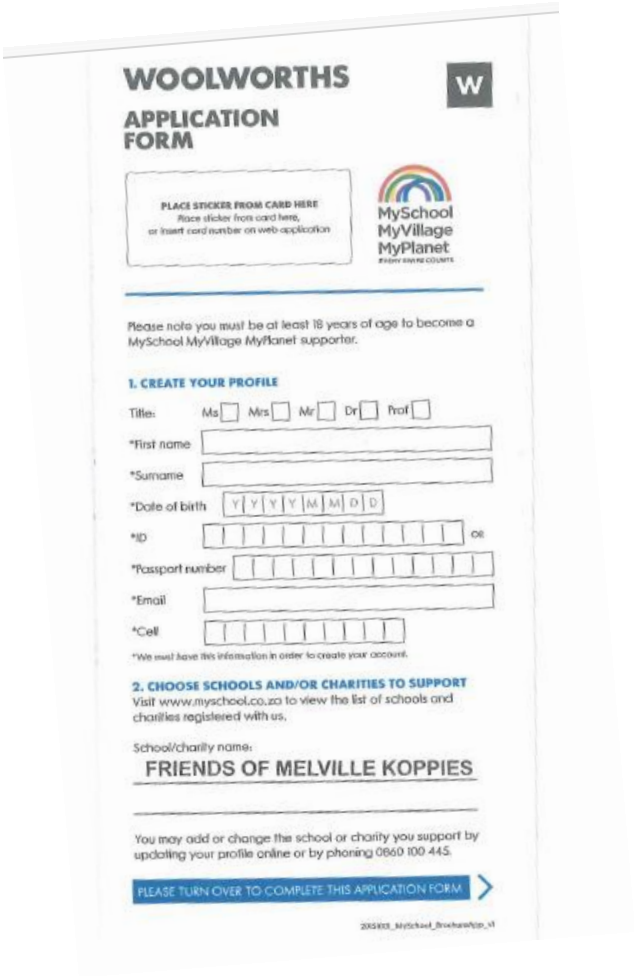
4.1.2 Understanding the roles played in day-to-day management of the MKNR

City Parks provides workers from the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) that handle grounds maintenance such as cleaning toilets, any minor repair work that needs to be done, and alien invasive clearings, with the guidance of MKMC (Nature Conservator A, interview 2016 and Nature Conservator B, interview 2016). However, the chairperson has stated that EPWP workers were only provided from 2014; prior to that date, the committee did most of the work themselves, including repairs and a lot the publicity that allows them to source donations and to increase hiker traffic. These responsibilities remain today, as shown by the details shown by Table 4.1, where portfolios of maintenance, security, fund raising and conservation are attributed to various members.

Furthermore, MKMC directly employs three workers, (also members of the African Independent Churches, who have been working at the reserve since 2003), who have been trained by the committee and accrued knowledge regarding the reserve's conservation matters through their experiences, while EPWP workers are not as trained and experienced.

The committee pays salaries to the employed African Independent Churches (AIC) members with its own funds, including UIF's and Pensions sourced from funds raised

when the committee has guided hikes and walks on Sundays, and other specially organised tours on weekdays. It also receives donations directly to the organisation and through Woolworths' [4] 'MySchool MyVillage MyPlanet' programme, which gives a percentage of a shopper's value of purchases to their desired charity, provided that they have applied for this service.



WOOLWORTHS

APPLICATION FORM

PLACE STICKER FROM CARD HERE
Place sticker from card here, or insert card number on web application

MySchool MyVillage MyPlanet

Please note you must be at least 18 years of age to become a MySchool MyVillage MyPlanet supporter.

1. CREATE YOUR PROFILE

Title: Ms Mrs Mr Dr Prof

*First name

*Surname

*Date of birth Y Y Y Y M M D D

*ID OR

*Passport number

*Email

*Cell

*We must have this information in order to create your account.

2. CHOOSE SCHOOLS AND/OR CHARITIES TO SUPPORT
Visit www.myschool.co.za to view the list of schools and charities registered with us.

School/charity name:
FRIENDS OF MELVILLE KOPPIES

You may add or change the school or charity you support by updating your profile online or by phoning 0860 100 445.

PLEASE TURN OVER TO COMPLETE THIS APPLICATION FORM

Figure 4.1.1: MKMC and Woolworths fundraising tool

Employing AIC members to work in the reserve can be seen as a way of leveraging more people on the ground through an existing network and partnership with the AIC in order to complement the inadequate number of workers provided by City Parks.

[4] Woolworths is clothing and food retail store

Moreover, it provides the stability in skill and training that is lacking in the EPWP's short-term contracted workers.

> "Their [EPWP] contracts vary. Three months and then nothing and then suddenly another six months…so there's nothing predictable" (MKMC chairperson, interview 2016).

The chairperson argued that the committee addressed much of the operational issues in the reserve themselves. She stated in an interview (2016) that:

> "I am here every day; I bring the guys to work"
>
> "I do a lot of walk-about management when I do walks and guided hikes"
>
> "We have free reign; I mean we've had free reign ever since I've been working here."
>
> "Basically City Parks looks after big fencing problems and security…like a taxi went through and took out three divisions. If there are odd slats missing, one of our volunteers has got a metalworks business, and he fixes up the slats, and he fixes the roof, and he fixes the toilets. You know, to wait for City Parks to do something takes a long long time…Tony will do it overnight."
>
> "Basically, we can manage without City Parks. It's just the big things like fencing"

The quote from Carstens' (2009) report regarding MKMC expectation of assuming full management responsibility of MKNR, along with the above statement give the impression that MKMC has been doing the bulk of the management of the reserve for a long time. It is worth highlighting, in support of that claim, however, that unlike Kloofendal and Klipriviersberg nature reserves, Melville Koppies does not have a City Parks official on site on a daily basis. The chairperson has become the 'unofficial' manager of the reserve. The committee has found ways to fundraise and hire three full time workers that it has trained; and has found informal ways of addressing minor repairs.

Jones' (2002) in his 'Resource Expansioning' framework for making partnerships between Friends groups and state officials makes the assessment that while commitment is necessary from all parties involved in managing a public open space, the perceived level of engagement of one party also affects another's attitude. Community members tend to feel that City officials do not have the same level of commitment to the cause in question, and thus fail to understand their point of view. However, a less explored side of the coin is the possibility that there may be an over-involvement of one party. Tropman (2003) suggests that this is due to the fact that participants have a difficulty of removing themselves from the ideas or views that they have presented into their public sphere and that results from an emotional over-committed.

Nature conservator A (2016) expressed that there are instances of emotional over-involvement from community groups, which make attempting collaborative management difficult.

> "[Chairperson of MKMC] will say she does everything basically. That is because it has been happening for many years and that the City didn't have either the capacity, or they didn't prioritise their mandate very right or they didn't prioritise the environment - you know? Since 2013 or I'd say '14, we've come on board and said [chairperson of MKMC], we acknowledge that you've been doing one, two, three over the years without the City's support. But we're saying from today, we'll be responsible for everything, you just support"

The conservator also assessed:

> "There's people that are just difficult, you know, by their nature. They are just resistant to change. I'd say that's what happened to Melville Koppies. People didn't want change…They're used to doing things by themselves and not telling to anyone. So yes, [chairperson of MKMC] can say this and that but City Parks is doing its part, and I've got emails to back it up. We are doing what we can"

4.1.3 Security issues at MKNR – the limits of autonomous management

Crime is one of the biggest challenges at MKNR. Most criminal activities take place in MK West, as it is the most publicly accessible part of the reserve. This has been the main reasoning for the continued locking of MK Central, added to the fact that it has plaques and archaeological artefacts around the lecture area that require some protection. There is reasonable consensus between the Committee and City Park officials that crime is a major issue, and requires enhanced protection of the reserve:

> "Melville Koppies East and Central are not that bad in terms of crime, but with regard to Melville Koppies West you do not want to walk there by yourself"(Phillip Nunes – Northcliff Melville Times, 2016).

> "The west is open all the time; the east is open all the time. The west is mayhem because of security. I mean all the reasons why this is controlled access is because of security" (MKMC chairperson, interview 2016).

> "Remember Melville Koppies has a serious crime problem…We open it and the thugs are going to be sitting there waiting for whoever is going to come. It's closed now but already there's a crime issue" (JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).

> "The church groups have collapsed because of the security. You know, they're holding up twenty people and robbing them" (MKMC chairperson, interview 2016).

I attended a hike at MKNR on a Sunday morning, 30th of July 2016, at 08h00. There were about two security guards from CSS Tactical Security escorting the hiking group through the three parts of the reserve. In addition to this, a CSS Tactical Security vehicle was stationed near MK west. The presence of the security guards gave me a sense of safety. No church groups were spotted, possibly because it was still too early in the morning.

Box 4.1.1: Account of safety observations on MKNR hike

JCPZ provides a security team for the reserve (Will to Win Security) which sends through two day guards and two night guards that do patrols and guard the lecture area(MKMC Chairperson, interviewed 2016). Additionally (according to another MKMC member (interview 2016), the committee's website manager and its liaison with the church groups), each church group (approximately 18 church groups currently, with a minimum of 20 congregants each) contributes R50.00 per month towards a private security company - CSS Tactical - hired by the MKMC, while also using their large numbers as surveillance over the reserve. This is in order to supplement the security provided by City Parks.

The private security is contracted mainly for hikes and walks for organised groups. In a reserve that is over 140 hectares and limited to no security patrol in the eastern and western parts; it is easy to understand why MKNR is vulnerable to criminal activity.

> "I can't let the ladies work alone (EPWP workers) because it's insecure. When they go to the west everybody has to go together and they've gotta leave their cellphones behind and the men have to stay with the women because I'm scared of them being raped" (MKMC chairperson, interview 2016).

However, this is not enough to secure the reserve, and that has led the management committee to unilaterally lock some of the entrances in the west section, so as to better control access.

> "A German woman walking her dog and couldn't get in (the western section of the reserve), so she screams and shouts and hoots, everybody ignores her, so she phones City Parks. She gets hold of [Nature Conservator B]. [Nature Conservator B] phones me, screams at me 'you have no right, its public open space blah blah blah' I explained to her but she wasn't listening. So I wrote a whole long letter to her and cc'ed to the [Manager of Stakeholder and Relationship unit] and everybody in City Parks, this is why we've locked it. We will open it again when City Parks can guarantee the safety of the people walking on the west" (MKMC chairperson, interview 2016).

Here, it is clear that the committee made a unilateral decision to close one of the gates on the western side of the reserve following residents' complaints and experiences of crime. The chairperson stated:

> "We've locked the one gate at the west…We've had four Witsies attacked, four AFDA students attacked-in one week. There seem to be two or three gangs now attacking everyone. The residents were beside themselves!"

The committee's decision is indicative of a serious need to find solutions to security issues that both users and neighbouring residents (who experience housebreaks) are confronted with. The committee's decisions to lock certain gates in the reserve and hiring their own private security team in addition to City Parks' are practical responses that result from frustrations both to the prevalence of crime activities and to City Parks' lack or limited response to the issue. On the other hand, it cannot be disputed that there was a lack of communication to both users themselves and to JCPZ as a major stakeholder in the reserve.

The partnership between MKMC and JCPZ is historically, a strained relationship. City Parks' lack of practical response to the security issues contributes to the committee's impression of it being unreliable and incapable of managing the reserve; while the committee's unilateral decision contributes to the negative views of community groups as demanding, unreasonable and refusing to understand the MoE's constraints.

Furthermore, the way the matter was handled arguably aggravated the tension rather than solve the issue. Nature conservator A argued that it was not uncommon for MKMC's chairperson to copy in other people in a correspondence with him or to make decisions on behalf of the reserve without consultation.

Nature conservator A in an interview (2016) commented on the incident at MKNR adding that:

> "The issue of keys - it was difficult for even myself to get in and whenever I managed to get a key, they would change their padlocks. It was very difficult for me to change the padlocks because the chairperson sent a very long email that included all the Wits and UJ lecturers that use that area for geological and botany studies to tell them that I've changed the locks and now they are not gonna have access"
>
> "People are used to doing things by themselves and not telling to anyone…Myself, I cannot let [Chairperson of MKMC] do certain things while tomorrow it's gonna come back and I need to account for it! So whatever decisions they make…"

City Parks officials have also expressed concern over the safety status at MKNR. One of the common responses to claims that JCPZ was not doing enough in securing the reserve was that resources were a challenge. The lack of resources affects much of the activities that JCPZ undertakes extending further than alien invasive removal and security. JCPZ officials have also stated that there are incidents that are out of their control. For example:

> "I remember when she told me about a lady that was assaulted sexually…[the chairperson of MKMC] made it like I must feel guilty like I was there and I didn't do anything, do you understand? But she was there, do you understand? [The chairperson] was there, what did she do? If they're mugging you and I'm there, what will I do? I don't have a gun, I'm not the police. If I have a gun I'm at risk of being shot because I've got a gun, do you understand? So [the chairperson] is very unreasonable, very, very unreasonable" (JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).

> "Flat screens, sound systems…the patrollers find these things in the reserve. When someone comes here and says they want to take a hike, you don't know it's a criminal. Crime is a serious thing, unless we put an electric fence but that expensive. Where will it cover, where will it not cover?" (JCPZ nature conservator B, interview 2016).

The difficulty for community members to loosen control in public open spaces, particularly those who historically and currently do most of the management themselves is not unique to MKNR and is one that JCPZ officials need to consider when attempting to regain some control of the public spaces. It is a challenge to find a power balance and a shared mandate within the context of JCPZ resources limitations.

Regarding the chairperson copying various users and stakeholders into a correspondence that could possibly take place between only two people, it could be argued that such an approach to problem solving is counter - productive. Firstly because it conveys a lack of trust in the skill or willingness of the particular official(s) in question to respond to the issue and secondly, because it damages the necessary relationship between a users' committee as a whole and the City official(s) tasked to work directly with that committee. On the other hand, sending mass emails can be symptomatic of exasperation to a chronic lack of responsiveness from City Parks. It can be an attempt to foster accountability from the official in question, and in any respect shows that there are perhaps few opportunities of face-to-face contact or regular meetings to solve day-to-day issues.

This accusation of single-handedly making decisions without the consultation of the other party, is interestingly shared by users' groups:

"The problem is that when they do come to do things, there's no discussion" (MKMC chairperson, interview 2016).

This seems a major issue to nurture and foster a real "partnership", where each party feels entitled, with different degrees of legitimacy (official mandate versus historical and practical legitimacy), to take unilateral decisions.

4.2 Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve Forum as an instrument of broader engagement

This particular nature reserve has a broader stakeholder base, the main ones being KNRA (whose main focus is on conservation) and KlipSA (which takes a more developmental stance, wanting to promote green business for instance (Baloyi et al, 2015). As such, co-management is comparatively more complex and susceptible to volatility.

Stakeholder group	JCPZ	KNRA	Garden Club	KlipSA	Thaba	Bakwena ba Mogopa
Focus	General maintenance of reserve (conservation, ground management, structural maintenance)	Conservation, represents users and residents in the neighbourhoods surrounding the reserve	Landscaping in the reserve	Conservation and integrated development in the south of Johannesburg	Tourism development	Represents Tswana heritage site in the reserve

Table 4.2.1: Comparison of main stakeholders and their focuses

The table above summarises the main stakeholder groups in the reserve and their interests. City Parks has the official responsibility to manage the reserve, as well as to carry out structural developments. The KNRA is a registered NPO and the stakeholder group that directly and frequently interacts with City Parks on management issues in the reserve as a whole and those that are specifically raised by residents in the surrounding neighbourhoods (these issues include as conservation, security, and structural maintenance). The Garden Club also directly engages with JCPZ on issues of landscaping in the reserve, particularly in the entrance precinct of the KNR. KlipSA emphasises environmental conservation within the context of tourism development in southern part of Johannesburg. This organisation has numerous professional members in fields ranging from conservation, town planning and tourism that drive this focus. Thaba,

similarly has a tourism development focus, and has a host of professionals at their disposal guiding conservation and management of their particular space. Their interest relates to developments in KNR that could affect or infringe on the economic viability of their own developments and facilities. Bakwena ba Mogopa are a Tswana clan whose interest is to protect and preserve the remains of the Tswana dwellings in the reserve.

This variety of stakeholder in the KNR Forum translates to a diversity of visions for the reserve and what it represents. In the first place, KNR is regarded as being a cultural and historical asset, housing the remains from Batswana and Voortrekker Boer homes from the 1300's and 1800's respectively (Cousins et al, 2014). Secondly, it is placed in high esteem by residents as one of the few conserved public open spaces of its kind in the south of Johannesburg (KNRF Chairperson, interview 2016). Finally, the KNR plays a crucial role in the socio-economic development of that section of the City given the tendency for state resources to be invested to the northern parts of Johannesburg and to larger, metropolitan municipalities, especially in terms of corridor and transport infrastructure development (KlipSA Chairperson, interview 2016).

This section begins first by discussing how the forum has been used as an instrument of engagement, from the motivations for its establishment to it being open to the greater public, or whoever considers themselves an interested and affected party. It follows next by outlining the focuses and interests of the main stakeholders of the forum. The final part of the section is an analysis of how these stakeholders have engaged the challenges that are prevalent in the nature reserve.

4.2.1 What roles do the three main stakeholder groups in the reserve (JCPZ, KNRA and KlipSA) play?

The Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve Association (KNRA) is the main stakeholder group representing the reserve's general community. There is no record of a past (formal/informal) discussion around a partnership between the KNRA and JCPZ (i.e. a verbal agreement, a joint venture based on volunteerism such as in MKMC or a MoA in the case of FRoK). However, according to the former chairperson of the KNRA, current member of KlipSA and longstanding volunteer at the reserve since 1992, the KNRA and the community at large have played the main role in the management of the reserve, handling the clearing of alien invasive species and litter picking. He stated (2016):

> "In the beginning, the City wasn't really putting in any resources. Everything that was done was done by the community, any type of maintenance…It was relatively passive management for a long time."

Another key member of the organisation remarks, with a more critical tone:

> "Our function as an association has changed, but to me I think we still need to have an oversight in management. Managing and conservation side of things because City Parks have a habit of getting things wrong."

The Manager of Protected Areas acknowledged in an interview (2016), that JCPZ had huge tracts of space under its auspices and that giving equal attention to all is and always has been a challenge. He noted that users' groups are a strong resource base but similarly to Nature Conservator A's comments on partnerships, agreed that these groups can be difficult to work with. He argued:

> "It's difficult to conserve in urban areas…I would have to have 60 guys for 60 areas. It's nice to have them (users' groups) because they assist and they are very well educated but by doing that sometimes they overstep, to say 'now we manage, now we make decisions'. They should be able to come and advise and say 'this is this, what do you think about it?' It's like honorary rangers in Kruger National Park, they don't go to Kruger National Park and tell Fundisile Mketeni (Chief Executive Officer of South African National Parks) 'move this elephant to that side'. No. they will say, while we were here…this is what we've picked up, what do you think about this?"

The former chairperson of KNRA, in contrast, argued that while City Parks has become relatively more involved over the years (introducing EPWP workers in 2012 that clean and repair the facilities, as well as cut grass), their contributions are more infrastructural and facilities based rather than conservation based (e.g. the reserve's fencing which installed in 2002 and the construction of the entrance precinct, which was finalised in 2015). Moreover, he questions the skills and knowledge that officials had in fulfilling their mandates, a particularly common remark made by users' groups of the nature reserves (which will be discussed more in chapter five):

> "They put the palisade around with the intention of introducing game…and now it became a management thing. Now things had to be managed. Ag, you know what, let's build some fancy new structures at the entrance precinct. It's great for the people…There's absolutely nothing wrong with putting facilities in the nature reserve, but put conservation first. So, put a bench out there, but don't go put it anywhere, and when you mix concrete, don't go mix it all over the place. Make it a controlled thing. Make it something that you've got the environment plan behind"

KlipSA has also expressed an interest in protecting the natural assets of reserve; however, their view is that of the reserve within the broader context of other green, tourist and economic spaces. According to KlipSA's constitution, the aims of the

association include to "Protect, promote and enhance the biodiversity of the area and to retain its natural beauty" and to "Guide and encourage suitable and appropriate social and economic development that supports sustainability, attracts tourism and furthers job creation" (KlipSA, 2011:2). In interviews, members of the organisation have argued for the preservation of the nature reserve as a natural space, citing the significance of this given the rapid urbanisation in the city and the country at large.

> "This is what KlipSA is about, we looking at the big picture…we see this (the reserve) as a jewel, we see it as a tourism economic opportunity. We've gotta protect, promote and enhance the value of this nature asset with appropriate socio-economic development" (KlipSA chairperson - also a Town Planning consultant by profession, interview 2016).

> "You know, with all this urbanisation going on in Johannesburg there's huge amounts of pristine open land being built up by the developers, by complexes and one has to be careful that one doesn't lose too much cause the green open spaces are important to us. Not only as individual members, but also as a species, as a people, as who we are as people…and once it's gone - once its destroyed, there's no recovery from that" (KNRF chairperson and KlipSA member – also a national development manager of a freight company, interview 2016).

> "Now, if we had to develop the nature reserve. Say you take the whole nature reserve, 700 hectares, you put on houses. What's gonna happen? All that rainwater that used to penetrate into the soil now, is gonna be a flash flood. And it's gonna be absolute environmental disaster downstream. So the nature reserve is providing an ecosystem service. Its flood attenuation. We've got fires; the nature reserve is cleaning the air for us" (KNRA former chairperson and member of KlipSA - also an ecologist/botanist by profession, interview 2016).

From the above comments, it is clear that the interests and focuses of the stakeholders are different. There are voices arguing for general environmental protection in the face of increased urbanisation, as well as those arguing more specifically for ecological conservation and preservation. There is also a comment, while not completely divergent from the protection of green spaces, that has a clear economic orientation. Interesting, despite the differences in professions and interests in the reserve, all three participants above are members of KlipSA.

4.2.2 Formation of the KNRF

There are several slightly different narratives about the creation of the KNR Forum.

> "The KNRF is actually a relatively new forum. If anything, it's only been around since November last year (2015). The main reason for the formation of the forum is that in this

area of the south there wasn't really - apart from the KNRA, there weren't really any links into the reserve for the community. In November or October last year there was a public notice from City Parks calling - which was surprising in and of itself 'cause they're not really that notorious of engaging the public and the community - to discuss future development and plans for the reserve and there was going to be a presentation done…It was through that meeting that it was determined that there was no real link into Joburg City Parks and the community, so it was at that meeting that it was decided we'll set up the KNRF, to act as a conduit between Joburg City Parks and Zoo….and all other stakeholders" (KNRF chairperson, interview 2016).

"It wasn't formed in the middle of last year, it was formed in I think…uhm 14th of October 2014. The [Manager of Protected Areas] said the KNRA wasn't the only stakeholder-fair enough…I complained because there was no stakeholders that contradicted any of City Parks' views. Because it's a public meeting I invited everybody from the CPF…I invited absolutely every other stakeholder that I think should be involved" (KNRA former chairperson and KlipSA member, interview 2016)

"It ended up - against expectations it ended up being an absolutely brilliant meeting…but we never got the minutes of that meeting. We never had any of the agreed upon meetings afterwards…and for six months he [manager of Protected Areas] wouldn't answer any of my calls and the only way we got this process up and running again is by going to [Chairperson of KlipSA] as a mediator…And we didn't go to Bishop we went to the [Chief Operations Officer of JCPZ]…So she was there, the head of the [Stakeholder and Public Relations Management] was there, the chairperson of KlipSA was there….Seven months later we actually had this Kliprivier forum resurrected again" (KNRA former chairperson and KlipSA member, interview 2016).

This explanations above are different from each other, possibly because in the case of the last two quotes, the participant has been directly involved in the on-goings of the reserve both as longstanding volunteer and as the chairperson of the KNRA. Conceivably, given his positions in the KNRA and his prior interactions with various JCPZ officials, he might know more about the date and the motivations behind the KNRF's establishment.

Another important factor in the formation of the forum is that in addition to the miscommunication or lack of communication between stakeholders, some members of the reserves' users groups had taken to contacting the media about their discontent of the way was JCPZ was managing the KNR.

"Rumours have been circulating that animals are going to be moved from the Johannesburg Zoo's facility in Parys into small enclosures in the Klipriviersberg Nature

> Reserve (KNR)…The CHRONICLE spoke to Chairman of the Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve Association (KNRA), to find out more… The CHRONICLE tried to contact Manager of Nature Reserves at JCP, for his comment on the above but was unable to reach him" (Maule, 2015 in *Comaro Chronicle*).

Such comments are indicative of users' vexation with City Parks, as well as a perceived lack of platform in which to engage with officials. But incidents such as that above provide negative publicity to City Parks as an MoE, in addition to straining relationships between users' groups and the officials onsite. Apparently, this bad publicity prompted City Parks to initiate a Forum, to broaden the engagement beyond the sole KNRA, but also to reset a space of engagement that could potentially be starting afresh.

4.2.3 KNRF partnerships in action

The KNRA and KlipSA are the most vocal stakeholder groups within forum, advocating for conservation and integration of spaces in the area. Other interested and affected parties in the forum include the Johannesburg South Garden Club, which is the only organisation outside of the KNRA that plays a more physical role in the reserve, volunteering with the gardening in the reserve, especially around the entrance precinct (Shoba, interview 2016).

Other stakeholder groups such as Thaba Eco Estate and Hotel (here after Thaba)[5], represent the surrounding businesses that could possibly be affected by developments in the reserve that may compete with their own. Moreover, Thaba plays a different kind of advisory role for JCPZ in the forum. In the minutes of the June KNRF meeting, Malcolm Vermeleun, from Thaba suggested a joint venture between the surrounding areas that own game animals so as to improve the efficiency of routine game captures, among other things, positing that the hotel had individuals specifically skilled for game related issues. More significantly, Thaba has other services and/or facilities at their disposal, such as a helipad, which City Parks borrowed to land their aircraft for the counting of game in the KNR. Below are excerpts from the KNRF meeting held on the 27th of June 2016.

Date: 27 June 2016

Time: 18h00

Venue: KNR Entrance Precinct

6. MAINTENANCE AND MANAGEMENT

Introduction of Sable antelope:

MV (Malcolm Vermeleun) responded to a prior suggestion that Sable antelope from the Zoo Farm be introduced into the KNR. He pointed out that it is the wrong area for this species and that they are very aggressive and territorial and therefore not suitable for the KNR.

Firebreaks:

TS said the firebreaks have been cut, but has not been burnt yet. JCPZ will start burning

firebreaks on the 27th of June, weather permitting. MV said that Thaba Eco Hotel have already burnt their firebreaks and that the grass moisture conditions are currently suited to the burning of firebreaks. The surrounding property owners and the general public needs to be informed of this. GS will pass the notice on via the CPF forums if TS provides him with the notice.

Water quality of the Bloubosspruit:

At a previous meeting, RdV was asked to approach the local ward councillor Sergio dos Santos about repeated sewerage spills in Mondeor that causes pollution of the Bloubosspruit.

Water testing was discussed. City official was asked to post the results of the Johannesburg EIS water testing results on the KNR Facebook page as soon as they receive it.

MB suggested that the JCPZ water testing with delayed test results are good for monitoring water quality trends, but not good for picking up specific problems and pollution events. He suggested that an early warning system of tests is needed to identify when pollution occurs, so that sewerage spills can be fixed in the shortest period of time. AB suggested that the simplest methodology that might be effective in identifying sewerage spills would be the daily monitoring of the extent of foam on the water surface. Mellow, the KNRA appointed worker, could possibly be trained to do this monitoring

AB expert advice on suitable water testing methodologies for the early detection of sewerage spills is necessary. He will look into possibly approaching Byron Grant (from SEF) and/or Mark de Fontain (from Rand water) in this regard.

Irwin Juckes does bio monitoring of the Bloubbosspruit; MB will approach him and ask if he can send his results through to the KRF and if it can be posted on the KNR Facebook page.

Game count and game management:

JCPZ needs to consider bringing in new animals to improve genetic diversity, including bringing in some female Blesbok.

TS provide preliminary figures for the recent JCPZ

The question of introducing more species was brought up. MB suggested that there is a need to bring browsers in to help with the control of rampant bush encroachment.

MV advised against the introduction of Impala, as Impala and Springbok are direct competitors occupying similar feeding niches.

MV proposed a joint venture between the three adjacent property owners with large game animals, i.e. JCPZ/KNR, Rand Water and Thaba Eco Hotel. This could include the exchange of game for genetic improvement in all three areas, joint game counts to minimize costs and the development of a joint game management plan. TS agreed to take the lead in initiating this joint management plan.

Figure 4.2.1: KNRF Minutes for meeting held on 27 June 2016

The minutes highlight a number of interesting points. In the first place, they show engagement around a variety of issues from routine maintenance in the reserve(firebreaks and game counts), to issues of the reserve that affect the wider community (pollution of the river in the reserve by local effluent) as well as to more uncommon issues that are more based on making the reserve a bit more aesthetically enjoyable. The participants in the discussion include all main stakeholder groups mentioned, as well as residents. Local councillors who also represent the community were often absent. The minutes show the partnerships in action through the sharing of knowledge, ideas, networks and other resources.

The last paragraph in the excerpt includes a participant's suggestion of a joint venture, possibly requiring formalisation and documentation when this management approach is in action. Existing documents guiding management include the two master plans (produced in 2007 and 2015, both rejected), the Ecological Evaluation Report of 2014 (intended to inform ecological management) and the concept master plan of 2016 (which was rejected, and currently undergoing redevelopment with the community).

Comparatively speaking, there is less active, tangible engagement of the stakeholders around issues of daily management; and more discussion on broader, strategic issues, which are what partnerships should and could be about. Besides the KNRA and the Johannesburg South Garden Club, many of the reserves stakeholders such as KlipSA and Thaba Eco Estate, protect other interests and have other agendas in tandem to that of the reserve. That might bring the meetings to these broader issues, and provide additional and diverse resources (expertise, networks, and infrastructure).

Overall, and in spite of its tensions (see below), the KNRF is a reporting space wherein City Parks keeps members and organisations of the community 'in the loop' regarding what is currently happening and what is intended to happen in the reserve. However, officials have limited control on what issues to drive in these meetings. More often than

not, they respond to those presented by other stakeholder groups, rather than initiate any of their own. The limited control that JCPZ has of the KNRF meetings can be seen to have transformed what they invented as a space to engage with other groups, to a space in which there are invited to respond and to explain their actions.

4.2.4 Is a joint vision being built? - Community engagement on the KNR master plan

The preceding section shows that there is, to an extent engagement in the forum and collective deliberation on how certain problems can be resolved. Ideas are being shared. The design workshop conducted by IKAMVA Consulting on 19th of May 2016 at Klipriviersberg Recreational Centre was an open platform for the community to engage, to share their concerns regarding the development of the reserve. But this was not sufficient to discuss broader issues such as the contentious master plan, for which an external consultant was hired by JCPZ to facilitate KNRF inputs.

In the workshop, there were many opinions that the reserve should remain pristine or undeveloped. However, there were a few people who seemed to encourage development, for different reasons, including for economic gain, and some for marketing and increasing access. Below, are some of the views presented in the workshop.

> "The KNR is not a park, it's a reserve. It should not be treated like an amusement park. Development must not infringe on certain areas, it should be remain in the entrance precinct" (Resident A from one of the surrounding suburbs,).
>
> "There shouldn't be flea markets, braais or picnics incised the reserve, but it must be marked better for tourism in line with places around such as Gold Reef City and the Apartheid Museum" (Resident B from one of the surrounding suburbs).
>
> "You need to generate money in order to maintain a space. You need money to protect for example fencing. So let's look at strengths…what can be done to protect and to enhance awareness? Because investment never comes to the south. Taxpayer's money is going into tourism in the north of Sandton. There are useful things in the master plan like mountain biking, link it to surrounding areas like Thaba. Don't put things existing in within surrounding areas because Thaba Eco will win" (Representative from Thaba).
>
> "Money is needed but it would be a shame if the KNRA was ruined into a mountain biking area or something because it's one of the few areas where people can find themselves" (Resident C - also a botanist - from one of the surrounding suburbs).

> "The master plan is for getting funding for things like maintenance. You get money from the city to do things like firebreaks and alien invasives but it helps find other directions and to direct development" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas).

Some residents are expressing that they are comfortable with the current state of activities and level of use in the reserve. Some of the quotes are particularly interesting because they question the objective of the master planning process and the forms of development that JCPZ intends. One of the quotes argues for broadening the marketing to include tourists, while also highlighting the point of aligning and coordinating recreational spaces. Some of the comments debate the balance between economic development more for the reserve's sustainability and still environmentally protecting the space. These questions as they pertain to access and user diversity were also raised in the interviews conducted.

There is little to no agreement on what, if anything at all should be developed in the reserve. Moreover, JCPZ officials that were present in the meeting were mostly silent, not contradicting any views made by the public or emphasising City Parks' position on the master plan process. This in some respects can be seen as a problem. It can turn the engagement process into a lengthy, and exhausting endeavour for everyone, but perhaps more so for the consultants facilitating the process. At the same, knowledge is being shared and people are being exposed to different conceptualisations of conservation and development. It can be seen as a constructive opportunity to develop consensus between different stakeholders.

4.3 Friends of Kloofendal Nature Reserve – a model for a different type of partnership?

Friends of Kloofendal Nature Reserve (FRoK) has been in existence since 2002 (FRoK Chairperson, interview 2016). Similar to most committee groups, a gap in management and/or conservation was observed by community members and voluntary initiatives were put into place to protect, maintain and promote the reserve. This particular users' group is relatively new, in comparison to the other two in this research, however, not only does it have a more formalised partnership with City Parks, but the process of consensus building is, in some ways more developed than at either Melville Koppies or Klipriviersberg nature reserves.

This users' group is relatively small, in comparison to the users' groups in KNR and MKNR. It is made up of approximately eight people, most of them elderly and retired and seemingly led by a couple, the chairperson and administrator of the FoP. FRoK has a

number of skilled professionals who use their skills in the activities and programs that the group runs, for instance, the environmental educational programme is led by a FoP's administrator, who has a FGASA qualification; and a committee member with backgrounds in engineering and in history conducts the mining tours. This users' group has a wider variety of activities in comparison to those in the other groups.

Nature conservator A who is also an onsite City Parks official explained (interview 2016) that friends or users' groups were useful in public green space management.

> "There's certain tasks or activities that City Parks as much as it was undertaking before it was not undertaking…so over the years what happened is that where you needed to book for a guided park…also when we want to communicate a certain message that is related to conservation as City Parks, it is easier doing it through the Friends of Kloofendal "

The conservator argued that in this instance, FRoK's presence and contributions in the reserve did not negate the role of City Parks. Rather, that the roles and functions of each partner were relatively well defined and respected.

> "In the olden days the Friends are the ones that the City had delegated certain powers to look after nature reserves but remember, if the City gives you that, it does not take away their responsibility. It just says now you can do everything in the nature reserve with our blessing"

> "We are solely responsible for maintenance…the Friends are responsible for telling there's an alien invasive, go remove it, Nature Conservator there's a fire, we fix it, the fence is broken down there and, you know… and they'll maybe donate a certain portion of money to like maybe paint the lapa"

This repartition of roles somehow needs constant redefinition and reminding, as people involved in the reserve often want to take too much power.

> "Sometimes you need to put somebody in his place to say your role is this. Our role is this. Are you gonna come in and assist, or are you gonna come in and police?" (JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).

Somehow, in line with this blurredness on roles and functions that require constant reminding, the chairperson of FRoK since 2014 has put forward in an interview (2016) that there is no clarity on what the roles between the stakeholders are, or who to report issues to.

> "Well you see, partly, we don't even fully know what the job is that they are supposed to be doing. For example, we don't actually know who is in charge of the reserve.

> [Conservation Specialist of Bird Sanctuaries Unit] - is - we were told, he is the man. However, [Nature Conservator A] calls the shots quite a lot and we don't actually always know who's who."

The above statements echo Bosaka's and Bénit-Gbaffou's (2016) observations that there is an ambiguity of roles within the institutional and hierarchical structure of JCPZ, which are at times complex and overlapping, and can be confusing.

4.3.1 The Memorandum of Agreement as the formalisation of a partnership – challenges and opportunities

The aforementioned taken into consideration, the formalisation of the partnership between City Parks and FRoK through a Memorandum of Agreement (MoA) - also known as a Service-Level Agreement (SLA) is an important step in providing some clarity on delineations of the position that each stakeholders occupies. The MoA was signed in February 2016 (FRoK, 2016) (see Annexure C).

The MoA is a document formalising the relationship between FRoK and JCPZ. It is a twelve-month agreement signed in February 2016, drawn to document the permission given to FRoK to make use of JCPZ's Ecological Centre, which is located in the reserve. In exchange, the committee is to provide the service of conducting educational tours to school groups selected by JCPZ's Environmental Education Unit as part of their programmes. The access to the reserve extends to other facilities in the reserve that FRoK intends to use for their own programs such as the walking trails, stamp mills, and the dormant mine. The document encourages all contributions that can improve the nature reserve, including assistance in alien vegetation management. Other stipulations include that any branding or marketing of the centre and other related facilities is to be done so at permission of City Parks. Moreover, the agreement outlines that it is an effort to promote communication between JCPZ and FRoK (FRoK and JCPZ, 2016). However, the agreement makes no express stipulation that JCPZ is mandated to solicit or make use of any advice from FRoK in operating the reserve. The agreement can be seen as a significant trade-off, showing an effort towards power sharing between stakeholders. This trade-off is visible in the way both partners explain the creation of the MoA:

> "What led to it was that ecological centre was built for environmental education specifically eight years ago. I think…2008. As you know, was an interesting year in economics, that was the crash…so the dreams to put an environmental education centre there came to a stop. We said look, we'd like to occupy that area, we do a lot of work in the reserve. Let us occupy. You guys report the work we do as part of your numbers of environmental education. And they said 'No, no. You must take some of our groups [to do

environmental education] for free' and for a long time we would come loggerheads with that" (FRoK chairperson, interview 2016).

"We have a Memorandum of Agreement in exchange for their expertise. Not necessarily that there is no expertise in Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo… but because we have a lot of facilities that we are managing so we don't want to reinvent the wheel in Kloofendal whereas we can have partners that are full time in that particular facility" (JCPZ manager of Environmental Education Unit, interview 2016).

The MoA has not been without challenges. As mentioned in one of the previously provided quotes from the chairperson, a stipulation of the agreement is that the committee provides the service of guiding school groups for free, in light of the fact that they usually charge fees for their guided walks and other activities.

"The head of the education department has said she wants us to guide 600 students per year as part of our payment and we can't really afford this, it's not really sustainable for us… we pay the guides and we've got admin costs…normally, we charge R40 a child" (FRoK member and FGASA qualified guide, interview 2016).

"We pay our guides R300 (per session)" (FRoK chairperson, interview 2016).

"We have a one year SLA…They charge people for their hikes and we want to know what they do with that money. Remember according to the by-laws you are not supposed to charge a person to use a public open space but Friends of Kloofendal are using what we call an added space. You're not just coming here and just walking. You've got someone to interpret the vegetation for you. What you're paying is the person for their time and petrol…" (JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).

Another sensitive issue regarding the MoA is that it does not make any specific delineations of City Parks' obligation to FRoK outside of those relating to the use of the facilities and the removal of alien invasive plants. Representatives from FRoK and the Environmental Education Unit contend however, that the agreement refers to the general maintenance of the reserve as well. The excerpt below outlines the aims of the agreement (refer to Annexure B for full MoA).

2 PURPOSE OF AGREEMENT

2.1 To formalize the relationship between the Parties and to record the terms and conditions relating to the Parties' obligations.

2.2 Encourage and promote volunteers to contribute to Kloofendal Nature Reserve;

2.3 Define the conditions of use by FroK of JCPZ' Ecological Centre and other assets at Kloofendal Nature Reserve;

2.4 Channel communication between JCPZ and FroK which will enable the Parties to work well together.

Figure 4.3.1: Purpose of the MoA between JCPZ and FRoK (FRoK and JCPZ, 2016: 5).

> "The Memorandum of Agreement is comprehensive. It's not only including education issues but it also includes maintenance, you know the removal of alien vegetation and maintenance issues there" (JCPZ manager of Environmental Education Unit, interview 2016).

> "I am going through the MoA because they are obliged, if you read carefully along the way, to discuss with us what their projects are" (FRoK chairperson, interview 2016).

According to members of FRoK, JCPZ officials at the reserve are either not cognisant of the full implications of the agreement or are deliberately not adhering to it. The chairperson of FRoK (interview 2016) contended that officials were not in the habit of informing about or discussing issues with the committee (and the community at large). He stated:

> "Just by chance, I saw on Facebook that the manager of Protected Areas said they were doing firebreaks and I contacted JCPZ nature conservator A and asked if they were going to do them here as well so we would be able to communicate that. But otherwise there would have been no communication to you saying that there was this activity that people could be affected by…so the uhm, measure of communication and quality control leave a lot to be desired."

> "We're obliged to invite them (JCPZ) to the AGM but the ideal should probably be for a committee to operate on its own and for there to be some forum. Whether it be with the committee there or perhaps like Klipriviersberg. And we've actually asked the manager of Protected Areas. Such a forum should also have people from the CPF block watchers around, and perhaps also the members of hiking clubs."

The above statements speak to a lack of communication between City Parks officials and the users' group which resultantly, undermines the general engagement process around the joint-management. Not alerting the community of the firebreaks displays a lack of consideration for residents, as they (and their activities) are affected by the smoke and could be unnecessarily alarmed by the fires.

This lack of communication could be indicative of a fear of receiving criticism or commentary on the methods City Parks uses, or speak to a lack of interest in hearing suggestions on how the process can be undertaken particularly if it would inadvertently create more work than JCPZ officials at Kloofendal nature reserve are willing to commit. This idea is reiterated in the statement below:

> "The Friends of Kloofendal, they understand, 'cause, I've put them in their position, they know. It's either they work with me or they get out of this gate 'cause I'm the official that is appointed here, not them" (JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).

Jones' (2002) notes that commitment of officials in the process of community participation is a challenging issue. More specifically, he posits that oftentimes officials feel that consultation with users' groups signifies a loss of power, which the above quotation could be said to echo. When asked in an interview (2016) what the normal process of communication is between FRoK and the City Parks officials onsite, the chairperson of the committee said:

> "We just phone and go knock on the door or send an email or sms or whatever. If you contact, he will phone back, but we feel it's always a drag. Almost like they don't want to hear things."

In relation the above statement, he also stated that:

> "I have asked and I have put it in writing to [Nature Conservator A] that we do need a monthly meeting process somehow similar to the (KNR) forum."

A dual view of the situation points to the experience that communities due to their expertise and resources, begin to expect increased engagement with City Parks officials. Jones (2002) speaks of "stretching" - or what he termed "horizontal stretching" in this instance. Horizontal stretching is described as an increase in the volume of work, possibly related to an increase in the number of meetings or sub-committees. The creation of a forum in the case of FRoK, while not unnecessary, can be viewed as more time to be committed by officials, and in turn more work. It is becomes a necessary trade-off that officials commit more effort and perhaps sacrifice a specific evening or day of the month to engaging with the community, much like is done at KNR.

The abovementioned challenges and problems considered the MoA has seemingly provided a set of boundaries regarding what the focus of each group is. FRoK's main preoccupation is that of environmental education as well of alien vegetation removal. It works closely with the Environmental Education Unit on various programmes which are not directly related to Kloofendal nature reserves daily maintenance. City Parks officials maintain a similar function at this reserve as they do at the former two reserves – that of handling the cleaning of facilities, cutting of grass, and clearing alien invasive plants through the provision of EPWP workers.

Issues in Kloofendal seem less intractable than in MKNR (no crime) or contentious than in KNR (less vocal and confrontational group), which could perhaps explain why JCPZ have not delegated resources (in terms of regular attendance to their AGM meetings or establishing a forum). But at the same time, JCPZ is on site. It would not seem out of reach to meet regularly to sort out small everyday issues – a small effort that could yield huge results in terms of the relationship / unleashing positive resources / making compromises on areas of disagreement.

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter has discussed how some form of partnership has manifested itself in all three of the nature reserves. A common focus for all users' groups is some level of conservation (and the task of alien plant removal, to which JCPZ participates only to some extent), however the approaches to this vary and are affected by the specific challenges that each reserve is faced with, as well as the type and history of the relationship between the users' group and City Parks. MKMC is a case that would fall on the relative or perceived autonomy spectrum of a scale, given the duration of their involvements at the reserve, the lack of an official onsite, and most importantly, their financial contributions in the daily maintenance, security and branding of the reserve. Kloofendal nature reserve presents a more developed partnership, and in some respects a more collaborative model to the management of the reserve, more directly focused around educational programme. There is a first attempt to formalising partnerships between stakeholders and defining the niche that a user group occupies, although there remains area of uncertainty and blurriness. KNRF represents a third type of engagement, where history of contestation and conflict by vocal stakeholders has led to the setting of a forum where City park officials participate on a regular basis. In terms of engagement, it has become a progressive instrument for stakeholders to share ideals and views, at least on everyday issues. However, for the most part, these groups function in isolation and have different core goals which perhaps limits the scope of the engagement with City Parks. In each case, it is clear that relationships are fluid. There are areas in which City Parks can be making an effort to better manage the reserve and to interact with communities, in other aspects; there is a clear lack of commitment from the MoE and directly from officials in terms of resourcing the partnership and effort in communicating respectively.

Chapter 5: Expected conflicts or missed opportunities? Dimensions of transformation in the joint development of nature reserves

Post-apartheid South Africa is plagued with a legacy of continued spatial and social polarisation. The topic of transformation has become a popular one within the country, and has become purveyed in national and regional political speeches such as the State of Nation Address of 2016 (Zuma, 2016). For the most part, the focus is on addressing socio-economic disparities caused by race-based prejudice. A less publicised progression is that of transforming the state and the manner in which it governs its citizens from a more representative democracy, to a more consultative and participatory approach.

Transformation and more specifically, the dimensions discussed in this chapter were not necessarily brought up by or agreed upon with stakeholders. Rather, they have been selected as a lens to analyse both the implicit and explicit underlying issues that affect how stakeholders engage with each other, how they view each other and how they position themselves within these engagements. These dimensions, for the purpose of this research report, are divided into three thematic sections.

The first is the notion of transforming the state. Transformation of the state is a complex topic, one that cannot be attempted without acknowledgement of South Africa's colonial and apartheid history. It is now twenty-two years into democracy, and while many of the oppressive laws of the apartheid system have been lifted, there are still inequalities between South Africans. Heller (2001) makes the argument that the current state's adoption of neoliberal economic policies has resulted in its increasing detachment from the people, at the grassroots level. He makes a significant assertion that the state as lead by the African National Congress into the post-apartheid era, has failed to deepen democracy. Moreover, decentralisation of power has been approached in a top-down and managerialist manner, rather than one that seeks to involve citizens from the bottom-up. This is of relevance in understanding how City officials have perceived and attempted the mandate to engage users' groups. In this discussion of state transformation, the aim is show how perceptions and attitudes have in themselves, impeded the process of partnership-creation and vision-building. Alternately, the section will also present opportunities that are opened by developing partnerships between state and society, to construct a more democratic state.

The second dimension of transformation is concerned with the notion of increasing the access of nature reserves to a broader user base, in a post-apartheid context. This looks into the reality of lack of access of certain groups to the reserve, (in particular non-white and non-middle classes), to what is done or not done to address this, but also to the different views and perceptions of who should use certain spaces and how these spaces must be used.

Finally, this chapter seeks to explore how common world-views of both partners (black officials and predominantly white park users) can be and are being transformed or not, across racial lines. Arguably, there is a racial dimension to the way emerging conflicts about the vision for the reserves are handled – the elephant in the room that it is quite difficult to confront, but is nevertheless important to unpack. Aspects of this dimension to be discussed include issues of skills and leadership legitimacy, which have come up both implicitly and explicitly in conversations between users and City Parks officials. Central to this are discourses around the 'appropriate' handling of conserved green spaces, which are influenced by people's different historical backgrounds (race, culture, education etc.).

5.1 Reluctant partnerships - the difficulty for the state to share power

An important element of building partnerships between community groups and JCPZ is changing the way in which officials in the primary, and the state at large approach and view public engagement. Jones (2002) posits that it is necessary for officials to transform their attitudes towards the process of engagement. In chapter two, it was discussed how officials' levels of commitment were symbolic of their perception of engagement and the roles they chose to play. Relatedly, Arnstein's (1969) ladder of participation notes that much of a partnership in the essence of the word rests on the sharing or distribution of power, something that has decidedly been lacking in the engagements between JCPZ officials and community groups. This section seeks to present instances of this and the opportunities that were present to strengthen the working relationship between the stakeholders, thus enhancing the partnership. But it is also of significance that we acknowledge that officials themselves have limitations, some posed to them by the bureaucratic system in which they work in, others posed by their own personal characters as people, and as professionals.

Three "stories" will be used to illustrate these dynamics. The first is about EPWP workers as outsourced employees and the challenges that have emerged in managing them. The second story discusses how participatory engagement has played out in the

development of the KNR master plan. In the third story, I talk about the different priorities that different stakeholders have for a reserve, and how these play out within the neoliberal context.

5.1.1 Who monitors, trains and manages EPWP workers in the reserve?

The introduction of EPWP workers, and the issue of who is responsible for training and managing them, is one area of management that users' group have expressed feelings of confusion and discontent about.

For the most part, this has arisen from the limited information they have been given regarding the programme. The EPWP is intended to address a number of socio-economic challenges, including providing employment to the poor. Although the employment is temporary, the programme is supposed to provide training to equip workers with some level of skill when going into the field, as well as to ensure that they have the opportunity to seek related jobs later (Department of Public Works, nd). The EPWP also presents a relatively affordable strategy for the state to provide labour to MoE's like JCPZ for manual activities such as grass cutting, litter picking, painting etc. For an institution like JCPZ, it is basically additional labour for free, that it can deploy in the parks and nature reserves under its mandate – to compensate for insufficient operational budgets and human resources. EPWP are short-term contracts, where workers receive daily stipends. It does not lead to steady employment where those workers are deployed, as the principle is to rotate exposure to labour and training. Structurally, it is therefore quite difficult to manage for an employer, as investment in training does not yield direct nor long lasting benefit for the employer itself.

As previously stated, FRoK's two main focuses are environmental education and the removal of alien invasive species. The users' group works along with EPWP personnel to clear alien invasive species around the reserve in a facilitatory and guidance capacity. The committee has taken to training the sets of temporary workers that come to the reserve, which is made easier given that one of the members in the committee has a FGASA accredited conservation qualification (K. Spottiswoode, interview 2016).

> "We haven't actually been consulted, you know? We were involved two years ago, training EPWP guys, as you've probably seen on the website and they've disappeared. They don't communicate with FRoK at all. We get no forewarning about any of these activities" (FRoK chairperson, interview 2016).

> "I'll test them after training and give them certificates so that they can use them for something else. Sometimes, you'll train someone but they are given a job to clean toilets" (FRoK committee member, interview 2016).

> "Essentially, there is this incestuous and somewhat opaque relationship between City parks and the City of Johannesburg that gives them the money every year. And we not completely happy with that" (FRoK chairperson, interview 2016).

The statements above suggest that the workers might be given a general sort of training by the programme, which is possibly inadequate for any specialised work. Added to this is that fact that the temporary nature of employment makes it difficult for them to become thoroughly skilled through experience. In the last quote, the FoP member makes reference to the lack of coordination in programmes in JCPZ, particularly to hiring grounds workers and ensuring that work is carried properly. This comment is indicative firstly, of a misunderstanding on the temporary nature of the programme, and the funding sources (EPWP are funded nationally, by the Department of Public Works, not by the City). Secondly, the comment indicates a degree of frustration about the lack of communication regarding the nature of the programme , and the fact that FoP are not trusted with the deployment of the EPWP workers they have trained.

City Parks has transformed the manner in which daily maintenance of nature reserves is undertaken by delegating to the EPW Programme, but it is unclear whether the programme itself addresses socio-economic issues, considering that temporary workers are placed wherever there is an opening, regardless of the skills they have acquired. The quotes pose questions regarding the EPWP's efficiency, which also engenders pre-existing concerns and misunderstandings around accountability and transparency within the state, and more specifically, in JCPZ (as articulated by the chairperson of FRoK in the third quote above).

The inclusion of FRoK as part of the EPWP training shows an opportunity to make use of FRoK as a key resource in grounds maintenance. Ideally, communication between all stakeholders should have followed the training session as a way of acknowledging the role that that committee plays and also empowering them to manage the workers they have trained voluntarily, rather than doing it in exasperation to City Parks supposedly not doing its job. It is also clear that committee members might be more familiar than City Parks with the different types of species that need to be removed and therefore in a better position to provide training for the workers.

Here, the transformation of the state has followed neoliberal lines: replacing insufficient City Parks staff by temporary workers. The downside of this is that whatever skills are transferred to the workers, are not empowering City parks officials, and not remaining in the institution as a long-lasting resource. EPWP are however a resource that is allocated to nature reserves: whilst their training is delegated to FoPs, their management remains in the exclusive hands of JCPZ, without much engagement on where the needs and where the skills are. This lack of partnership pertaining to the use of this human resources leads to a degree of inefficiency in management as well as frustrations in the partnership.

5.1.2 Transforming the approach to consultation – engaging on the KNR master plans

A second area and opportunity for state transformation is the process of engagement around a master plan for the nature reserve, as was developed (in chaotic and contentious ways) in KNR.

A number of master plans have been produced for KNR over the years, and rejected by the community. A new master plan is currently in the process of development, with the engagement of community members.

> "City Parks drew up a master plan in about 2001 and they wanted to do all sorts of things, like, basically have a zoo-type facility on the southern portion of the nature reserve. Enclosures for lions and all sorts of things. And that never went through the participation process, and that got rejected. It didn't get any buy in from higher officials…I was given the document to read through as the KNRA and we said we didn't like it and it died a death, which was a good thing" (KNRA former chairperson and KlipSA member, interview 2016).

The above statement was provided by a KNRF member expressing concern about the current master plan process that is underway. He pointed out that this rejected master plan with a 'zoo-like' facility was proposed prior to the introduction of game in 2002. None of the officials that were interviewed were able to provide information regarding when or how the idea to produce a plan for development came about. However, in 2007, landscape architects were commissioned by City Parks to produce a master plan, which following a short period of public participation, was rejected. It was then resuscitated in 2015 (Baloy et al, 2015). Below are some of the comments on the new master plan:

> "In 2005 we got approached by a consultant they drew up another plan. They did some basics in terms of the environment but they were laymen, they weren't actually any expert's advice informing that…that's the one that got rejected and now it's been rehashed again" (KNRA former chairperson and KlipSA member, interview 2016).

> "They had a master development plan in terms of developments that they were trying to implement in the reserve…but it included a whole variety of unnecessary and frivolous items that had actually no place in a nature reserve. When the new call came out with the new public meeting, it was found that the whole plan that was scrapped and vetoed by the community at large was just rehashed and presented again. There wasn't any new research done or focus groups or discussions with the community to decide well, what is that you as the community want? How does that tie in with Joburg City Parks' plan for the reserve?" (KNRF chairperson, interview 2016).

> "I got a call from one of the ladies of the consulting company. They said they're relooking at the master plan, can I please submit comments, uhm send suggestions to them of what should be done. It was in – they called me on a Tuesday, and said 'can I have it by Wednesday?' And 'I said you must be joking. This is not gonna happen'. That was towards the middle of last year. So that was just before the end of the financial year, I think" (KNRA former chairperson and KlipSA member, 2016).

The above statements echo what Baloyi et al surmised in their 2015 report, which is that very little consultation took place prior to the designing of either master plans. Rather, the community was called upon to comment on what was already put onto paper.

The current approach to the master plan is not dramatically different from what has previously been done. City Parks has contracted Insite Landscape Architects and Ikamva Consulting to design the new master plan for KNR's development and to facilitate community participation respectively. The consultants presented a 'concept masterplan' for the development of KNR on the 6th of April 2016, for comment by the public. Upon perusal, this plan also has similar elements to that which was presented in 2015. According to the minutes from the KNRF meeting extracted below, following dissenting opinions expressed from members of the community, there was an

LS: IKAMVA was contracted to develop the new KNR Masterplan document, including the community involvement aspect via a public participation process. He explained IKAMVA's role in facilitating community input into the KNR Master Plan that will then allow them to develop a comprehensive KNR Master Plan document with community support. This document will form the basis for the submission for environmental approval for the development of the Master Plan through the EIA process.

LS: IKAMVA was unaware that the 2005-06 Newtown Landscape Architects Master Plan for the KNR, which forms the basis for the 2015 Insite/JCPZ Master plan, was summarily rejected by the community at the time.

After some debate the meeting suggested that the 2015 Master Plan be scrapped in its entirety and reworked from the start. IKAMVA agreed with this approach.

Figure 5.1.1: Extract from the minutes of the from KNRF meeting held 25 April 2016

A design workshop was hosted by Ikamva Consulting on the 19th of May 2016 in an effort to get a sense of the community's concerns and what they would like to see in the plan. There was a statement that the consultancy would return to the community a month or two later with a preliminary conceptual plan. However, in August 2016, this had still not happened.

Public consultation is both mandated and useful in developing the reserve, but it also has to be carried out fairly and in good faith. In chapter two, models and typologies were presented to help analyse how engagement was commonly approached by those leading the process. The quotes show that consultation was limited firstly, in terms of the period designated for engagement; and secondly in that the pre-drawn plan can be seen as a type of agenda to limit discussions to the listed proposals in the conceptual plan, rather than encouraging suggestions for new proposals. This has the effect of depoliticising the engagement process (Bénit- Gbaffou, 2015). The lack of transparency with the consultants regarding the community's previous disapproval of the plans showed a lack of communication on JCPZ's part, and was not a sign good faith to the general public. It avoided conflict, rather than engaging on communities concerns regarding the previous plans and creating a space that facilitates negotiation and compromise.

It is necessary to transform City officials' view of consultation as a chore, one that they are not specifically trained for at that, towards viewing it as an opportunity to collaboratively try to make a reserve that is actually used and enjoyed. This is not the current case. The master plan process becomes a missed opportunity.

5.1.3 Choosing priorities in times of limited and unpredictable funding: removing alien vegetation or upgrading the parking lot?

Resource constraints in JCPZ have made prioritising projects necessary and has resulted in significant contention between officials and user's groups. Central to this point, are the proposals for development in KNR and the financial aspects of development. Users have questioned the necessity of certain developments and their appropriateness in a nature reserve, the motivation behind said developments and why some issues are categorised as more important than others. For instance, some members of KNRF disputed the importance of extending the parking lot in the entrance area of the reserve, suggesting that the funding could be used to address other pre-existing issues such as the removal of alien vegetation.

Prior to its extension, the manager of Protected Areas distributed a plan for the development of the parking lot to various stakeholders in the KNRF (Annexure C). Below is an excerpt from the June minutes discussing the parking lot, followed by some remarks from City Parks officials regarding oppositions to the project.

Upgrade of EP parking facilities:

JCPZ is forging ahead with the parking lot upgrade plans as circulated a few weeks ago. AB cautioned against hurried, poorly planned spending of surplus money on projects at the financial year end. It often results in poor workmanship and a substandard quality.

Figure 5.1.2: KNRF minutes for meeting held on 27 June 2016

City officials had different views:

> "The parking area, simple thing! I've sent the plans to everyone before it was built…the [Nature conservator B] was challenged 'why are you building a parking area, you're supposed to build'…people commented, 'please make it bigger, please expand here and there' but somebody will say 'no, this is not what we want!'" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

> "I've never seen where City Parks comes with an initiative and then have them (users' groups) agree with it and say yes that's good… even now, they don't understand why we are extending the parking. KlipSA will just come up with some other thing and say 'why don't you use the money on this?' Whereas the Garden Club is saying 'that's a good thing!' They always have a shortage of parking when they have events here" (JCPZ nature conservator B, 2016).

> "There are specific months where you can do alien invasive plants. There are specific months where the growing is no longer happening. You apply for funds during the growing season and they don't give it to you. All of a sudden in the middle of nowhere, they say 'oh, remember you applied for funding, here's the funding.' Do you go to the City and say 'no, we don't need the funding, it's no longer growing season?' Because you might say, 'we don't need that money' but you might not get it in growing season. So you say, 'what is that we can do?'" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

> "It's a catch 22, you can plan it and everything, then there is no money, then all of a sudden, one department at the City maybe they didn't spend…'is there a division that has applied that we didn't give?' Here is the funds. Are we going to go back and say 'here's the funds because it's not the right time?'" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

> "What I believe, and it's true, is that you'll never satisfy everyone!" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

The comments suggest that officials feel that community members are always oppositional, even when they are informed and requested to comment on an issue before a decision is taken. It can be argued that perhaps stakeholders were not given enough time to engage on the matter, but what is more pronounced is that there are different interests and substantial difficulty to align these interests and to agree on priorities. Alien vegetation should be a priority to ensure that the natural aspects of the reserve remain in a good condition, but it is also important to note that there are different users in the reserve. Some, like the Garden Club are more frequent users than others and are perhaps more acutely affected by things like parking.

City officials function under various limitations, including bureaucratic procedures, budget cycles, and departmental politics. It is clear that financial constraints pose administrative challenges with regards to which departments get allocated funding and how long it takes for said allocations to become processed. On the other hand, the haste to use funds, especially if used in order to tick off that something was done, leads to poor coordination of actions and developments, which could inadvertently result in a waste of already limited resources. The situation above shows that bureaucratic procedures are not necessarily responsive to the direct operational issues of management. What is particularly puzzling is that alien vegetation removal is a constant aspect of the operation of the reserves, much like grass cutting. Therefore, it is conceivable that it needs to be planned for annually, with the knowledge of when and how removal should take place.

An additional element of the scenario in question, taking into consideration the officials' argument of the unpredictability of receiving funding for projects, is that members of the KNRF (like those in FRoK) are not knowledgeable about the hierarchy and the processes in City Parks. It might be useful for officials to communicate these issues to help them understand the constraints that they work under. When users' groups respond without the necessary information and understanding, their actions can come across as unreasonable and constantly dissatisfied. On the opposite side, the constant negative reaction to City Parks proposals, even if it is called for by some of the park users, is certainly not encouraging officials to discuss issues, especially when time frames are tight and resources scarce.

5.2 Transforming access: user and activity diversity

There a number of dimensions to transforming access. In the physical sense, transforming access requires us to reflect on the location of nature reserves (in relatively peripheral, white populated suburbs) and in relation to this, when these spaces open and close. Each of the three nature reserves is marketed differently by its users' groups (in terms of programmes and events) but for the most, this publicity is within and for residents in the immediate communities, affecting the type of user attracted to the reserve. Broadening accessing, and opening the reserve to varied uses and users, is useful in lending more vibrancy and activity to the space at different periods, making the space less prone to dormancy and possibly reducing insecurity (Jacobs, 1961).

This section seeks to understand how overtime, certain uses and to some extent, users, have come to represent what is legitimate. Against this backdrop, the section also discusses uses that are increasingly becoming common and are perhaps more encouraged by City Parks officials who want to broaden and legitimise said uses and their users. This idea of access is an imperative aspect to understanding the visions that different stakeholders have for a nature reserve. In Klipriviersberg nature reserve, the master plan process has become the key locus of discourses around use and user diversity. In Kloofendal and Melville Koppies nature reserves, access diversification relates more to existing facilities and programs.

5.2.1 Imagining diversification of uses in Kloofendal Nature Reserve – progress and challenges

FRoK and JCPZ's Environmental Education Unit work together to bring primary and high school children into the reserve, as stipulated in the MoA. These tours are part of the school curriculum and are approved by the Department of Basic Education.

The school tours are a positive example of the partnership between the stakeholders in the reserve. They involve the sharing of information in the planning of these events, which shows communication and action plan to consensus building. City Parks recognises FRoK as a useful resource in environmental education, providing a more practical and possibly, more enjoyable mode of learning for the children. FroK's commitment to environmental education in partnership with schools in particular, demonstrates an explicit attempt to reach out to other groups of users, and to expand environmental knowledge, awareness and appreciation.

However, transforming access is not as straightforward as it seems and some tensions may occur in this respect, around the issue of legitimate and illegitimate uses of the reserves, which easily can fall into racial traps.

One of Kloofendal nature reserves' most notable assets is its amphitheatre. This area and other facilities in the reserve are increasingly becoming popular for events such as weddings. However, an official of the reserve has expressed that he often receives opposition from FRoK members and other members of the community from approving wedding parties - noting that these groups are comprised predominantly of black people. He argued:

> "I've approved a lot of weddings. You'll tell them about the bylaws, sharp, agreed. They pay and everything but you'll not tell them anything…and in our culture as well and in the way we do things we want alcohol and we want music, you understand? I get a lashing, I get emails, you know? You get the residents complaining but how are we gonna bring our people to understand and appreciate nature if we don't allow them to use that space? Yes they'll break one or two bylaws. But you'll have one bylaw broken in the space of once a month, what's the problem with that? As long as you have 100 people to come see so they can tell others 'hey Kloofendal, come see', word of mouth and so forth and so forth. It doesn't mean all of them are gonna come here looking for a noise, there will be people who come here you, chill with your bae[6], sit there on the bench, you know?" (JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).

One could argue that this is not about race, but about conservation and nature friendly events versus uses that do not 'fit' the reserve. However, it needs to be noted that different social groups have historically developed different practices of green open spaces in general, and nature reserves in particular.

Historically, parks and nature reserves were very few if not completely absent in townships and other non-white areas. In post-apartheid SA, people have been able to gain access to those that were previously designated for white people. Given that many of these spaces are far from non-white areas, many of these visits have become like expeditions for black people. In townships like Sebokeng, where I come from, my family and I, as well as many other people in my community, travel (often in very large numbers) to Zoolake, Germiston Lake or Emfuleni Park to braai, drink, listen to music, and socialise. These are usually boisterous daylong affairs.

Box 5.3.1: Personal account informed by popular perceptions of parks and nature reserves

[6] Colloquial term for babe/baby – a term of endearment to one's significant other

For many black people, access to parks and nature reserves is against the backdrop of structural conditions such as travelling long distances. They do not have the advantage of being able to travel ten to fifteen minutes to the space, they cannot leisurely drive there every day. For many black people, it is a real expedition. The planning that goes into it in terms of time, transportation and refreshments turns this into a significant excursion.

This is not necessarily to say that nature reserves should be treated as parks – but there is definitely a cultural element to be taken into consideration when including or excluding specific practices and uses – that may lead to the continued exclusion of specific groups.

More importantly, what triggers City Parks officials' frustration here is that there seems to be differential treatment for similar events supported by FroK, bringing in different groups of users it needs to be noted that different social groups have historically developed different practices of green open spaces in general, and nature reserves in particular.

On the 22nd of October 2011, for instance, a joint musical concert, Jacaranda Pops was hosted by Jacaranda FM and Toyota and garnered the attendance of approximately five thousand people (Nature Conservator A, interview 2016 and Media Update, 2011).

According to a report by The Marketing Site.com (2011), the event was:

> "A tasteful pairing of top notch South African talent with a symphony orchestra that wowed a capacity crowd at the Kloofendal Amphitheatre mesmerized!"

Events such as this are seen as important in marketing the nature reserve itself and broadening user diversity. A City Parks official commented:

> "Why do we have an amphitheatre at Kloofendal? An amphitheatre is for performances. Whether its Mandoza or Steve Hoffmeyr, it doesn't matter! You need to be able to - when it suits you, you must say yes. Then when it doesn't, you say no. Friends of Kloofendal put their marquee at Jacaranda Pops, when there is a wedding they throw tantrums" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

From the presentations above, three arguments can be made. Firstly, there is a clear intention form City Parks officials to make the reserve more inviting for other groups outside the usual white suburban users. This is a positive direction in post-apartheid South Africa that, to some extent, FRoK has been embracing through the educational programme.

Secondly, what is apparent from the situation is a double standard based on when and perhaps by whom a social event is initiated in reserve. It is hard to juxtapose the two events when both bring large groups of people at the same time, who will make some noise. And in the case of the music concert, the noise levels are conceivably higher. The quotes underscore the possibility of racial and cultural differences as the underlying factors to the disputes. This brings us to the third argument.

It is important to highlight the distinction between a park and a nature reserve. The former might be designed and intended more for social activities, like picnics, braais and possibly the two events stated above. The latter is a space considered to have generally more conservation value. It is intended primarily to preserve the plant or animal life in the specific habitat rather than as a social space. This distinction might not however be clear or considered by every citizen.

There is little to no consensus across - racial lines - on what nature reserves are for, and if all types of leisure practices should be accepted in reserves. It is thus important to root out racial prejudice and to agree on a strategy of diversification of access, set up limits to what activities are accepted or not in the reserve, and if they are accepted what could be mitigating measures against by law infringements.

5.2.2 Including African Independent Churches in the management of Melville Koppies nature reserve

Melville Koppies, unlike KNR and Kloofendal nature reserve is already well used by a variety of social and racial groups. This is aided predominantly by fact that there is public transport access to the reserve, and that it is located more closely to the city centre - thus receiving a comparatively higher volume of drive-by or walk-by traffic. It is also very close to numerous tertiary institutions in Johannesburg including University of Johannesburg, University of the Witwatersrand and Central Johannesburg College, to name a few - which use the reserve for research. This diverse use is however affected by serious issues of crime, which crystallise other forms of restricted access, that might predominantly affect previously or currently disadvantaged groups.

In particular, church groups make up a large number of its users, present in the western parts from mid-morning (8am-9am) to late afternoon (3pm-5pm) on Sundays. They have become an integral part of management of the reserve, as allies to the committee in issues of general maintenance and security. As mentioned earlier, three AIC members are employed by MKMC and work along with the EPWP workers in the reserve. The church groups also contribute to the private security hired by the

committee in addition to the physical surveillance they provide when in the reserve. This is evidence of the committee's recognition and acknowledgement of the AIC not only as legitimate users of the reserve whose cultural practices in the reserve contribute to its identity (as argued in one of the member of the committee's Masters dissertation: Shaw, 2013), but also as stakeholders in its management and part of the management committee.

The integration of AIC into the committee has been the result of a process of engagement, based on mutual recognition but also on shared interest – in particular in keeping the reserve safe and clean. It is useful to consider that the two stakeholders have different interests, and that some church members might not be interested in conservation. But the process has led to engagement where stakeholders reached a compromise, embodied in the set of rules that church groups are to adhere to in their use of the reserve.

These regulations can be seen as part of protecting churchgoers as well as the nature reserve, as much as it is legitimising church groups and their specific uses of the reserve, and encourage them to organise and to engage. The rules also help mitigate complaints from other users and residents (complaints about noise, safety etc.) that might compromise this legitimacy.

The rules are as follows:

- Do not make fires
- Do not stay at night
- Do not gather (more than two people) except on concrete Visitors Circles
- Do not cut trees or dig up or damage plants
- Do not kill or injure animals and birds or damage termite mounds
- Do not litter, leave things, dig holes, move rocks, make clearings, break glass or burn candles
- Do not ride bicycles
- If you belong to a group that meets here often, send a representative to the meetings of the Association of African Independent Churches of Melville Koppies

Figure 5.2.1: Rules for church groups in MKNR (Shaw, 2013 in Hopa et al, 2015:31-32)

This "partnership" has however not been without challenges. The chairperson of MKMC has for instance expressed that church groups are not always cooperative. In May

2016, a meeting was scheduled with the church leaders to address conditions of use such as clean-up of their worshipping areas, and security issues. According to the chairperson, no one from the AIC was present at this meeting. The excerpts below are minutes of the meetings held prior to and following the scheduled meeting with the AIC.

AIC

LM suggested that BS and WC meet the churches on the 8th May as most people will be away on the 3rd April.

Two busloads of people walked up MK West for an Easter Sunday service on the 27th March. They had at least 12 security guards, wearing bright yellow jackets, with them. The Conservation Team did a sweep the next day and found very litter from these worshippers.

Figure 5.2.2: MKMC minutes for the meeting held on 6 April 2016

AIC meeting on the 8th May

BS composed a very sensitive letter inviting the church leaders to a meeting on the 8th May from 12pm to 1pm. The aim was to have a series of talks on aspects of the Koppies (rocks, trees, flowers, history) followed by an imbizo to discuss problems. LM distributed the letters for the first meeting on the 8th. Six people said they were coming. BS and WC and two CSS guards waited at the appointed circle till 12.20pm and then left as no one came. It was rather cold. Apparently

Enoch came at 12.45pm and phoned Lucky to see where we were. It seems that church leaders cannot come on the first Sunday of the month as they have burial meetings. They don't come if it is cold. 12pm to 1pm is not good. 11am to 12pm would be better. They don't come on time. WC told LM that church people were welcome to come to the guided walks on MK Central on the third Sunday of the month at 8h30. The gates are locked at 8h30 so there is no point in coming late.

Figure 5.2.3: MKMC minutes for the meeting held on 1 July 2016

The minutes in figure 5.2.2 suggest that there was a miscommunication between the stakeholders. It would have been courteous for the church leaders to alert the committee of their prior engagements and their discomfort regarding meeting in bad weather. The minutes in figure 5.2.3 show that the committee has extended an invite to churchgoers to attend one of their hikes. This is a sign of good faith from the MKMC – but it might overlook the fact that hiking might be quite far away from churchgoers' usual social practices, priorities and interests. Possibly other forms of encounters and

gatherings could be imagined if the committee would like to deepen the conversation with the churchgoers.

As another sign of good will from the MKMC the committee member liaising with the AIC stated that an amendment was made to one of the rules in an effort to acknowledge some groups' desire to worship at night (figure 5.3.1). Rather than an interdiction to staying in the reserve at night as part of the rules, she emphasised, the need for concerted collective efforts in resolving the security problems in the reserve that affected all users.

> "Reason behind the nightly prayer arrangement is due to the fact that some of the church members feel like coming to the Koppies to come and pray at night and worship, and receive guidance. As such, due to crimes in the west, the committee is appealing with the AIC to come up with a solution of helping introduce night prayers, which will be conducted, maybe with the presence of security personals to help" (MKMC church group liaison, 2015 extracted from in Hopa et al, 2015:33).

Other members however find night use of the reserve problematic, and are less compromising on the rules.

> "Some churches were praying the whole night…you know, it's unacceptable to scream and shout and clap the whole night and the sound travels and you keeping people awake. So the impression was that I hate the churches and I want them off the Koppies. No. No fires, no night services. That's it. That's all. Those are the rules for worshipping in the reserve - anyway, the robbers have done more than I've been able to do" (MKMC chairperson, interview 2016).

It is unclear finally, whether there was ever an official amendment of this rule. Moreover, the two comments above contradict each other, the latter suggesting that there was limited engagement on the issue of night prayers between the two parties. These issues and the different comments show that there is, in many ways an effort to build a relationship, and that for both parties, recognising the other's legitimacy to access is a challenging process.

Transforming access is not only limited to MKMC members understanding and accepting that there are indeed different practises and perceptions of natural green spaces. Rather, transforming access is also dependent on church groups using such spaces in ways that do not result in their detriment, or in driving out of other users. Their actions might not necessarily breach security efforts in the sense that they physically or

materially endanger other people but they do impact on the perceived desirability of MKNR as public open space.

5.2.3 The effects of crime on the accessibility of MKNR

More broadly, the serious issue of security is compromising to some extent the efforts made by MKMC in being inclusive and open in their conceptualisation of inclusive access and broadened variety of legitimate uses. Through observations, it has been surmised that there are two main factors that affect access at Melville Koppies nature reserve. Firstly, it is the idea that there are undesirable groups that compromise the reserve (these encompass robbers/muggers and other criminals as well as shelter seekers, and even certain cultural practises, such as sangomas). The second is that the central part of the reserve can only be accessed through organised and paid visits.

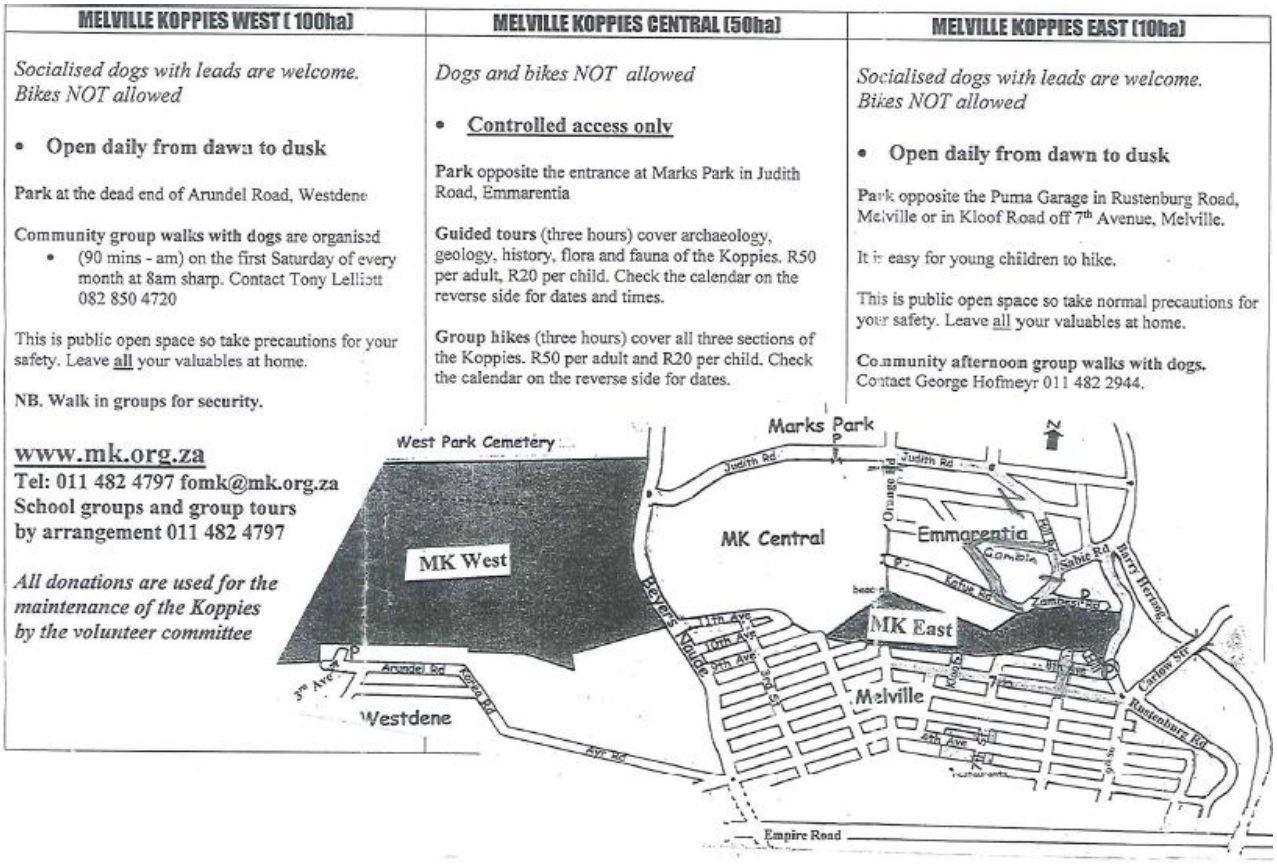


Figure 5.2.4: Leaflet summarising accessibility of MKNR and the cost of organised activities

> "I've got an issue with the fact that the [chairperson of MKMC] is making people to pay to come into Melville Koppies. I have a serious issue with that you know? I pray for a day

> where a child will come from Soweto and get into Melville Koppies without paying…that is one thing that I want to achieve in the soonest possible way…It is pretty much against the bylaws, for us allowing her to do it. It's like we're blessing it" (JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).
>
> "The problem with Melville Koppies is that its closed, so they don't have any other choice but to pay to get in…(central) that is where people want to go, nobody wants to go to west to get mugged" (JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).

The official makes a valid point on how the levying of fees for a public open space does not afford everyone equal opportunity to use the space. The committee only opens the central part for organised events such as school excursions and group tours, which are all charged. In the case of the MK central, one cannot spontaneously decide to visit; you are curtailed by the need to book in advance and or to produce the required fee.

Other officials even see this as reflecting degrees of racial prejudice:

> "There's this issue that there is now accessibility of other groupings, right? When they see people utilizing the facility they turn it into claims that they are vagrants or people who have come to destruct the reserve. Nature reserves are very isolated. The more it's accessed by darkies you'll hear things about crime and sometimes they're just being fake because other times they'll even claim that there are dead bodies found. We'll say okay which police station is responsible but that will disappear into thin air" (JCPZ stakeholder liaison officer, interview 2016).

Yet, on the other hand, restricting and controlling access is part of the practical measures taken to address security problems, which the official quoted above does not sufficiently acknowledge. It is clear from the different methods that MKMC has put into place that they are responding to a serious challenge and that it is within the context of City parks not showing enough initiative to resolving the problem.

As in the case of Kloofendal, there is a concerted effort to make parks and nature reserves in Johannesburg more generally accessible but this is considerably more difficult to implement in a space that is a constant target for criminals.

The central part of the reserve has plaques and other artefacts which have benefitted from the committee's locking of the gates, and as of yet, there are no reports of muggings or robberies that have taken place in the central part of the reserve. Controlled access is thus an essential trade off.

What is then necessary is for all stakeholders is to find ways of better securing the reserve. When asked on how City Parks intended to address security issues, nature conservator B (interview 2016) stated:

> "Remember, a long time ago, they used to have park rangers who would patrol 24hours and the residents felt safe, until I guess City Parks ran out of funds and the decreased the number of rangers. They put more rangers at the parks, instead of the nature reserves. We don't have rangers at the nature reserves."

City Parks' lack of funding has already been discussed in the report, but the same official quoted above suggested that committees might be in better positions to increase surveillance in the reserve, especially MKMC as they are constantly on the ground and have developed ways of raising some funding that they use for the maintenance of the reserve. Unfortunately, in a context of tense relationships with JCPZ, MKMC and KNRA, unlike FRoK do not disclose their financial records to JCPZ. This raises suspicion amongst City Park officials, who tend to believe that MKMC raises a lot of funding, and de-legitimises partly their income generating activities:

> "They only do minor things with their funds like thatching, we don't have access to their books" (JCPZ nature conservator B, interview 2016).

At the MKMC AGM held on the 20th of August 2016, a summarised bank statement was given to the meeting's attendants. While giving the year's report, the chairperson said:

> "[Melvin Gains] who used to be a Melville Koppies Committee member once said 'don't open your kimono to everybody', so I'm giving half the finances and keeping the kimono closed" (MKMC chairperson , MKMC AGM, 2016).

MELVILLE KOPPIES MANAGEMENT COMMITTEE

STATEMENT OF INCOME AND EXPENSES
for the year ended 30 June 2016

	2016 R	2015 R
INCOME		
Donations and interest received	220,785	374,130
Open day donations and group visits		
- Booked groups	41,225	49,188
- Sunday tours	23,233	20,135
- Sunday hikes	51,043	12,783
MK West income	755	1,405
Sales	4,720	4,440
Junkies	29,130	35,737
My School	13,388	9,532
Donations in respect of maintenance		
- Private donations	41,730	58,910
- Exceptional donations	-	150,000
- Exceptional donations for security purposes	-	30,000
- Corporate donations	-	2,000
Interest received	15,560	-
DEDUCT EXPENSES	223,453	201,597
Bank charges	84	86
Catering	154	168
Insurance	5,000	5,000
Labour	180,069	169,740
Maintenance, repairs and consumables	3,915	7,008
Printing and stationery	2,421	977
Security	30,742	17,550
Website	1,068	1,068
SURPLUS FOR THE YEAR	(2,669)	172,533

Figure 5.2.5: Bank statement of MKMC financial record for the financial year 2016

The statement above shows that the committee is already spending a substantial amount of money on security. 13.76% - of the total expenses was spent on security in the 2016 financial year, which is 5.69% more than the 2015 figure. In fact, the statement shows the committee is currently working at a deficit, and not in actual fact in a better position to further fund security mitigation.

However, the officials' comment is a statement on the lack of transparency. The committee is evidently in contravention of laws by charging for entry. But this can be said to be tolerated, and informally validated by City Parks officials as a practical response to security issues. On the other hand, JCPZ is also never discussing available funding for nature reserves with their users' groups – and we are far from a situation

where information on existing resources is put on the table, and prioritisation of expenses is jointly debated and decided. However, it is important to remember that financial transparency is necessary from both JCPZ and MKMC and is crucial to the process of co-visioning. The lack of transparency from either side increases distrust between stakeholders, making it difficult to agree on management tactics not to even mention longer-term strategies.

5.2.4 The KNRF master plan as a strategy to debate increased access and diversify use

This section of report will come back to the master plan(s) that have been designed for KNR as a contested, transformative process, around City's intention to make it a more inviting and accessible space for the broader public, particularly previously disadvantaged groups. In addition to contentions around what cultural and religious practises are acceptable, there is a tumultuous engagement around what infrastructural developments (if any) are appropriate in a nature reserve.

What is interesting is that JCPZ's objectives in proposing this master plan do not seem to have been openly debated with the users committee. This is what appears in the following quote:

> "The big question is why do they want a master plan? And no one could answer that to me yet …Are they doing it for the community? Are they doing so that the city can say jeez, look how good we are? Or are they doing it to generate funds?" (KNRA former chairperson and KlipSA member, interview 2016).

It is difficult to comprehend the motivations for developing the reserve. In the public meeting, the manager of Protected Areas posited that the master plan would assist in applying for funds from the City but officials' response in interviews have been quite different and far more convincing in their objective of broadening access:

> "While we building this (master plan), it's not for the sake of building. It responds to a certain challenge. We can't just develop for the sake of developing" (JCPZ stakeholder liaison officer, interview 2016).

> "People who talk about these things are people who have money, they book holidays in Kruger or wherever. You know how they say 'black people go home, white people go on holiday'? It's true! Here we want to create an environment where someone who cannot afford anything can be able to say I went hiking. Everyone is talking about Gold Reef City, Thaba Ya Batswana (Thaba Eco Estate and Hotel)…are they accessible? That's what people don't understand. We not creating this infrastructure to compete with Thaba or all

those others. No…We are creating infrastructure for people who cannot afford. We not going to let one demographic dictate what can happen in a public open space" JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

"I am not saying that I want to create a heaven here, but we want to create an infrastructure that someone who has nothing can enjoy. For example, you can afford to go to Suikerbosrand[7] to go and hike, somebody who cannot afford Suikerbosrand can say but I can go do the same thing at Klipriviersberg nature reserve. Both of you have achieved one objective" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

It is puzzling that what can arguably be considered as JCPZ's legitimate objective (transforming and broadening access) does not seem legitimate enough to be presented by City officials, as a City objective (that is non-negotiable), and around which various strategies and choices could then be debated, compromises found, and also possibly ideas and resources leveraged. It seems a missed opportunity to really engage about transforming nature reserves and what it may mean for KNR.

5.3 Contested legitimacies - Implicit racial tensions as an obstacle to finding joint solutions

The debates around legitimacy were salient throughout many of the interviews conducted with both JCPZ officials and with users' groups – and they were deeply, if implicitly, inscribed in historical and racial divides that are characterising the South African society. Many dimensions of legitimacy have been discussed already in the report (e.g. legitimacy in holding keys to reserves, legitimacy to raise and spend funds, legitimacy in designing and developing the reserve etc.).

This section takes a specific event – the process of upgrading plaques for the heritage sites in the KNR – and looks at how racial tensions, prejudices and assumptions, are a common subtext to many of the conflicts that City Park officials and park users are caught in. And how a racialised reading and understanding of the conflict, that is never openly addressed nor acknowledged, is often preventing from finding solution.

5.3.1 The contest over the BaTswana heritage plaque in KNR - whose voices matter when writing history?

Klipriviersberg nature reserve is home to the village ruins of the Batswana people, represented by the clan Bakwena Ba Mogopa, and as well a homestead built by Sarel Marais, a Voortrekker boer farmer (Cousins et al, 2014). According to the manager of

[7] Suikerbosrand is a nature reserve located in the south –eastern part of Gauteng, near Heidelberg

Protected Areas at City Parks, these dwellings are historical concerns under the Gauteng Department of Sports, Arts, Culture and Recreation.

In May of 2016, there was a disagreement between the KNRA, Bakwena ba Mogopa, JCPZ and the provincial department regarding the upgrading of the two settlements, based chiefly on providing plaques outlining the history of each of the sites.

The formalisation of these heritage sites raised a lot of excitement across the board, as it talked to a variety of interests (heritage, identity, marketing, tourism) – and this could have been (as could have the master plan) an occasion to build a joint vision for the reserve. However, it became a bone of contention between City Parks officials and KNRF on the one hand; and between KNRF main members and the Bakwena ba Mogopa group on the other.

The Southern Suburbs Heritage Society is an organisation aimed "at the promotion, preservation and commemoration of our rich and varied heritage areas, places, spaces and people" (The Heritage Portal website, nd). Its website has information on numerous cultural and heritage spaces in the country. The following comments were found on the website regarding the heritage sites in KNR.

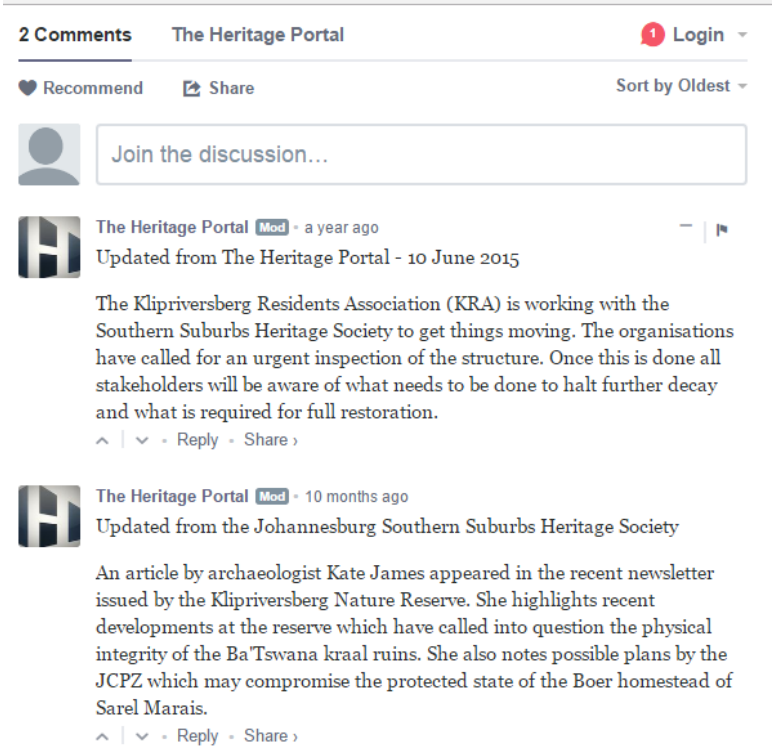


Figure 5.3.1: Comments on the heritage sites at KNR by the Johannesburg Southern Suburbs Heritage Society (http://theheritageportal.co.za/thread/marais-homestead-klipriversberg-nature-reserve-johannesburg, 2015/2016)

It is unclear what events precisely took place in this matter, as it was not possible to engage with all the affected parties. However, the individuals that could be reached expressed what happened as follows:

> "For years we've been looking at yes we must do something… So towards the end of 2015 we finally got a few people together – [A graduate with a BA degree in English Literature, History and Political Sciences] from the Johannesburg Heritage Society and a few other experts. They recommended a good way to kick start the project would be to get a good plaque for the homestead. And they said, if we're going to do a plaque let's do one for the Tswana heritage settlement and lets do one for the Vierfontein[8] land. We took this to the Johannesburg Department of Arts, Culture and Heritage and said we wanna do this, give us some guidance" (KNRA former chairperson and current member of KlipSA, interview 2016).

The outcome of the above-mentioned consultation with the department was that drafts of the plaques would be created and circulated between the different parties.

> "We had an archaeologist – a member of the KNRA - draft wording for the plaque, circulated that and the Bakwena people were offended. They said it's a one-sided portrayal of history and they wanted another portrayal so they drafted the wording for this which was totally different from the sort of academic wording on the plaques…We gave this alternate wording to [Deputy Director: of Immovable Heritage at City Of Johannesburg] and he said 'hang on we've got two versions over here let's try to bring them together'. And he drafted a version of the wording and that caused an enormous amount of problems because suddenly then he was being accused of being racist and all sorts of things" (KNRA former chairperson and current member of KlipSA, interview 2016).

However, JCPZ official gave a slightly different explanation of the events that took place, stating:

> "We had to do a write up of the plaques and I requested, good people, sit down and discuss what goes into that plaque… Emails were sent people were called the so-called BaTswana…it's like you're saying you are fake! Even the heritage department from provincial level knows about this, this whole issue almost went to the mayor" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

[8] The northern area of the reserve, where the Vierfontein Dam was under construction during the Anglo Boer war between 1886 and 1889 (Cousins et al, 2014).

In support of this understanding, the way the KNRA website for the reserve describes the heritage site is indeed clearly biased.

The KNRA leaflet reiterates that formulation (a revised version of the one that had offended the BaTswana people: the "so called" BaTswana):

History

The ruins of a Voortrekker farmhouse and wagon shed built by Sarel Marais in 1850 can be seen in the southern part. The Marais family graveyard is also near the homestead. Ruins of the Vierfontein Dam are evident at Silent Pool. The Klipriviersberg was an integral part of the battle for Johannesburg during the South African war.

Archaeology

There is evidence that Stone age man hunted in the area but because they were cave dwellers they probably did not live in the reserve. The Sotho speaking Tswana subsistence farmers lived in the reserve from about 1300_1600 and again from 1650-1800. There are eighteen ruins of Tswana villages in the reserve".

Figure 5.3.2: KNRA leaftlet and map of the reserve (undated).

> "The Sotho speaking Tswana people lived and farmed in the area from 1400 and after they had abandoned their villages in 1750, a "voortrekker" farmer named Sarel Marais occupied the land in 1850, when he and his family bought the western section of the farm Rietvlei" (KNRA website, nd).

The quotes highlight the different and unequal presentation of the two racial and ethnic groups. It is important to note the use of the use of phrases like the "so called Tswana" or "Sotho speaking Tswana". It is not clear why this is of relevance apart from delegitimizing the BaTswana clan's claim to its identity. Furthermore, the differences in tone between the history and archaeology backgrounds are especially telling. The former is specific, concise and nobly represented, while in the latter, vague terms are used with no historical significance to facts. The comments on the KNRA website portray the BaTwana settlers in a negative light, and as being inferior to Afrikaans settlers.

A number of issues are underscored here. The first is about professionalism and expertise. A professional or expert with a historical background was consulted by the KNRA and or the Klipriviersberg Residents Association to assist in writing up the plaque.

The KNRF member underscores that academic - level of writing was one the areas of dispute. However the City Parks official involved said this was not in fact, the issue and that the BaTswana clan had their own experts on hand, who also have academic training.

> "The Bakwena - their clan is there. There are research studies and it was not done by someone like me, but it was done by professors" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

Even if the BaTswana clan did not have its professional experts, the second issue that emerges is about the making of history. There is an existing cultural group with a different understanding of the events, as passed down from their ancestors. Any serious writing of their history, especially in the post-apartheid era, needs to engage with this group to record and acknowledge their voice and their own representation of their history. The plaque saga brings to the fore the question of whose voices matter in the making of history. It underscores the point that history cannot be done about a people without taking the people's voices into account.

It is about a process of history making and identity, shaped by one previously dominant group without consideration for the other, and without thinking about how history was made under apartheid.

A third issue is the process of engagement. As remarked by the City Parks official involved:

> "It's those emails and stuff that caused the whole process to collapse. Even today, that whole thing has collapsed."

Conversations via email of such sensitive topics, exchange of words casually used without an understanding of the offence they may contain, are not the best way to drive a joint way of appropriating and celebrating a symbolic and iconic space. A facilitated process where various views on what the plaque should be, how it should be phrased, and what significance the place holds, could have been a way of transforming social relations between the various groups, and also between City Parks and KNRA. It might have challenged views on what history making is and could be, in a post-apartheid city.

5.3.2 Contested skills around alien plant removal

A second, perhaps more subtle instance of racial tensions emerging in City Park officials and park users relations, is around the issue of skills. Scholars have noted how racially

loaded the notion of skills was in post-apartheid South Africa (von Holdt 2010). Officials' skills are constantly questioned – sometimes legitimately (and admitted by officials themselves), sometimes less so. What is striking is less the reality of skills inequality, than how it emerges to delegitimize (purposefully or not) City Parks officials' decisions, in ways that make them lose face and that cannot be debated. Could there be other ways to use FoP's real expertise, without closing down debates?

> "I think to some extent it's a knowledge and experience thing, because none of our City Parks employees at the moment have extensive knowledge in game management, in nature conservation management. It's okay to have the basic degree, its fine to have that, but you need the practical side… because there's a big gap between theoretical knowledge and practical knowledge" (KNRA former chairperson and member of KlipSA, interview 2016).

> "The [Manager of Protected Areas] doesn't have a sort of understanding of the area sometimes, of the nature reserve, how the biodiversity works…and we trying to help but he sees us as a resistance, he doesn't see us as a resource…he felt like we were jumping on his toes, he wanted to be the leader. He felt threatened because perhaps we did have more knowledge and understanding than he did" (chairperson of KlipSA, interview 2016).

Some City officials have acknowledged a lack of knowledge but have also argued:

> "You also go on the field with them - you do, they'll be identifying trees and whatever and obviously if you don't know that tree you'll be looked at differently. Remember, I'm not here to identify trees, I'm managing" JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).

> "Every program has its shortfalls…if something like that comes up it's like 'Yes! [Manager of Protected Areas] and them are useless, City Parks is useless!' and you simply say, to err is human" (JCPZ stakeholder liaison officer, interview 2016).

> "I may not know everything, let's sit down around a table and say 1,2,3,4. But if you go out and criticise, then we're not there…If you believe you're a scientist on something, remember the other person that you are working with is not a scientist" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

> "Members of FRoK came back from holiday and they said that the areas where we cleared alien invasive plants, we didn't - we put chemical but it didn't show. So instead of them engaging us, and also to the official, they started now throwing tantrums! Remember most of the guys that are clearing, others didn't even go to school. You have to explain that you put that cup here and that person might not put it there…it's human nature" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

> "You don't police, if you find that something was done wrong, you go there to the officials and say 'guys I walked there and this is what I have picked up. If you are policing then we no longer a partnership" (JCPZ manager of Protected Areas, interview 2016).

Sometimes it is not only an issue of unequal knowledge – sometimes it is an issue of choice and priority, and knowledge is used as a tool for power.

> "Every criticism to City Parks is seen as a direct attack, like its removing of authority or undermining…and I don't know, maybe sometimes it is. But it's not driven by a personal agenda; it's driven by a conservation imperative" (KNRA former chairperson and member of KlipSA, interview 2016).

> "Even now it's a struggle…Whenever we are in a meeting and I say listen, we need to think of even taking out all the game animals and City Parks will say that will never happen because we are meeting a demand from the people. So it's the people versus conservation" (KNRA former chairperson and member of KlipSA, interview 2016).

The use of knowledge by park users can sometimes be used to close the debate and say 'there is only one possible decision'. While, there are common goals, the 'imperative' for parks users is different from that of City Parks. The manner in which things are said, can be perceived as humiliating and leads to City Park officials sometimes completely ignoring park users' expertise and advice.

> "If you're only counted on doing those species and not counted on doing the other species, then you're actually doing an incomplete job."

Ekotrust CC was commissioned to evaluate all three nature reserves and provide recommendations on their environmental management. While it has been presented in the case of KNR that efforts are made to follow the ecological report, or at least some aspects of it, a member of FRoK has argued that there seemed to be very little skill and expertise guiding ecological management at Kloofendal nature reserve and that the environmental report had not been employed fully. He stated that:

> "The only kind of voluntary stuff along that line was the van Rooyen Trust people did an ecological management report and uhm, we were informed that this was happening. We were glad to meet them and get involved…but then [Conservation Manager A] kind of says offhand 'no we are not following that'" (FRoK chairperson, interview2016).

The result is the reinforcement of racist prejudice.

> "When you bring a black person for maintenance, it's like what does he know about conservation when it is a company that conserves, you know? You tell them 'you don't

want development' and they say 'no we do want development' We have a common goal, who implements it isn't an issue" (JCPZ stakeholder liaison officer, interview 2016).

"It's very unfortunate that I'm gonna say this. It's very difficult for a black child to be trusted and believed that they know. It's more or less that you need to work times two for you to be believed that you can do it…History - remember we coming into a place that you know, we were not tapping into before…it's like, you'll also be questioned what qualifications you have and where did you get it from" (JCPZ nature conservator A, interview 2016).

5.4 Conclusion

Transformation of any sort is not easy, the neoliberal context and apartheid history are relevant contributors to the challenges faced by the state, and in society in general. The section presented both challenges experienced relating to these dynamics and the opportunities in which stakeholders overcame many the issues including communication, and elements of underlying prejudice.

One can argue that the validity of the criticism becomes lost to officials because they become preoccupied in the manner in which a committee or association member made the delivery. Stakeholder engagement is an already difficult endeavour due to the many different interests and personalities, it is necessary for participants be patient and tolerant. Conservators and reserve managers are not trained in public participation (Jones, 2002). However, as officials who are at the forefront of engagements with users and as public servants it is necessary to be able to call upon patience and tolerance and to develop a "thick skin". This is not to say that officials must just accept abuse from users' groups, particularly race-based abuse. Users have a concurrent duty to interact with officials respectfully. It is impossible for all parties to reach agreements at all times, but, as an observer; it is hard to ignore that users in their frustration over the ways in which officials did or did not do certain things, sometimes responded in undermining and patronising ways towards officials. This was a common observation in all three nature reserves.

Chapter 6: Conclusion and Recommendations

This final chapter of the report is about trying to consolidate all the various and scattered issues that were discussed in the two findings chapters. Additionally, the purpose of the chapter is to relate the findings and their analysis to the aims and research questions that were outlined at the start of the report, in chapter one, and to attempt to relate these findings to the literature that was explored in chapter two. In so doing, the hope is to be able to better understand the dynamics at play in engagements between the state at large and Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, specifically, and communities groups. Recommendations will be drawn from these conclusions, regarding how to improve the process of creating partnerships, relationships, platforms of engagement between JCPZ and the users' groups representing and managing nature reserves.

6.1 Contextualising differences across the three reserves

The findings chapters show that there are different challenges in each of the three reserves.

In the KNRF, there are perhaps more complex issues to negotiate given the debates between conservation and development and the variety of stakeholders involved in this, many of which are developers or specifically environmentalists by profession. They bring with them different skills and resources to the table. The forum is a constructive and necessary tool to facilitate engagement in this case.

MKMC has a more current, physical problem that needs to be addressed, as it is creating a vicious cycle of degradation of the reserve with regards to crime and safety. The main challenges in MKNR do not seem as contentious as those in KNR but they are more tangible and in a lot of ways require more engagement or as much engagement towards coming up with a practical resolution to insecurity.

Kloofendal nature reserve, in contrast, is a smaller users' group that seemingly does not have as much in the way of physical threats to people's or the nature reserve's integrity. Comparatively less facilitation is necessary here, as there seems to be a formalised and established relationship between the two main parties. It is not to say that FRoK does not have significant challenges. Rather that it is easier to imagine resolutions and engagement at the reserve given the FoP's and the officials' onsite presence, that would in theory allow for easy access to each other. What is necessary here is more regular engagement between City parks and the FoP, based on existing resources.

6.2 Mutual Respect

Stakeholder engagement is a difficult endeavour in that there are different interests and personalities involved. Disagreements are expected and perhaps necessary throughout the process of engagement. It is important that all parties recognise that there are different interests at play, to be respectful in the way they articulate their concerns, disagreements and discontent. It is necessary that racial and cultural differences be acknowledged and recognised, rather than stakeholders ignoring this elephant in the room and trying to make it seem like it is a non-issue, this will help circumvent falling into a cycle of reinforcing racial prejudice (Westen, 2008). Mutual respect makes a substantial difference in the way that people interact, and its absence was seen in a number of different ways not necessarily related to racial prejudice. It was in the derisive tones, the lack of basic communication, and the delegitimising of roles. The lack of respect, in many ways exacerbated disagreements, growing them into bigger tensions.

6.3 Power-sharing

A significant aspect of any engagement which influences the outcomes of discussions between the two parties is commitment. While users' groups often seem committed to protecting nature reserves, this commitment is almost singular in its focus and does not include a strong commitment to working with City Parks in order to do this. On the other hand, City Parks officials are often seen as under-committed to the overall cause, seeing engagement as a loss of their power, as well as something that is not necessarily part of their expertise as professionals (Jones, 2002).

There is an expectable need, from both community groups and City Parks to want power. In the former, as a way of asserting their presence and the important roles they have played in managing their respective spaces, without the assistance of City Parks. In the latter, to reassert their position and the goal that the state has to become more responsive, more accountable and more effective in providing public goods and services (Savitch and Vogel, 2008). But resistance, of both parties to lessen control, to share the power in decision-making has worked to, at different points, make the other party feel disempowered, and in most instances, has aggravated tensions.

Balancing power is an important aspect of the engagement process, but it was apparent in the different scenarios and discussions that it was limited. The challenge to engagement in this regard, is less about participants not having the power to engage and effect change, it is more about finding the balance between the rhetorical conceptualisations of state control on one end and citizen control on the other

(Arnstein, 1969 and Cornwall, 2008). Moreover, it would be useful for stakeholders to clarify their respective mandates and prerogatives, towards recognising each other in terms of what each party actually does and the resources they respectively bring.

6.4 How the institution is set up matters

The way JCPZ is institutionally structured has a significant impact on what actions are taken, when and how. Part of the MoE's restructuring was to become more democratic and efficient, and while there is progress (for example, in more community engagement) bureaucratic processes impact how responsive City Parks is to issues and concerns raised by community groups. Insecurity is perhaps not uncommon in Johannesburg and more specifically in nature reserves and parks as they experience periods of inactivity or reduced visitor traffic. It is important to find solutions to mitigate the prevalence of crime in the public spaces, which City Parks has not always done. It is not always an issue of resources, but also a lack of commitment or willingness towards constantly trying to find new or practical ways of resolving issues. It would be useful for KPI's to begin measuring the quality of outcomes. In other words, to also monitor how effectively officials engage community members and whether or not problems actually are solved. This requires effort on the part of the official in the form of time, possibly outside of working hours, and willingness (Jones, 2002).

6.5 Conservation in the context of a global culture of development

Land pressures have made conservation of public green spaces a challenge in terms of financial sustainability. Baloyi et al (2015) illuminated that the motivation for development in nature reserves is brought into question by issues of profit generation and cost recovery, an argument that is echoed by various stakeholders in the KNRF users' group. Across all three reserves, there is a necessary focus to conserve and preserve these spaces (Daneshpour and Mahmoodpour 2009). In other instances, there is an element of prohibiting certain activities or groups that are perceived to cause damage to reserves, and in another instances, it is more about how this preservation is implemented. What is salient across issues of cost recovery, prohibition of certain activities and the challenges to different methods is the overarching intention to broaden access, to encourage accommodation of different actions and activities, and to somehow in this process lend financial legitimacy for the continued operation of these nature reserves.

6.6 What vision (s) have been co-developed

Throughout the report, it became apparent that the quest to reach a consensus or a common vision for the future of a reserve was not straightforward.

Vision building is not only about a tangible or physical outcome, such as the co-designing of a master plan. A vision manifests itself throughout the process of engagement, it shows itself when decisions are agreed upon on whether something is a genuine problem, if, how and by whom it should be dealt with. Building a vision is a continuous process.

Consensus is a continuum of sharing, of miscommunication, disagreement, disorganization and compromise. These are inherent aspects of vision building (Mohammed, 2001). The research report has shown that these different elements and has tried to express that co-visioning does not have to be on an overall strategic direction, it can be on agreeing on a particular issue and how to solve it.

In KNR, joint visioning has started through using the forum as a platform of discussion, and the collaborative management of game in the reserve shows that is collaborative problem solving, but joint visioning itself is far from being achieved because of the lack of understanding and compromise on different agendas. It is important that the parties involved become more flexible, that they try to understand, negotiate and compromise for the different interests or agendas that exist. In MKNR, joint visioning depends largely on City Parks playing a bigger role in securing the reserve as it is not solely the responsibilities of MKMC and the AIC groups. In Kloofendal a joint vision and direction has been established and formalised through the partnership between the committee and City parks on environmental education. Increased communication between the onsite officials and FRoK would strengthen this partnership

6.7 Final Remarks

Many of the tensions between stakeholders emerge because of a lack of or limited engagement. It is important that this be deepened. Participation is not a one sided process, it requires that every party involved be willing to enter the engagement, be cognisant of the clashes in interests and be willing to compromise accordingly (Jones, 2002).

The findings presented that in some instances, participants have very narrow understandings of situations, refusing to recognise the other stakeholders position, and more importantly, being very unshakable in their own convictions of what should and should not be done. This has notable impacts on people's attitudes and approaches to the negotiation process. Users' groups bring with them useful skills and talents to managing nature reserves. They are a resource for City officials to take advantage of and to learn from. Concomitantly, users' groups need to be aware that the partnership

is not entirely about what they have to offer that City Parks does not, and how this supposedly puts them in better positions to inform certain decisions. It is a mutual learning process.

Stakeholders would also each benefit substantially from working on communication. A lack of information regarding processes or limitations can lead to many negative assumptions.

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JCPZ Nature Conservator, interviewed on 26 July 2016 at Kloofendal Nature Reserve, Roodepoort.

KNRF Chairperson, interviewed on 3 August 2016 at Mugg & Bean, Mulbarton.

FRoK Chairperson, interviewed on 10 August 2016 in Florida Park.

FRoK Member, interviewed on 10 August 2016 in Florida Park.

JCPZ Manager of Manager of Protected Areas, interviewed on 12 August 2016 at Klipriviersberg Nature Reserve, Kibler Park.

KlipSA Chairperson, interviewed on 15 August 2016 at Mike's Kitchen, Parktown.

KlipSA Member, interviewed on 18 August 2016 in Rosettenville.

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Annexures

Annexure A: Interview Guideline

Given that the research is still in the early stages, the following are more interview guidelines that a set list of questions. They may be changed as the research progresses.

A. Introducing the Research Project to interviewee

The aim of the project is to understand the relationships that exist between city officials and committees in the management of urban nature reserves. How they interact with each other and what the nature of discourses is when they engage each other.

B. Explaining the research project to interviewee

The research is a comparative study of three nature reserves. Findings from the research will be compiled into a written document (the format of which has not been decided) that will be available to you for feedback and commentary before it is finalized. It will include what was gathered through interviews, observations at meetings and visits to the reserve, and media and official record findings. Participants will be granted anonymity if they expressly request it as the interest of the research is not to target any individuals.

C. Interview themes and guiding questions

I. History of the committee and Interviewee's role:
   1) How long has the FoGHP been in existence?
   2) Why was it established?
   3) How long have you been a member of the association and what positions have you occupied in these periods?

II. History of the relationship/ engagement
   1) What is the main manner of communicating between JCPZ and committee? Is it monthly meeting, an AGM...?
   2) (If some form of the above exists) How long has this interaction been in play?
   3) (if no regularized communication) How do you communicate with each other?
   4) (if invitations have been extended to JCPZ without attendance) Are you able to attend the committees meeting? Is it an issue of time or…?

5) As (JCPZ official/ Committee) what specifically is your role in managing the reserve?
6) Where does (the other party: JCPZ/ committee) fall in these activities?

III. Maintenance and management
1) What is the role of the association in the management of the park?
2) In the maintenance of the reserve, how have both parties established what each party's role is?
3) Are there specific activities that the committee has or currently is doing in the nature reserve with regards to maintenance?
4) Are these agreed upon between both the committee and JCPZ?

IV. Public utilization with regards to vision building?
1) Would you say that the reserve is relatively busy? Is it well used?
2) What are the common reasons why people come to the reserve? Is it joggers, hikers, picnickers?
3) What uses does the committee/ JCPZ think need to be cultivated to ensure the sustained maintenance and diverse use of the reserve?
4) What programs or projects has the association implemented thus far to either involve the community to help maintain the reserve?
5) How can development imperatives somehow be aligned with conservation within the context of financial sustainability?

V. Investment
1) Are there any monetary obstacles regarding maintenance or operation of the reserve?
2) If yes, what are they?
3) Does the committee make any financial contributions to any solving any issues come up?
4) Have entrance fees ever been reconsidered as an income generation initiative to help with maintaining the reserve? What about hosting events? These could be considered as low impact activities. They wouldn't necessarily require any type of building or structural changes to the reserve.
5) Has there been investment into the park from other parties?

Annexure B: Memorandum of Agreement between Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo, and Friends of Kloofendal Nature Reserve







MEMORANDUM OF AGREEMENT

Between

JOHANNESBURG CITY PARKS NPC T/A JOHANNESBURG CITY PARKS & ZOO (Hereinafter referred to as"JCPZ")

and

FRIENDS OF KLOOFENDAL Registration Number NPO 092-239 (Hereinafter referred to as the "FroK")

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PREAMBLE

A. Whereas JCPZ intends to enter into this Agreement with FroK regarding the use of the Ecological Centre by FroK, which centre is situated at the Kloofendal Nature Reserve.

B. The Parties will combine their objectives and make the best possible use of the Ecological Centre. Make every effort to jointly take care of the ecology and environment of Kloofendal Nature Reserve to the benefit of the public and the future of Kloofendal as a Nature Reserve.

C. And whereas in implementing this Agreement and in all dealings with each other, the Parties undertake to observe the utmost good faith and to give full effect to the intent and purpose if this Agreement.

NOW THEREFORE THE PARTIES AGREE AS FOLLOWS:

1 INTERPRETATION

1.1 In this Agreement, unless inconsistent with or otherwise indicated by the context, the following words or expressions shall bear the following meanings:-

1.1.1 “Agreement” means this Agreement and any annexures hereto which annexures shall form part of this Agreement, and in the event of any conflict between this Agreement and the annexures, the provisions of clause 1.9 shall apply;

1.1.2 “Assets” means the list of FroK assets (inventory) submitted to JCPZ by FroK;

1.1.3 “COJ” means the City of Johannesburg Metropolitan Municipality established in terms of Section 12 of the Municipal Structures Act 117 of 1998;

1.1.4 “Ecological Centre” means the Environmental Education Centre situated at Kloofendal Nature Reserve;

1.1.5 “Effective Date” means the date that this Agreement becomes enforceable which date shall be the date of last signature hereto;

1.1.6 “FroK” means the Friends of Kloofendal, a non-profit organisation duly registered and incorporated in accordance with the company laws of the Republic of South Africa under registration number: NPO 092-239 and with its principal place of business situated at 24 Mail Street Florida Park 1709;

1.1.7 “JCPZ” means Johannesburg City Parks NPC t/a Johannesburg City Parks and Zoo (NPC), a non-profit company duly registered and incorporated in accordance with the company laws of the Republic

of South Africa under registration number: 2000/028782/08 and with its principal place of business situated at City Parks House, 40 De Korte Street Braamfontein, 2000;

1.1.8 “Kloofendal Nature Reserve” means the nature reserve situated at Corner Amphitheatre and Galena Roads, Kloofendal;

1.1.9 “Parties” means JCPZ AND FroK collectively and “Party” refers to any one of them, as the context may require;

1.2 Any reference to the singular includes the plural and vice versa;

1.3 Any reference to natural persons includes legal persons and vice versa;

1.4 Any reference to gender includes the other gender;

1.5 Any reference to an enactment is to that enactment as at the date of signature and as amended or re-enacted from time to time and includes any subordinate legislation made from time to time under such enactment;

1.6 Where appropriate, meanings ascribed to defined words and expressions in 1.1 above, shall impose substantive obligations on the Parties;

1.7 The clause headings in this Agreement have been inserted for convenience only and shall not be taken into account in its interpretation;

1.8 Words and expressions defined in any sub clause shall, for the purposes of the clause of which that sub clause forms part, bear the meaning assigned to such words and expressions in that sub clause;

1.9 In the event of conflict the provisions of this Agreement are to be read in the following order of precedence in relation to that conflict;

1.9.1 this Agreement excluding the relevant annexure;

1.9.2 the relevant annexure;

1.9.3 any documents/s incorporated by reference.

1.10 Defined terms appearing in this Agreement in title case shall be given their meaning as defined, while the same terms appearing in lower case shall be interpreted in accordance with their plain English meaning, and shall, unless the context otherwise requires, include the terms as defined;

1.11 Where figures are referred to in numerals and in words, and there is any conflict between the two, the words shall prevail, unless the context indicates a contrary intention.

2 PURPOSE OF AGREEMENT

2.1 To formalize the relationship between the Parties and to record the terms and conditions relating to the Parties' obligations.

2.2 Encourage and promote volunteers to contribute to Kloofendal Nature Reserve;

2.3 Define the conditions of use by FroK of JCPZ' Ecological Centre and other assets at Kloofendal Nature Reserve;

2.4 Channel communication between JCPZ and FroK which will enable the Parties to work well together.

3 RECITAL

3.1 JCPZ is the agency mandated to protect, preserve and promote Johannesburg's parks, open spaces and nature reserves. Through its Ecological Centre located at Kloofendal Nature Reserve, JCPZ wishes to: -

3.1.1 Support, facilitate and strengthen schools in their efforts to improve environmental quality through environmental education and awareness;

3.1.2 Reinforce classroom learning through outdoor environmental education activities in the reserve;

3.1.3 Change attitudes and values with regards to the environment; and

3.1.4 Showcase the tangible benefits of the environment through hands-on activities.

3.2 FroK was founded to protect, preserve and promote the Kloofendal Nature Reserve, which falls under JCPZ's mandate. FroK has a range of events and courses to bring to the community, under the pillars of Ecology, Environment Education and Entertainment. FroK wishes to: -

3.2.1 Preserve Kloofendal's unique habitat for future generations;

3.2.2 Preserve the Confidence Reef, the gateway to the Gold Rush that built Johannesburg; with a combination of stamp mills, steam engines, dams gold trails and gold pits, together with an on-site historian;

3.2.3 Have regular walks presentations and educational programmes aimed at as many of Joburg's residents as possible;

3.2.4 Have quality performances using the amphitheatre in a controlled and environmental friendly way; and

3.2.5 Assist where possible with invasive alien vegetation removal.

4 DURATION OF AGREEMENT

4.1 This Agreement shall commence on the Effective Date and will continue for twelve (12) months unless terminated in accordance with the termination clauses herein. The Agreement may be extended for a further period subject to agreement by the Parties.

4.2 The Party wishing to extend the duration of the Agreement must advise the other Party of its intention to extend in writing two (2) months prior to the termination date.

5 PARTIES OBLIGATIONS

5.1 FroK shall: -

5.1.1 Be responsible for the implementation of the environmental education programme as agreed to by the Parties and will coordinate and facilitate the activities outlined in this Agreement;

5.1.2 Have no exclusive right to the use of all facilities at Kloofendal Nature Reserve including the Ecological Centre;

5.1.3 Declare all assets housed at the Ecological Centre and obtain approval of same in writing from JCPZ within seven (7) working days prior to such assets being placed at the centre. Assets stored at the centre will be used to promote environmental education and the Kloofendal Nature Reserve, including the mining and cultural history of the reserve;

5.1.4 Not prevent any member of the public from entering into the Nature Reserve and enjoying the reserve;

5.1.5 On termination of this Agreement, remove all its assets from the Ecological Centre;

5.1.6 FroK intends to use the Ecological Centre for the following: -

- Promoting JCPZ, Kloofendal Nature Reserve and FroK;
- Environmental education and information;
- Displays and Exhibitions;
- Meetings and Workshops,
- Its AGM; and

- Any other event that falls outside this Agreement will be treated similar to any application to hold an event in JCPZ's facilities.

5.2 JCPZ shall: -

5.2.1 Conduct random spot checks on the quality, organisation, scale and audited financial statements of the environmental education programme undertaken by FroK;

5.2.2 Permit FroK to house its assets at the Ecological Centre at FroK's own risk;

5.2.3 Permit FroK to utilise the Ecological Centre and Nature Reserve on condition that:-

- All programmes conducted at the Centre are agreed upon quarterly and the JCPZ booking procedure must be adhered to by FroK;

- Free use of the Ecological Centre is permitted on condition that FroK undertakes to conduct environmental education awareness programmes to ten (10) school groups per annum (one bus load per visit) selected by JCPZ free of charge. This is done in order to contribute to environmental education of previously disadvantaged schools;

- Apart from environmental education activities, the centre will be available for JCPZ' staff meetings and/or other JCPZ business;

- All external institutions must book through JCPZ.

6 COMMUNICATION

6.1 Each Party will, as soon as reasonably possible after the effective date, appoint a contact person;

6.2 FroK shall appoint and advise JCPZ of the name of the authorised Manager/Representative who shall act as the counterpart of JCPZ' Manager/Representative. The Parties will meet as often as the two Managers/Representatives deem necessary;

6.3 Each Party shall be entitled to change its contact person on written notice to the other party and to advise of the replacement Manager/Representative;

6.4 All meetings held by the Parties are to be recorded / minuted by the either of the Parties (to be agreed by the Parties) and all minutes of the meetings are to be kept in a file;

6.5 In order to avoid conflict regarding the activities held by either Party at the Ecological Centre and/or the Nature Reserve, Parties will communicate regularly with each other.

7 BRANDING AND MARKETING

7.1 All joint media interviews and/or communication will at all times reflect the relationship of the Parties. FroK will at all times obtain JCPZ' express written approval prior to any joint media communication;

7.2 The Parties shall agree to present any such media/marketing material to each other for approval before jointly publishing or distributing. Co-branding will be reflected on all marketing material at all times;

7.3 FroK will obtain JCPZ's consent on all boards/signage to be placed on site prior to such boards being placed on site;

7.4 FroK shall protect JCPZ's reputation at all times and vice versa;

8 GENERAL TERMS

8.1 FroK will seek prior approval from JCPZ pertaining to all events that it would like to host at the Ecological Centre. No event will take place without the necessary written approval from JCPZ. JCPZ to advise on the processes to be followed regarding events;

8.2 FroK will seek the necessary advice from JCPZ regarding FroK's projects especially those that have a direct impact on JCPZ and vice versa;

8.3 JCPZ reserves the right to grant any other Organisation/s the use of the Ecological Centre and/or to facilitate and implement environmental education programmes on behalf of JCPZ;

8.4 JCPZ will view very negatively a FroK member who exploits the privileged access of FroK to the Ecological Centre and abuses JCPZ's assets for personal gain. The necessary action will be taken against the member as deemed appropriate by the FroK Chairperson;

8.5 FroK will take the necessary action against any FroK member who unreasonably brings disrepute to JCPZ as a whole and any officer in particular;

8.6 FroK may make use of the Ecological Centre and funds derived from the use thereof will be used for the benefit of the Reserve. FroK must provide JCPZ with tangible proof regarding funds used to benefit the Nature Reserve. Private individuals may not make use of the Centre for personal gain.

8.7 Kloofendal Nature Reserve including the Ecological Centre remain the property of the COJ, as such, JCPZ will continue to inspect/monitor the Nature Reserve without notice to FroK;

8.8 JCPZ's contact person will attend the FroK AGM on invitation by FroK;

8.9 FroK will notify JCPZ on any issue that affects the on-going protection, preservation and promotion of Kloofendal Nature Reserve. Parties will agree on a way forward in resolving the issue;

9 RELATIONSHIP OF THE PARTIES

The relationship between the Parties does not amount to either Party being the agent of the other. Neither Party shall be entitled to bind the other in any of its dealings with third parties. None of the parties shall make presentations contrary to the terms of this Agreement to any third parties and neither of the Parties shall be liable to such third parties by reason of any representation, act or omission of the other which is contrary to the provisions hereof.

10 RISK

10.1 FroK shall assume all risk for the safety of its members during the duration of this Agreement;

10.2 FroK shall assume all risk for the safety of its assets placed at the Ecological Centre. JCPZ will not be held liable for any loss as a result of theft and/or damage of the assets;

10.3 FroK shall assume all risk for any incident/damage/accident that may occur in the execution of its activities, for instance, including but not limited to, any damage to the general public's property;

10.4 FroK shall be responsible for any damage caused to any building, vehicle and/or other infrastructure during the performance of its activities.

11 INDEMNITY

11.1 FroK will indemnify JCPZ in respect of the following: -

11.1.1 For any negligent acts or omissions committed by any of its members;

11.1.2 For any legal expenses or expenditure reasonably incurred in connection with any actions or claims emanating from the above mentioned in Clause 11.1.1.

11.1.3 Under no circumstances will JCPZ be held liable for any indirect or consequential damages or liabilities of whatsoever nature that may result in any of the following: -

- Any injuries of any of FroK's members on site or death as a result;
- Penalties due to non-compliance with relevant legislation;
- Claims that may arise during or after the termination of this Agreement due to the members' activities.

- It is irrevocably agreed by FroK that in the event of there being any claim made by any person and/or party and/or company whatsoever against JCPZ arising out of this Agreement, that FroK shall indemnify and hold JCPZ harmless and shall settle such claim made by any Party against JCPZ as envisaged herein.

12 TERMINATION AND CANCELLATION

12.1 This Agreement be terminated by either Party giving the other Party one (1) month's prior written notice of such termination.

12.2 Notwithstanding anything to the contrary herein contained, either Party may cancel this Agreement in writing without having to give notice if either Party commits an act of insolvency. For the purpose of this clause, an act of insolvency shall occur if the Party concerned: -

12.2.1 is provisionally or finally liquidated or placed under judicial management or business rescue;

12.2.2 makes any assignment for the benefit of its creditors;

12.2.3 has any pertinent license to conduct business suspended, removed or impaired by any order or decree of any regulatory or judicial authority; or

12.2.4 makes or attempts to make or recommends any offer of compromise with its creditors; or

12.2.5 gives any notice of; or takes any steps to convene a meeting of its shareholders to adopt a resolution placing it in liquidation or under judicial management or business rescue, in any case whether provisionally, voluntarily or finally; or

12.2.6 commits an act which would, if such party were a natural person, be an act of insolvency in terms of section 8 of the Insolvency Act, No. 24 of 1936; or

12.2.7 Any of the assets of either Party are subjected to judicial attachment and the Party concerned fails to procure the release of such assets from attachment within 60 (sixty) days of their attachment, except that if the Party concerned provides evidence on an on-going basis to the reasonable satisfaction of the other party, that steps have been initiated within 60 (sixty) days to appeal, review or rescind the attachment order and to procure the suspension of the attachment. The period of 60 (sixty) days shall run from the date the attachment order becomes final or the attempt to procure the suspension of the attachment fails.

12.3 Should this Agreement be terminated, any monies outstanding by either Party to the other in terms of this Agreement shall be immediately due and payable.

13 BREACH

13.1 Except if stated otherwise in this Agreement, if either of the parties ("the defaulting party") fails to take steps reasonably satisfactory to the other party ("the aggrieved party") to remedy the material breach of any of the defaulting party's obligations under this Agreement within a period of seven (7) days of receiving a notice from the aggrieved party specifying the nature of the material breach and calling for it to be remedied, the aggrieved party shall be entitled to cancel the Agreement against the defaulting party or to claim immediate payment and/or specific performance by the defaulting party of all the defaulting party's obligations whether or not the due date for payment and/or performance shall have arrived, in either event without prejudice to the aggrieved party's rights to claim damages.

13.2 The foregoing is without prejudice to such other rights as the aggrieved party may have in law.

14 DISPUTE AND ARBITRATION

14.1 Any dispute which arises shall be referred to a committee consisting of two (2) members appointed by the FroK and 2 (two) members appointed by JCPZ, or alternate persons appointed by them, who will use their best efforts to resolve the dispute within thirty (30) days of the dispute having been referred to them.

14.2 In the event that the Parties are unable to resolve the dispute then such dispute shall be escalated to the Chairperson of FroK and the appropriate Executive from JCPZ to attempt to bring finality to the dispute and make a final decision on the dispute which shall be binding.

15 LEGAL COSTS

All legal costs as between attorney and his own client, charges and disbursements and fees of a like nature, incurred by either party in successfully enforcing or defending any of the provisions of this Agreement, or any claim there under, shall be for the account of the other party and be payable on demand.

16 DOMICILLIUM CITANDI ET EXECUTANDI

16.1 The Parties hereby choose as their domicilium citandi et executandi for all purpose under this Agreement, whether in respect of court processes, notices, or communications of any nature, the following addresses:

Johannesburg City Parks

City Parks House

40 De Korte Street

Braamfontein

Tel: 011 712 6600

Fax: 011 403 4495

Attention:Louise Gordon

(smagolo@jhbcityparks.com)

Friends Of Kloofendal

24 Mail Street

Florida Park

1709

Tel: 011 674 2980/079 693 5608

Fax: 086 670 9325

Attention:

Stephen M. Spottiswoode (sspotty@pixie.co.za)

16.2 The Parties hereto shall be entitled to change their address for purposes of this Clause, provided that any new address selected shall be an address, other than a box number and any such change shall only be effective upon receipt of notice by the other Party of such change.

16.3 A notice sent by one Party to another Party shall be deemed to have been received: -

16.3.1 on the same day, if delivered by hand;

16.3.2 on the following day, if sent by telefax and proof of successful transmission is provided;

16.3.3 on the 7th day after posting, if sent by prepaid registered mail

16.4 Notwithstanding anything to the contrary herein contained, a written notice or communication actually received by a Party shall be adequate written notice or communication to it notwithstanding that it was not sent to or delivered at its chosen address for the purpose of receiving such notice.

17 ENTIRE AGREEMENT

This Agreement contains the entire agreement between the Parties and supersedes all previous contemporaneous communications, representations, understandings, or agreements, all of which is merged herein.

18 VARIATIONS

The Parties herby agree that this Service Level Agreement accurately reflects the agreement entered into between them and no variation, modification or waiver of any provision thereof, or consent to any departure there from shall in any event be of any force or effect unless confirmed in writing and signed by both Parties, and then such variation, modification, waiter or consent shall be effective only in the specific instance and for the purpose and to the extent for which made or given.

19 RELAXATION

No latitude, extension of time or other indulgence which may be given or allowed by any/either Party to another in respect of the performance of any obligation hereunder or the enforcement of any right arising from this Service Level Agreement and any single or partial exercise of any right by any Party shall under any circumstances be construed to be an implied consent by such Party or operate as a waiver or a novation of, or otherwise affect any of that Party's rights in terms of or arising from this Agreement or stop in such Party from enforcing, at any time and without notice, strict and punctual compliance with each and every provision or term hereof.

THUS DONE AND SIGNED AT JOHANNESBURG ON THIS THE DAY OF FEBRUARY 2016

For and on behalf of

JOHANNESBURG CITY PARKS

As Witnesses:

1.

2.

BULUMKO NELANA MANAGING DIRECTOR

who warrants that he is duly authorised

THUS DONE AND SIGNED AT JOHANNESBURG ON THIS THE DAY OF FEBRUARY 2016

For and on behalf of FRIENDS OF KLOOFENDAL

As Witnesses:

1.

2.

STEPHEN MORRISON SPOTTISWOODE

who warrants that s/he is duly authorised

Annexure C: Parking Lot Development Plan



[redacted]

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING
HUMAN RESERCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

SCHOOL OF ARCHITECTURE AND PLANNING

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE
PROTOCOL NUMBER: SOAP84/24/06/2016

PROJECT TITLE:	Constructing a joint vision for the management of urban nature reserves in Johannesburg: City Parks users committee engagements in Melville Koppies, Klipriviersberg and Kloofendal nature reserves
INVESTIGATOR/S:	Tlholohelo Mokgere (Student No. 721930)
SCHOOL:	Architecture and Planning
DEGREE PROGRAMME:	BSc Honours Urban and Regional Planning
DATE CONSIDERED:	18 July 2016
DECISION OF THE COMMITTEE:	APPROVED
EXPIRY DATE:	18 July 2017

CHAIRPERSON _____
(Professor Daniel Irurah)

DATE: 18-07-2016

cc: Supervisor/s: Claire Benit-Gbaffou

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATORS

I/We fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorised to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure to be contemplated from the research procedure as approved I/we undertake to resubmit the protocol to the Committee.

_____ 19/07/2016

School of Architecture & Planning
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3 Wits 2050
Johannesburg South Africa
www.wits.ac.za

T +27 11 717 7958
F +27 11 717 7949