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**NATURE CONSERVATION, PROTECTED AREAS AND LOCAL COMMUNITIES:
THE TSITSIKAMMA NATIONAL PARK**



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ABSTRACT

Since the twentieth century, protected areas, usually in the form of nature reserves or national parks, have become increasingly more dominant as an international conservation strategy. An important factor in protected area management is the relationship between protected areas and its surrounding communities. Historically, the fortress conservation model based on the exclusion of human use and occupation prevailed in relation to protected areas. It is known that this approach brought with it many social and environmental injustices to local communities living in or adjacent to parks. However, a shift in conservation thinking occurred towards the end of the twentieth century, where it has increasingly been advocated for a more participatory approach in protected area management.

South Africa has signed the international Convention on Biological Diversity that promotes a participatory approach to nature conservation, which is also reflected in the country's national laws and policies. In relation to the literature and the lens of political ecology, this thesis sets out to assess in what ways and to what extent the participatory approach has been embraced by South Africa's conservation authorities. As a case study, it looks at the Tsitsikamma National Park (incorporated into the larger Garden Route National Park).

In order to get insight on how the participatory approach plays itself out at the TNP and what the nature of local communities' relationship with the park is, this study looks at the aspects of (1) local communities' socio-economic conditions, (2) their relationship with their natural environment, (3) their perception of nature conservation and (4) their perception of tourism. Then, taking all these aspects into account, (5) how local communities, in general, perceive their relationship with the park and its authorities.

This study looked at the communities of Kurland, Nature's Valley, Covie and Storms River. It shows in concurrence with other studies, that despite progressive laws and policies that express the intention of the South African state and SANParks to embrace the participatory approach, its implementation on the ground is riddled with challenges.

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Introduction

Since the ‘great acceleration’ of the mid-twentieth century, the human enterprise has dominated the earth, with rapid population growth, mass urbanisation, acceleration in technological advancement and an expanding global economy (Alpizar 2006; Marten 2001; Lewis and Maslin 2015). However, since the 1970’s scientific evidence increasingly suggested that we are finding ourselves in the midst of a global environmental crisis. This crisis entails, among others, anthropogenic climate change, rapid natural resource depletion and loss of biodiversity, and this can now be considered one of the greatest challenges of our time (Adams et al. 2004; Alpizar 2006; Buscher and Fletcher 2019; Little 2007). Attempts at restoration of the earth’s ecosystems and the conservation of its biological diversity are thus considered of paramount importance. This is with the understanding that biological diversity is a prerequisite for ecosystem resilience and as such the continuation of many of earth’s life forms, including the ecosystem services that humans depend on (Ehrlich 1982; Hutton and Leader-Williams 2003).

The establishment of protected areas are a form of nature conservation of particular interest. It is characterised as formally designated areas for nature conservation, with the function of restricting or regulating human interaction with the environment under protection (Adams 2009, Buscher and Fletcher 2019; Katikiro et al. 2015; Neumann 2015). The latter has become increasingly more dominant as an international conservation strategy since the twentieth century (Adams et al. 2004; Adams and Hutton 2007, Blount and Pitchon 2007) and usually manifest in the form of nature reserves and national parks (Ramutsindela 2004, Scherl et al 2004).

As the rationale for protected areas is the protection of nature against the destruction and overexploitation of its resources by humans, it has often come in conflict with the interests of local communities (Adams and Hutton 2007, Buscher and Fletcher 2019). This is especially so with local communities living within the boundaries of protected areas or adjacent to it (Chan and Satterfield 2007; Dahlberg et al. 2010). Whereas historically the fortress conservation model, based on the exclusion of human use and occupation, prevailed in relation to protected areas (Holmes et al 2005; Sunde and Isaacs 2008), a shift in conservation thinking has taken place (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010). Since the latter part of the twentieth century, it has increasingly been advocated for a participatory approach in protected area management (Adams 2009, Faasen 2006; Vaccaro et al. 2013).

Advocacy for a participatory approach are mainly based on three aspects. Firstly, it entails the recognition of the place of humans as part of the ecosystem (Berkes 2004; Buscher and Fletcher 2019; Watts and Faasen 2009, Scherl et al 2004). Secondly, it is based on ideas around sustainable development and social and environmental justice. Thirdly, the idea based on more pragmatic grounds, that the participation of local communities in protected area management may lead to more effective conservation (Adams 2009, Aswani et al. 2018, Reed 2008, Weladji et al. 2003).

Through a case study of South Africa's largest and oldest coastal reserve (Sowman et. al 2011, Watts and Faasen 2009), the Tsitsikamma National Park (TNP)¹, the aim of this study is to look through the theoretical lens of political ecology at local communities' perception of their relationship with the park. This is in order to assess in what ways and to what extent the South African state and its conservation authority, SANParks, have embraced the

¹ On 6 March 2009, the Tsitsikamma National Park was amalgamated with the Wilderness National Park and various other areas of land to form the Garden Route National Park.

participatory approach to nature conservation and protected area management at the TNP, as set out in the country's laws and policies.

A political ecology lens is used as it highlights a kaleidoscopic image of the interwoven nature of the historical, cultural, ecological, social, economic and political aspects of human-environment relations (Borgerhoff-Mulder and Coppolillo 2005; Escobar 1999; Robbins 2012). It is thus an important tool of analysis. An historical approach is valued in a political ecology analysis as this is one of the ways of guarding against apolitical analyses of contemporary phenomena (Davis 2015). Within the context of nature conservation, it is especially important to understand why certain cultural perspectives dominate the prevailing discourse. As such, it highlights the importance of history in shaping dominant conservation discourse and the power relations embedded therein, that carries consequences to this day (Adams and Hutton 2007; Dahlberg et al. 2010; Sowman and Sunde 2018). Thus, it can be said that political ecology is also concerned with cultural perspectives and identities. Milton (1999) proposes for analytical purposes, an understanding of culture as referring to that which exists in people's minds - their ways of perceiving and interpreting the world around them and the historical processes that shaped it (Escobar 1999). It is then the understanding of conservation practices and ideologies as an expression of particular cultural perspectives of nature, conservation and the place of humans (Milton 1999). Furthermore, the way power plays a role in the dominance of a particular cultural perspective above others is appreciated as part of broader political processes (Adams and Hutton 2007).

Thus, political ecology also places a strong focus on marginalised populations and social groups, recognising that culture and the environment are embedded in politics of social power (Escobar 1998; Holifield 2015; Robbins 2012). It frames the questions of who has

power and why within a broader context, paying attention to deeper institutional and structural conditions that may underlie domination, inequality and maldistribution (Adams and Hutton 2007; Aswani et al. 2018; Holifield 2015). Moreover, and importantly, its lens is not limited to a local level of understanding of phenomena but takes into cognition the interlinkages between local, national and international processes in its analysis.

In this research study I asked the following questions in light of the literature review and the lens of political ecology; (1) to what extent does local socio-economic conditions influence the relationship between the park and its local communities, (2) how do local communities' relationship with their natural environment influence their relationship with the park, (3) how do local communities' perception of nature conservation influence their relationship with the park, (4) how do local communities' perception of tourism influence their relationship with the park and (5) how do the local communities in general, taking into account all the aforementioned aspects, perceive their relationship with the park and its authorities.

These questions are asked in order to answer the main research question that seeks to understand the nature of the relationship between local communities and the TNP and its authorities. This is in order to assess in what ways and to what extent the South African state and its conservation authority, SANParks, have embraced the participatory approach to nature conservation and protected area management at the TNP, as set out in the country's laws and policies.

Chapter 1 is a review of the relevant literature as it pertains to nature conservation, protected areas and local communities. The first section of this chapter is an overview of the ideas that shaped nature conservation ideologies and practices and looks at what the implications of these were historically. The second section discusses the shift in conservation thinking

towards an ideology of inclusion and participation of local people. This section also looks at the subsequent emergence of a 'back to barriers' narrative and the arguments made against it. The third section takes a deeper look at challenges pertaining to the participatory approach.

Chapter 2 sets out to give background to the case study by (1) setting out a description of the location of the case study area, (2) a brief history of its local communities and resource use, as well as (3) a brief overview of previous studies conducted on the topic in the local area.

Chapter 3 sets out (1) the methodology for data collection, (2) explains the data analysis process, (3) sets out the ethical issues considered and (4) discuss the major limitations to this study.

Chapter 4 presents the findings from the data collected and analysed. Chapter 5 is (1) a discussion of the findings, in relation to the literature review and research sub-questions and sets out (2) the implications of this study, as well as (3) its limitations.

The Conclusion ultimately answers the main research question of what, from a local community perspective, is the nature of their relationship with the park and its authorities. This is in order to get insight on the ways in which, and the extent to which the park has embraced the participatory approach to nature conservation and protected area management at the TNP. It also reiterates its implications, its limitations and sets out recommendations.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

1.1 History of nature conservation and protected areas: the fortress conservation model

The historical narratives of nature conservation, as it relates to protected areas, are often ones of injustices perpetrated against local communities under the exclusionary approach of the fortress conservation model (Adams 2009; Hutton et.al 2005; Watts and Faasen 2009). According to Brockington (2002) fortress conservation entails the alienation of land and the subsequent act of defending conservation activities within its bounds against the impacts of human interference. This is with the understanding of landscapes without human interference as pristine patches of wilderness (Adams and Hutton 2007; Brockington 2002, Ramutsindela 2004). It is then the idea that this pristine nature should be saved and protected for humankind and its future generations (Brockington 2002).

1.1.1 Nature vs culture dichotomy

Many scholars point out that the idea of a pristine wilderness without humans is based on the nature versus culture dichotomy predominant in western cultural thinking (Adams and Hutton 2007; Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Dahlberg et al. 2010, Moran 2006, Ramutsindela 2004). It is said that in Europe the fascination emerges, especially amongst its upper classes, with the mystic of ‘wild’ nature, unspoiled by the human hand (Finney 2014, Neumann 1998). From this is born a culture around picturesque landscapes, manifested in its poetry, literature, paintings and architecture (Neumann 1998). These picturesque natural landscapes then served as a cultural expression of nostalgia for a bygone pastoral past (Neumann 1998). As such, by the eighteenth- and nineteen centuries in Europe, pristine nature, outside the civilised human-altered landscapes, became of high aesthetic and sentimental value (Neumann 1998).

The nostalgic fascination with the wild and with pristine nature, as opposed to civilised spaces altered by the human hand, continued in the cultural values of Anglo-American society. It is within this context that the Yellowstone National Park in the United States was founded in 1872 (Adams 2009, Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010; Martin et al 2013, Neumann 1998, Vaccaro et al. 2013). A cultural understanding of nature embedded in aesthetic and sentimental values continued and the idea of pictorial nature remained central in the US national park ideal (Neumann 1998). While certain forms of human presence were permitted in the idea of a national park (Adams 2009; Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010), the distinction between humans and nature continued (Adams and Hutton 2007).

Scholars do, however, point out that the distinction made between humans and the natural world in the form of pristine wilderness is a fantasy (Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Martin et al. 2013; Moran 2006). It is noted that it would be extremely hard to find a ‘natural’ landscape that is untouched by humans. This is as humans have for several hundred thousand years had an impact on what could be perceived as ‘natural landscapes’. As Moran (2006) puts it “[t]ime and again when we think we have found untouched nature, we discover that the area had been occupied by prehistoric humans’ (Moran 2006: 57).

Furthermore, some scholars have also noted that the notion embedded in protected area management, that there is a certain type of nature that should be preserved, has its fallacies (Caveen et al. 2015, Neumann 1998, Ramutsindela 2004). As both Lackey (2001) and Moran (2006) point out, there is no absolute nature that can be preserved. Rather, as Moran explains:

“natural forces and human forces are always shaping and re-shaping nature so that over time it is reconstituted with different assemblages of plants and animals – and given enough time, even its geology and

climate can be shaped, since these are systems characterized by biological complexity” (2006:59).

As such a clear distinction between humans and nature cannot be made. In fact, humans, as biological species, are an organic part of a complex ecosystem and have never been separate from it (Moran 2006).

Interestingly, Adams (2009) notes that while national parks in the US continued along the divide between humans and nature, a shift in thinking occurred in Europe, especially after the second world war. Nature was no longer predominantly perceived as pristine, rather the understanding developed that it is deeply affected by human management (Adams and Hutton 2007; Adams 2009). Within this new view, continued human use of the land came to be appreciated and aesthetic value was attached to beautiful lived-in landscapes, such as the Lake District, Peak district and Dartmoor in Britain (Adams and Hutton; Adams 2009).

1.1.2 South Africa’s first protected areas

Yellowstone was the first national park in the world (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010; Neumann 1998), as such it served as a prominent example for the national park ideal worldwide, especially in the developing world (Adams and Hutton 2007; Adams 2009, Andrade and Rhodes 2012; Martin et al. 2013). South Africa is one of the countries that has drawn inspiration directly from Yellowstone in the creation of its own first national park (Adams and Hutton 2007; Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010; Carruthers 1995, Ramutsindela 2004).

In the run-up towards the establishment of a national park in South Africa, national parks in the US, and especially Yellowstone, were recurrently mentioned over the years as an example of what the country should strive for (Carruthers 1995, Ramutsindela 2004). From the

inception of the idea of a national park in the Legislative Assembly in 1907 up to the second reading of the National Parks Bill presented to the House of Assembly in 1926, Yellowstone remained cited as the source of inspiration (Adams and Hutton 2007; Carruthers 1995, Ramutsindela 2004). The National Parks Act was then promulgated in 1926, together with the establishment of the country's first national reserve, the Kruger National Park (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010; Carruthers 1995; Faasen 2006).

In South Africa, ideas around conservation were initially based on concerns about the decimation of wildlife on which its settler economy depended (Barrow and Fabricius 2002, Carruthers 1995). Carruthers (1995) notes that Afrikaner settlers were alike to the native peoples, in that their cultural perspective of nature and wildlife was primarily based on its economic and livelihood value. This was especially so in the pioneering years of the former Afrikaner state of Transvaal in the early nineteenth century (Carruthers 1995). At this stage both Afrikaner whites and non-whites depended on hunting wildlife for consumption and trade (Carruthers 1995).

However, as the pioneering lifestyle of the settlers gave way to settled agriculture, together with increasing British influence, a change in the public perception of wildlife occurred. Wildlife was being transformed from an object of high utilisation and economic value open to everyone, towards a more exclusive object of recreational value for the white elite, to the exclusion of poor whites and non-whites, who continued to rely on its subsistence and economic value (Carruthers 1995; Martin et al. 2013). This was based on the growing sentiment among the elite that hunting for pleasure was more ethical and less cruel than the vilified hunting for subsistence and commercial purposes (Carruthers 1995). Furthermore, due to the difficulties of enforcing the regulations on wildlife hunting amongst the lower

classes, towards the end of the century, the state turned to game reserves as a resource protection strategy (Carruthers 1995).

Similar to the US, in South Africa, national parks were about more than just preservation of the natural landscape and the conservation thereof for future generations, it was also about national identity-making and economic opportunities in the form of tourism (Carruthers 1995, Finney 2014, Ramutsindela 2004).

Based on the American national park ideal, spaces of the wild had to be separated from human activities (Adams 2009). However, not entirely so, as certain forms of human activities were to be allowed and others not. As Carruthers (1995) notes, in the early twentieth century, with the new national state of South Africa, enthusiasm for the “medieval-type” game reserves of the previous century waned in the face of a general commitment to economic development and modernisation (Carruthers 1995). At the same time, the post Anglo-Boer war national unification of Afrikaans-speaking and English-speaking whites required the cultivation of a common white South African identity (Carruthers 1995, Ramutsindela 2004). Also, in line with the objective of national identity-making, a shift in environmental thinking was taking place. It entailed a move away from a preservationist approach to the protection of wildlife, towards an approach where it was not just about increasing wildlife herds but also the idea that the wildlife and its habitats should be for the enjoyment of people and future generations. As Carruthers (1995) further notes, what differentiates the game reserves from a national park, is the idea that the national park exists for the benefit of the public who have a right to enter it and enjoy it.

The above nationalistic agendas did not include non-whites but were aimed at white South Africans (Carruthers 1995, Ramutsindela 2004). This coincided with a shift in white South

African's attitude towards wildlife brought on by the fact that upper class whites and those of poorer classes were united in the declaration of wildlife as culturally and sentimentally important to all whites (Carruthers 1995). Furthermore, industrialisation and urbanisation, that overall improved the material circumstances of white South Africans, helped to shift the thinking away from wildlife as a subsistence and economic resource, to something that is for enjoyment, and of which its aesthetic value should be appreciated and conserved for future generations (Carruthers 1995).

Furthermore, as in the US, the economic value of national parks through tourism also played a part in its establishment. The economic value of a national park was recognised right from the onset when the idea was petitioned to the government at the turn of the twentieth century (Carruthers 1995).

Thus, as mentioned before, while dominant ideologies around nature conservation were based on the separation of humans and nature, it becomes evident that certain forms of human interactions with the environment came to be preferred above others. Landscapes of importance to nature conservation had to take on the preconceived cultural ideas about what it should look like, how it should be used and who can use it (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010; Brockington 2002).

Not included in the nationalistic agendas of the twentieth century, based on industrialisation, modernity and economic empowerment, many non-whites continued the 'unrefined' lifestyle based on a reliance on wildlife and other products of nature as a basis for their livelihood. As this 'unrefined' interaction with the natural landscape and its resources could not be tolerated, for them nature conservation, national parks, national identity-making and tourism are stories of evictions, loss of traditional use and access rights, loss of livelihoods and culture, of

impoverishment and misrecognition (Cock and Fig 2000, Sowman and Sunde 2018, Tapela and Omara-Ojunga 1999, Watts and Faasen 2009).

There are various cases in South Africa where decisions around protected areas were taken that carried significant consequences for local communities (Slater 2002, Sowman 2011, Tapela and Omara 1999). With regard to the Kruger National Park, Tapela and Omara (1999) point out that the local Makuleke community was evicted from the park in 1962. This was done without adequate compensation for the loss of land. Cock and Fig (2000) note how horrific the act of eviction was, pointing out that about 3 000 people in this community was forced by gunpoint to burn their homes and leave the land that would become the northern territory of the park.

Slater (2002), however, notes that by the 1990's, when the Qwaqwa National Park was established, it was considered unacceptable to simply remove people from the park. This is as grassroots mobilisation in the late 1980's stood up against the government's attempts to remove the residents from the Richtersveld for the establishment of a national park there (Slater 2002). Nevertheless, the residents of the Qwaqwa National Park were still forced to curtail their use of natural resources, such as medicinal plants, and livestock restrictions were imposed (Slater 2002). One of the residents in the park commented that these restrictions would be imposed upon them, that they would just be told what to do and what they may not do, without any explanations (Slater 2002).

Some studies found that perpetrating these injustices against local communities, and by excluding them from nature conservation and resource management, often impairs the effectiveness of conservation measures (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010; Kepe et al. 2004; Watts and Faasen 2009; Weladji et al. 2003). Sowman (2011), for example, notes how fishers

from the Hangberg community in Cape Town resents the government for taking away their historical fishing rights and especially for doing so without consultation. This has caused them to have little respect for and trust in the fisheries authorities and to challenge the authority of the state (Sowman et al. 2011). One fisher has stated “we don’t care about the rules and the laws of the government because it is so unfair” (Sowman et al. 2011:577). Barrow and Fabricius (2002) note that at Dwesa, Cwebe and Mkambati reserves, local fishers expressed their defiance through intentionally killing-off wildlife and plundering shellfish.

1.2 Paradigm shift: participatory conservation

Adams (2009) points out that around the 1970’s, a global paradigm shift emerged towards a ‘new conservation’ ideology, built on a participatory approach to nature conservation. Reed defines ‘participation’ as “a process where individuals, groups and organisations choose to take an active role in making decisions that affect them” (2008:2418). He notes that in the context of conservation, participation usually refers to stakeholders, those who hold a stake in, or is affected by the initiative, rather than the broader notion of public participation.

With the participatory approach, it is recognised that local communities have a place in conservation and protected areas (Berkes 2004; Hutton et al 2005). It also includes adherence to the principles of sustainable development and social and environmental justice (Martin et al. 2013; Neumann 2015, Reed 2008, Sunde and Isaacs 2008). On pragmatic grounds the idea is also that by including local communities, management efforts towards conservation may be more effective (Aswani et al 2018; Oldekop et al 2016; Orlove and Brush 1996, Reed 2008, Sowman et al. 2011).

1.2.1 International developments for a participatory conservation

Internationally, at the Third World Parks Congress of 1982, the concept of “community friendly” conservation was adopted in the midst of calls for increased support of local communities (Adams and Hutton 2007; Barrows and Fabricius 2002, Hutton et al 2005). The World Park Congress is a global meeting that is hosted by the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and takes place every 10 years (Charles et al 2016, Hockings et al 2004). At this meeting, ideas were put on the table that local community support should entail educational programmes, revenue-sharing schemes, creation of development schemes around parks and the participation of local communities in the management of parks (Barrows and Fabricius 2002; Faasen 2006, Scherl et al 2004). The latter sentiment was reiterated at the fourth, fifth and sixth World Parks Congress meetings in 1992, 2003 and 2014 respectively (Charles et al 2016, Hutton et al 2005, Scherl et al 2004).

Furthermore, an important international legal instrument that pertains to the establishment and management of protected areas, is the Convention of Biological Diversity (CBD). The CBD is a legally binding treaty that sets out broad commitments by governments to take action at the national level for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity (Secretariat of the Convention on Biological Diversity 2005). It is noted that whereas in the past, the CBD focused mainly on biological aspects of conservation, it has increasingly shifted its focus to embrace a more people-centred approach to conservation, to include socio-economic criteria (Caveen et al. 2015) and importantly, the concept of sustainable use (Adams and Hutton 2007; Agardy et al 2003, Barrows and Fabricius 2002; Faasen 2006).

Article 8 of the Convention refers specifically to protected areas (Charles et al 2016). To this effect, The Programme of Work on Protected Areas (POWPAs) was launched in 2004

(Sowman and Sunde 2018). It requires that mechanisms for the equitable sharing of both costs and benefits arising from the establishment and management of protected areas be established, and that the involvement of indigenous and local communities, and relevant stakeholders be enhanced and secured (Sowman and Sunde 2018).

In addition, the Aichi Biodiversity Targets was agreed upon by governments in 2010 (Charles et al 2016; Muhl 2019). Its strategic goals include, amongst others, the need to address the underlying causes of biodiversity loss, to remove direct pressure on biodiversity, promote sustainable development and to enhance implementation through participatory planning, knowledge management and capacity building (CBD 2020).

Moreover, in September 2015, the United Nations Member States adopted seventeen sustainable development goals (SDGs), with the mission to achieve a better and more sustainable future for all by 2030 (Charles et al 2016). Goals 14 and 15 make specific reference to the restoration of ecosystems and the conservation and sustainable use of land and water resources (Charles et al 2016, UN 2015).

It is thus evident that internationally, for several decades now, the quest for the integration of people, conservation and parks have received a lot of attention. It also seems that at the least, discussions around this approach have been embraced by many countries. At the same time, over the years, many scholars have written about the elements of which the participatory approach would ideally consist.

With regard to sustainable use, the idea is that not all extractive use of living resources are necessarily disruptive and unsustainable (Agardy et al 2003). Rather, the understanding is that living resources replenish themselves naturally and can be used, whether commercially,

recreationally or for subsistence, as long as it is done within limits without exhausting the resources or destroying their habitats (Agardy et al 2003).

In terms of social justice, firstly, sustainable use pertains to traditional and historical use and access rights (Sowman and Sunde 2018; Watts and Faasen 2009). This is as it is pointed out by Jones (2009), that traditional and historical use and access to resources may be essential for a group of people or a community to maintain their ‘way of life’, as part of their cultural heritage. It is then also the idea that cultural attachment to natural resources may be exactly the incentive for local people to support conservation (Berkes 2007, Cohn 1988).

Secondly, it pertains to livelihood and food security needs (Sowman et al. 2011; Sowman and Sunde 2018). This is as it is noted that more often than not, PAs are situated in rural areas surrounded by the most impoverished and marginalised communities (Dahlberg et al 2010). This is significant for social justice as it is pointed out that often people with lesser socio-economic means are vulnerable to marginalisation by more powerful forces (Benjamin and Bryceson 2012, Vaccaro et al 2013).

Furthermore, it is also noted that PAs usually cover large land areas and as such forecloses alternative land use options (Adams 2004). This is a significant economic opportunity cost for local people and brings forth the social justice question of who has to pay the largest cost for the global conservation agenda (Adams 2004, Norton-Griffitts and Southey 1995, Gurney et al 2014).

In light of the above, there is the idea that nature conservation and protected areas should help alleviate hunger, promote human health and should be based on the principle of “freedom and equality for all” (Adams 2009; Adams and Hutton 2007). It is then the idea that protected areas should not be “islands of privilege in seas of poverty” (Murphree 2009, Kepe

et al. 2004) but should provide socio-economic benefits to those living in and around it (Caveen et al. 2015).

Furthermore, the idea is that local people should be included and participate in conservation management and decision-making processes (Sowman et al. 2011). In terms of local participation and involvement in protected area management, it is pointed out by Sowman and Sunde (2018) that it could include communities participating in determining the boundaries of the protected area, use and access rights and the appropriate approach to governance.

The idea that local people should participate in management and decision-making regarding protected areas is also expressed in the idea of co-management. Co-management entails a partnership approach to governance of protected areas, whereby jurisdiction is partially devolved from central government to local communities to facilitate the ‘sharing of power’ (Carlsson and Berkes 2005; Caveen et al. 2015; Vaccaro et al. 2013).

A stronger form of involvement of local communities in protected area management, which became particularly popular around the 1980’s and 1990’s, is the idea of community-based management. With this approach, as part of the sustainable development agenda, the idea is that locals should have significant control over the management of the park or reserve (Adams 2009, Brechin et al 2007, Caveen et al 2015, Hutton et al 2005, Vaccaro et al. 2013). For example, Brechin et al (2007) point to Community Conserved Areas, which is recognised by the IUCN as a governance category amongst others such as government-based management, co-management and private management etc. The latter is an attempt to recognise the many conservation efforts by local and indigenous people with long histories of resource management. Murphree (2009) further points out that the idea is also that local

communities, as stewards of their local environment, should benefit and be empowered through conservation.

This global ideological shift in thinking about the place of people, and especially local communities in nature conservation and protected areas emerged as part of a wider social movement that converged with post-colonial independence struggles (Hutton et al 2005, Sunde and Isaacs 2008, Vaccaro et.al 2013) and emerging ideas of sustainable development and social justice (Adams 2009, Barrow and Fabricius 2002, Brechin et al 2007, Hutton et al 2005, Reed 2008).

1.2.2 Back to barriers

Not everyone agrees that a participatory approach is in the best interest of conservation. Scholars note that during the 1990's, an increased sentiment towards a return to exclusive, protectionist approach to conservation and protected areas emerged in the literature (Agardy et al 2003, Brechin et al 2002, Hutton et al 2005, Wilshusen et al 2002). This is as the proponents of what is called the 'back to barriers' movement (Hutton et al 2005) point out that there are flaws in the participatory approach that put at risk the achievement of successful conservation outcomes (Helvey 2004, Brechin et al 2002, Hutton et al 2005, Wilshusen et al 2002). Wilshusen et al (2002) identifies five core elements of the 'back to barriers' argument: (1) the central importance of protected areas, (2) the moral imperative of nature protection, (3) the ineffectiveness of conservation linked to development, (4) the mythical status of harmonious, ecologically friendly local people, and (5) the immediate need for strictly enforced protection measures.

The argument essentially is that the participatory approach 'dilutes' conservation, in that the objective for conservation and sustainable development to be embraced together is too broad

an agenda to take on (Berkes 2007, Wilshusen et al 2002). It is then argued that conservation cannot be 'all things to all people' (Wilshusen et al 2002:23). For the proponents of the 'back to barriers' approach, dire circumstances require extreme measures (Brechin et al 2002, Hutton et al 2005, Wilshusen et al 2002).

According to Hutton et al (2005), the extreme measures necessary for successful conservation would include the features of the old fortress conservation model. Firstly, it sees conservation spaces as ones free from human influence, except for those more acceptable like science and certain forms of tourism. Secondly, managed by centralised authorities and thirdly, strict policing of marked boundaries with sanction for those who trespass or break the rules (Hutton et al 2005). Furthermore, Hutton et al (2005) point out that perhaps proponents would suggest that communities living around protected areas be pacified with investment in social infrastructure (schools, roads or water supplies). However, essentially there should be no need for them to participate in decision-making about the management of protected areas or about their place in the ecosystem or economy.

Several scholars argue that although there is some substance to the arguments put forward in favour of a 'back to barriers' approach to conservation, they do not hold entirely (Agardy et al 2003, Berkes 2007, Brechin et al 2002, Hutton et al 2005; Wilshusen et al 2002). They agree that the participatory approach has its flaws. Berkes (2004) notes that with the exception of a few cases, generally performance of community-based conservation has been well below expectations. Hutton et al (2005) point out that whilst they agree that the community-based approach indeed has its flaws, they argue that it is not because communities are inherently unable to control themselves or their resources. Rather, they argue, the reasons for the poor performance of community-based conservation projects lies in

poor quality of project design and policy failures in the devolution of power and authority (Hutton et al 2005).

These scholars argue that overall the reasoning put forward in the 'back to barriers' narrative overlooks the social and political complexity involved in the process of conservation of biodiversity (Berkes 2007, Brechin et al 2002, Hutton et al 2005, West and Brockington 2006, Wilshusen et al 2002). Brechin et al (2002) point to the global south, where it is said one can often find biodiversity 'hotspots' in the midst of social and political 'hotbeds'. It is noted that countries like Brazil, Colombia, Tanzania, Ivory Coast etc, often have histories of struggling with issues of insecure land tenure and state-sponsored repression (Brechin et al 2002). Other groups may also have an impact, such as drug cartels, guerilla factions, international development banks, mining companies, tourism etc (Brechin et al 2002). They argue that therefore it is important to recognise that conservation programmes are often embedded in highly complex social and political settings and for it to operate effectively, it has to openly deal with these conditions (Brechin et al 2002).

Ultimately, Brechin et al (2002) argue that the social aspects of nature conservation cannot take a backseat. Without disregarding the ecological dimension of conservation, it has to be recognised that the project of conservation is primarily a human organisational process. In other words, nature protection and natural resource management is entirely a product of social action (Brechin et al 2002). They therefore argue that sustainable conservation, that will last in the long-term, depends on the strength and commitment of the social actors involved (Brechin et al 2002). As part of a long-term sustainable conservation process, they argue that if care is taken to increase human organisational capacity, and elements of social

justice are adhered to, one might find self-enforcement among resource users without the need for forced compliance (Brechin et al 2002, Charles et al 2016).

Several scholars warn that without an appreciation of the gaps in ‘back to barriers’ narratives, that some decision-makers may find this approach favourable and that it would have significant moral and pragmatic consequences for conservation in the long-term (Agardy et al 2003, Brechin et al 2002, Brechin et al 2007, Hutton et al 2005). This is as many do not believe that successful long-term conservation is feasible with the ‘back to barriers’ approach (Agardy et al 2003, Armitage et al 2012, Brechin et al 2002, Charles et al 2016, Helvey 2004, Humphree 2009, Hutton et al 2005, Wilshusen et al 2002).

Brechin et al (2002) argue that the ‘back to barriers’ approach would be like ‘reinventing a square wheel’. They ask what could be the purpose of going back to something that is known not to work and for which there has been long deliberations for decades to find solutions to problems it presented (Brechin et al 2002; Wilshusen 2002). So, although recognising that the participatory approach has its flaws, they argue that it does not justify a return to a fortress model of conservation (Brechin et al 2002). Instead, whilst holding on to the useful elements of the participatory approach, the focus should be on how to improve on its shortcomings (Brechin et al 2002, Hutton et al 2005).

Several scholars have pointed to ways in which the flaws and shortcoming of the participatory approach could be addressed. Firstly, it is cautioned that similarly to the fortress conservation model, an uncritical and overemphasised focus on community conservation model could also present problems (Agrawal and Gibson 1999, Aswani and Sebastian 2010, Wilshusen et al 2002). Wilshusen et al (2002) point out that community-based conservation and the development agenda tied thereto should not be focused on as a singular strategy, as it

indeed will not provide sufficient biodiversity protection. However, they emphasise that solutions based in scientific reasoning alone would also not be enough to safeguard biodiversity (Wilshusen et al 2002).

Many scholars advocate for a hybrid approach to conservation management (Agardy et al 2003, Armitage et al 2012, Aswani 2017, Foale et al 2011, Gelcich et al 2010, Jentoft 2005, Oldekop et al 2016). Agardy et al (2003) point out that community-based conservation with a participatory approach and protectionism backed with science are not necessarily mutually exclusive. It is argued that since conservation is situated within a complex social-ecological system, its governance requires more complexity (Agardy et al 2003, Armitage et al 2012, Reed 2008) . Armitage et al (2012) advocates for governance with dispersed power between state and non-state actors that operate across multiple levels, as can be seen with the idea of co-management arrangements. They point out that it would ideally consist of strong horizontal and vertical linkages amongst scientists, resources users and civil society. Similar to Jentoft (2005), they also see the state as having an important role to play in providing formal policy and regulatory support. Ultimately, the idea is that authority should be distributed, it should not reside at a single level.

With regard to management of protected areas specifically, Agardy et al (2003) advocate for multiple-use protected areas. They do not entirely disagree with the idea of a no-take approach, however, they do disagree with a perspective that sees it as the only and most effective strategy. For them, it should be used as needed within a multiple-use protected area. They do note that how this will be approached or determined will not be the same around the world, as circumstances vary. Thus, as many other scholars point out, the idea is that there cannot be a universal conservation and protected area model (Agardy et al 2003, Aswani and

Sebastian 2010, Oldekop et al 2016, Reed 2008). Rather, attention needs to be paid to the specific socio-economic, cultural, historical and political context of each case (Aswani and Sebastian 2010, Aswani 2017, Cinner 2005, Foale et al 2011, Oldekop et al 2016). To the latter point, Brechin et al (2007) note that considering the complexity within which conservation is situated, determining whether conservation efforts are successful would then be a local process that is unique to each site.

It is further noted by scholars that conservation, and especially the participatory approach, is a learning process and not an end but one of many endless steps (Brechin et al 2007, Hutton et al 2005, Reed 2008). Therefore, especially considering the inherent uncertainty of complex social-ecological systems, it is important for management and governance systems to maintain adaptive capacity as experience grows and knowledge improves (Armitage et al 2012, Charles et al 2016, Murphee 2009, Reed 2008).

1.2.3 South Africa's participatory approach

It has been pointed out that despite concerns around the 'back to barriers' narrative, it seems that on the ground in many cases decision-makers continue on the path of the participatory approach (Brechin et al 2007, Murphree 2009, Pelsers et al 2013). This seems to also be the case in South Africa, where a shift towards embracing the ideologies of the participatory approach coincided with the transition of the country from an Apartheid state to a democratic state (Slater 2002, Sunde and Isaacs 2008). With this transition came a national commitment to the promotion of social justice and human rights (Cock and Fig 2000, Sowman et al. 2011). The country has ratified several international environmental instruments, including the CBD, and also hosted the World Parks Congress in 2003 (Sunde and Isaacs 2008).

In terms of the recognition of historical and traditional fishing rights, in October 2016 a Cape Town High Court Judge found that the permit conditions that stopped the net fishers from accessing their traditional fishing grounds were irrational and discriminated unfairly against fishers (Sowman and Sunde 2018). In the latter case, the judge also highlighted the need to promote the sustainable use of resources and that this should be taken into consideration when decisions are made about zonation and permit conditions (Sowman and Sunde 2018).

In addition, earlier on grassroots mobilisations have also contributed to the shift in protected area ideology. The Richtersveld community of Namaqualand's successful resistance in the late 1980's, against their removal from their ancestral lands with the establishment of the Richtersveld National Park, serves as an example (Slater 2002). As Slater (2002) points out, the successful resistance against forceful removal in the latter case had set the precedent before the transition to democracy for the rights of tenure of local communities in the establishment of reserves or parks.

Furthermore, post-Apartheid environmental legislation embrace the participatory approach to conservation and protected areas (Sunde and Isaacs 2008, Watts and Faasen 2009). Section 24 of the Constitution enshrines environmental rights and speaks to all people's well-being and rights to participate and enjoy the benefits of a healthy and well-protected environment, stating that:

‘Everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being...have the environment protected for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that prevent pollution and ecological degradation; promote conservation; and secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development’ (RSA 1996).

This constitutional directive finds expression in the National Environmental Management Act (NEMA) of 1998. The latter Act serves as the overarching legislation for environmental governance (Sowman et al. 2011, Sunde and Isaacs 2008). Specifically related to protected areas is, the NEM: Protected Areas Act 2003, the NEM: Biodiversity Act of 2004, and specific to marine protected areas, the NEM: Integrated Coastal Management Act of 2008 and the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998 (Sowman et al. 2011, Sunde and Isaacs 2008, Watts and Faasen 2009). These legal provisions highlight the need for communities to share in the benefits of protected areas, to gain equitable access to resources and to participate in management and decision-making (Faasen 2006; Sowman et al. 2011, Sunde and Isaacs 2008).

The conservation authority responsible for the management of national parks in South Africa, South African National Parks (SANParks)’s policies also reflects the country’s commitment to the participatory approach to protected area management (Faasen 2006; Pelsers et al. 2013). This body was born from its predecessor, the National Parks Board (NPB), formed in 1926 with the establishment of the Kruger National Park (Carruthers 1995, Cock and Fig 2000; Faasen 2006). The latter body governed national parks until 1996 when it was subjected to the broader transformation project of the new dispensation and the name was changed to

SANParks (Anthony 2007, Cock and Fig 2000; Faasen 2006). Together with the name change it also underwent institutional changes to its philosophy, policies and organisational structure, to reflect the new dispensation under the new Constitution (Anthony 2007; Faasen 2006). Its policies since speak to issues of development, linking biodiversity with human needs and aim to foster harmonious relations with neighbouring communities (Cock and Fig 2000; Oberholzer et al. 2010; Faasen 2006).

As an implementation of the policy aims, a Social Ecology department was established by SANParks in 1994 (Anthony 2007, Cock and Fig 2000; Faasen 2006). This department partly built on the legacy of the former Chief Executive, Dr. GA Robinson, who became sensitised to community issues well before the official transformation period, seeking to establish a unit for community relations (Cock and Fig 2000; Faasen 2006).

Today, it is called the People and Parks department. Its objectives include the establishment of mutually beneficial dialogues and partnerships with surrounding communities, to ensure their views are considered and that the existence of the park directly benefits them (Anthony 2007, Muhl 2019, Pelser et al. 2013). Furthermore, it aims to instil values of environmental stewardship, provide educational opportunities and assist in the economic empowerment of the local communities (Anthony 2007; Oberholzer et al. 2010; Pelser et al. 2013).

According to Cock and Fig (2000), the aim is for the above-mentioned objectives to find expression in the development of cultural resources and historical sites within parks, as part of heritage conservation, which links culture with natural heritage. In terms of economic empowerment, it can include the development of markets to sell local crafts in the park's shops, the organisation of cultural groups to express traditional performances and the

facilitation of the cultural and traditional use of renewable resources in the park in a sustainable manner (Adams and Hutton 2007; Cock and Fig 2000).

Scholars do, however, note that despite South Africa's progressive legislation and policy aims and objectives that embrace the participatory approach to protected area and natural resource management, that these are slow to filter down into practice on the ground (Cloete 2016; Sowman et al. 2011, Sowman and Sunde 2018; Sunde and Isaacs 2008).

1.3 Challenges to the implementation of the participatory model

As noted in the previous section, the participatory approach presents various challenges. It is noted by scholars that despite participatory approaches often being endorsed in contemporary nature conservation discourse and rhetoric, and even embedded in existing policies and laws (Benjaminsen and Svarstad 2010; Sunde and Isaacs 2008, Watts and Faasen 2009), studies find that generally progress in implementing theses on the ground are slow or often lacking (Barrows and Fabricius 2002, Holmes-Watts and Watts 2008, Martin et al 2013, Sowman et al 2011). Many scholars note that injustices against local communities continue, such as for example, the alienation of local communities from conservation efforts, planning and management, as well as criminalisation of traditional resource use practices.

1.3.1 Nature vs culture dichotomy persists

Various arguments have been put forward for the reasons why practical implementation of the participatory approach proves so difficult. Ramutsindela (2004), for example, questions whether there is truly a shift in ideological thinking regarding the nature versus culture dichotomy in South Africa's protected area management approaches. He is of the opinion that no fundamental change in perceptions of local people from that fostered under the fortress conservation model of colonial and apartheid years, has actually taken place. Dahlberg et.al

(2010) seems to agree with Ramutsindela (2004) and note that this ideological legacy is difficult to overcome. As Adams and Hutton (2007) note, the divide between humans and nature is still very much prevalent in the ways protected areas are demarcated as it continues to be separate spaces away from human settlement in most cases. They further note that modern states usually continue along this line as it has become an integral part of how it classifies, organises and simplifies complexity.

Furthermore, the continued ideology of a divide between nature and humans is also evident in the continued use of extreme force in resource management practices, it is especially justified in protected areas (Adams and Hutton 2007). According to Adams and Hutton (2007), the latter is a continuation of a militaristic worldview based on the nature-human divide, where conservationists are constructed as the heroes in a fight against humans.

1.3.3 Social justice

As pointed out before, social justice is an important objective underlying a participatory approach (Martin et al. 2013; Neumann 2015, Sunde and Isaacs 2008). As Sowman et al. (2011) note, it is especially an adherence to social justice that might be key to enhancing compliance amongst resource users and thus serve the pragmatic component of the participatory approach that are of high value to conservationists. According to Holmes-Watts and Watts (2008) resolving inequitable distribution of power, resources, and individual or collective access to resources is an important component of social justice.

While Brockington (2004) notes that coercive strategies seems like a feasible long-term conservation strategy where local opposition is weak, Sunde and Isaacs (2008) note that in South Africa the paradigm in which participatory approaches are located is not one of empowerment. According to them, management approaches in protected areas, especially

marine protected areas, are still very much top-down in nature. With regard to the case studies under their consideration, they note that there is little transfer of a consciousness among fishers of their rights, especially so in terms of their socio-economic rights (Sunde and Isaacs 2008). They therefore argue that the participatory approach adopted in protected area management does not question or challenge power relations at the heart of access, participation and distribution (Sunde and Isaacs 2008).

According to Murphree (2009), power is one of the fundamental issues when it comes to access, participation and distribution. Similarly to what Brechin et al (2007) point out, with reference to southern Africa, Murphree (2009) notes in terms of western perceptions of conservation, in most cases local communities are actually similar to the West, invested in conservation. Local communities, however, often find different value in conservation than that perceived through the western lens. He notes that “for the urban dweller in the industrialised West these values tend to be aesthetic, recreational and long-term”, while for the ‘rural African farmer’ the value lies in the livelihood derived from local natural resources (Murphree 2009:2558).

It is then pointed out that usually conservation funds are largely sourced from the West. The problem is that with the funding comes the power to impose western values on conservation projects. For example, he points to the prominence of the idea that financial benefits should be distributed to local communities. The latter is usually thought of as to be derived from some form of commodification, especially in the form of eco-tourism. However, it is noted that tourism is often an unstable and unreliable market. Furthermore, tourism and other commercial ventures usually create dependencies on extra-communal skills, whilst

professional training to locals are often absent. This in turn expands opportunities for corruption and financial chains that take revenue away from the local setting.

Furthermore, in terms of participation, Murphree (2009) notes with specific reference to a study done at the Great Limpopo Trans-Frontier Conservation Area, that few of the neighbouring communities even knew about the project concocted in the capital cities of the three countries involved. Also, very few knew of any meetings held in their local areas. He points out that even if there were meetings held with the local communities, due to the lack of capacity building and empowerment, how could one reasonably expect the local community to respond. He argues that it could possibly be “an acquiescent ‘yes’ or a defiant ‘no’...more likely [it will be] muted ambivalence, the silent veto of withdrawal’ (Murphree 2009:2560).

It is noted by Reed (2008) that in some cases local participants may develop consultation fatigue because they might feel that their involvement gains them little reward or capacity to influence decisions that affect them. For example, in a case study from Brazil it was found that participation in a programme set for participatory water governance declined over time (Reed 2008). This is as participants started to become more cynical of the process as they felt that the government could just overrule any inputs they have made (Reed 2008). Furthermore, there could also be the problem that stakeholders may not have sufficient expertise to meaningfully engage with what can often be highly technical debates (Reed 2008).

In cases such as mentioned above, it would then be necessary to ensure that participants have sufficient power to influence decisions and that their capacity to engage in technical debates are enhanced (Jentoft 2005, Reed 2008). It is especially important where co-management seeks to involve previously excluded, disenfranchised and sometimes alienated user groups

and stakeholders (Jentoft 2005). This can be done through education and development of knowledge and confidence (Jentoft 2005, Reed 2008). This is as Jentoft points out, “if there is no empowerment, there is no co-management” (2005:1).

To this regard, Reed (2008) points out Sherry Arnstein’s ladder of participation, which ranks different forms of stakeholder participation. What it essentially comes down to, is that at the bottom is a participatory approach where the relationship mainly consists of information dissemination to passive participants, which is referred to as ‘communicative’. Secondly, it describes a relationship where information is gathered from participants, referred to as ‘consultative’. Thirdly, there could be a relationship where ‘participation’ is conceptualised as a two-way communication process, where participants and decision-makers exchange information in some sort of dialogue or negotiation.

Lawrence (2006) added to the top tier of the participatory ladder an approach that is ‘transformative’. She believes that empowerment should lead to a transformation of the local community itself. Ideally, it would involve collaboration and shared learning between different stakeholders that leads to a change in values. Pointing out to examples she has studied on participation, she describes it as follows:

“When laypersons are engaged in structured observation and interpretation of nature, their values change and possibly even converge with those of ecologists, as scientific knowledge and practice meet local knowledge and practice. The act of data collection becomes not only a narrative of nature, but an influence in turn on the actors—the narrators (Lawrence 2006:295).

The latter approach could especially be appropriate where there exists an adversarial relationship between different stakeholders (Reed 2008). As Reed (2008) points out, an approach similar to what Lawrence (2006) describes, might help to establish common ground and trust between stakeholders and perhaps they can learn to appreciate each other's viewpoints. For local communities, this may lead to a greater sense of ownership over the process and its outcomes and ultimately it could lead to long-term support and active implementation of decisions (Reed 2008).

In light of the above, Scholsberg (2007) argues the need for a more holistic or multi-faceted conception of justice that also embraces the dimension of recognition-as-justice. He points out that theories of justice have for a long time focused on the distributive element of justice while the element of recognition remained under theorised. The theory of justice was mostly focused on how and what gets distributed in the conception of a just society. What it rarely looked at was the underlying causes for maldistribution. It is argued that at the heart of unjust distribution lies the lack of recognition.

Dahlberg et al. (2010) and Martin et al. (2013), applied Scholberg's (2007) argument for a multifaceted conceptualization of justice to the politics of conservation. As an investigation into what is at the heart of maldistribution centers around the question of what the underlying causes of injustices are, Dahlberg et al. (2010) find it to be in the dominant ideologies that often underpin conservation practices. They argue that often 'elite' groups hold the power to impose their understandings and perceptions of what nature should be and the place of humans therein as the dominant ideology. For conservation to be just, it needs to be concerned with more than just the distribution of benefits but must also be concerned with the recognition of diverse cultures, identities, economies and ways of knowing and relating to

nature (Dahlberg et al. 2010, Murphree 2009, Ramutsindela 2004). Thus, as Martin et al. (2013) emphasise, justice is very much about having one's culture and knowledge systems recognized and is a key determinant of distributional outcomes. Furthermore, they point out that the third element of justice discussed by Schlosberg (2007), namely procedural justice or participation, underlies and flows between both distribution and recognition. As Schlosberg (2007:26) points out "if you are not recognized, you do not participate; if you do not participate, you are not recognized". At the same time increased participation can also address issues of distribution, and as such "justice is a trivalent package". Thus, in determining the 'justness' of conservation practices or dealing with issues of injustice, consideration should be given to the elements of distribution, recognition and participation through a multi-faceted approach considering them to make up the whole of a justice conceptualization.

1.3.2 Neoliberalism and eco-tourism

One of the problems with implementing a social justice orientated approach to nature conservation in South Africa, as described above, is the neoliberal politics at play. Ramutsindela (2004) notes that in South Africa, the African National Congress, the ruling party for the last 25 years since the country entered its new democratic dispensation, started off on a capitalist footing. This meant that economic interests and market principles were at the centre of decision-making around protected areas, including national parks. This is evident in the centre stage that ecotourism takes in national park affairs (Muhl 2019, Ramutsindela 2004). These capitalist and economic values attached to national parks is also one of the legacies inherited from the colonial and apartheid era conservation and further embraced by the post-Apartheid government (Ramutsindela 2004). It is pointed out that the consequences of this is that the emphasis placed on the objectives set by capitalist and

market-driven agendas often means community concerns are given lower priority, especially so if two objectives are in conflict (Muhl 2019, Ramutsindela 2004, Scheyvens 1999, Sunde and Isaacs 2008).

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed the relevant literature as it pertains to nature conservation, protected areas and local communities. It included, firstly, an overview of the ideas that shaped nature conservation ideologies and practices and looked at what the implications of these were historically. It comes forth that early ideas around nature conservation and the establishment of reserves and national parks were heavily influenced by the nature versus culture divide said to be predominant in western cultural thinking. It is from this thinking that the world's first national parks, including South Africa's first national park, emerged. It fostered a fortress conservation model that was prevalent until a shift in thinking occurred towards the latter part of the twentieth century.

This review then discussed the shift in conservation thinking towards an ideology of inclusion and participation of local people based on sustainable development, social justice and the idea based on more pragmatic grounds, that the participation of local communities in protected area management may lead to more effective conservation. It also went on to discuss the subsequent emergence of a 'back to barriers' narrative and the arguments scholars have made against it. Many scholars believe that although there are indeed shortcomings in the participatory approach, these shortcomings do not warrant a return to the fortress conservation model. Instead it is argued that there are improvements that can be made within the participatory approach without abandoning it.

It also came forth that despite the concerns around the ‘back to barriers’ narrative, most countries continue along the lines of the participatory approach, including South Africa. However, it is noted that despite the participatory approach prevailing in rhetoric, often its implementation on the ground is full of difficulties or either entirely lacking. Thus the review took a deeper look at the challenges pertaining to the implementation of the participatory approach. Some scholars point out that one of the problems is the difficulty of truly moving away from the nature versus culture divide. Secondly, scholars have noted that often not enough attention is paid to the deeper social justice issues, particularly with regard to capacity building and empowerment of marginalised or previously disenfranchised resources users and stakeholders. On the other hand, it also noted that because of the neoliberal agenda often at play, market-driven concerns may take precedence over concerns for effective community participation.

It is then in the light of the literature reviewed in this chapter, and through the lens of political ecology, that this study seeks to understand from the TNP’s surrounding communities’ perspective, what is the nature of their relationship with the park and its authorities. This is in order to assess in what way and to what extent SANParks have embraced the participatory approach as set out in South Africa’s laws and policies.

The chapter that follows sets out to give background to the case study by setting out a description of the location of the case study area, a brief history of its local communities and resource use, as well as a brief overview of previous studies conducted on the topic in the local area.

Chapter 2: Background to Case Study

This chapter sets out to give background to the case study by (1) setting out a description of the location of the case study area, (2) a brief history of its local communities and the establishment of the park and the marine protected area, as well as (3) a brief review of scholars' studies on TNP in post-apartheid South Africa.

2.1 Case Study Area Description: The Tsitsikamma National Park and its Surrounds



Figure 2.1: Map showing the south coast of South Africa, including the TNP MPA, surrounding communities and municipal wards (Smith et al 2015).

The Tsitsikamma National Park was founded in 1964 and is the oldest marine park in South Africa (Cloete 2016; Sowman et al. 2011, Watts and Faasen 2009). The name *Tsitsikamma* comes from the earliest inhabitants of the area, the Khoi and San people, and means ‘place of much water’ (Faasen 2006). It is situated on the Southern Cape Coast, straddles both the Western Cape and Eastern Cape provinces and forms part of the Bitou (Western Cape) and Koukamma (Eastern Cape) local municipalities (Cloete 2016; Faasen 2006; SANParks 2008).

The centre of the park is approximately 80km west of Humansdorp and 50km east of Plettenberg Bay (SANparks 2008).

The park covers 80 km of coastline in total and includes mountainous areas covered by high temperate forest and mountain fynbos (Faasen 2006). The terrestrial section of the park is approximately 29 000ha in extent (SANParks 2008). The eastern sector of the park (2 000ha) stretches along the coast between Oubosstrand and Natures Valley, while the De Vasselot section (2 600ha) extends westwards from Natures Valley to Grootbank (SANParks 2008). The rest of the terrestrial park is situated in Soetkraal (24 000ha) in the Tsitsikamma Mountain Range area (SANParks 2008). The marine section of the park is approximately 35 100ha in extent (SANParks 2008). It consists of a Marine Protected Area (34 300ha), which extends between 0.5 and 3 nautical miles offshore along the length of the eastern section of the park and is marked as a no-take or restricted zone (SANParks 2008). A smaller marine section (800ha) which is adjacent to the MPA, where resource utilisation is permitted in accordance with the MLRA (Act 18 of 1998), extends 0.5 nautical miles off the De Vasselot coast (SANParks 2008).

The topography of the eastern sector of the park's coastline, the area where the MPA is situated, consists mostly of steep and rocky outcrops (SANparks 2008). A small section of sandy beach can be found at the western side of the MPA border, along the coastline adjacent to the village of Nature's Valley, as part of the open access De Vasselot section of the park. (SANParks 2008). The Soetkraal section, that includes mostly the terrestrial part of the park, consists of valleys and steep mountain slopes (SANParks 2008). There are 12 perennial rivers flowing through the park that have small and poorly defined estuaries (SANParks 2008). An exception is the Groot River, which has a large estuary, open for recreation and resource use

(SANParks). The estuary is part of the De Vasselot section and mouths into the sea right next to the western border mark of the MPA.

The park's terrestrial vegetation consists mainly of two vegetation types, namely the Tsitsikamma Mountain Fynbos (or Sandstone Fynbos) and the Knysna Afromontane Forest (or Southern Afrotemperate Forest). The fynbos vegetation occurs mostly on the plateau and exposed slopes of the escarpment, while the forest vegetation is commonly found on moist south facing slopes and in river gorges (SANParks 2008). The area also hosts a rich diversity of fish, mainly found in the marine section of the park and includes a total of 202 fish species from 84 families recorded (SANParks 2008). Most of these fish species are slow growing and have a high degree of residency and are thus considered vulnerable to overexploitation (SANParks 2008).

The most prominent land use practices and economic activities in the area of Tsitsikamma include forestry, timber processing, dairy farming, polo fields and tourism (SANParks 2008). The Tsitsikamma National Park Management Plan recognises thirteen communities to be either adjacent to the park or in close proximity to it (SANParks 2008). On the Western Cape side, in the Bitou area, it includes the communities of Kurland, The Craggs, Nature's Valley and Covie (SANParks 2008). On the Eastern Cape side, in the Koukamma area, it includes the communities of Coldstream, Storms River, Thornham, Nomphumelelo, Sanddrift, Witelsbos, Woodlands, Eersterivier and Oubos (SANParks 2008).

2.2 A Brief History of Local Communities

As mentioned before, SANParks recognised 13 local communities to live either around the TNP or in close proximity to it. This study looks at four of these communities namely

Natures Valley, Covie, Storms River and Kurland. What follows is a brief overview of the early history of formation of these communities and the developments that shaped it.

2.2.1 Natures Valley

Natures Valley consists of a historically white community and started as the farm of Hendrik Barnardo, called Grootrivier (Nature's Valley 2005; van Waart 1993). Today it is a quaint holiday-makers' village. It is the only settlement in South Africa that is almost completely surrounded by a national park, and as such cannot expand to become anything larger than the quaint little seaside village its inhabitants pride themselves in (Nature's Valley Trust 2005). The Nature's Valley Trust describes it as follows,

Giant Yellowwood guards its approaches and long, sandy beaches frame its seaward boundary. Here, the Groot River broadens out into a marvellous sheet of water that attracts the Fish Eagle and Cape Clawless Otter. During the holiday season, the bracken-stained water becomes a safe human playground but visitors take care not to disturb this place of peace and contentment (2005:4).

It was Hendrik Barnardo's friend, Bill von Bode, a geologist at the University of Cape Town, and his family, who were the first to cherish the valley and its surrounds as a holiday spot for picnic and camping during the summers (Nature's Valley Trust 2005). They were soon followed by other families who also returned to the valley year after year for the summer holidays (Nature's Valley Trust 2005).

After some years of begging Barnardo to sell the portion of his land that contained the camping sites, he finally agreed to sell a small portion of it to some of the pioneer camping families (Nature's Valley Trust 2005). In 1941, the area that came to be known as the

Syndicate was surveyed and soon the families started to build the first holiday cottages (Nature's Valley Trust 2005). Hendrik Barnardo passed away in 1948 (Nature's Valley Trust 2005). He had sold the rest of the farm to the Baron Ulrich Behr of Kurland. The Baron then set out to establish the valley as township and in 1954 the first and only shop to this day was opened. Ever since families would flock to the valley for the December holidays and some, upon retirement, settle down permanently.

2.2.2 Covie and Storms River

Covie and Storms River were founded in the 19th century by the woodcutter communities of the Tsitsikamma. As Delius points out, “by the mid-19th century, sprawling bands of woodcutters, consisting of “Dutch, Coloured and Hottentots”, dotted the Tsitsikamma forest” (2002:134). These woodcutters largely derived their livelihood from cutting wood in the indigenous forest, and were described as making do with little provisions, living a meagre existence and subsisting mainly on fish (Delius 2002). According to Delius (2002), these woodcutter communities of the Tsitsikamma had continuously been reported as being steeped in poverty (Delius 2002). Reasons postulated for the endearing poverty of these communities at the time included the low value of wood, high tariffs imposed by the Forestry Department, competition with sawmill machinery and distance from the markets of Knysna and Humansdorp (Delius 2002).

Even so, towards the end of the 19th century, life became increasingly more difficult for these woodcutter communities. A growing concern about the over-exploitation of the indigenous forest mounted. With the appointment of the silviculturist, the Comte de Vasselot de Regne, as the first Superintendent of the Woods and Forest in 1880, a new era was ushered that saw various policy changes, including the closing of areas of forest (Delius 2002; Williams 2013).

It is said that it “threatened significantly to diminish the already limited livelihood of the woodcutters” (2002:135). By the 1920’s and 1930’s, woodcutting as the people of Tsitsikamma knew it, and the life and livelihood associated with, slowly diminished (Delius 2002). In 1935, the forests finally closed and marked the end of an era for the woodcutters (Delius 2002; Williams 2013). At this time, many people from these woodcutter communities had moved away in search of better prospects in other towns and cities, however, there were some who stayed behind.

In the case of Covie, especially, the ensuing Apartheid years, from the mid-to-late 20th century, had taken its toll on the community. It was declared a coloured settlement under the Group Areas Act 41 of 1950. It is noted by Delius (2002) that this community had endured many hardships under the discriminatory laws and ideologies of the Apartheid. It is noted by the Nature’s Valley Trust that the community suffered from neglect under this system, as they point out “although the community now has electricity and running water, the neglect of the past is still very evident” (2005:26).

2.2.3 Kurland

Kurland township is a racially mixed settlement located within the The Crag area. The township consists of predominantly coloured residents, as well as isiXhosa speaking black residents (Frith n.d). Now surrounded by many tourist attractions such wine farms, Monkey Land, the snake sanctuary, international polo fields and the luxury Kurland Hotel, the The Crag area as it is known today started off in the 19th and 20th centuries (Nature’s Valley Trust 2005). The first settlers in the area tried to make a living from cutting wood and some were later granted land to farm (Nature’s Valley 2005).

One such settler family were the Baron and Baroness Behr, who in 1940 settled on one of the farms which they called Kurland Estate (Natures Valley Trust 2005). On the estate, the Baron immediately started to improve the farm by planting extensive fruit orchards and pine plantations and added a sawmill and a brickyard. This attracted people from all over to Kurland, to take up employment opportunities provided by the estate. In the 1970's the government bought the land and donated it to the workers of the estate and from there the township Kurland developed (Nature's Valley Trust 2005).

2.2.4 History of the establishment of TNP and the declaration of a marine protected area

In a study of the Tsitsikamma National Park, Watts and Faasen (2009) point out that throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries the local woodcutter communities in the area, in addition of the forest being a source of livelihood, also depended on fishing for subsistence, recreation and income. This dependency on fish increased over the years as the forest around them closed. Even so, it is noted that they have been mostly self-sufficient and shared resources amongst each other (Watts and Faasen (2009). It is also noted that fishing was mostly for self-use, as well as bartering (Williams 2013). There were some that undertook fishing in bigger boats but most fishers used low-gear technology and fished from the near-shore rocky areas (Williams 2013).

However, it is said that the establishment of the national marine park in 1964 heavily impacted on their self-sufficiency and independence (Muhl 2019, Watts and Faasen 2009). In terms of the community of Covie specifically, a portion of their commonage area was incorporated into the park in 1964 (Sowman and Sunde 2018, Williams 2013). They were not consulted about the decision at the time and neither did they receive any compensation for their loss (Sowman and Sunde 2018, Williams 2013).

The enclosure of fishing areas did, however, happen gradually. It is explained that in the beginning local fishers were still allowed to fish and collect bait but then they were limited to 15 sections from 1975 to 1978 and thereafter three sections (Cloete 2016, Williams 2013). By 1979 there was a complete prohibition to collecting bait and in 2001, fishing in the marine protected area was completely prohibited and the entire MPA was declared a “no-take zone” (Cloete 2016; Faasen and Watts 2007; Lombard et al 2020, Watts and Faasen 2009, Williams 2013).

It is said that the total prohibition on fishing in the MPA came with the fact that the stock status of ten of the angling species found in the park had collapsed in South Africa, and therefore their protection was of dire necessity (Lombard et al 2020, Williams 2013). Scientific evidence at the time highlighted that extractive resource use was the biggest threat to the marine environment (Williams 2013). Hanekom et al (1997) suggested that even allowing moderate rates of exploitation, would not be sustainable (Williams 2013). This is as it was believed that the measures in places for controlled fishing at the time, such as legislated quotas, bag limits, size limits and closed seasons, were ineffective (Williams 2013). The declaration of a ‘no-take’ MPA was further justified by the idea that it would increase juvenile and adult fish abundance, which would in turn result in greater egg production and more fish larvae being dispersed by sea currents to adjacent areas that are open to exploitation (Lombard et al 2020, Williams 2013).

Watts and Faasen (2009) note, however, that the decision to close the park entirely to fishing must have been taken arbitrarily. Firstly, it is argued that the decision was not based on any objective assessment of the impact of local fishing on the fishery resources at the time (Watts and Faasen 2009). Secondly, it is noted that no socio-economic and cultural impacts were

considered at the time nor in subsequent years (Watts and Faasen 2009). Moreover, it is said that the local communities were never consulted about the decision but only informed of it (Muhl 2019, Watts and Faasen 2009, Lombard et al 2020).

Furthermore, despite the proposition by Hanekom et al (2007), that a full closure of the MPA would not have a major impact on the subsistence of local communities, studies found that it has indeed had a profound impact not only on local communities' livelihoods but also their cultural identity and well-being (Cloete 2016, Faasen 2006, Muhl 2019).

2.3 Review of scholars' studies on TNP in post-Apartheid South Africa

It is noted with regard to the post-Apartheid shift in ideology on protected area governance and management, SANParks's policy do envision for the TNP to be a "sustainable national park that builds and maintains a park community that works together for, and benefits equally from, the conservation and enhancement of the unique marine, terrestrial and aquatic biodiversity, ecological processes and cultural, historical and scenic resources of the park" (Faasen 2006:8).

The following objectives set out in their policy statements refer specifically to local communities. One of the objectives requires park management to develop a strategy that ensures that economic opportunities arising from conservation planning and development are accessed equitably with specific reference to previously disadvantaged people (Faasen 2006).

Another objective is for park partnerships, in order to promote the long-term social sustainability of the park (Faasen 2006). This it is said can be accomplished by developing relationships with relevant stakeholders in the planning and management of the park. SANParks envision such relationships to be built on mutual respect, empowerment, equity, cooperation, and collaborative problem-solving. They emphasise that relevant stakeholders

should be involved where their interests are affected and they promote the creation of effective mechanisms for ongoing communication with stakeholders (Faasen 2006). To this regard, a Park Forum was established as an institutionalised mechanism of representative and accountable participation in advisory structures for the park. The intention of the forum is to represent the interests of local communities, landowners and institutions adjacent to the park (Faasen 2006).

Along with the policy objective statements, Faasen (2006) reports insights from an interview conducted with a SANParks representative. According to the SANPark's representative, TNP contributes to economic development in the region through tourism. It is said that it provides economic opportunities for local entrepreneurs, acts as an implementing agency for poverty relief programmes and creates employment and training opportunities for the area's most poverty stricken communities (Faasen 2006). It is said that social ecologists at the park work in partnership with the private sector, non-governmental organisations, community-based organisations and community liaison structures to reach park goals and to promote the development of a healthy community custodianship for the park (Faasen 2006).

It is furthermore stated that one third of TNP's budget of 18 million rand (\$3 million) is spent on salaries (Faasen 2006). Also, about 95% of contracts that are outsourced in the park are given to local contractors, the other 5% concerns specialist services that are not locally available. A further R15.3 million (\$2.5 million) is spent on projects dealing with poverty relief, including the Working for Water project, which has to do with invasive plant clearing, the Coastal Care project which is focused on coastal conservation and the Extended Public Works project which is a collaboration with the local municipality (Faasen 2006). Therefore,

it is pointed out, the bulk of their budget is spent on job creation, where they create about 400 to 500 jobs at any one time (Faasen 2006).

They have also run skills training programmes that included courses for conservation, reception and housekeeping (Faasen 2006). It is said that in 2004 such a programme ran for 8 weeks and that thirty people were involved. A further long-term follow-up in the form of a learnership took place in 2005 of which seven unemployed members of the local communities participated. They were then taken on as interns at SANParks and every few weeks attended a week or two-week training session (Faasen 2006).

SANParks also pointed out that the TNP incorporates various cultural heritage sites ranging from Khoisan cultural heritage sites such as caves, shell middens and rock art to more recent cultural sites (Faasen 2006). The latter consists of ruins of small fishing settlements, remnants of past forestry industries and grave sites. They are said to also be involved with several educational programmes aimed at high school pupils. They also host about 20 four-day camps a year for primary school pupils in grades six and seven. They also involve local private businesses, such as Stormsrivier Adventures, to present ecotourism adventure activities inside the park (Faasen 2006).

Faasen (2006) notes that from the above-mentioned points it does seem as if the participatory approach is well institutionalised at TNP. The problem is that some scholars, such as Els and Bothma (2000), have pointed out that although SANParks seem to propagate interactions with local communities in their policies and through their statements, the implementation of these goals and objectives in reality on the ground seems to be lacking (Faasen 2006). Faasen's (2006) study thus set out to establish to what extent local communities of Tsitsikamma contribute to biodiversity conservation at TNP. She also looked at TNP's

contribution to socio-economic development of local communities, as well as local communities' views on communication and decision-making in the management of the park.

Fassen (2006) concludes her study by pointing out the following about the synergies between nature conservation and sustainable development; the first issue has to do with TNP's contribution to socio-economic development of local communities and the second pertains to the great controversy around access to fishing grounds. With regard to socio-economic development, she notes that even though the local communities have lost their access to the historical fishing grounds they used to enjoy the benefits from in the past, they now benefit from the programmes run by the People and Parks Department. The latter includes poverty relief programmes, cultural heritage conservation and environmental education.

With regard to poverty relief, it comes forth in Faasen (2006) that local communities do not regard jobs as a benefit *per se*, as they feel that it only provides certain community members with incomes. She, however, argues that it is irresponsible for local communities to think of TNP as solely responsible for their socio-economic development. This is as she points out, TNP is merely an organ within a system of multiple role-players. To this regard, it is said that local communities should be pointed to other relevant agencies, such as the local municipality, Department of Water Affairs and Forestry and the provincial agriculture, health and transport departments.

According to Faasen (2006), sustainable rural development is an issue that needs a multilateral approach for it to be tackled appropriately. Therefore, it is necessary that all agencies with responsibilities for rural people in Tsitsikamma pull their resources together, rather than a single entity having to take responsibility for it all. This is as she sees individual attempts at poverty alleviation in the Tsitsikamma as unlikely to have a significant impact.

Even so, it is pointed out that the park indeed has a role to play in the socio-economic welfare of the local communities (Faasen 2006). Faasen (2006) argues, however, that this should be so far as in the role that socio-economic development, as part of sustainable rural development, benefits conservation. She stresses that it is important that the park positions itself as a conservation agency with a limited socio-economic responsibility in their pursuance of their conservation mandate. It is also emphasised that the latter position be understood as such by local communities, to avoid unrealistic expectations. It is, however, pointed out that within this position it is necessary for the park to work together with other developmental agencies to tackle the wider socio-economic problems of the area. It is argued that by doing so the park might gain more legitimacy amongst local communities and that it may improve relationships and perhaps enhance support for conservation in the long-term.

However, the big controversy between the locals and the park is the issue of access to historical fishing sites which are located within the MPA. Williams (2013) notes that local fishers are allowed to fish along the Nature's Valley coastline. However, for this they need to purchase a recreational permit at the post office, which is valid for one year and it costs them approximately R170 at the time of the study. There are no permits available to conduct any form of fishing inside the MPA (Williams 2013).

In the study by Williams (2013), local fishers have admitted to her that they do fish in the MPA despite the fact that it is regarded as a criminal offence by the state. They, however, do not see their actions as illegal. This is as they claim access to these fishing grounds on the basis of their historical and/or customary rights, as well as for socio-economic reasons. Furthermore, it is said that they also set out to challenge the position of the state as the primary decision-making authority.

One of the participants in the study by Williams (2013) explained his position. The participant pointed out that because of low and insecure employment in the area, some days he has to go to the sea and there he would spend 5 - 6 hours and return home with two or three fish. This, he says, helps him during the times when he has little disposable income to purchase food. As such, he emphasises the role that fishing plays in helping him secure food for his household in times of need.

Beyond the important role that fishing plays in the livelihood of local communities, Williams (2013) found that it also so much more than just the economic value of fishing. Fishers have continued to highlight the importance for them of maintaining their identity as fishers and as fisher communities. With regard to the latter point, Faasen (2006) interestingly note that even if the park, with as good as the intention may have been, included elders of the local communities in their cultural mapping and oral history project, what is the point of collecting and preserving the history of local communities if they cannot live out their cultural heritage. To this she remarks “they have mainly focused on capturing information on a lifestyle that only lives in the minds of a few in Tsitsikamma” (Faasen 2006:139).

Nevertheless, in 2005 the Tsitsikamma Angling Forum (TAF) organised a protest march against the complete ‘no-take policy (Faasen 2006). During the event, a memorandum expressing local dissatisfaction with the fishing closures were handed to the Department of Environmental Affairs. It is said that in response to the latter event, SANParks made their position clear to the communities that they are not regulating the laws pertaining to the MPA, that they are merely an implementing agency of law in accordance with the Marine Living Resources Act of 1998 (MLRA). They emphasised that the fish in the sea belong to the state

and that under the MLRA, TNP is an area where fishing in the MPA is prohibited (Faasen 2006).

Faasen (2006) notes that the National Environmental Management Act of 1998 (NEMA), does provide for equitable access to environmental resources and benefits and services that meet basic human needs. It also states that human well-being must be pursued. It also provides that special measures may be taken to ensure access to natural resources by categories of persons disadvantaged by unfair discrimination. It furthermore states that social, economic and environmental impacts of activities, including disadvantages and benefits must be considered, assessed and evaluated and that decisions must be appropriate in light of such considerations and assessments. To this regard, she notes that at the time when Hanekom et al (1997) made their suggestion for the complete closure of the MPA, there was no NEMA. For this reason she argues that there is a need for reconsideration of the decision in light of South Africa's new legislation.

It is further pointed out by Faasen (2006) that the Protected Areas Act of 2003 does provide for the regulated sustainable use of natural resources in protected areas for the benefit of the people. She points out that biodiversity conservation does not mean preservation and hence zero exploitation of natural resources. Therefore it is argued that the unilateral decision to completely close the MPA is rather preservationist as opposed to biodiversity conservation which does not mean 'no use' but regulated use of natural resources.

It is, however, also noted by Faasen (2006) that the IUCN stresses that any given body of natural resources needs to be perceived and dealt with as a natural heritage *per se* and that it should be for the benefit of all generations, including current and future generations. As such, current generations are perceived to have the right to use natural resources sustainably but it

is noted that a body of natural resources may not always be able to meet all the present local needs. In the latter case, there may be a need to restrict natural resource use in order to reach particular conservation objectives. In the end it is about a balance between rights and responsibilities.

Overall, Faasen (2006) concludes her study by stating that synergies between biodiversity conservation and socio-economic development exist on the surface at TNP. She points out that local community concerns should not just be an add-on to the traditional preservationist approach to conservation. She recommends that local communities should be involved in research projects in the park and that they should be part of awareness and education campaigns. Similar in thinking to Lawrence (2006), she points out that perhaps the park could envision the possibility where a conscious approach to natural resources becomes a part of local communities' daily lives. This is as it is noted that culture in itself is not static, rather it is like nature, complex and dynamic. As such, culture and nature should be managed together as dynamic systems.

It is further pointed out by Faasen (2006:140) that the local communities of Tsitsikamma should be allowed and assisted in evolving their culture together with conservation, so that they may perhaps evolve "a new cultural identity and consequently new cultural values". The idea is that the local communities can develop a cultural identity as conservationists of TNP.

According to Faasen (2006), for the above mentioned scenario to possibly play itself out, it would require a fundamental paradigm shift on the part of the state and SANParks. Essentially these institutions would have to change their relationship with the local communities from communicative and/or consultative to that which Lawrence (2006) points out as transformative for the communities themselves.

Furthermore, some of the other concluding remarks by Faasen (2006) include the idea that local communities can be involved in, and share the burden of day-to-day management of the park. The latter, it is said, could help with the problem of budget constraints. However, for this to work effectively there would need to be capacity building and empowerment through education and training. Faasen (2006) is of the idea that it would be especially necessary for the local communities to be educated and trained on South African laws and policies, as well as SANParks' laws and policies. It is pointed out that this might even give local communities a better perspective and appreciation of SANParks' stance. The latter position is supported by NEMA in that it states that all people must have the opportunity to develop the understanding, skills and capacity necessary for achieving equitable and effective participation.

Faasen (2006) recognises that the above mentioned recommendations may be difficult to implement but the idea is that it will ultimately be a necessary investment for the long-term sustainability of biodiversity.

It is noted that in the period after the study by Faasen (2006), the controversy around varied interests at TNP continued (Lombard et al 2020, Muhl 2019, Williams 2013). In 2007, members of the TAF, which consist of members from various local communities in the Tsitsikamma area, armed themselves and spent the day fishing in the park (Williams 2013). It is said that as the park's authorities did not anticipate the event, the fishers were left to continue to fish illegally under the supervision of the park rangers. However, they were warned that their activities should not be seen as a precedent and Williams (2013:161) quotes the authorities saying that if something like that were to happen again, they would be "dealt with like any other poachers".

In response to the abovementioned event, SANParks and various government departments entered into consultations with the local communities to look into their demands (Williams 2013). The Minister, however, responded to these consultations with the following statement:

“After careful consideration of this proposal, I have decided to uphold the *status quo* by not allowing any fishing in the MPA. The reasons for originally closing the MPA in 2000 and the prevailing underlying circumstances have not changed. It is important to note that this decision will not have an impact on food security in the area as the issue dealt with is a matter of recreational fishing. Opening this MPA to recreational fishing will set a dangerous precedent in a conservation area that is closed to all, for the benefit of all. Allowing a few people access for recreational purposes would negate the benefits that accrue to all South Africans. A decision to open this MPA would effectively have signalled a broader shift in policy on the part of government and the beginning of a new approach that is neither sustainable nor in line with our stated objectives.” (Williams 2013:161-162)

In line with the Minister’s statement, SANParks informed the local communities that they are obliged to enforce the decision and hence they will not enter into any further discussions around the matter (Williams 2013). However, from the communities’ side, they felt that the statement reflects a lack of understanding of their position due to the fact that it, as they say, reduced their fishing practices and motivations for access to recreational use (Williams 2013).

However, in 2014 the tide began to turn as a meeting took place between the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF), the Minister of the DEA and local communities (Muhl 2019). At the meeting a decision was made to form a working group between the DEA and SANParks in order to review whether the MPA can be opened for community members that have cited they have lost their historical rights and cultural heritage.

In the beginning of 2015, a workshop was held with TNP management, DEA, DAFF, SANParks and local communities to re-evaluate the proposal that was submitted in 2007 (Muhl 2019). Thereafter, a draft regulation to open specific areas for fishing with certain restrictions was approved and gazetted by the DEA and it was opened for public comment. However, Lombard et al (2020) note that during the comment period, without prior notice to key stakeholders, that December of 2015, fishers were allowed to fish for a trial period (Lombard et al 2020, Muhl 2019). The decision for a trial period was reversed when the NGO, Friends of Tsitsikamma, which consists of marine scientists, applied for a court order to stop the project. Nevertheless, in December 2016, after receiving the comments submitted by stakeholders during a formal stakeholder consultation process, the DEA opened three sections within the MPA for fishing, amounting to 20% of the MPA (Lombard et al 2020, Muhl 2019).



Figure 2.2: The three new coastal control zones in the TNP MPA, as declared on 19 December 2016 (Muhl 2019).

Muhl (2019) set out to examine the different stakeholder perceptions regarding the 2016

rezoning of the TNP MPA. Her study included perspectives from local communities, NGO representatives, scientists and government representatives.

It is said that for SANParks and the DEA, the rezoning is seen as a necessary step to redress rights concerns and an acknowledgement of the rights and needs of communities living adjacent to the park (Muhl 2019). A SANParks representative interviewed by Muhl (2019) noted that they are responding to a quest by the communities that does not stem from just recently but that the communities have had the same plight since 1964. It is also pointed out that there is the recognition that the issue is not one of recreational use but one of rights of access.

Muhl (2019:60) points out that she gets from her interviews the idea that the rezoning was about more than allowing limited fishing “[r]ather, it was about setting a direction for the future of conservation and economic development”.

However, for many scientists and representatives of conservation NGOs, the problem with rezoning the TNP MPA is with the precedent that it sets (Muhl 2019). There is the fear that it may signify a trend of decreased conservation efforts where short-term social and political goals are prioritised. The TNP MPA, as the oldest MPA in Africa, are seen as a symbol of marine protection and conservation. As such it is viewed as indicative of what will eventually happen to all MPAs, that it will become open to adjacent communities.

It is further noted by scientists that although they do feel that it is important to address the historical injustices that local communities of Tsitsikamma have experienced, they have a problem with the manner in which the rezoning process had occurred (Muhl 2019). They feel that they were actively excluded as a group and that the communities have been prioritised over conservation.

It is pointed out in Lombard et al (2020) that the decision to rezone was taken despite scientific evidence to support maintaining the MPA's 'no take' status. Therefore, the rationality of the decision is questioned. This is as it is pointed out that the decision-making process by the government was not transparent and that the majority of public comments were ignored. There are thus concerns around whether the decision to rezone was politically motivated (Lombard et al 2020, Muhl 2019).

Muhl (2019) points out that in the circles of the government itself, it said that there are those who believe that the process was too rushed and that there is indeed a need for more time and consultation. A SANParks representative also pointed out that they themselves were unprepared and ill-informed around the implementation of the decision.

From the communities' perspective, they are of the view that SANParks and the DEA have failed them (Muhl 2019). This is as, firstly, they are unhappy with the location of the open zones. It is said that the communities are still in the process of negotiating access because there are certain communities that are still excluded due to their lack in proximity to what they perceive as a very limited amount of open zones. There is thus the opinion amongst community members that the rezoning was merely an effort by the government to 'look good on paper'.

Furthermore, there is another issue that frequently came up in the interviews that Muhl (2019) conducted with community members, which they feel have been ignored by the government. It pertains to the matter of access to the coast and it said that the government equated access as a limited restoration of a particular right, the historical right to fish. However important the latter right is to community members, there is the bigger issue, that concerns a more general return of the people to the coast. It is said that one participant noted:

“I love going down with the family, last time when I went down with other family members there at Coldstream and they really, really, really enjoyed it. My brother-in-law asked, he said, “can’t we put up a tent here, it is so nice and peaceful and quiet” (Muhl 2019:65).

As such, the issue for them is that they feel that access to the coast is connected to their family fabric, their well-being and cultural values. The problem is that under current conditions only permit holders are allowed to access the designated areas open for fishing. For the communities, this is a reflection that the government still views their connection to the sea simply as recreational and not something that is culturally valuable for the community as a whole. To this regard Muhl (2019:79) points out that from the interviews with community members, it seems that they feel that “although their grievances were ‘heard’, they felt that no one had actually listened to their arguments”.

It is interesting to note that, as Muhl (2019) points out, community members perceive SANParks and conservationists as the winners, due to the fact that they believe that the strict laws they are subjected to works against them. On the other hand, conservationists see the local communities as the winners as they have gained access to the no-take MPA. However, in reality it seems that none of the parties involved are happy with the outcome of the decision and each sees themselves as the losers.

These polarised views between the local communities and scientists seems to be a reflection of a deeper rift in the two parties’ worldviews, perceptions and values. For example, it emerges in Muhl (2019) that the parties hold different perceptions about local ecology and the impact that the communities and fishers have on local ecosystems. From the communities’ side, they see themselves as fighting for their human and cultural rights, to use

and benefit from the natural resources that their surrounding environment provides, both physically, emotionally and spiritually. There is also the point that fishing provides them with a nutritional supplement to their diet. They believe that they have a limited impact on fish stocks, as they are not going down to the sea and extract from it in their masses. As one participant pointed out to Muhl (2019: 69-70) “between two or four of us go on a day and once or twice a month. It is only when there is a big fish run that more of us will go”.

According to participants from the communities, their actions stand in big contrast to the trawlers and fishing vessels that they have observed in the MPA (Muhl 2019). They feel that the latter issue is going unregulated. They also argue that the sea has been used by their ancestors for generations. They then question why their ancestors never destroyed the fish stocks. For them, they do not see themselves as the perpetrators of overfishing but point out that it is rather at the trawlers that it should be looked at.

They further explained that the geographical features of their surrounding environment does not lend itself to overfishing by shore-angling fishers using low-gear technology (Muhl 2019). It is pointed out that fishing is unpredictable and dangerous in most areas along the Tsitsikamma coast and fishing spots are difficult to access. For them, the nature of the terrain and the environmental conditions means that it would be very difficult to fish unsustainably, one noted “the cliffs are very steep, to carry fish right up from the bottom to the top is very difficult” (Muhl 2019:71).

On the other hand, the reason for the backlash against the rezoning of the TNP MPA from the science community and the wider public support they have received (Lombard et al 2020), is based on the idea that an area deemed to be pristine would be subjected to degradation (Muhl 2019). It is highlighted that the function of the MPA is to protect endangered fish stocks.

Rezoning is thus perceived as a loss in long-term ecological goals, not only for the present but for future generations. The rezoning has thus provoked resentment within the scientist community as “an area that had remained ‘pristine’ for over 50 years was now perceived to be at risk” (Muhl 2019:72). As such, the idea is that the TNP MPA is pristine and should remain so.

It is evident as it comes forth in Muhl (2019), that the nature versus culture debate is very much a part of the contestation between stakeholders at TNP. This is as some stakeholders, such as the communities, see humans as part of nature while others, as Muhl (2019:60) points out, see the local communities as “extractive, disconnected from nature and a detriment to the long-term preservation of the area”.

Furthermore, Muhl (2019) points out that the politics at play is evidently another layer of complexity. She is of the idea that the fact that the historically powerful role that scientists have played in the MPA context has been reduced, especially with regard to who gets to inform decision-making, is not only an issue of procedure but also a political one. This must especially be seen in the light of the perception, perhaps on behalf of the local communities, that historically scientists’ contribution to decision-making have led to their loss of access.

With regard to the concern that the rezoning decision may have been politically motivated, Muhl (2019) points out that fishers did often mention that their voting power was something that could be used to pressure the government to effect change. They do not see the rezoning process as a means by which the government was using them for their votes, neither that they were manipulating the government with votes. For them, they say, the MPA is simply a means through which they are restoring their rights of access to customary resource use and practices.

However, Muhl (2019) points out that some community members did acknowledge that they were aware that the protests occurring just prior to the elections of 2016 would be an ideal time to push for the restoration of their fishing rights. It is also noted that without access to lawyers, the local communities have few options available to them to exert pressure on decision-making authorities. On the other hand, it is noted, conservation scientists have the resources to aid them in their stance. To this regard, a SANParks representative noted:

“The Friends of Tsitsikamma are hugely wealthy, know lawyers as personal friends, pretty good incomes and salaries, they do not need to fish they go buy their fish at a restaurant, they do not need to catch fish. The man on the ground doesn’t have that money, doesn’t have that kind of status in life and these people because of their status in society and their knowledge of the legal process and court process, enables them to do this and they stop the MPA, how many times. The community they don’t have these skills or that access (to lawyers)” (Muhl 2019:86).

In the meantime, a conservation NGO representative pointed out to Muhl (2019) that there is also a political play between scientists and resource managers. It is said that the latter party takes on a more political position. An NGO representative notes:

“Management were the new appoints and they were all non-white and the science were old legacy white people that were still in the department...it became between the scientists and the management, which became very black/white and those protected areas were actually all proclaimed when the scientist were the leader in the show” (Muhl 2019:84).

In light of the above, SANParks representatives expressed they are in a position where they have to balance many different values and interests and thus they feel that they are under immense pressure. Also taking into account the weak communication between themselves and the DEA, they have pointed out that it is due to this overwhelming pressure on them that they were not able to adequately handle stakeholder engagements.

Nevertheless, the lack of proper consultation with both scientists and local communities have led to increased contestation amongst stakeholders. As such, it is pointed out that there seems to be a disconnect between stakeholder groups and that trust in the government and between stakeholders are very low (Lombard et al 2020, Muhl 2019). According to Muhl (2019), how these differing perceptions will be reconciled has much to do with the future opportunities for participation of all stakeholders in decision-making and trust-building.

Muhl (2019) concludes that her research shows that at the TNP MPA there is still a disconnect between policy reform and the reality of fishers on the ground. She makes the following recommendations; firstly, it is noted that ‘soft methods’ of behaviour change, such as environmental education or having the park open for a few days a year, although a step in the right direction, cannot be viewed as successful reconciliation strategies. Secondly, she notes that how different groups perceive one another must be acknowledged in order to address the conflicts. Thirdly, it is also recommended that SANParks staff get training and capacity-building in shifting their approach from enforcement with a criminalisation focus to a more relational approach.

Furthermore, the suggestion came forth in Muhl (2019), from the communities’ side, that the opened zones be more fair. The idea is that there should be a dedicated access zone for each community to enhance equitability across all adjacent communities. Each community would

then be better able to assist in monitoring and enforcing rules of access within their own communities. Each community would then have the incentive to protect their area for their future generations. The latter point was acknowledged by a conservation NGO representative, pointing out that such an approach would indeed provide each community with their own sense of ownership. It is further noted that it might aid in building trust and that it would better enable a collaborative approach to governance.

Lombard et al (2020:258), on the other hand, questions the extent of the importance that have been placed on local fishers' concerns. They note that "it addresses an issue that has national ramifications because national parks are 'national', but the issue of fishing rights have been treated as one that is local". They do, however, acknowledge that the restitution of the rights of historically disadvantaged local people is in line with the Constitution of South Africa of 1996. The problem they have is with the general right to fish recreationally simply because one lives near or adjacent to the MPA.

Nevertheless, deeply dissatisfied with the lack of transparency about what guided the DEA's decision for rezoning, Lombard et al (2020) propose a possible statistical and decision analytical tool called, multi-criteria decision analysis (MCDA). It is believed that the use of this tool will aid in transparent and robust decision-making.

What the tool involves, is the use of multiple criteria, cutting across economic, social and environmental arenas. It also provides for inputs from various stakeholders, such as fishers, politicians, managers, economists, social scientists and natural scientists.

It is further pointed out that the thing about this is "the process itself compels consultation, involves divergent views, and makes people part of the outcome, rather than being invited to pass comment after the event" (Lombard et al 2020:257). Moreover, what is perhaps most

important is the fact that the process can yield measures that can be documented and rationally defended.

Lombard et al (2020) therefore conclude that since none of the stakeholders are content with the outcome of the rezoning process, the possibility exists for a better outcome to be achieved. For them, this possibility lies in a rigorous, meaningful and transparent multiple-stakeholder consultative approach.

2.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, a geographical description of the location of the study was given, together with a brief overview of the history of four of the local communities in close proximity to the TNP. It also looked at previous studies conducted by scholars on the topic of local communities, the participatory approach and access to natural resources at the TNP. It includes a review on Faasen (2006), Williams (2013), Muhl (2019) and Lombard et al (2020). It comes forth in these scholars' studies that contestation between stakeholders, the government and the implementing authority, SANParks, is high. It also highlights the underlying issues that play a role in the complexity of relations at TNP. However, Faasen (2006), Muhl (2019) and Lombard et al (2020) put forward interesting suggestions for ways forward that might bring about improvements in stakeholder relationships and ultimately more benefits for conservation.

The chapter that follows sets out the methodology used for data collection, the process of data analysis, the research ethics that was considered for the execution of this study, as well as the limitations to this study.

Chapter 3: Methodology

This chapter (1) sets out the methods used for the collection of data to answer the research questions posed by this study, (2) it then sets out a description of the process of analysis taken on the data collected, (3) it also sets out the ethical considerations that were considered and lastly, (4) the limitations to this study.

3.1 Data Collection

In order to answer the research questions posed by this study, data was collected in the field over a non-consecutive period of eight weeks. It was during the months of November 2018, and June and October 2019.

The TNP Management Plan (2008) recognises 13 communities to live either adjacent to the park or in close proximity to it. Due to practical, logistical and financial reasons, the data for this study was obtained from four of the thirteen communities.

Three of the chosen communities are located on the Western Cape side of the provincial border and one community on the Eastern Cape side. On the Western Cape side, situated in the Bitou Local Municipality, it included the communities of Kurland, Natures Valley and Covie. On the Eastern Cape side, under the Koukamma Local Municipality, it included the community of Storms River.

These four communities were chosen due to the researcher's access to gatekeepers within these communities. As O'Reilly explains, gatekeepers are "individuals who smooth access to the group. They are the key people who let us in, give us permission, or grant access...Gatekeepers may be official or unofficial leaders, managers, organisers, or simply busybodies. They may be in a position to grant permission themselves or able to persuade

others” (2009:132). For this study, some of the gatekeepers were in a position to grant permission themselves and some were in the position to persuade others to grant permission.

Furthermore, it must be noted that as Pelser et al (2013) point out, within the South African context, usually, and especially with regard to SANParks’ People and Parks Programme, the term *local communities* refer either to predominantly black or coloured² settlements in close proximity to the park. The latter approach to the term, is due to consideration given to the South African historical context (Pelser et al 2013). In light of this, the Natures Valley community may not *per se* fit the definition, however, in this study, in accordance with Scherl et al (2004), the term includes all people living around the park.

The researcher also included the Natures Valley community, as the thought was that by including a group of people who permanently lives in a settlement completely surrounded by the park, it might provide valuable insights into an understanding of community-park relations. Moreover, as within the South African context this community may have a different history to the other local communities in the area, the thinking was that this aspect may also provide comparative insights.

Finally, to obtain data from these four local communities, this study made use of face-to-face questionnaires and focus group discussions (Bernard 2006; Bhattacharjee 2012; Denscombe 2010).

3.1.1 Face-to-face questionnaires

A total of 75 household questionnaires (Appendix A) were conducted with an aim to get an overall picture of the socio-economic profile of the communities, as well as the level of participation of local households in protected area management, discussions, activities and

² In South Africa, people of mixed racial origin are referred to as ‘coloured’.

opportunities. In addition there were also 21 questionnaires conducted, aimed specifically at fishers, as fish resource use seems to be the most dominant and controversial form of resource use in the area (Cloete 2016; Faasen 2006; Lombard Steyn 2016; Lombard et al 2020, Muhl 2019, Ramsey 2015; Watts and Faasen 2009, Williams 2013).

In order to conduct the household questionnaires, probabilistic sampling was used (see Table 1). As Bhattacharjee (2012) points out, most of the time it is not feasible to study an entire population, therefore sampling entails the selection of a subset of a population of interest. Denscombe (2010) further explains that the principle behind sampling is that it is possible to make accurate findings even if data was not collected from all members of the research population. As he puts it “[i]t means that they might be able to save time and money by reducing the amount of data they need to collect without, at the same time, reducing the accuracy of their findings” (Denscombe 2010:23). Doing a probabilistic sample entails the process of a random selection, meaning that the researcher does not have any influence on the selection of people or items included in the sample (Denscombe 2010).

In order to draw a sample from the population one needs a sampling frame (Bernard 2006; Bhattacharjee 2012; Denscombe 2010). A sampling frame could be an existing list of addresses or names but in this study a sampling frame was created with the use of a map of the village downloaded from Google Maps (Appendix B), where after each house visible on the map was given a number. The latter then served as the sampling frame from which the sample was drawn. For this, the simple random sampling technique was used (Bernard 2006; Bhattacharjee 2012; Denscombe 2010). A simple random sample means that all possible subsets of a population are given an equal opportunity of being selected (Bernard 2006; Bhattacharjee 2012). It thus entails that a selection is randomly made from the whole of the

sampling frame. In this instance, as mentioned before, a sampling frame was created by giving each house visible on the map of a particular township or settlement a number. An online random number generator, RANDOM.ORG, was used to select a certain amount of numbers between the number one and the number given to the last house counted on the map (Bernard 2006; Bhattacharjee 2012; Denscombe 2010). The amount of numbers randomly generated by the online random number generator was determined by the appropriate percentage of the population sampled, based on the population size (Bernard 2006). When the list of random numbers was generated, whatever house on the map corresponded with the number on the list was then included in the sample (Bernard 2006).

Based on the household as the unit of analysis, door-to-door surveying was conducted at each house included in the sample, using a questionnaire instrument (Bernard 2006). The questionnaire was aimed at the head of the household. However, when the head of the household was not available, it was directed at the second oldest person. The selection of who answers the questionnaire went on in that order for any member of the household that were 18 years old or older. The process took approximately ten minutes and involved the researcher asking the respondent the questions on the questionnaire and then writing the answers on the questionnaire paper. When there was no answer, or refusal to participate in the research, the house next door was then used as a replacement (Bernard 2006).

The simple random sampling technique was used in all the communities except in Natures Valley, where the sampling strategy had to be adapted to fit the local context. Natures Valley is predominantly a holiday town with few permanent residents. As most houses are empty throughout the year, probability sampling was not feasible. At first, a request was sent to the Ratepayers Association of Natures Valley, to access the list of permanent residents in order to

randomly select a sample from the list, however the request was denied. So, instead, a non-probability sampling strategy used with the convenience sampling technique, also called opportunistic sampling (Bernard 2006, Bhattacharjee 2012). Permission was given to walk around in the streets and to opportunistically draw a sample from people that was readily available, as they could be found in the streets (Bhattacharjee 2012). It was as Bernard (2006) explains of the convenience sampling technique, that one would “[grab] whoever will stand still long enough to answer your questions' ” (Bernard 2006:191). It is, however, so that the scientific generalisability from this technique are much more limited than that of a probabilistic simple random sample (Bhattacharjee 2012), but again as Bernard points out, that sometimes, as in this case, “convenience samples are all that’s available, and you just have to make do” (Bernard 2006:192).

Furthermore, as mentioned before, Nature’s Valley is predominantly a holiday town, and fieldwork was conducted during off-season time. Moreover, the majority of the permanent residents are older people of retirement age. The streets, therefore, at the time of conducting the questionnaire interviews, were quite empty but for a few permanent residents walking outside from time to time. As a result, only eight questionnaires were completed over the period of one week of at least five hours of walking around in the streets per day. It then amounts to a representative 16 percent of an estimated 50 permanent households in Natures Valley, as indicated by the Nature’s Valley Trust.

As mentioned before, the simple random sampling technique was used in the other three communities, namely that of Kurland, Covie and Storms River. However, it must be noted that while the households were counted on the map, it did not account for split households on one property, as it was difficult to ascertain from a map.

In Kurland, a total of 810 visible households were counted on the map. Subsequently a random list of numbers was generated to the equivalent of five percent of the population as counted on the map. In other words, a total of 41 out of 810 households were selected as the sample. However, according to Statistics South Africa's 2011 national census data, there are 1, 261 households in Kurland (Statistics South Africa 2020).

In Covie, a total of 31 visible households were counted on the map, whereupon a random list of numbers was generated to the equivalent of 35% of the population as counted on the map. There were thus 11 out of 30 households selected as the sample. There is no statistical data for the community of Covie available from Statistics South Africa (Statistics South Africa 2020), but it was confirmed with the community leader that there are approximately 30 households in the community.

In Storms River, a total of 481 visible households were counted on the map. Although the aim was to have a sample size of five percent of the population, upon which 24 households were supposed to be sampled, due to general research fatigue in the area, participation was low. In the end only 16 households out of the 24 households sampled, participated in the research. It thus amounted to three percent of the population. The 2011 national census data indicates that there are 574 households in Storms River (Frith n.d).

The other set of face-to-face questionnaires was aimed at fishers (Appendix C), as resource users, specifically. The non-probability purposive sampling technique was used. The latter entails the deliberate selection of people to participate, based on their known attributes, in this case their knowledge of fishing and fishery resources (Denscombe 2010).

Table 3.1: Sampling for Household Questionnaires

Community	Population: total number of households counted on map	Sample size: total number of households sampled	Sample size: percentage
Kurland	810	41	5
Covie	30	10	33
Nature's Valley (permanent residents)	50	8	16
Stormsrivier	481	16	3

The latter entails the deliberate selection of people to participate, based on their known attributes, in this case their knowledge of fishing and fishery resources (Denscombe 2010). The sample for these questionnaires were not randomly selected for as Denscombe (2010) further explains, “[t]his can be useful with small-scale surveys where random sampling of itself might not be likely enough to include groups that occur in relatively small numbers in the population” (Denscombe 2010:35). In order to attain this sample, popular fishing spots at the open access De Vasselot section of the park, at Natures Valley Beach and the Salt River, were frequented during the months of November 2018, June and October 2019. However, small numbers of fishers were found at these spots, as scouting for participants was conducted during daylight hours, whereas fishers in the area tend to mostly fish later in the evening or at night-time. Scouting for participants had to take place during daylight hours due to safety concerns, as a female researcher alone in the field. Furthermore, the researcher was also not able to access other fishing spots where fishers may fish, such as inside of the MPA

or other steep and/or rocky outcrops. In the end, a total of 21 face-to-face questionnaires were conducted on fishery related data.

3.1.2 Focus Groups

Focus group sessions with community leaders and community members, were held in the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River. Community leaders were asked to help call the group together, by spreading the word and encouraging people of the community to attend.

As Denscombe (2010) points out, focus groups are formal interview sessions, usually with around six to nine participants, but may be smaller in small-scale research, such as in the case of this study. These type of discussions are usually held, as it was in this study, to “explore attitudes and perceptions, feelings and ideas about a specific topic” and to get an idea as of “the extent to which there are shared views among a group of people in relation to a specific topic” (Denscombe 2010:177). The topics focused on during the focus group sessions revolved around community dynamics around socio-economic conditions and issues, the park, conservation and tourism, as well as inter- and intra-community dynamics. Questions put before the focus group for discussion (Appendix D), were semi-structured in nature, meaning that there was a clear list of issues to be addressed and questions to be answered (Denscombe 2010). The semi-structured questions were also an attempt at some extent of standardisation across communities, so as to aid in easier comparison between communities, during the analysis process.

In Kurland, the focus group consisted of seven participants, of which three of them were community leaders. The village of Kurland is predominantly constituted of coloured and black people and both racial groups were represented. There was also a representation of both

males and females. In Covie, there were six participants, of which one of them was a community leader. The hamlet of Covie has a high degree of racial homogeneity, consisting of a predominantly coloured community. Thus, racial representation was not an issue. Both males and females were represented. In Storms River, there were a total of 14 participants, of which three of them were community leaders, as well as community activists. However, in this community, there has been some significant limitations of representativeness in the focus group. Firstly, there were only males present and no female representation. Secondly, even though Storms River is a racially heterogeneous community, consisting of black, coloured and white racial groups (Frith, n.d.), only black and coloured representatives were in attendance. The latter limitations had been taken into consideration in the analysis of the relevant data.

In Natures Valley, due to its holiday town nature and permanent residents mainly being over retirement age, it was advised to directly interview the Municipal Ward Councilor, as the community leader, regarding questions on the community. The same questions used in the three other focus groups sessions, were also addressed to the community leader of Natures Valley.

3.2 Data Analysis

This study employed both the processes of qualitative and quantitative data analysis. Qualitative data from the focus group discussions were qualitatively analysed. The quantitative data, such as the closed-ended face-to-face household questionnaires and the face-to-face questionnaires on fishery data, were quantitatively analysed.

3.2.1 Qualitative analysis: focus group discussions

The focus groups discussions were recorded on a voice recorder. It was then transcribed into text. Some of the focus group discussions were conducted in Afrikaans, the local language spoken by many of the members of the participating communities. In such instances, it was also necessary to translate the content from Afrikaans to English whilst transcribing the audio into text format. Both the translation from Afrikaans to English, and the transcription of the audio files into text, were of great help in order to aid in the ease of a systematic process of analysis, and especially for the purpose of comparison of the data between themes and units of analysis (Bazeley and Jackson 2013; Denscombe 2010).

These texts were analysed with the aid of the computer assisted qualitative data analysis software, NVivo. As Denscombe (2010) explains, the software program does not do the analysis itself, rather “the researcher still needs to decide the codes and look for the connections within the data” (Denscombe 2010: 279). It therefore still entails the process of reading through the transcripts, categorising according to themes and coding of the raw data (Bazeley and Jackson 2013). It is, however, of great assistance in effectively and efficiently managing the raw data, and to make sense of the chaos, which is often characteristic of such data (Bazeley and Jackson 2013).

Once transcribed, data from the focus groups discussions were first coded. Coding entails the process of ‘tagging’ texts with codes and indexing it and is a way of marking ‘themes’ (Bazeley and Jackson 2013). After the process of coding, links were established across themes within each unit of analysis, which in this instance were the respective local communities of Kurland, Natures Valley, Covie and Storms River (Bazeley and Jackson 2013).

Themes to categorise the data from the focus group discussions, were informed by the research sub-questions. It included the following (1) local communities' socio-economic conditions, (2) locals' relationship with their natural environment (3) local perceptions of nature conservation, (4) local perceptions of tourism and (5) locals' perception of their relationship with the TNP and its authorities. Then, finally, comparisons and correlations were made between the units of analysis (Bazeley and Jackson 2013). The latter was then further compared with the findings from the quantitative data analysis, in order to answer research questions.

3.2.2 Quantitative analysis: closed-ended face-to-face household questionnaires and the face-to-face questionnaires on fishery data

The household questionnaires and the fishery data questionnaires were quantitatively analysed. Quantitative analysis entails the process of analysing data that in most cases comes from questions in surveys or questionnaires, as was the case in this instance (Bernard 2006; Denscombe 2010). Also characteristic of quantitative data analysis is that it is based on the analysis of numbers, often making use of statistical procedures (Denscombe 2010). There are many statistical procedures for analysing quantitative data but for the purpose of this research basic descriptive statistics were used (Bhattacharjee 2012; Denscombe 2010). As Denscombe (2010) explains, descriptive statistics serves useful in aiding in the process of organising and summarising the data, displaying the evidence, describing how the data is distributed and making connections between the data, in terms of correlations and associations.

One of the first steps in the quantitative data analysis process is to provide codes to the data (Bhattacharjee 2012; Denscombe 2010). Coding of the data under a quantitative data analysis process entails the transformation of words into numbers (Denscombe 2010: 245). A coding

book were developed for this purpose, giving a detailed description, that includes the variable and the research question associated with it, the type of measurement and the numeric code for each value (Bernard 2006; Bhattacharjee 2012). Then, once the coding sheet had been developed, the coded data was entered into a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet (Bhattacharjee 2012).

It was also important to be clear on what type of quantitative data one is dealing with, because “[t]here are certain statistical techniques that work with some kinds of data that will not work with others” (Denscombe 2010). Thus, the data had to be organised according to the four types of measurement, whether it is (1) nominal, (2) ordinal, (3) interval or (4) ratio data (Bhattacharjee 2012; Denscombe 2010). The latter was also indicated on the coding sheet.

In order to “get to know the data intimately” (Barnard 2006: 549), and to describe the general properties specific variables (Bhattacharjee 2012; Korb 2013), all variables were univariately analysed, with the aid of the statistical analysis software, Statistical Package for Social Science (SPSS).

3.3 Research Ethics

The following ethical considerations were applicable to this research study due to the fact that it involved human participants in the study, (1) Ethics Committee approval, (2) informed consent, (3) anonymity of informants and (4) the issue of language.

3.3.1 Ethics Committee approval

As is often the case with social research, no matter how small the project is, there is the requirement that prior approval should be obtained from an Ethics Committee in order to execute the research investigation (Denscombe 2010). This is especially so where the study “involves collecting data directly from people or collecting personal data about living

people” (Denscombe 2010:329). This process is to ensure that the researcher makes use of appropriate measures of data collection and that there is a commitment to protect the interest of the people and groups that participate in the research (Denscombe 2010). Such approval had been obtained by the internal Ethics Committee of the Anthropology Department at Rhodes University, as well as the university’s Higher Degrees Committee, prior to the commencement of fieldwork to collect research data.

3.3.2 Informed consent

Participation in a research study should always be voluntary and the participant should always have sufficient information on the study in order to make a sound judgement on whether to participate or not (Denscombe 2010). During the data collection stage, participants were always verbally informed of the nature of the research and that it is their free choice to decide whether they want to participate in the research or not. They were also assured that no consequences will ensue should they decide not to. They were then handed a consent form (see Appendix E) that also included a list of rights that the participant holds, and were asked to sign the form should they be satisfied with the information they were given, the rights that apply to them and that they were then willing to participate.

3.3.3 Anonymity of informants

The research consent form, mentioned above, stipulates the right of participants to remain anonymous should they wish to. Even though none of the participants expressly indicated that they would like to remain anonymous, it was decided to keep the names of participants in focus groups anonymous, since it entails details around current events. For this reason, the researcher felt to give extra measure of protection towards the informants and their respective communities.

3.3.4 The issue of language

In the overall Tsitsikamma area, there are three languages predominantly spoken by the local people, namely Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa (Frith, n.d). The researcher is fluent in both Afrikaans and English. All questionnaires were first developed in English. Since it was a face-to-face questionnaire interview, the researcher directly translated from the questionnaire from English to Afrikaans during the interview, when a participant was a native Afrikaans speaker. None of the fishers that participated were isiXhosa speaking, however, both English and isiXhosa versions (Appendix C) of the questionnaire were always at hand, as well as a local translator was hired to assist in conducting the questionnaires in isiXhosa. Focus group discussions were also conducted in Afrikaans where participants asked for it to be so, such as in Natures Valley, Storms River and Covie, where participants were all native Afrikaans speakers.

In Kurland, with a significant isiXhosa speaking population, a local translator was hired, who is fluent in Afrikaans, English and isiXhosa. At the focus group session in Kurland, there were both Afrikaans and isiXhosa speakers present and the group mutually agreed to conduct the session in English. The translator was present throughout the session, however, should any translation had been required. She also assisted in the execution of household surveys whenever participants were isiXhosa speakers.

In this way, by pledging commitment to protect research participants' interest, obtaining informed consent and facilitating participation in the language the participant felt most comfortable with, enabled more open, comfortable and trusting interactions.

3.4 Limitations

A major limitation to this study is that although the aim was to get inputs from SANParks, they were contacted several times during the course of this study, both telephonically and via email, but each time the researcher was referred to someone else. Eventually, no substantial response was received from the conservation authority in charge of protected area management at the TNP. The findings in this study thus present only the inputs from the four local communities of Kurland, Nature's Valley, Covie and Storms River.

Chapter 4: Presentation of Findings

This chapter presents the findings emanating from the data collected and analysed, as set out in the previous chapter. This is in order to answer the question, from a local community perspective, what is the nature of local communities' relationship with the TNP. This is with the aim to get insight on the extent to, and in which ways SANParks has embraced the shift away from fortress conservation towards a participatory approach at the TNP.

As both qualitative and quantitative analysis were undertaken, a mixed approach was taken to the presentation of the findings, according to the themes based on the research sub-questions. Thus, the findings from both qualitative and quantitative analysis are presented under the following main headings, (1) personal information (2) local socio-economic conditions, (3) communities' relationship with their natural environment (4) communities' perceptions of nature conservation, (5) communities' perceptions of tourism and (6) communities' perceptions on their relationship with the TNP and its authorities in general.

4.1 Demographics

This section presents the demographic data of respondents, including (1) sex composition of adult individual members of households per community and (2) age of the adult individual members of households per community.

For the variables such as age, sex, level of education and source of income and employment, data was obtained on each adult member of the household. It thus includes data on a total of 197 adult individuals, as part of the 75 households surveyed by the household questionnaire.

Figure 3.1 shows the sex composition of adult individual members of households in each of the four communities. In Kurland, Nature's Valley and Covie, most respondents are female and in Storms River most respondents are male.

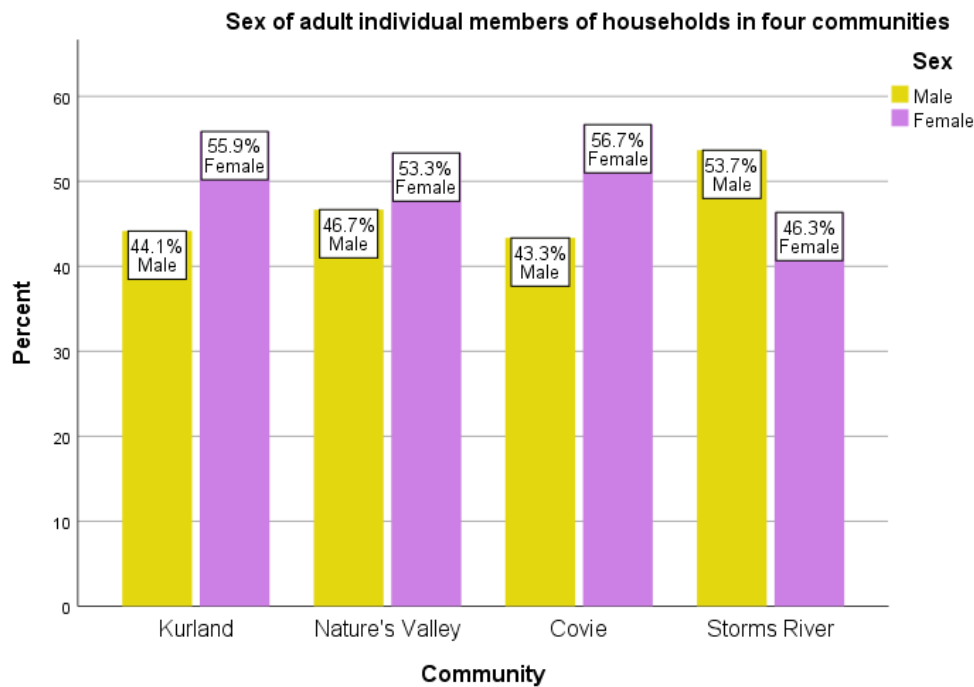


Figure 4.1 Sex of adult individual members of households in four communities (N = 197)

Figure 3.2 shows the age of adult individual members of households within each of the four communities. In both Kurland and Storms River, the majority of adult members of households are between the age of 18 and 35 years. In Covie, the majority of adult individual members of households are matured adults between the age of 36 and 59 years of age. In Nature's Valley the majority of adult members of households are people older than 60 years of age.

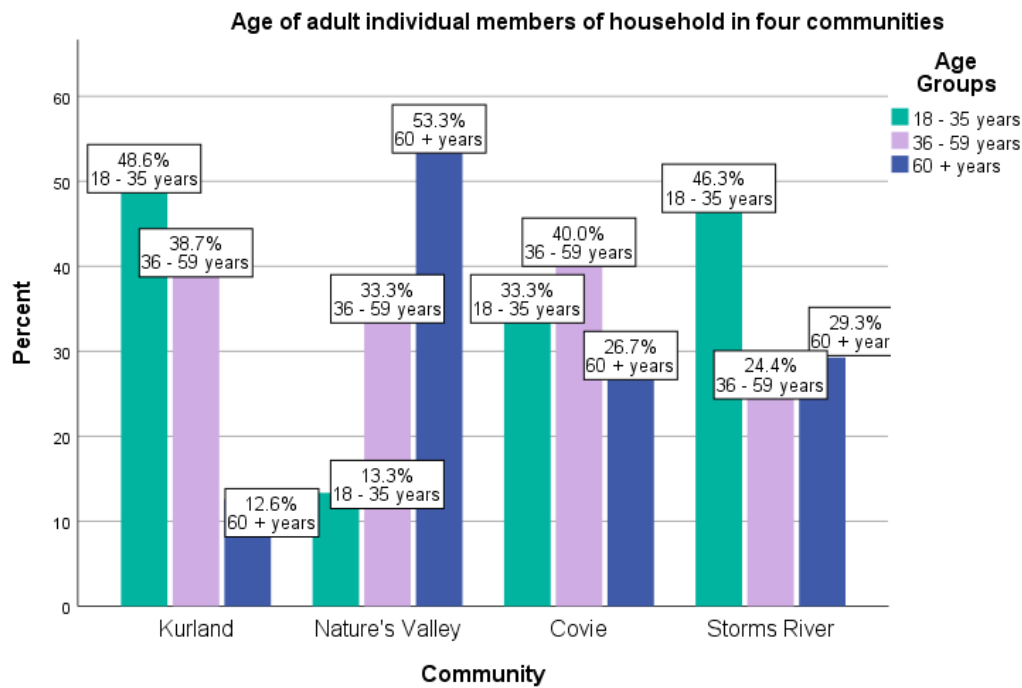


Figure 4.2 Age of adult individual members of household (N = 197)

4.2 The socio-economic conditions of local communities

Due to the role that socio-economic factors can play in community-park relations, it is important to assess whether, and in what ways, this might be a factor that influences local communities' relationship with the park and its authorities.

In order to obtain insight on the socio-economic composition in each of the four communities, this section presents data from the face-to-face household questionnaire on (1) education, (2) income levels and (3) sources of income and employment. It also presents (4) insights from focus group discussions.

4.2.1 Education

Figure 3.3 shows the education levels of adults across households in the four communities. In the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storm River, the majority of adult respondents'

highest level of education is at the secondary level. In Nature's Valley, the majority of adult respondents' highest level of education is at the tertiary level.

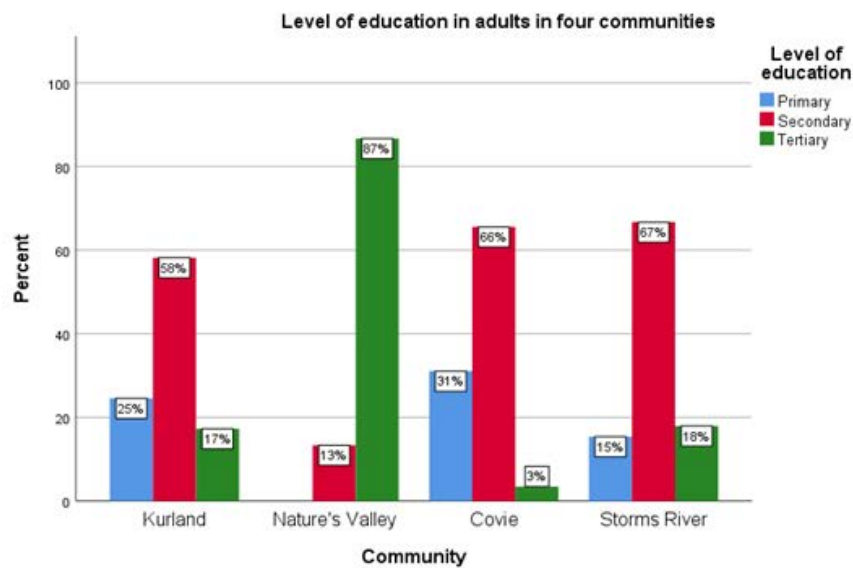


Figure 4.3 Level of education of adults in the four communities (N = 193)

4.2.2 Household income levels

Figure 3.4 shows the income levels across households in the four communities. In Kurland, Covie and Storms River, the majority of household incomes fall in the lower income range. In Nature's Valley, the majority of household incomes fall in the upper income range.

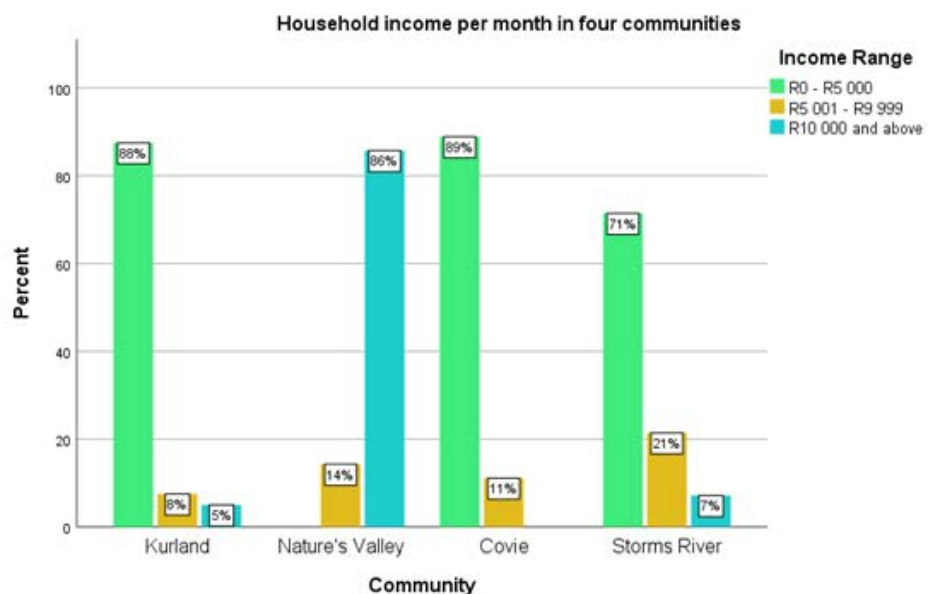


Figure 4.4 Household incomes per month in the four communities (N = 70)

4.2.3 Sources of income and employment

Figure 3.5 shows the frequency distribution of sources of income and employment for adult members within households in each of the four communities. In both Kurland and Storms River, the majority of adult members of households are employed in industries not affiliated with the TNP. In Nature's Valley, the majority of adult members of households are pensioners, whereas in Covie the majority of adult members of households are unemployed. Storms River also shows the highest frequency of adult members of households who are directly employed through the TNP, as well as indirectly through surrounding tourism. Nature's Valley shows the highest frequency of adult members of households for whom, as business owners, the TNP is an indirect source of income through tourism.

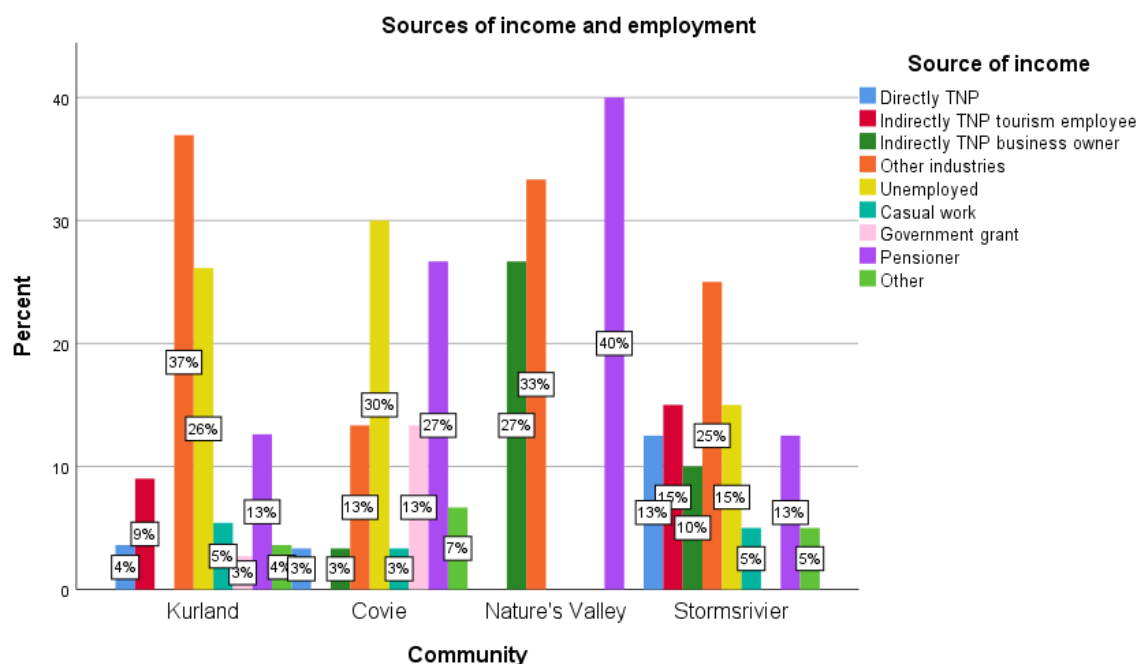


Figure 4.5 Sources of income and employment (N = 196)

4.2.4 Insights on local socio-economic conditions from focus group discussions

In the focus group sessions, participants from the community of Kurland indicated that overall education levels in the community are average or low. Participants from Covie had reported the same for their community, as well as in Storms River. Participants in Kurland and Covie, had expressed concern about the high dropout rate at high school level. In Kurland this occurrence was attributed to high levels of poverty in the community, which is attributed to the lack of jobs in the area. It was further indicated that often young people have to leave high school in order to work for an additional income for their household. Another participant pointed to the influence of substance abuse by both young people and older household members, saying “alcohol abuse is also very high. So, it puts them at a very big disadvantage. So that is the reason why the dropout rate is so high” (Focus group discussion, Kurland, 29 June 2019).

Another issue that influences the high dropout rate at high school level, which is reported in both Kurland and Covie, is the low morale at the local high school. It is said that sometimes young people in the community can have bad attitudes and some of them can be quite stubborn. One participant in Kurland stated “the [spirits] in the school are also very low, or the [spirits] of the teachers. Kids come with very bad attitudes to school, ‘no, you can tell me nothing’. You try to educate your kid at home, now they go to a different environment and then there he learns a lot of things” (Focus group discussion, Kurland, 20 June 2019). A participant in Covie also says “some people, when they finish grade 10, they cannot go further, or they feel they do not want to go further – they want to act ‘grown-up” (“*want hulle hou hulle groot*”), if I can put it that way” (Focus group discussion, Covie, 18 June 2019).

The community leader at Covie also pointed out the issue that there are no schools in the community and people have to travel far to Kurland or Plettenberg Bay to attend school and says this also had an influence on school attendance.

In Covie and Kurland, they have also indicated that very few people in their communities attend tertiary institutions. In both communities it is said that most people in the community cannot financially afford the costs of tertiary education. One participant in Covie points out

It is mostly finances. Our parents did not have great jobs or big income, so they could not provide us with finances to study further. So, it depends on the person, if you want to go further, you need to reach outside and hear of there are bursaries or sponsorships that you can apply for, to help you advance...It takes a lot of effort and force...not force but having to keep asking and make work of it to reach what you want to be. The companies in the area, they are not so...I mean there are things that they do for the community but when it comes to finances then everything stops (Focus group discussion, Covie, 18 June 2019).

Furthermore, one of the participants also referred to the fact that many are not able to go on to attain tertiary level of education because so few of them make it to grade 12, or pass grade 12, in the first place.

Nature's Valley, however, reports high levels of education. The community leader points out that most of the people, whether they only come for the holidays or whether they stay permanently, have university graduates in their families. Those who live in Nature's Valley on a permanent basis are also mostly qualified people who upon retirement settle in the valley (community leader, personal communication, 12 June 2019).

In terms of employment, it comes forth that there are various challenges for the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River. In Kurland it is noted that in general there is a shortage of proper jobs in and around the community. One participant had pointed to the big role that the partnership between SANParks and the local municipality plays in providing jobs for the community, with programs such as the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), Working for Water and Coastal Care. He pointed out:

We believe that is one of the highest employers of the people [in] the community. I don't know but we have a lot of contractors from the community. [They] also employ people, [and] even though the payment is not properly a living wage...it is better than nothing (Focus group discussion, Kurland, 20 June 2019).

Other participants, however, pointed out that employment or income opportunities emanating from these programmes are not reliable. In both Kurland and Storms River, participants have pointed out that incomes from these jobs are inconsistent and that people wait long to get their money. As such, even though it can provide temporary income for a relatively large amount of people in the community, participants stressed that often it is ineffective as a reliable source of income.

In Covie, it is said that the biggest work opportunities a person can get is either at SANParks or at the Toll Gate at the nearby National Road, the N2. It is, however, pointed out that as people do not have high levels of education, many resort to cleaning and gardening jobs. They say there is also a significant amount of people in the community that are reliant on government grants.

One of the obstacles, they point out, is that even if one finds employment, there is the issue of transport. A lot of people in the community do not own vehicles and there is no public transport system in place in the area. People thus have to walk long distances to get to where they want to be and that it is very discouraging as pointed out:

There are two options, you either walk the route that you came driving in, that's 10km, or one walk another route of 6km but then you have to cross another river that could be dangerous for women and [especially] with children. Now, many decide not to go and that is understandable.
(Focus group discussion, Covie, 18 June 2019).

The option of staying close to work opportunities is also not viable, as one participant explains that rent in these places can be very expensive.

Furthermore, they feel that the park does not provide sufficient work opportunities for them. They say SANParks are not communicating with them or encouraging work opportunities in their community. Instead the community feels alienated from their neighbours and say that they are disappointed in the fact that it seems that people from outside are preferred above them, as one explains:

Look there is a rest camp down here and [we have] a lot of young girls that can go clean there because they clean their own homes but when we hear, then we only see there are new people appointed there. Even if it is only for the December holidays, for those two months...December and January. They never come to the community. They know the people in the community lack matric or tertiary education, but you do not need tertiary education to take a broom and mop. They did in the previous dispensation take people as casuals. They did reach out to the community

to say they needed four people and then the community members could make turns. Look, maybe one was there last year, maybe [now] he or she could give an opportunity to someone else. Maybe that person now has another job...So, they used to let people casual like that. You did, however, have to get yourself down there but I mean you also have to take responsibility to get to work...You also have to have matric, you have to have tertiary education, and in the end of the day they appoint people from Storms River and here is a community (Focus group discussion, Covie, 18 June 2019).

In Storms River, participants have also pointed out that SANParks are not engaging with them and that it does not provide them with sufficient employment opportunities. One pointed out,

the people of this place, I can tell you, it is probably one percent that the park provides [for]... there will probably be only one that will tell me that they work at the park. The rest do not work at the park, [they do] not have work. It is not that they don't want to work at the park..." (Focus group discussion, Storms River 29 October 2019).

They also share sentiment that the local people around the park do not get work opportunities, but it is rather outsiders that benefit from employment opportunities at the park. One participant shared the opinion that low levels of education should not be an impediment to work at parks, as:

Work at the park is not about education. Whether you work at the park is according to your face, if I know you, then you will go in there. There are a lot more people who are educated that are here than those that work

there. [We] are in this vicinity, but [we] do not get jobs (Focus group discussion, Storms River, 29 October 2019).

In Nature's Valley, there are not any issues around employment, as it is predominantly a holiday-makers' town. Those who live there permanently are mostly people who are retired. The younger people that live in the valley, usually have occupations as writers or programmers, as the latter does not require one to be positioned somewhere specifically and one is able to work from anywhere in the world. Some people also run accommodation establishments as an extra source of income, but it is noted that it also isn't that big of a market in a quaint seaside village such as Nature's Valley. However, most people are not dependent on income or employment as the majority of residents are retired from highly qualified professions.

4.2.5 Conclusion

On all socio-economic indicators, education, income, and employment, the three communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, share the same trends and issues. For each variable, the outcomes for Nature's Valley stood in stark contrast to that of the aforementioned communities.

In the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, in terms of education levels, for the average adult member of a household, the highest level of education is at secondary level. Income generally falls in the lower range and they have also indicated that they have various challenges with regard to employment. They also indicate that in general, they do not perceive SANParks as a significant source of employment, while noting that more often than not, it is rather people from outside that get employment opportunities. They do, however,

point out to the fact that education levels in their communities are low and that this causes a lot of people in their communities not to meet the educational requirements for jobs.

Nature's Valley on the other hand did not report any issues around income and employment, as the village is constituted mostly of individuals that are retired from highly qualified professions.

4.3 Relationship with natural environment

This section sets out the results of an investigation into the relationship that local communities have with their natural environment, in order to understand how this may impact their relationship with TNP and its authorities.

In order to get insight on the nature of the relationship that people in the local communities around TNP have with their natural environment and its resources, data from focus group discussions, face-to-face household questionnaires and fisher questionnaires were analysed.

With regard to the fisher questionnaire, it was conducted with fishers at Nature's Valley beach. The latter is the open access De Vasselot section of the park, where fishers are allowed to fish, right outside of the MPA. A separate sample was taken to collect this data and is not the same sample as that selected for the household questionnaire. Instead a non-probability purposive sampling technique was used. This was done to get specific insights from the perspective of resource users in the area in general. Furthermore, as Denscombe (2010) explains, the latter sampling technique is useful when one seeks to include groups that occur in relatively small numbers in relation to the larger population.

As such, no comparisons are made between communities from this data. It merely gives insights on the general perspective of fishers who fish at the open access section of the park, right outside the MPA.

This section then, first sets out interactions and perceptions (1) on the indigenous forest and then (2) on fishing and the sea.

4.3.1 The indigenous forest

The indigenous forest is not something that people in the local communities of Tsitsikamma have much interaction with. In terms of natural resource use no one reported making use of any indigenous trees, neither commercially, nor domestically. Although, in Covie, it was pointed out that dry wood on the ground was used before but with increased protection measures by both SANparks and Department of Forestry, they are not allowed to take any resources from the indigenous forest at all.

In Nature's Valley, it is noted that people in this community like to take walks in the indigenous forest, to appreciate its aesthetic and wilderness aspect. It is said that it is important for them to get "the full experience of the forest". They do, however, have to obtain a permit from the Department of Forestry in order to do so.

In the focus group discussion in Kurland, participants pointed out that most restrictions around trees and access to the forest are in and around the park. They say they know they are not allowed to go there as "there are guards inside there" (Focus group discussion, 20 June 2019). They do, however, gather wood in the pockets of forest around them. They say there are no restrictions on that as far as they know and that they gather only small amounts of wood. It is said that some would use the branches of the eucalyptus tree, which is an alien

tree, to make yard poles. It is, however, noted that this is also something that is occurring less often, as people now prefer the wood processed at the sawmill.

It is said that during winter times, when it is very cold, people will go out and gather wood to make fire to keep them warm. As mentioned, they say this occurs in small amounts as most people have no other domestic use for it, most people use electricity for most other domestic activities.

The community of Covie is surrounded by indigenous forest. They say that no one goes into the indigenous forest to harvest any resources, especially not the areas under the control of SANParks or the Department of Forestry. They are very conscious about it and keep to the edges of the indigenous forest. When they gather wood, they harvest mostly the highly invasive wattle tree. As one participant points out “no one will allow me to walk into the forest and cut an ironwood just to get firewood for myself. They will immediately call SANParks or directly address me and I know I will get in trouble” (Focus group discussion, Covie, 18 June 2019). As such, they do not have a lot of interaction with the indigenous forest.

4.3.2 Fishing and the sea

The first sub-section sets out the frequency distribution of respondents to the household questionnaire who indicated that they have fishers in their household. The rest of the variables for this section are derived from the fisher questionnaire.

4.3.2.1 Members of households that fish

Figure 3.6 shows the frequency distribution of ‘yes’ and ‘no’ responses to the question of whether there are members in the household that fish.

Across all the communities, the majority of households indicated that they do not have members who fish, excluding Covie, where it was half-half. As such, Covie presents the highest percentage of households that indicated that they have members who fish.

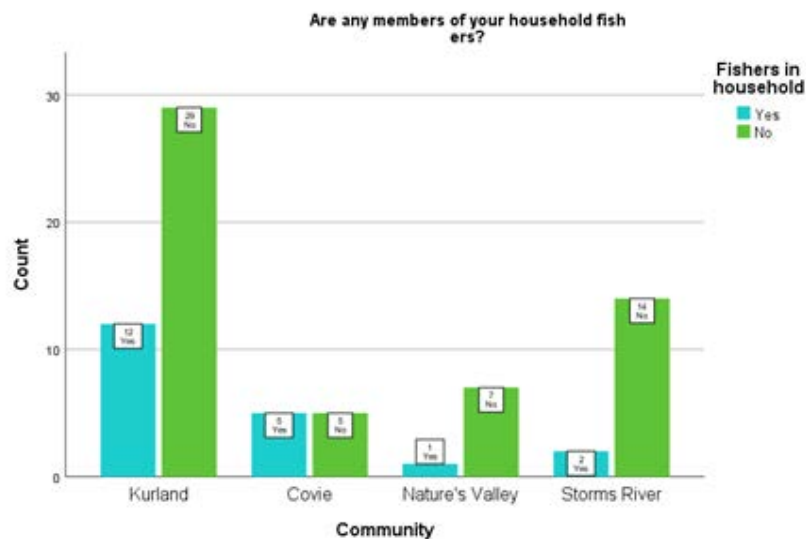


FIGURE 4.6 MEMBERS OF THE HOUSEHOLD WHO FISH (N = 75)

4.3.2.2 Communities from which fishers come

The results that follow are those derived from the fisher questionnaire. Figure 3.7 illustrates the communities which the fishers who took part in the fisher questionnaire come from. The majority of fishers who responded to the fishers data questionnaire are from Kurland, followed by Covie. None of the fishers that responded to this questionnaire comes from the communities of Nature's Valley and Storms River. As such, the findings from the data obtained from this questionnaire is not representative of the communities of Nature's Valley and Storms River and are not generalisable beyond the communities represented in this sample.

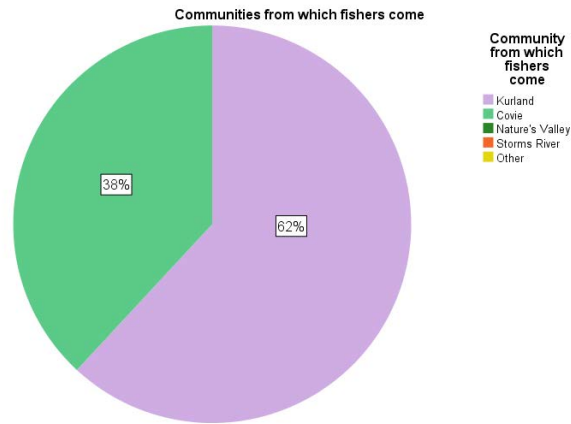


Figure 4.7 Communities from which fishers come (N=21)

4.3.2.3 Age of fishers

Figure 3.8 shows the age composition of fisher who responded to the questionnaire. The majority of respondents are in the middle age group of between 40 and 59 years of age.

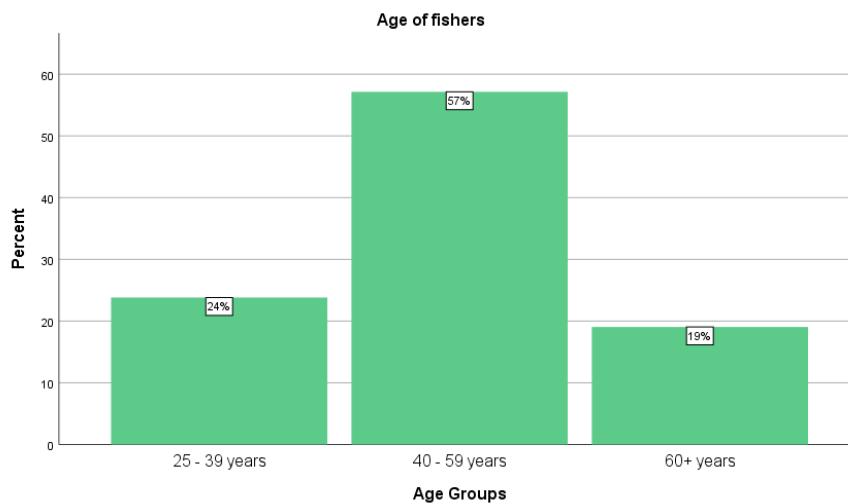


Figure 4.8 Age of fishers (N=21)

4.3.2.4 Length of years fishing

Figure 3.9 shows the length of years respondents have been fishing by group. The majority of respondents have been fishing for more than 25 years, followed by respondents indicating that they have been fishing for less than 10 years.

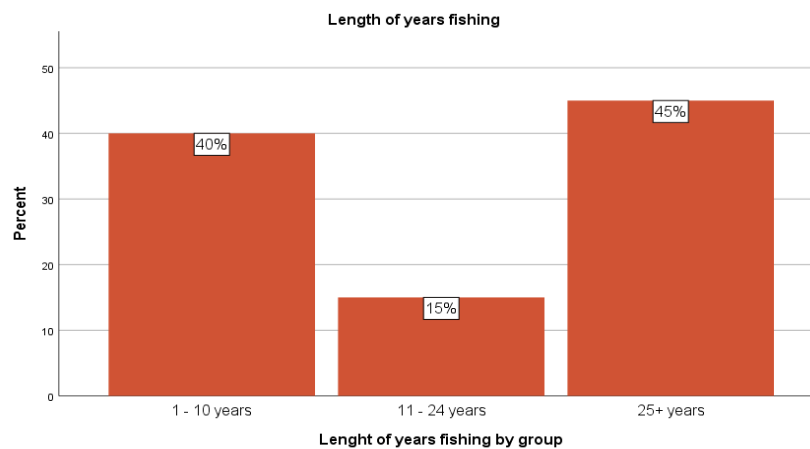


Figure 4.9 Length of years fishing (N=20)

4.3.2.5 Fishing culture

Figure 3.10 shows the frequency distribution of 'yes' and 'no' responses to the question whether previous generations of their families were fishers. The majority of respondents indicated that previous generations of their families were fishers.

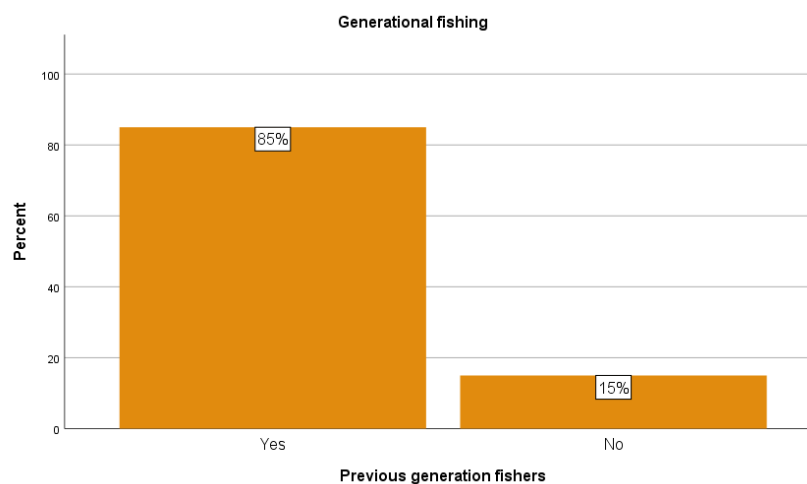


Figure 4.10 Generational fishing (N=20)

Figure 3.11 shows whether respondents would describe their families as having a fishing culture. The majority of respondents indicated ‘yes’, that they would describe their family as having a fishing culture.

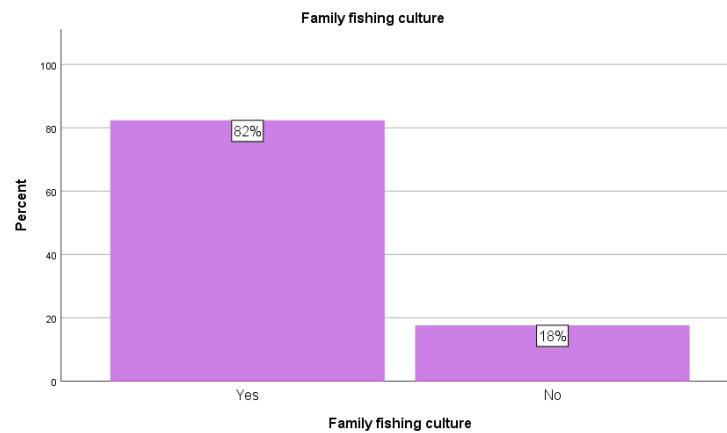


Figure 4.11 Family fishing culture (N=21)

4.3.2.6 Purpose of fishing

Table 3.9 shows the purpose for which respondents indicated they engage in fishing. The majority of respondents indicated that they fish for subsistence. There were not any respondents who indicated that they fish for commercial purposes.

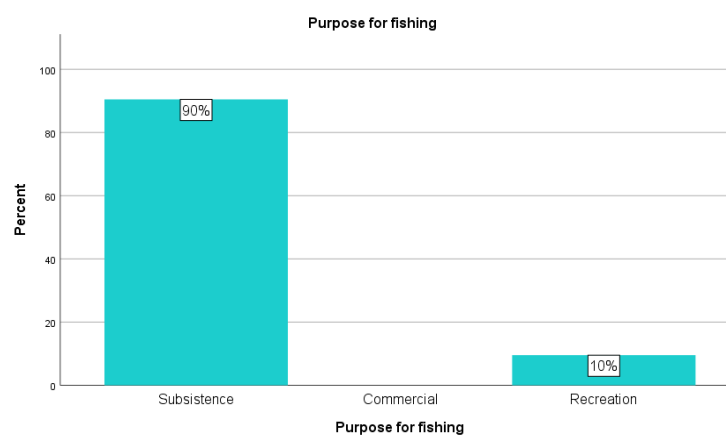


Figure 4.12 Purpose for fishing (N=21)

Respondents were also asked whether they fish for a living, for a living more than pleasure, more pleasure than living or just for pleasure. The results are shown in Figure 3.13. The majority of respondents indicated that although they fish for a living, they fish more for pleasure than for a living. They are followed by those who indicated that although they fish for pleasure as well, they fish more for a living than for pleasure. Those who indicated that they fish only for pleasure, are in the minority. Overall, most respondents fish for both a living and for pleasure to various degrees.

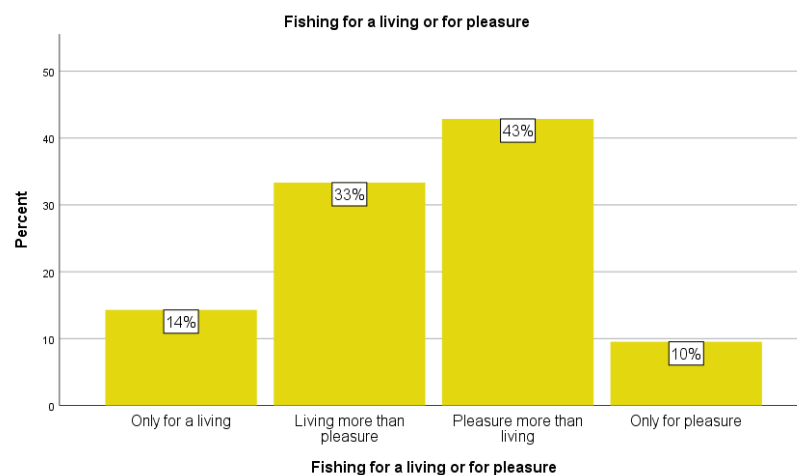


Figure 4.13 Fishing for a living or for pleasure (N=21)

4.3.2.7 Amount of days fishing

The amount of days a week that respondents go out to fish is shown in Figure 3.14. The majority of respondents indicated that they fish 2-3 days a week, followed by those who indicated that they fish less than once a week. There were no respondents who indicated that they fish every day of the week.

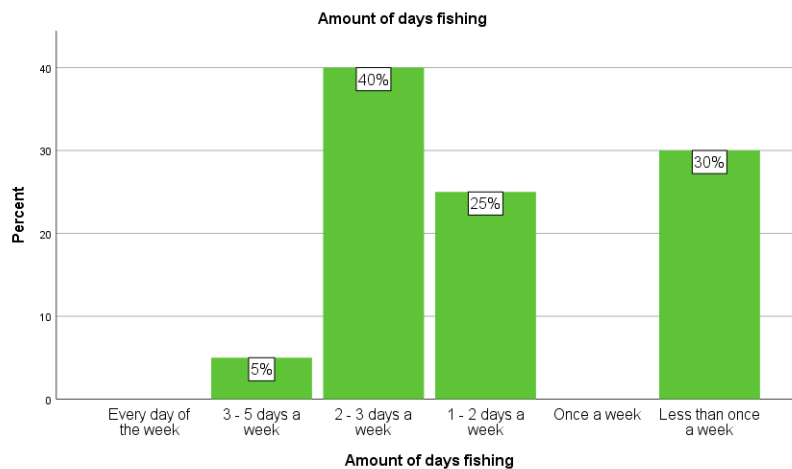


Figure 4.14 Amounts of days fishing (N=20)

4.3.2.8 Insights on fishing from focus group discussions

In terms of fishing in the four communities, it was indicated that there is not a big fishing culture for people in the community of Nature's Valley. It is said that very few people participate in fishing. The communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River still report a fishing culture in their communities but in all three of them, concerns were raised that it is declining in popularity amongst the locals, especially the youth. They say that people are losing interest because of all the obstacles they face with regard to all the regulations around fishing.

Those who do fish, do so on a very small-scale basis. It is said that people mostly fish for recreational purposes and for some, especially those who are unemployed, it helps to supplement their household's food needs.

No one engages in commercial fishing, although one of the participants in Kurland pointed out that some people may sell their surplus every now and then but as they say, "no makes a living from it". They say it is not possible to do so, as firstly, there are not enough fish in

areas they are allowed to fish. Secondly, the permit that most of them have, does not allow them to sell.

In Covie, they pointed out that people in the community will not be able to buy from them if they try to sell, as people will not be able to afford it. They rather have a tendency of sharing the fish they have caught amongst each other.

In the latter community, there is also a strong wish for the sea at Covie, where people of the community traditionally caught their fish, to be opened up again. They say that when SANParks, in the previous dispensation, established a hiking trail over the Covie commonage, it has cut the community off from the sea where they have for generations caught their fish. They say that while they were busy establishing the hiking trail, the community were still allowed to catch fish at their traditional fishing spots albeit on the condition that they obtain a permit. It is said that right after the hiking trail was completed, they lost their access to the sea at Covie and they were not allowed to fish there anymore. No explanation was given, nor where there was any form of agreement between the community and SANParks.

They say that they are allowed to fish at the open access section of the park at Nature's Valley, however, they point out that this is not the same as fishing at their traditional fishing spots. Besides, they note that Nature's Valley is much farther away, while their traditional fishing spots in Covie are much closer. It is difficult and frustrating for them to go so far to fish when they know there are good fishing spots close to them. Of the older people at the focus group discussion nostalgically recalled the days when they used to camp at the sea at Covie and says that the consequences of this loss are evident in the youth of the community. They have noted that because they are not able to access their traditional fishing spots, they

are losing the culture of teaching the young people in the community in fishing practices and say that they can see a difference in the behaviour of young people since they are losing their fishing culture.

In Storms River, with regard to the fishing spots that were opened up, they pointed out that these spots are not suitable for fishing. Firstly, it is inaccessible, as many note that some of the spots are up to 50km away. This is while there are many people who do not have transport or the money to pay for petrol to go to these spots. It is noted that the places they used to fish, and which they have pointed out to SANParks as the places that they want to fish, is nearby and within walking distance from them.

Furthermore, they point out that these spots are also dangerous, as one of the older participants noted, “I think you will fear to walk there”, while another one pointed out “I don’t fish anymore – those places are too dangerous, you can’t go anymore” (Focus group discussion, Storms River, 29 October 2019).

They say that the time at which they are allowed to fish is not the time that they know is the best time to fish. One pointed out that they have built a culture around fishing, noting that, “previously people went to the sea in the early evening and sometimes spent the night there” (Focus group session, Storms River, 29 October 2019). However, now they are only allowed to catch fish during the day.

It is said that although they are to a certain extent allowed to fish at the fishing spots that have recently been opened for them, it has not been socio-culturally effective due to the reasons stated above. One participant noted, “they give you with the one hand and they take with the other hand, because they say, you can go but when they know you won’t be catching anything” (Focus group discussion, Storms River, 29 October 2019). This causes many to

fish illegally and causes a problem of which they are very much concerned, that of people having to appear in court and get fines while a lot of these people already struggle financially. It is said that people are often forced to fish illegally, as they are unemployed and need to feed their families.

It is pointed out that there is a lot of frustration amongst fishers about the rules and regulations that they have to follow. In Covie, one of the participants pointed out they only fish from the shoreline and that they would sometimes get more policed than those who are fishing with boats. They noted that they also have a problem with arbitrary or inconsistent enforcement of the rules on the part of conservation officers.

4.3.3 Conclusion

In terms of local communities' relation with the indigenous forest, none of them have reported utilisation of any of its resources. People in Covie and Kurland report that they do make use of firewood but that this is obtained from invasive tree species, such as the wattle tree. In Nature's Valley, it is noted that people in this community like to take walks in the indigenous forest, to appreciate its aesthetic and wilderness aspect.

In terms of the sea and fishing, it comes forth from the household questionnaire that the majority of households sampled do not have members of their households who fish, except in Covie, where the distribution of 'yes' and 'no' responses is half-half.

The rest of the results came from the data obtained from the fisher data questionnaire, which is a separate questionnaire from the household questionnaire. The majority of fishers who responded to the questionnaire came from the community of Kurland, followed by the community of Covie.

The majority of respondents are between 40 and 59 years of age and fish for more than 25 years. The majority have also indicated that previous generations of their family were fishers and that they can describe their family as having a fishing culture. Most respondents indicated that they fish for a living. The majority of them also indicated that although they fish for a living, they fish more for pleasure than for a living. The majority of respondents indicated that they fish 2–3 days a week, none of the respondents indicated that they fish every day of the week.

In Nature's Valley, it was pointed out that people in the community do not really have a fishing culture. It was rather in the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, where fishing was a major topic of discussion. Participants have expressed concern that fishing is declining in popularity, especially amongst the youth and that the consequences of this can be seen in people's social behaviour. They also confirmed that most people in the community fish for both subsistence and recreation, and that no one really sells fish on a commercial basis.

With regard to the rezoning process, participants generally expressed dissatisfaction with the outcome. They noted that the fishing spots are too far away and difficult to access. It is said that these obstacles make fishing basically impractical. As such, the feeling is that they have not been adequately granted access to fish resources. Therefore, they say, the problem of poverty and criminality persist.

A general sense of frustration amongst fishers with the rules and regulations imposed upon them, as well as the arbitrary and inconsistent implementation thereof, has also been noted.

4.4 Nature conservation

In order to get an understanding of the nature of the relationship between resource users and park authorities, it is necessary to understand their perceptions of nature conservation. Insights come from both the fisher questionnaire and focus group discussions.

Data was obtained from the fisher questionnaire that was conducted with fishers at Nature's Valley beach. The latter is the open access De Vasselot section of the park, where fishers are allowed to fish, right outside of the MPA. A separate sample was taken to collect this data and is not the same sample as that selected for the household questionnaire. As such, no comparisons are made between communities from this data. It merely gives insights on the general perspective of fishers who fish at the open access section of the park. The distribution of the communities from which the fishers who fish in this area comes from, can be seen in Figure 3.7 in the previous section.

From the data obtained from the fisher questionnaire, this section presents the results of (1) the level of responsibility that fishers feel towards nature and the marine environment, (2) whether fishers feel that the area under protection needs to be under protection and then lastly, (3) whether they think rules of the MPA are generally respected by members of their community.

4.4.1 How responsible do resource users feel to protect nature and the marine environment

Figure 3.15 shows the responses to the question on how responsible fishers feel to protect nature and the marine environment. The majority responded that they feel very responsible for protecting nature and the marine environment. No one responded that they do not feel responsible for the protection of nature and the marine environment.

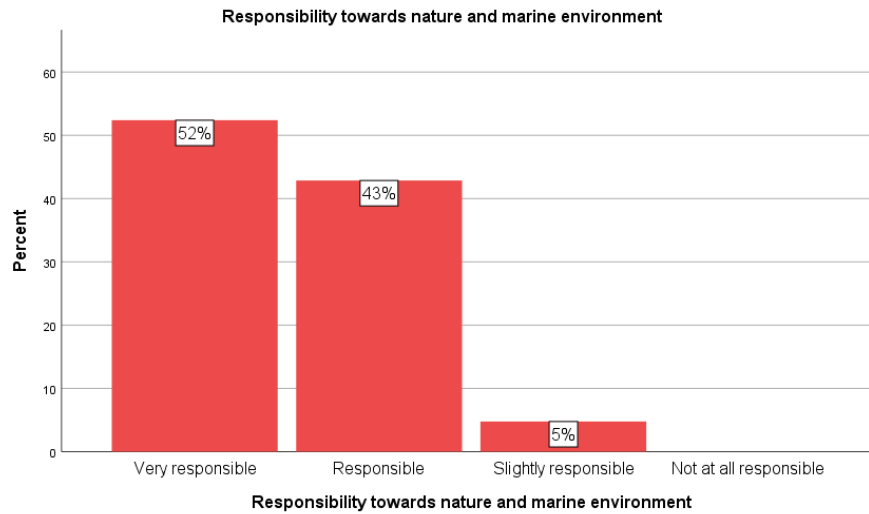


Figure 4.15 Responsibility towards nature (N=21)

4.4.2 Resource users' opinion on whether the PA needs protection and whether people in their community respect the rules of the PA

Figure 3.16 shows the responses to the question of whether fishers felt that the MPA needed protection. The majority of respondents strongly agree that the MPA is in need of protection, followed by those who disagree.

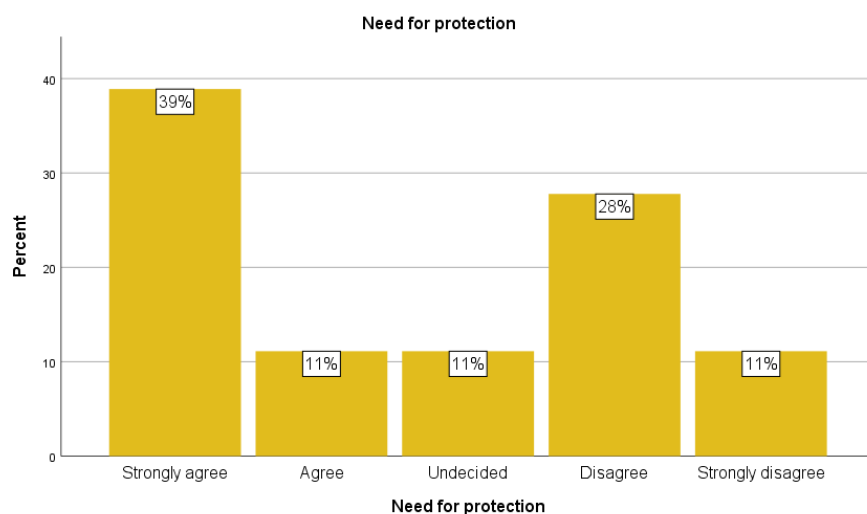


Figure 4.16 Need for protection (N = 18)

Figure 3.17 shows the responses to the question of whether people in their community respect the rules of the PA. The majority of respondents indicated that they agree that members of their community respect the rules of the PA.

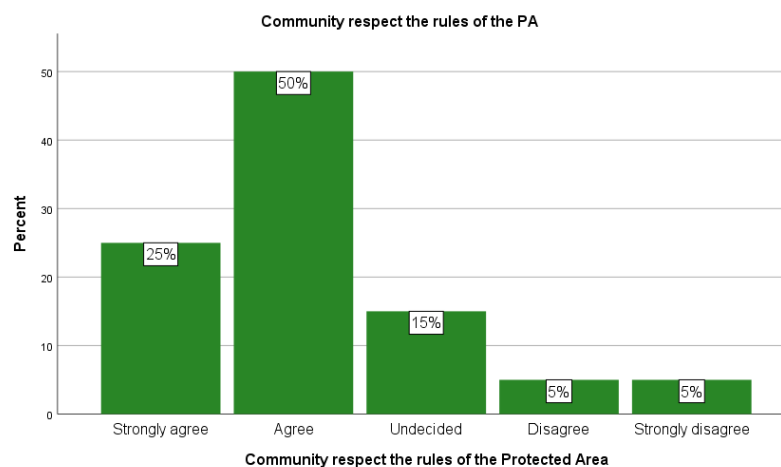


Figure 4.17 Community respect for rules of the PA (N = 20)

4.4.3 Insights on nature conservation from the focus group discussions

In the focus group discussions, participants in all four communities expressed their concern for nature conservation. In Kurland for example, one of the community leaders expressed it as follows:

You see, they also had to put these measurements in place, to protect the fish. Previously, you could come with a hundred fish, like shad and so on, from Piet se Bank – the place where they go fish, they could come with a hundred. But now, there are regulations in place to protect the species. Now, it is very difficult for us to understand that, or to accept

that, but very soon if we carry on like that, we will not have shad here anymore. (Focus group, Kurland, 20 June 2019).

They also recognise the role that SANParks play in nature conservation. However, they seem to have an issue with the manner in which nature conservation is practiced. In the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, participants pointed out that they feel frustrated because they are of the opinion that the laws and regulation does not fit the local context. In Kurland, one participant explained that the regulation on the restriction of the amount of fish that someone is allowed to take out, does not make sense in the local context. For him, he argues that not a lot of people fish, sometimes it is only a small number of people that go out to fish, not large groups, and then those people would get a fine for having one or two extra fish. It is noted:

They are inconsiderate towards them, because maybe, you know they say that you cannot take more than 10, and only three people go, and each one has eleven, [they] will give them fines. You don't have too many people going to the sea...it is [heavy]-handedness, because if you have 50 people going there and each one taking like you are permitted, because it does not reach ten, but when you have three people going and each one takes eleven, you are complaining. So, at least there must be some balance in that. As long as very few people are going, the quantity has to be lifted up, because...being so hard and giving them fines, catching them and these things... (Focus group discussion, 20 June 2019).

The opinion was expressed that SANParks' heavy-hand negatively impacts how the local people respond to nature conservation. One expressed:

You see, ...some of the people feel that they were stopped, ... or they would get a fine, just for having one extra fish. So, now they feel like "to

hell with this”, “we did not talk consensus or they weren’t lenient towards me, to just let me go with that [one], so I will not try and protect things, like a tree...so that tree [I know] I can’t use it for fire because it is indigenous plant, but I am just going to use it” (Focus group discussion, Kurland, 20 June 2019).

In Covie, they have the idea that SANParks have preconceived assumptions about the community. It is pointed out:

SANParks can’t just judge the community and they do not know what goes on in the community. We are also against traps, just like they are against traps. If I find a trap on my property, I remove it. If I find a trap outside, I remove it. If I find a buck outside that is injured, then I call Outeniqua and catch the buck with them and we drag the buck to let the buck go. So, it is not to say a buck walk around in the community with an injury and we will kill it. They will call the people and ask if there isn’t something we can do to help it, or if it could be helped, because it should be done the right way. It is the same with the indigenous forest, no one dares to go into the indigenous forest to just go and cut down trees because they know it is wrong. We are raised like that. (Focus group, Covie 18 June 2019).

They do point out to their own contribution as a community in protecting the forest around them and that they have the capacity to work with SANParks and the Department of Forestry to protect the environment. One participant recalls a particular incident:

When a vehicle with people on it...went into the indigenous forest to make firewood, the community called SANParks and said ‘we have a bakkie here that dropped off people here and they are cutting wood in the

forest’, because the community knows that when bakkies come into the community they need to keep an eye on them to see what they do in the indigenous forest. So, everyone knows what is going on and what the rules are, to a certain extent. We know exactly who to contact with each problem. (Focus group, Covie, 18 June 2019).

In all four communities, community leaders and participants have expressed their willingness to contribute to nature conservation and the protection of nature and the marine environment. Though some have pointed out that they cannot speak for everyone in the community, they do believe that many would be willing to make their contribution.

For them to do so, firstly, they point out that SANParks needs to communicate with them. They say that all the rules and regulations, especially for the people who have grown up with the forest, the sea and a strong fishing culture, that it is difficult to accept the changes and they do not always understand what it is all about. Without proper communication with them, they are left to their own suspicions and assumptions as to why certain rules are made. It makes it hard for them to follow the rules or take it seriously because they do not understand them, or they do not support the way in which it is done. They thus expressed that they believe that if SANParks reach out to them, communicate with them and build a relationship with them, then they would be better able to follow the rules and cooperate in the endeavour of nature conservation and the protection of the natural environment.

As one of the community leaders in Kurland have pointed out, he believes that most people in the community are law-abiding, except for a few who do wrong things, but he believes that poverty plays a role in the bad behaviour of some of the people. In general, he feels that the community is capable of working with SANParks should they be willing to walk a dignified path with them. Another leader puts it this way: “[b]ut if SANParks also like feel, not to be

that *ngonya* (vicious), or that police man, to police us but if they feel like coming on board, sit and talk, and take our hands and let us walk this path...we really are capable to walk with them this road.” (Focus group discussion, Kurland, 20 June 2019).

They pointed out that what would further help the relationship with SANParks and the endeavour of nature conservation, is if they can be better informed and get more education. It is said that many of the younger children are getting educated about the environment and nature conservation with the help of the Nature’s Valley Trust. The latter is a non-governmental organisation based in Nature’s Valley, funded by the residents of Nature’s Valley and other sources. Then there are the older people, who they say have a lot of knowledge of the natural environment and who lived closely with it. However, they point out that there is a gap for those in the middle of that spectrum.

Furthermore, they point out that it would help if the young people in the community can get bursaries to study nature conservation. One community leader stated:

Let’s also put it like this, if these people come around and say “okay, we are going to bring bursaries for people to go and study nature conservation, you will be surprised how many people would go into that direction and go and study. But they have not come with that proposal. So, all the kids that are going to this school, the Southern Cape College...“what are you going to study? They’ll say ‘tourism’, because their mind is telling them that the only thing here where they can accomplish something...So, when it comes to the area of nature conservation, if we have people coming out boldly, like SANParks, to say “we are offering 10 students scholarships to study, or a bursary to study nature conservation, you will be surprised, many people will be

very interested. We have not yet had that. If we can do it, I think it will have a very big impact. (Focus group, Kurland, 20 June 2019).

It is said that the problem is that SANParks do not reach out to communicate this with them or to come to the table to discuss ways with the community on how they can improve the relationship, what can be done and how the community can be involved. As was pointed out in Covie, they wanted to be involved but had not had the opportunity to do so.

In Storms River, participants have stressed that they regret the control that SANParks have taken on their surroundings. They are of the opinion that they have not caused harm to the environment, they have not been destructive to it and yet SANParks have come in and set out to protect what they feel they have protected all along. One participant expresses the sentiment as follows:

The nature here, everywhere that there is nature, it is still the same. That is why you see this number of tourists coming here. They can see it is still true nature. You will see, there is still a big tree there, that tree wasn't under protection. You can go look whether there are any cuts to that tree, because our people, we lived here for years and when Parks came here, that tree was standing there. It was because we protected it and no one told us we [shouldn't] cut that tree or...there are natural trees here, right next to us, go look whether [those] trees are cut...You can go look in the bushes, all the animals are there, they come from the wild, they come around up to here but you will see everything is protected... We are capable of doing it, but we are not afforded anything. We've mentioned Parks who came in and took our things, that we protected, he says he is protecting it, but he is exploiting it' (Focus group, Storms River, 29 October 2019).

In Nature's Valley, on the other hand, the community leader expressed that the work of SANParks is welcomed and that they respect and agree with the laws and regulations that they enforce. For them, their issue is that they would like them to be more effective in what they set out to do. He puts it:

SANParks, in order to conserve nature and so on, they need to have that power and they have it in accordance with law, so it is just about having the capacity to do it. No one has a problem with what they should do, and the powers they have to do it. Our problem is just in the receiving end, that if they do not have the capacity, then what they should do does not happen. It is not an action against, [in the sense of] we do not want them here, we do want them here, we just want them to be more effective" (Community leader, Nature's Valley, personal communication, 12 June 2019).

He says of the people in the community, that most of them are nature lovers and that is why they come from wherever they are in the country to live in Nature's Valley, to be in and close to nature. He says of nature conservation and the protection of the natural environment "[i]t is high on the agenda. The conservation of nature and the environment, and the fact that everyone wants it to be the way it is, you know. They don't want commercial things to be here at all".

He says that the area should be protected and that the people want it so but emphasise that exclusivity is not the way to go. He thus commends the fact that the De Vasselot section of the park, which is at Nature's Valley and includes Nature's Valley Beach, are open access, saying "yes, it is a national park around but the area inside, the roads, the beach...all those things are open access...and I think that is very important that it stays like that" (Community leader, Nature's Valley, personal communication, 12 June 2019).

4.4.4 Conclusion

From the data obtained from the fisher questionnaire, it came forth that the majority of respondents indicated that they feel 'very responsible' for nature and the marine environment, that they think the MPA needs protection. They also 'agree' that people in their communities respect the rules of the Protected Area.

In the focus group discussions, all communities expressed their concern for nature and the conservation thereof. However, in Storms River and Covie, participants expressed that they regret that SANParks have taken control of an environment which they feel they have protected all along. They feel that SANParks have come in and excluded them and undermined their willingness and capacity to be stewards of their natural environment.

In all three the communities with people who fish, Kurland, Covie and Storms River, they continue to regret the heavy-handedness of SANParks approach in regulating fishing. They feel that this is an obstacle to them making a positive contribution to nature conservation.

All of them agreed that more inclusivity, better communication, sharing of knowledge, education and opportunities to study further in nature conservation would greatly help in enabling them to make a positive contribution. They also expressed that they believe that they can contribute positively to nature conservation and are willing to work on it together with SANParks. This is as they do recognise its role, but they want to sit around the table with them in a dignified manner. All of these three communities noted that SANParks have not yet done so.

In Nature's Valley, as people who consider themselves to have a strong relationship with nature, they accept the rules, regulations and mandate of SANParks and agree that it must be

so. The only problem they have is that they would like to see them execute their mandate more effectively.

4.5 Tourism

In order to understand the dynamic of the relationship between the park and local communities, it is necessary to look at the aspect of tourism. It is said that tourism is not only a source of revenue for the park in order to fund the management of the park but could also be a benefit to the community. It is also believed to be a vehicle to include local communities in the park project, and especially so through the provision of employment or other income opportunities (Thorn et.al 2007).

To get a feel of the local communities' perception of tourism that the park brings to the area, both directly and indirectly, data was collected through the household questionnaire and focus groups discussions.

In the household questionnaire, respondents were asked whether they think that tourism activities in and around the park benefit their community. Further insights were gathered at focus group discussions.

4.5.1 Benefit of tourism to local communities

Figure 3.18 shows the responses to the question whether households in the community think that tourism in the area generated by the park, directly or indirectly, are a benefit to their community. In Storms River and Nature's Valley, the majority of respondent households perceived tourism to be beneficial to their community. However, in Covie, the majority of respondent households perceived tourism not to be beneficial to their community, while in Kurland the majority responded that tourism is only slightly beneficial to their community.

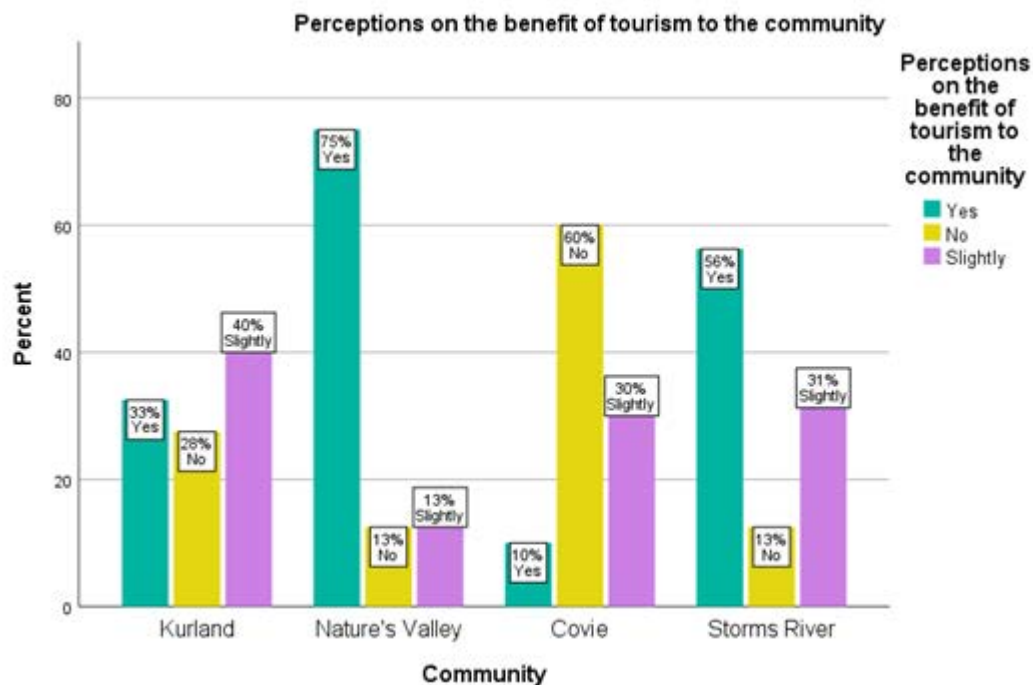


Figure 4.18 Household perceptions on the benefit of tourism to the community (N = 75)

4.5.2 Insights from focus group discussions

In the focus group discussions, it came forth that tourism generated by the park does not really provide significant benefits to local communities of Tsitsikamma. In Nature's Valley, it was noted that residents there mostly make use of opportunities emanating from tourism by renting out flats as Bed and Breakfast accommodation. But even so, it is said that it is not a big industry. It does, however, help in creating a little bit of work opportunities for people, especially from the neighbouring communities of Kurland and Covie, mostly as cleaners and gardeners.

In Kurland, participants noted that they do benefit from tourism emanating from the park. However, they note that the number of people who get employed is low. It is as the community leader in Nature's Valley has noted with regard to work opportunities in the area:

[T]here is a limited amount of opportunities for a little bit of tour guides and a little bit of this and that but most of it mostly have to do with accommodation and the services around that. I mean in the forest, you have a trail in the forest, you do not [need] a lot of people [to] maintain it. Working for Water and those programs does most of the maintenance, so that provides jobs but I mean if you take the total area measurement, and you take Working for Water and you take [Coastal Care}, but it is about 100 people over the whole area. It is something, it is big but if you think of the need that there is... (Community leader, Nature's Valley, 12 June 2019).

The participants at Kurland note that most of the opportunities that there is, that is really helping the community, comes from the private sector. It is noted, however, that it is mostly low-level jobs. One participant puts it this way:

The only people that benefit from tourism are some of our few daughters and sons, who are working, who are servants in the industry. Like he works at Monkey Land, Tenikwa, he works there as a servant. That is all, it is the only reason we can say "let's keep it going", because without tourism they all lose their jobs and this place will not be a place to stay.

There are no jobs here. (Focus group discussion, Kurland, 20 June 2019).

In general, participants from the communities on the Western Cape side pointed out that there aren't as many opportunities on their side as on the Eastern Cape side of the border, such as at Storms River. They pointed out that the main tourist hub is at Storms River Mouth, and on their side of the park, not a lot of activity is going on. Even though it is the side with the open access De Vasselot section of the park, it is said that many people only stay for a short time, just quickly passing through on their way to Storms River or Plettenberg Bay.

At Storms River, participants felt that they do not feel the benefits of tourism. Many of them feel that they are excluded from adequately benefiting from tourism as they could. One pointed out:

What they would do is, they will make it as difficult as possible. When contracts are handed out, they make it so difficult exactly to keep our people out. This is because they know our guys don't have tax clearance yet, you don't have... They don't assist you to get you competent. (Focus group discussion, Storms River, 29 October 2019).

They expressed that they make themselves available for opportunities but that it simply does not come to them. They are of the opinion that many of the opportunities are given to outsiders. One explained that he understands that people from outside are sometimes more qualified and have more experience than the locals but questions how they can acquire the experience if they are not afforded an opportunity to increase their experience level.

4.5.3 Conclusion

From the questionnaire data, it comes forth that in both Nature's Valley and in Storms River, the majority of respondents perceived tourism to be beneficial to their community. In Kurland, however, the majority of respondents indicated that tourism only 'slightly' benefits their community. In Covie, none of the respondents indicated that they perceive tourism to be beneficial to their community.

From the focus group discussion, communities on the Western Cape side of the park shared that there are not a lot of opportunities in tourism, or at least not significantly so. In Nature's Valley, local people mostly rent out flats on their properties as Bed and Breakfast accommodation but the leader notes that it is not too big of a business opportunity.

People from the Covie and Kurland pointed out that they mostly get jobs in the private sector as low-skilled workers. However, they point out that this is still appreciated because without these jobs there would be nothing for them.

Overall, on the Western Cape side, participants were of the opinion that there are more opportunities at Storms River, as it is the main hub of the park and of tourism.

In Storms River, however, participants noted that it is very difficult for them to benefit from tourism because they have to compete for opportunities with outsiders who have much more experience than they do.

4.6 Local communities' relationship with TNP and its authorities in general

The previous sections of this chapter have presented the findings that give insight to some of the aspects that might influence the perceptions of local communities on their relationship with TNP.

In this section, local communities' perception of their relationship in general with TNP and its authorities are presented. It sets out (1) the perspective of fishers on their involvement in decision-making and management at TNP through the data obtained from the fishery questionnaire. It also sets out (2) the perspective of each of the four communities on their relationship with TNP and its authorities in general as gathered from focus group discussions.

4.6.1 Involvement in decision-making and management of the park

Figure 3.19 shows the responses of fishers when asked to rate their involvement in decision-making and management of the park on a 4-point Likert-scale. The majority of

respondents indicated that they are ‘not involved’ in decision-making and management of the park.

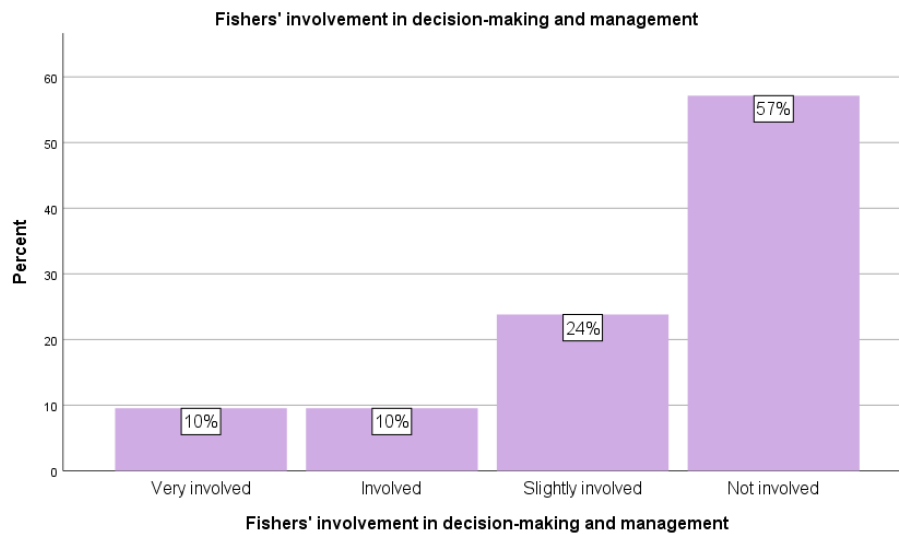


Figure 4.19 Fishers' involvement in decision-making and management (N=21)

4.6.2 Insights from focus group discussions in each of the four communities

4.6.2.1 Kurland

In relation to how the community relates to the park, at the focus group discussion in Kurland, participants distinguished between the two sections of the park, the open access De Vasselot section at Nature's Valley, and the main gated entrance at Storms River Mouth. To get to the De Vasselot section, leaving from Kurland, one turns off from the N2 onto the R102 and descends down the Grootrivier Pass, which runs through the park. The journey is approximately 12km and takes about 15 minutes to drive. Once down in the valley, with the Groot River stretched out in front of you, one turns off for Nature's Valley beach which is part of the De Vasselot section of the park. They point out that this is the section of the park that they feel most comfortable and familiar with.

To get to the main gate at Storms River Mouth, one goes along the N2, or one could make a detour around the national road with the Grootrivier Pass, but if one choose the go with the N2, you go all the way for 40km to get to the main gate. Participants pointed out that not many people in the community have private vehicles and there is no public transport system to take them there. So, it is difficult for a lot of people from Kurland to get there. Then, once there they say, one has to pay a fee to get into the park. One participant explains:

So, now, I had to hire a car to take me there. I had to pay R300 for the car to take me there... the toll gate, I had to pay a toll gate fee, not me but the guy...I did not have a car. So, there is no benefit for me. (Focus group discussion, Kurland, 20 June 2019).

So, in terms of the main gate section of the park, participants generally felt that that part of the park is not meant for local people as they say most people cannot afford the expenses that go with it. As another participant puts it:

“somehow, it is made for middle-income groups. So, if you do not fall within that category, you should rather stay at home...[because] [t]he amount of money it requires, for some it is his daily bread” (Focus group discussion, Kurland, 20 June 2019).

One of the other participants at the discussion pointed out that she and a friend of hers went to the park on one occasion and she recalled that when she said she was from Kurland, she was allowed to go in for free. She does, however, note that that was only the one time and she had not discussed it with anyone else to hear if other members of the community had similar experiences. No one else at the discussion shared the experience but another participant pointed out that he had seen an advert on the television that spoke of a promotion where it said that it is possible at a certain time to visit the park for free.

Nevertheless, none of the community leaders or other participants were aware of any arranged agreement between SANParks and the community that is widely known to them, of promotions to visit the park for free or to receive any discounts. One pointed out that rather, whether you will enter the park for free or at a discount, is about who you know. As such, participants did not regard the main section at Storms River Mouth as ‘community friendly’.

On the other hand, participants expressed their satisfaction with the open access De Vasselot section of the park, at Nature’s Valley beach. They recall that over the years, and in the previous dispensation, that they have never felt unwelcome there and that they have always preferred going there as opposed to the section at Storms River Mouth. One puts it this way:

Nature’s Valley is just a beach where everybody goes. It does not matter [whether] you are white, blue or green, you can go there. They offer you nothing there, you are on your own. You go there and you pitch your tent, or whatever you want to, and then you mark where you swim, after that you come back...like there at the mouth there, you do not have money to go there and sit in a restaurant. So, we rather prefer to go to a place where you can *braai* (barbeque) and relax (Focus group discussion, Kurland, 20 June 2019).

Even though the De Vasselot section of the park does not present the tourist attraction sites and infrastructure that is at Storms River Mouth, for the locals of Kurland, they prefer the simplicity of the De Vasselot section.

In terms of other forms of interaction with the park, beyond leisure and recreation, it is said that they have little interaction. For example, one participant noted that unlike what he has seen at the Kruger National Park, there is not any cultural incorporation of the local people into the park. He says that at the Kruger National Park, he has seen locals perform traditional

or cultural dances, performances and music, and that their local crafts are marketed in and around the park. He notes that none of that is present at TNP. However, he says, at Storms River Mouth, they are selling crafts that come from Zimbabwe or other countries.

It is noted that the few opportunities to sell local crafts rather come from the private sector. Another participant recalls that there once was such a project implemented at Storms River. However, he notes that the project did not last. It is also noted that it will not be feasible to sell craft or do performances at the Western Cape side of the park, as there is not as much tourist activity. On the other hand, it would also be impracticable for people from the Western Cape side to go to the main hub at the Storms River Mouth to do cultural performances and sell crafts there.

Of the People and Conservation section of the park, participants expressed that they are not aware of it. Some participants do, however, recall that they have heard about it before and remember something in that line but indicate that it was many years ago. One of the community leaders recalls that he was called for something like that at SANParks by someone from a neighbouring community, but did not go as he says he had no clue what it was about and decided not to attend. No one else at the discussion recalled or shared an awareness of any community-park interactions at management or decision-making level or any other communications.

In terms of socio-economic development, participants noted that there is not anything significant that they are aware of. One participant, did however, point out that there was a tree planting campaign that he thought was an initiative from SANParks, but another participant pointed out that it was an initiative run by the Nature's Valley Trust and not SANParks. Another one, however, did recall a time when trees were planted in the community as part of

a Working for Water project, which is a programme by SANParks in partnership with the local municipality.

They have also noted that there has been no interaction from SANParks to help the community with capacity-building, in order to take advantage of, for example, business opportunities that emanate from the park.

Finally, they also pointed out that they are not aware of any line of communication to SANParks or any platform or mechanism to deal with grievances or complaints.

4.6.2.2 Nature's Valley

The community of Nature's Valley is completely surrounded by the park but their community leader notes that in general they live in reasonable harmony with their neighbour, SANParks. It was pointed out that there is a tri-party agreement between SANParks, Nature's Valley's Ratepayers Association and the local municipality, that stipulates the rights and responsibilities of each party to the agreement.

He says that the community is quite involved in decision-making and management planning and has a meeting with SANParks representatives at least once a year. These meetings are attended by representatives of the Ratepayers Association and the Nature's Valley Trust. What helps this relationship a lot is that the community consists of people who can give good inputs and are skilled and experienced in matters of infrastructure and management. It is said that this is of great help to SANParks management, who sometimes may lack the experience that these people have with regard to these matters.

It was further noted that although the relationship between the community and SANParks is not bad, it has been better in the past than it is now. The community leader shares the opinion that there seems to be a management issue at SANParks, and not only at TNP but something

much larger, that comes down to capacity. He is of the opinion that they lack the capacity to do the things that they are supposed to do. It is said that on the level of policy-making and structural plans, that it is very good but that they then have a problem with implementation. It happens then that the functions of the things that they have planned, do not always take place.

Furthermore, it was pointed out that communication with SANParks is not as frequent as it could be. It is said that in terms of the tri-party agreement, there were quite a few things where SANParks needed to be present and so they could have more meetings with them than they currently have. It is noted that even though they invite them to meetings, they seldomly show up. He says that the latter problem, again, alludes to the capacity problem that is of concern but in general he notes “we would really like to have them [here]. We do not want them to go away, we want more of them, rather than less” (Community leader, Nature’s Valley, 12 June 2019).

4.6.2.3 Covie

In Covie, the community leader noted that he himself has a positive relationship with park officials. He says that in his experience, he communicates well with them, especially on issues around wildlife in the area.

He, however, regrets the lack of work opportunities for people in the community. He also regrets that SANParks are not able to help the community directly. For example, when the community approaches SANParks to assist with infrastructure, such as the maintenance of the road etc., they are not able to help. In terms of socio-economic development, he points out to the EPWP programme, which is a collaboration between SANParks and the local municipality, and notes that this program does not benefit the community. He says one needs to have passed grade 12 and a lot of people in the community have not done so. Again it was

pointed out that there is a problem with education in the community as schools are far away and people struggle with transport to get to school. It is thus a big discouraging factor for people to attain the necessary educational requirements. To this they pointed out that they know SANParks cannot assist them with this problem as the institution lacks the capacity to do this. Transport has also been an issue when the community wants to attend workshops and events in the area. It was put this way:

They themselves have difficulties with transport, just to transport their own workers from point A to B. So, for them transport is not even a topic of discussion where you can go to SANParks and tell them ‘our community received an invitation to Plett and the municipality cannot provide transport, could you maybe help?’. You cannot even consider doing that, they will only tell us ‘no, we can’t, we don’t have transport for our own people’ (Focus group discussion, Covie 18 June 2019).

The community also recalled a Honeybush growing project, as an attempt at a development project initiated by SANParks. They, however, note that the plans never came into being and the idea just died off. To this, the community leader points out that he is of the opinion that both the community and SANParks is at fault for the failure of bringing the project into being. He states that the community is at fault in the sense that the community must also go after what they want and put in the effort from their side, because if they don’t come out strong, SANParks will not take them seriously. On the other hand, he says, SANParks will not visit the community, the community always has to come to them. This is evidently a problem as the community struggles with transport and finances.

Furthermore, they also regret in general that SANParks do not communicate with them adequately to inform them about workshops or other development opportunities, it is said:

“they will not come to the community and say that there will be a workshop in Joubertina, “let’s take two or three of you over the mountain to attend it”, or “there is funding from some grant, are you interested?”. So, it is a two-way street. (Focus group discussion, 18 June 2019).

Moreover, the community leader remembers a time when there was a public invitation for people to give their inputs at a meeting. He says the community only became aware of this after the event had already taken place. It is confusing, he says, because people of the community and the leaders walk through the park every day and have regular interaction with park officials but yet they do not receive invitations to participate in discussions, planning or decision-making.

In terms of participation, the leader further notes that people in the community are not interested in participating in discussions with SANParks. They feel that SANparks are in this for their own gain and that their reach out to the community is not genuine and they do not see them really making an effort. He says

“[T]he People and Conservation department...[t]hey are involved with the community every now and then but like I said, it is for their own gain. It is not...look one can see when someone does something for the community and they make an effort. They are just like ‘there is something on, do you want to come or not’ and that is it. There is not like coming to the community or doing something here in the community hall...This is why a lot of people are not interested in these things. At this moment people want houses and land, that is all they want to hear. And then they also want jobs. So, when it is something about the park

then they already know ‘ugh it is just a dead end’. (Focus group discussion, 18 June 2019).

They say they are aware of the People and Conservation unit at SANParks and that the Covie Communal Property Association (CPA) is currently in discussions with them. However, he notes, it is about the land which contains the hiking trail that was part of the Covie commonage. They do not have any discussions with them around the indigenous forest and or access to the sea for fishing.

In general, the other participants in the discussion expressed that they regret the changes that the park has brought in their lives. One participant noted that he is of the opinion that relations with SANParks has gotten worse than it was in the previous dispensation, as he says “[y]ou did not have to be afraid of parks’ people” (Focus group discussion, 18 June 2019).

They regret that because of the park and all the regulations around it, that they are not able to take control of their environment. In the past, they used to provide for themselves, they were able to plant and be self-sufficient. Now they cannot plant, as they are not able to control the wildlife anymore, as one participant points out, “[t]hese days you are not allowed to do it. You can only see it and leave it...We cannot plant anymore; the wild animals eat your stuff and you cannot cause it any harm” (Focus group, Covie, 18 June 2019).

Moreover, the older participants expressed that they regret that their fishing culture is waning, and especially so amongst the young people in the community. This, they say, has an impact on the youth, as things are not the way it was before and they cannot teach the younger ones in fishing practices, as they were taught. They believe that the forest, the sea and especially fishing, plays an important role in young people’s behaviour and note that it keeps them away from trouble. As one puts it:

There is nothing that the children can do here anymore because everything they could do here had something to do with nature and the environment. Now they are not allowed to do it anymore. They are not allowed to walk in the forest because if he walks there, they'll ask him what he is doing. So, now one does not go there. What are you to do? You just have to make trouble (Focus group discussion, 18 June 2019).

They blame SANParks for taking away their livelihood, culture and values, which they held dear, and the consequence that it has for the community.

4.6.2.4 Storms River

At the focus group discussion in Storms River, participants in general did not regard their relationship with SANParks as positive. They point out that they are aware of SANParks' policies on community relations and that they understand from the policy that it is the objective of SANParks to care for its neighbours and to be in a good relationship with them. However, they regard this to not be the case at all.

Firstly, they are unhappy about the fact that SANParks are not providing them with work opportunities. It is said that jobs are given to outsiders, such as people that come from the Kruger National Park and Cape Town. They say it is problematic as these people do not know the area or understand the local context. They feel that they should be trained to do these jobs themselves. One participant argued that by doing so, it would have the added advantage that people here would understand why certain management decisions were made or why certain rules exist and be better able to articulate this to their friends and families. He explains:

The big thing that I mentioned earlier, if they can give jobs to the people in this area's children, then those children will make sure that their parents know what

is going on. Whether the father is a fisher or whatever, the father will better understand. I will be able to tell him “*Pa* (dad), you are not allowed to fish, and this and that are the reasons for it”. This is what will help, I think. I may be wrong, but I think that it will help (Focus group discussion, Storms River, 29 October 2019).

Secondly, they point out that because a lot of people do not have jobs, there is a lot of poverty in the community. This then leads to more people going to the sea to catch fish to feed their family. This causes many of them to fish illegally. They are then swooped up in what participants called out to be a big problem in the community, that of getting fines and having to go to court. The situation was explained as follows:

Here, a lot of people go to court, but I think an important thing that the court must know is that the children, they need food, and they don’t want reasons why there can’t be food. For a father it is important to always have something to provide. Now you can decide, or the Magistrate can decide, is it good enough for you to go to the sea, no one bothers you, every now and then you go to get food for your children and most of the time you don’t even get something, or do you have to go break into someone’s house, kill someone to steal and rob? What is the best? Because the magistrate gives people fines and things. They themselves do not have a clue of what is going on (Focus group discussion, Storms River, 29 October 2019).

In terms of fishing illegally to provide food to their families if they have no job, they say they do not know what to do about the situation, as it is complicated. It is said that if they do not get jobs at SANParks, there are few alternative work opportunities. They point, for example,

to the Department of Forestry, who used to be a large employer in the area, and say that there they cannot get jobs either because they now have robots that do the work that the local people used to do.

A further problem is the fact that people in the community have low levels of education and as such do not meet the requirements set for doing the jobs but they point out many people's parents did not have the finances to give them a higher level of education. They say it is a cycle that continues as people do not have jobs that they are not able to finance their children's education, and those who do not have education do not qualify to do the jobs. At the end of the day, for many, the only alternative is to fish illegally.

Participants also expressed their dissatisfaction with the manner in which the rezoning process took place. They feel that they have communicated with SANParks but that they were not listened to. It is said that SANParks just did what they wanted to and opened their own places that they thought were good. They say the latter phenomenon is in general characteristic of their relationship with SANParks. One of the participants points out "[a]ll the rules and laws, whatever SANParks implement, no one knows about it, they just make decisions and it is done.

They note in general that there is not much communication between them and SANParks. They say that they are aware of the People and Conservation unit and their policies to interact with the community, but they say they do not do so. They say they don't hear much from them and they do not know much about them. One participant puts it this way:

You can't communicate with Park, that is the biggest thing, because where, who? How are you going to communicate with them, where, with who? Do they come to the community and say, 'we come to have a meeting with the

community?’.....nothing, nothing. They are just that park that is there, we just look at them like we look at that mountain. Do you see how we look at that mountain? You can’t do anything with that mountain, you just see it as a mountain, you can’t do anything with it. That is how park is with us. (Focus group discussion, Storms River, 29 October 2019).

Another participant, however, noted that communications and the general relationship with SANparks used to be better. He pointed out that he was on the park forum that is stipulated in the management plan but said that they have not had meetings in years. He says, to get on that forum was a struggle, as there was not any non-white representation on the forum, and they had to fight to get their place there and to work on transforming it to be more inclusive. He also notes that there does seem to be a wind of change within SANParks. He suspects there had been some internal problems, but they are now in the process of ‘cleaning the house’. As such, he says they are now out to catch up, and to make up for the damage caused in the past but he is of the opinion that it might be too late. He says,

[t]hey are only starting to clean up the house, but the backlog is too far back. It happened too long ago and now our people have lost interest...our people are still not trusting, and we already have that image of them. So, it is almost like it is too late now (Focus group discussion, Storms River, 29 October 2019).

As such, one of the other participants points out, “if you say something to someone about [SAN]Parks, you are going to hear some very bad words” (Focus group discussion, Storms River, 29 October 2019).

4.6.3 Conclusion

Data from the fisher questionnaires shows that the majority of respondents indicated that they are not involved in decision-making and management of the park.

From the focus group discussions, all of the communities noted a problem in communication with SANParks. In the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, especially, they noted poor communication and a lack of interaction with the park authorities. In Covie it was noted that the few occasions of interactions and communications that have taken place, seemed superficial. In the communities of Covie, Storms River and Nature's Valley, it was noted that communication and relations used to be better in the past but that it has become weaker over the years.

In the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, it has been indicated that there has not been much assistance in capacity-building in order for them to better benefit from the park. In Storms River and Covie, especially, it was pointed out that their poor socio-economic circumstances hinder not only their capacity to benefit from opportunities emanating from the park but also their communication and interaction with the park, as well as participation in park decision-making and management. On the other hand, in Nature's Valley it was noted that they are more involved with SANParks and have a better relationship with them. It was noted that they have the capacity to interact and contribute meaningfully to decision-making and management.

It was also noted in Covie, Storms River and Nature's Valley, that there seems to be significant shortcomings within SANParks and that they themselves have internal problems and specifically issues with capacity. The latter issue was identified as a factor that influenced poor or weak relations between the communities and SANParks.

In Storms River it was noted that there seems to be a change in SANParks and that it looks like they are trying to improve. However, similar to Covie, it was noted that it might be too late for SANParks to come to the table as there is a sense of despondency and mistrust amongst community members towards SANParks.

4.7 Conclusion

This chapter presented the findings from the analysis done on the data collected in the communities of Kurland, Nature's Valley, Covie and Storms River. It looked at five aspects that might influence, or give insight into, the relationship between these local communities and TNP, namely, (1) local socio-economic conditions, communities and resource users' relationship with their natural environment, (3) communities and resource users' perception of nature conservation, (4) communities' perception of tourism and (5) communities' perception on their relationship with TNP and its authorities. This was in order to answer the main research question that seeks to understand the nature of the relationship between local communities and the national park as a protected area. This is in order to assess to what extent and in what ways SANParks have embraced the participatory approach to nature conservation and protected area management. The next chapter is a discussion of the main findings of the research as set out in this chapter.

Chapter 5: Discussion of findings

The aim of this study was to get insight, from a local community perspective, on their relationship with nature conservation, the national park and its authorities. This is in order to assess in what ways and to what extent the TNP has embraced the participatory approach to nature conservation and protected area management.

This chapter is a discussion of the main findings from the research in relation to literature and the lens of political ecology. It follows along its main themes in order to answer the research sub-questions that ultimately inform the main research questions. The research sub-questions are: (1) to what extent do local socio-economic conditions influence the relationship between the park and its local communities, (2) how do local communities' relationship with their natural environment influence their relationship with the park, (3) how do local communities' perception of nature conservation influence their relationship with the park, (4) how do local communities' perception of tourism influence their relationship with the park and (5) taking all the aforementioned aspects of the relationship into account, how do the local communities in general perceive their relationship with the park and its authorities. It then concludes by setting out the implications and limitations of this study.

5.1 Local socio-economic conditions

The socio-economic conditions of local communities surrounding protected areas are high on the agenda in the discourse of the participatory approach to nature conservation (Kepe et al 2004, Naughton-Treves et al. 2005; Pelser et al. 2013). This is as under the fortress conservation model, people with lesser socio-economic means were often left vulnerable to marginalisation by more powerful forces (Benjaminsen and Bryceson 2012; Vaccaro et al. 2013). With the participatory approach, the idea is that careful consideration should be given

to the socio-economic conditions of local communities in community-park relations (Naughton-Treves et al. 2005; Pelser et al.2013).

It was thus important in the investigation into the nature of the relationship between local communities, the park and its authorities, to look at the socio-economic conditions of local communities and what role it might play in community-park relations at the TNP. This study found that three of the communities under study, Kurland, Covie and Storms River, struggle with various socio-economic challenges. It includes, low or average levels of education, low household incomes and significant levels of unemployment. By contrast, these socio-economic struggles are not an issue in the community of Nature's Valley. They overall present high levels of education, people are not in need of employment, as many permanent residents are retired people from highly qualified professions. Thus, for the majority of the local communities around TNP, with the exception of Natures Valley, it is as scholars have noted, that often people surrounding protected areas struggle with poverty and various other socio-economic challenges (Dahlberg et al. 2010; Pelser et al. 2013).

It must be noted as Sowman and Sunde (2018) point out, that a perceived impact, such as the socio-economic challenges that the local communities face, cannot conclusively and solely be attributed to the establishment and ongoing management of the park. This is as there may be other factors at play. Even so, in the case of TNP it is known to be situated in a rural setting and covers a reasonably large land area (SANParks 2008). To this regard Adams (2004) notes that PAs often cover large land areas that foreclose land use options and can thus be a significant economic opportunity cost for local people.

In this study respondents noted that for traditional fishing people, who for generations subsisted on fish to supplement their diet, the barriers to accessing fish have had a significant

impact on their socio-economic circumstances. Furthermore, it has been noted in the community of Covie that the park further impacts on their livelihood by them not being able to grow their own food. One of the participants noted, “We cannot plant anymore; the wild animals eat your stuff and you cannot cause it any harm” (Focus group, Covie, 18 June 2019).

In all three communities it came forth that the lack of alternative livelihood options in an area with few work opportunities, further exacerbates their socio-economic circumstances. It was pointed out that the park and the tourism that emanates from it does not provide adequate work opportunities. However, some noted that the few work opportunities from tourism in the area are all that they have and that without it, they would not be able to survive.

To this regard, Faasen (2006) questions the extent to which communities hold SANParks responsible for employment and socio-economic development. She is of the opinion that SANParks’ role in socio-economic development should only be in so far as it benefits conservation. Therefore, it cannot be expected to take on the sole responsibility of socio-economic development of the area. Rather, an approach is needed such as pointed out by Armitage et al (2012). They advocate the importance of strong horizontal linkages between institutions, within a multi-governance approach to conservation. To this regard, Faasen (2006) points out that SANParks should work together with other institutions such as other government departments and NGOs.

What further needs to be taken into consideration is also the fact that the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River have a historical context not shared by a community such as Nature’s Valley. Whereas Nature’s valley started off as a place for well-to-do holiday-makers, communities such as Kurland, Covie and Storms River started off as

settlements for forest, plantation and farm workers. These communities also suffered the brunt of racially discriminatory laws and policies of Apartheid, under which for a long time in South Africa's history they were marginalised and their socio-economic development neglected (Delius 2002, Nature's Valley Trust 2005). Community members expressed that it has been difficult for them to rise out of these circumstances. They noted that poverty seems to be an endless cycle as they are not able to afford education and then without the necessary education, they cannot find adequate work opportunities and so they remain poor and marginalised.

It comes forth in this study that a community such as Nature's Valley, with better socio-economic circumstances, has a better relationship with SANParks and relevant authorities. Whereas the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River facing more challenging socio-economic circumstances report a more controversial relationship with SANParks and other relevant authorities. This may indicate that the improvement in local communities' socio-economic circumstances may enhance their relationship with conservation and general park management, SANParks and other relevant authorities.

It is to be seen in the sections that follow, in what ways the socio-economic conditions discussed in this section affect the other aspects that inform the relationship between the four communities and the park.

5.2 Local communities' relationship with their natural environment

In terms of local communities' relationship with their natural environment, in Kurland, Covie and Storms River a great emphasis is placed on their connection to the coast, where fishing is considered very important and of great cultural and economic value. This corresponds with

the findings of other studies done on the topic in the Tsitsikamma area over the years (Cloete 2016, Faasen 2006, Williams 2013, Muhl 2019).

This study also shows that for the community of Nature's Valley the coast is also of great value but that fishing is not such an important matter as for the other three communities. They also greatly value the forest and for many it is the all encompassing experience of nature at Tsitsikamma, where nature is of sentimental and aesthetic value.

Thus, it seems that for the community of Nature's Valley, the park and its conservation related rules and regulations have had no negative impact on the relationship that they have with their natural environment. While, on the other hand, it has had a negative impact on the relationship that the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River have with their natural environment.

This could be attributed to the different ways in which they relate to their natural environment. People in the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River relate to their natural environment through the practice of fishing, this falls into the category of resource utilisation, while the people in Nature's Valley mostly relate to nature in terms of its aesthetic value and the experience of wilderness. These two contrasting relationships with the natural environment have a long history in nature conservation and protected areas, especially in South Africa (Carruthers 1995, Ramutsindela 2004).

South Africa has a history of nature conservation where the utilisation of natural resources for commercial or subsistence purposes were vilified, regarded as 'unrefined' and was usually the endeavour of people of lower socio-economic status (Carruthers 1995). Whereas valuing nature for its aesthetic and wilderness properties became the preferred interaction

with nature and was encouraged amongst higher socio-economic classes (Carruthers 1995, Musavengane and Leonard 2019).

As pointed out by Carruthers (1995) and Ramutsindela (2004), the establishment of South Africa's first national park, the Kruger National Park, took place in a post Anglo-Boer war milieu, which sought the unification of Afrikaans and English speaking whites, together with the goals of modernisation and economic empowerment of white South Africans (Carruthers 1995; Ramutsindela 2004). The processes of modernisation and economic empowerment liberated many white South Africans of previously lower socio-economic status from utilising resources from their natural environment for subsistence and commercial purposes (Carruthers 1995).

As more white South Africans' socio-economic status increased, it provided the opportunity to foster a culture amongst all white South Africans in which the natural environment, especially national parks, are appreciated purely for its aesthetic and sentimental value. Also then, the protection and conservation of the natural environment became of national importance. As such, the natural environment, nature conservation and national parks served as vital components in the national identity-making processes of post Anglo-Boer war South Africa (Carruthers 1995).

Non-white South Africans were excluded from the aforementioned processes (Cock and Fig 2000; Faasen 2006; Khan 2000; Musavengane and Leonard 2019). As such, many continued to utilise resources from their natural environment for subsistence and commercial purposes. Under the fortress conservation model, this then made them villains in the ideal perspective of how humans should relate to their natural environment, as well as enemies in the practice of nature conservation.

According to Ramutsindela (2004), the abovementioned division in humans' relations to the natural environment can be attributed to the nature-culture dichotomy in Western cultural-thinking. It is within the historical and cultural context set out above, together with socio-economic contexts and founding histories of each of the local communities, that their relationship with their natural environment, as well as the impacts of the park thereon, should be understood.

Under South Africa's fortress conservation approach, national parks and associated nature conservation practices were designed to accommodate human relations to the natural environment that entails the appreciation of wilderness and its aesthetic and sentimental value. As Adams points out, in the dominant cultural and political understanding of human's relationship with their natural environment, "non-consumptive use of wildlife fits with the ethical and ecological predispositions of conservationists rather better"(2009:276).

On the other hand, for those who relate to their natural environment by utilising its resources for subsistence or commercial purposes, it entails the alienation of use and access rights. As such, in Nature's Valley, where residents relate to the natural environment through the appreciation of wilderness and its aesthetic and sentimental value, the establishment of the national park and its management of conservation practices has had little or no significant effect on them. In fact, it rather provides for an enhanced relationship with their natural environment. However, for the majority of people in the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, as resource users, it is found to have had a negative impact on and caused limitations to their relationship with their natural environment.

To this regard, Ramutsindela (2004) notes that in South Africa there has not truly been a shift away from the society-nature dichotomy. It is argued that even though there is the

encouragement for the development of practices that foster the society-nature nexus, in reality the thought systems of those with power and authority still emphasise the society-nature dichotomy.

Ramutsindela (2004) further points out what he calls a reductionist tendency where nature is associated with physical 'places' rather than a combination of physical and human processes. It is then the latter outlook, he argues, that leads to the production of technocratic knowledge that informs a preservationist outlook. However, it is noted that it might exactly be because of the separation made between human and nature that one may find destructive behaviour by humans towards the natural environment.

Nevertheless, it is pointed out that there seems to be a constructed image of local communities, whereby stereotypes of, and attitudes towards such communities are officially sanctioned (Ramutsindela 2004). Furthermore, Ramutsindela (2004) notes that in usual rhetoric local communities refer to non-whites and within the latter context local communities are seen as lacking in capacity, untrustworthy and unable to protect nature.

However, Ramutsindela (2004) argues that non-western people had their own understanding of nature and how it should be used but that it seems that non-western values of nature have been relegated to an inferior position in a global hierarchical ordering of humans by humans.

He therefore argues that attempts to reconnect local people to national parks is not because they historically lacked a connection not nature but that it should rather be informed by the need to repair the damage that PAs and the politics associated with it have caused local people. Ultimately, he calls for the recognition of diverse ways of relating to nature.

5.3 Local communities' perceptions of nature conservation

In order to understand the nature of the relationship between local communities and the park and its authorities, it was important to get insight on their perception of nature conservation. This is to see in what ways their perception of nature conservation influences their relationship with the park and its authorities.

Overall, in all four of the communities surveyed the majority expressed a concern for nature conservation and the protection of their surrounding natural environment. In Nature's Valley, nature conservation is held in high regard and they have no issues with the park or its authorities, except for wanting to see SANParks more effective in executing its management duties. However, in the other three communities they did share some regrets of past injustices and continued alienation that have tainted their perception of nature conservation.

However, despite the fact that their perception of nature conservation is tainted, they still indicated a willingness to be involved in nature conservation and to actively contribute to the practice, by working together with SANParks. They have suggested that in order for them to have a better perception of, and relationship with nature conservation practices, there needs to be more inclusivity, better communication, the sharing of information and knowledge, education and opportunities for further studies in nature conservation, and work opportunities in nature conservation at the park.

It is noted by other studies, that generally negative impacts, especially loss of access to, and use of natural resources, has the effect of tainting local people's perception of nature conservation. This is said to be especially so where no alternative benefits are sufficiently presented (Bennet and Dearden 2013; Walpole and Goodwin 2001). To this regard, Thorn et.al (2007) suggest that employment and income might encourage local people to become

more committed to nature conservation and less critical of it. It is further noted by them that those who participate and are included in conservation management tend to be more positive towards it than those who are not. This is in line with what has been suggested by the communities themselves at the focus group discussions, as ways that would enhance their commitment to practice nature conservation and their adherence to the rules and regulations associated with it.

Musavengane and Leonard (2019) points out that in South Africa, attempts at integrating previously disadvantaged communities into conservation issues through financial assistance and skills development have been limited. To this regard, Kepe (2009) also reiterates the concern expressed by Ramutsindela (2004) that there are certain assumptions about non-white communities' knowledge about and interests in conservation. He suggests that these assumptions be interrogated.

However, it was pointed out that it has to be taken into recognition that previously disadvantaged communities' socio-economic concerns may hinder involvement in conservation issues (Musavengane and Leonard 2019). Therefore it is crucial that the socio-economic development of these communities receive adequate attention. This falls in line with what Faasen (2006) points out that SANParks have a role to play in the socio-economic development of local communities in so far as it relates to conservation, albeit in collaboration with other entities and institutions responsible for socio-economic development.

5.4 Local communities' perceptions of tourism generated by the park

It was important to get insight on local communities' perceptions of tourism generated by the park. This is as positive perceptions of the benefits from tourism can be a strong influencing

factor in their perception of their relationship with the park and its authorities (Thorn et.al 2007).

Not in any of the communities did they perceive tourism from the park to provide significant benefits. Instead, all communities reported that the benefits they do derive from tourism, mostly comes from the private sector adjacent to the park. However, how members of the four communities' benefit from tourism in the private sector also varies. To this regard, presented under section 4.2.3 on employment and income, it came forth from the household questionnaires that Nature's Valley shows the most members of households that benefit from tourism through receiving an income as business owners.

On the other hand, the majority of members of households in the communities of Kurland and Storms River, for whom it was reported that they earn an income through tourism, indicated that they do so as employees at tourism establishments in the private sector. From the focus group discussions, it was gathered that this entails mostly low-skilled jobs but in the face of very few alternatives, many hold on to these jobs. Overall, it seems that Covie benefits the least in terms of opportunities from tourism, with none of the participating households indicating that tourism benefits their community.

In relation to the findings set out above, a study on the socio-economic impact of tourism on communities surrounding the park was done by Oberholzer et al. (2010). This was determined by looking at indicators such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP), life expectancy and employment opportunities. They have, however, focused only on Nature's Valley and Storms River, and found that tourism has a positive socio-economic impact on these communities. Moreover, they found that the park has an overall positive impact on the quality of life of adjacent communities. Although not the same indicators were used to assess the role

of tourism in this study as compared to their study, it does concur on the point that overall, in the communities of Nature's Valley and Storms River, households have indicated that they perceive their community to benefit from tourism.

However, the way in which people in these two communities' benefit from tourism differ. Whereas the majority of members of households in Nature's Valley, under the employment section, had indicated they benefit from tourism as business owners, the majority of members of households in Storms River benefit as employees. Thus, the level of socio-economic impact in these two communities differ on the latter point. It has to be noted that Oberholzer et al. (2010) did not make the aforementioned distinction when it comes to the socio-economic impact of tourism for these two communities.

What is also different in this study, from that conducted by Oberholzer et al (2010), is that it included the communities of Kurland and Covie. As such, the results from this study indicates more heterogeneity between communities in terms of the impact of the park through tourism.

Thus, this study found that tourism has had much less of an impact on the community of Kurland than that of Nature's Valley and Storms River, and even a far lesser positive impact on the community of Covie. In Nature's Valley there is a much higher instance of positive perceptions regarding the benefits of tourism, compared to that found in the other three communities, with the community of Covie reporting no positive impact to their community in terms of benefits from tourism.

With regard to the heterogeneity in the impacts that tourism has on the different local communities, Scheyvens (1999) points out that it is important to take into account how the economic benefits from tourism are distributed amongst beneficiaries. This is as one has to

take into account inequities that may be present between and within communities in terms of, for example, race, class and gender (Agrawal and Gibson 1999; Ramutsindela 2004; Scheyvens 1999). It is known from this study, for example, that the community of Nature's Valley stands much stronger socio-economically than the other three communities, and such may be in a position to take better advantage of the few tourism opportunities available.

Overall, from the findings in this study, tourism and specifically ecotourism, is not perceived by the local communities to be of significant benefit. This is contrary to the rhetoric around the benefits and importance of tourism for national parks. It is then as some scholars have noted, that often ecotourism ventures fail to actually benefit local communities (West et al 2006; Murphree 2009).

Scheyvens (1999) points out that where business is the main driving force, tourism often alienates local people instead of benefiting them. This is in line with the observation made by Ramutsindela (2004), that the objectives set by capitalist and market-driven agendas often means community concerns are given lower priority. Scheyvens (1999) therefore points out that there is a need for an approach which starts from the needs, concerns and welfare of local host communities. In this sense, the term 'community-based ecotourism' should rather be encouraged.

Ramutsindela (2004) argues that the problem lies with the fact that benefits, such as from ecotourism, is pre-determined in accordance with models constructed at the global level. He points out that due to the history of the establishment of national parks, local people were not part of determining the benefits that would go with the park in accordance with their own ideas about what the benefits should be and where it should come from. Essentially then, the

creation of protected areas redefined how local communities would henceforth benefit from nature.

Furthermore, Ramutsindela (2004) points out that there is the assumption that local communities should benefit from parks materially. However, if ecotourism entails the idea that nature satisfies spiritual needs, in terms of tourists connecting to nature, the question then is whose spiritual needs must be satisfied. He notes:

“If national parks provide spiritual nourishment, why are some people forced to leave areas that provide such nourishment? Could it be that resident people were removed in order to ‘preserve the source of inspiration’ to humanity as a whole? If so, why have national parks been ‘closed’ to people who lived in and around them – where are they expected to find spiritual nourishment?” (Ramutsindela 2004:109)

It is therefore argued that there must be an unstated assumption that people from a lower class are unable to appreciate nature and landscapes (Ramutsindela 2004). The latter speaks to an issue that came forth in the study of Muhl (2019) at Tsitsikamma. It was pointed out to her that for the local communities of the Tsitsikamma, the opening up of certain sections of the park to fishing is not enough as they seek something deeper, for them as local people to return to the coast, to be able to draw from the coast for their spiritual and cultural well-being. At the moment it is not possible for them as access to the coast and specifically their traditional spots, can only be accessed by individual rights, in a limited manner and under strict conditions (Muhl 2019).

Ramutsindela (2004) therefore notes that the tourism industry seems to be targeted at high income groups. Essentially, he argues, that to propose nature should be enjoyed in a particular

way is highly presumptuous. He further notes that local people are increasingly buying into western ideals of nature and how they should benefit from it. He, however, argues that it is because it has been the official endorsement for the role of local communities in and around protected areas.

Furthermore, there is also the issue that Ramutsindela (2004) notes within the South African context, that for local people to benefit fairly and significantly from national parks is contingent on land rights. He points out that the Makuleke community, who successfully lodged a land claim in the Kruger National Park, was able to develop a six-star lodge. However, he does admit that it is not always so that land rights would guarantee previously disadvantaged communities better benefits but points out that it has to be taken into consideration as something that can give a community more power to negotiate benefits.

With regard to power it is noted by Scheyvens (1999) that ideally local communities need to be empowered to decide what forms of tourism and conservation programmes they want to be developed in and around their communities and how the costs and benefits should be distributed. This speaks to the broader issue of social justice for local communities, as well as to the participation of local communities in the process of conservation. It is to this effect that Jentoft (2005) and Reed (2008) point out the necessity to ensure that participants from local communities have sufficient power to influence decisions and the capacity to engage effectively in discussions. They suggest that this be done through investment in local people's education and the development of their knowledge and confidence.

5.5 Local communities' perspective of their relationship with the park and its authorities in general

Taking into consideration all the aspects of park-community relations explored in this study, it further sought to get insight on how these aspects as a whole inform local communities' perspective of their relationship with the park and its authorities in general.

It has to be noted that towards the latter part of the previous century, a shift in conservation rhetoric occurred in South Africa, in light of its transition from an undemocratic past of the previous dispensation (Slater 2002; Sunde and Isaacs 2008). With this shift came an increased focus on social justice and human rights (Cock and Fig 2000; Sowman et al. 2011). To this regard, the country ratified various international instruments regarding the environment and conservation, including the CBD (Sunde and Isaacs 2008). This shift is also reflected in the country's laws and policies (Sunde and Isaacs 2008). SANParks' policies also reflect a commitment to the participatory approach (Faasen 2006; Pelser et al 2013).

In line with the CBD, the objectives set out by SANParks' People and Conservation department states an intention to establish mutually beneficial dialogues and partnerships with surrounding communities (Anthony 2007; Faasen 2006; Muhl 2019; Pelser et al 2013). It is said that this is to ensure that local communities' views are considered and that they directly benefit from the existence of the park. It further aims to instill values of environmental stewardship, provide educational opportunities and assist in economic empowerment. Faasen (2006) also notes that the intention is also to embrace collaborative problem-solving and that specific reference is made to previously disadvantaged communities.

However, in this study the majority of respondents to the fisher questionnaire indicated that they are not involved in decision-making and management. In the focus group discussion it came forth that although SANParks' role as conservation authority is mostly recognised, overall, participants from the previously disadvantaged communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River expressed negative perceptions of their relationship with SANParks. From their perspective, they seem to be marginalised and excluded.

All the communities noted the issue of poor communication and the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River noted a general lack of interaction. In the latter communities, it was also noted that there has not been much assistance with regard to capacity building. This is despite the emphasis in the CBD, which South Africa ratified, that the involvement of local communities must be enhanced and secured and that they be empowered as the stewards of their environment.

From the communities' side, they recognise that their poor socio-economic circumstances is a factor that hinder them from adequately benefiting from the park and participating in its decision-making and management processes. In the community of Storms River, they have for example noted that their poor relationship with SANParks is further exacerbated by poverty that leads to illegal fishing and then the issue of criminalisation. It came forth from their discussions that there is a strong link between their socio-economic circumstances, illegal fishing and following from it, a poor relationship with SANParks. It therefore comes forth that the improvement of local communities' socio-economic circumstances may help in addressing the issue highlighted in the Aichi Biodiversity Targets, which is that of addressing the underlying causes of biodiversity loss and removing direct pressure on biodiversity (CBD 2020; Charles et al 2016; Muhl 2019).

However, it was also noted in the communities of Covie, Storms River and Nature's Valley, that there seems to be significant shortcomings within SANParks and that they themselves have internal problems and specifically issues with capacity. The latter issue was identified as a factor that influenced poor or weak relations between the communities and SANParks.

In Muhl (2019), representatives of SANParks have expressed that they often struggle with implementation and effectiveness because of weak communication between themselves and their authoritative body, the Department of Environmental Affairs. It came forth from these representatives that they are not entirely unsympathetic to the plight of the local communities but find it difficult to navigate all the different interests by the various stakeholders.

Even though it has been noted from the community's side that there seems to be a change in SANParks and that it looks like they are trying to improve, it was noted that it might be too late for SANParks to come to the table as there is a sense of despondency and mistrust amongst community members towards SANParks. The latter response by the local communities are in line with what Reed (2008) noted with regard to consultation fatigue, where he points out to a study in Brazil where participants started to become more cynical of the process as they felt that the government could just overrule any inputs they have made.

To this regard, Reed (2008) refers to Sherry Arnstein's ladder of participation, which ranks different forms of stakeholder participation. It does seem that the relationship between the Department of Environmental Affairs, SANParks and the local communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, at best falls within the category of what is referred to as a 'communicative' relationship. The latter describes a relationship where information is

disseminated to passive participants. Rarely does it reach the mark of 'consultative', which is described as a relationship where information is gathered from participants.

The ideal relationship is described by Lawrence (2006), where she believes that empowerment should lead to a transformation of the local community itself. Ideally, it would involve collaboration and shared learning between different stakeholders. According to Reed (2008) this is what is especially needed where there exists an adversarial relationship between stakeholders, such as at TNP. This is as it might help to establish common ground and trust between stakeholders and the idea is that perhaps they can learn to appreciate each other's viewpoints. For local communities, this may lead to a greater sense of ownership over the process and its outcomes and ultimately it could lead to long-term support and active implementation of decisions (Reed 2008).

This study, however, finds that most of the authority on nature conservation, national parks and protected areas seems to reside with the state at the national level. It does concur with Sunde and Isaacs (2008) where they note that management approaches, especially with regard to MPAs, remain top-down in nature. It also concurs with the findings by Els and Bothma (2000), Faasen (2006) and Sunde and Isaacs (2008), that the participatory approach as set out in South Africa's laws and policies does not translate well on the ground and are riddled with challenges.

From this study it is evident that there exist a dire need at TNP for the socio-economic development and capacity-building of especially previously disadvantaged communities such as Kurland, Covie and Storms River. This will be fundamental in realising the objectives set out by the Department of Environmental Affairs and SANParks and potentially

co-management arrangements in the future. To this end it is important what Jentoft points out that “if there is no empowerment, there is no co-management” (2005:1).

This study agrees with Faasen (2006) that the socio-economic development of above-mentioned communities cannot be the sole responsibility of SANParks. However, more efforts need to be made towards collaboration with other institutions responsible for or capable of assisting in local socio-economic development. This is as it may be key to better relations and enhanced compliance.

Furthermore, in order to realise the above-mentioned ideal, the issue of neoliberal agendas attached to protected areas such as national parks needs to be investigated, recognised and addressed.

The rift between stakeholders, the state, scientists and local communities also needs to be addressed and repaired in order for increased collaboration between these parties. If enough effort is put into reconciliation and improvement of relations between stakeholders it can bring about a better future for conservation at TNP.

It must also be kept in mind that as scholars have noted, that conservation, and especially the participatory approach, is a learning process and not an end but one of many endless steps (Brechin et al 2007, Hutton et al 2005, Reed 2008).

5.6 Implications of this study

This research study concur with other studies that have also found that aspects such as (1) higher standards of socio-economic conditions, (2) no significantly negative impact on a community's relation to their natural environment, (3) inclusion in conservation decision-making and management, and (4) significant benefits from tourism or the the park in general can improve community-park relations. The literature on participatory conservation,

in general, stresses the importance of socio-economic welfare, recognition of traditional use of, and access to natural resources, participation in decision-making and management, and equitable benefit-sharing.

This study has also shown, in concurrence with other studies, that despite progressive laws and policies that express the intention of the South African state and SANParks to embrace the participatory approach, for various reasons its implementation on the ground is riddled with challenges.

As such, these results build on existing evidence that there is difficulty of implementing the participatory approach on the ground with local communities, despite the rhetoric of participation and sustainable development that can often be found in states' laws and policies. In this way, this study has contributed to the literature on the participatory approach to nature conservation.

Conclusion

This study aimed to understand from the local communities' perspective, what is the nature of their relationship with the TNP and its authorities. This is in order to assess in what ways and to what extent SANParks and relevant authorities have embraced the participatory approach to nature conservation and protected area management at the TNP, as set out in South Africa's environmental laws and SANParks' policies.

In order to answer the main questions above this study asked the following sub-questions; (1) to what extent does local socio-economic conditions influence the relationship between the park and its local communities, (2) how do local communities' relationship with their natural environment influence their relationship with the park, (3) how do local communities' perception of nature conservation influence their relationship with the park, (4) how do local communities' perception of tourism influence their relationship with the park and (5) how do the local communities in general, taking all the aforementioned aspects into account, perceive their relationship with the park and its authorities.

This study found that the way local communities perceive their relationship with the national park, its authorities and associated conservation practices, are strongly influenced, firstly, by the socio-economic conditions of a local community. This is as many of the other aspects that influence how the relationship is perceived are often influenced by a local communities' socio-economic conditions. As such it confirms the position of socio-economic conditions as an important factor to consider in an assessment of community-park relations.

It was found that for the majority of people in the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, socio-economic conditions are significantly lower than it is for people of Nature's

Valley, who generally enjoy a higher standard of socio-economic conditions. In the context of South Africa, this must also be understood in the light of the racial composition of these respective communities and its historical impacts.

Secondly, it is influenced by the nature of a local community's relationship to their natural environment and the impact that the establishment of the park, and its continued management has on it. This, it also came forth, must be understood in the light of dominant cultural perceptions of nature conservation, protected areas and the place of certain human practices therein. Furthermore, it came forth, that often, as was the case in this study, that socio-economic conditions also play a role in a community's relationship with its natural environment.

It was found that in the three communities, Kurland, Covie and Storms River, in which for the majority the socio-economic conditions are reported to be of a lower standard, that culture around the utilisation of a natural resource like fish, is of great significance. They have also reported that the establishment of the park and its management practices have had a negative impact on their fishing culture. On the other hand, in Nature's Valley, they have reported a relation with their natural environment that does not involve fishing but entails the appreciation of wilderness and the aesthetic and sentimental value of nature. For them, the national park has not had a significantly negative impact on their relationship with their natural environment. These differences observed between the community of Nature's Valley and the other three communities could be understood in the light of the history of nature conservation in South Africa and the associated socio-political and economic processes of the colonial and Apartheid era.

Thirdly, it is influenced by a local community's perception of nature conservation, which in turn is often influenced by the impact that the park and its management has on the community's livelihood and culture. Thus, socio-economic conditions, the relationship that a community has with its natural environment, how it is impacted by the park, and how they subsequently perceive the practice of nature conservation are interconnected.

In this study it was found that in the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River, many people, especially fishers, have a tainted perception of nature conservation practices. This, because of the negative impact that the establishment of the park and its management practices have had on them, especially in the way it has affected their fishing culture. They did note that with increased involvement in management and educational and work opportunities in nature conservation, they hope it will improve community members' perceptions of nature conservation practices. They then further noted that SANParks have not yet presented the aforementioned opportunities to them. As such for many people in these communities they struggle to relate to and understand conservation practices and its associated rules and regulations.

Fourthly, that it is influenced by the perceived benefits derived from tourism generated by the park directly or indirectly, especially where members of a community had suffered loss of livelihood through their loss of traditional access to natural resources. Again, it was shown that a community's socio-economic conditions can also influence how they benefit from tourism opportunities. It came forth that in a community like Nature's Valley, with a significantly higher standard of socio-economic conditions, they were able to take better advantage of tourism opportunities in comparison to the majority of people in the other three communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River. In the other three communities, they were

mostly able to take advantage of tourism opportunities in so far as it provided them with low-skilled jobs.

In general, the communities of Kurland, Covie and Storms River have reported weak or negative relations with the park and its authorities. On the other hand, for the community of Nature's Valley, the aspects of their socio-economic status, the nature of their relationship with their natural environment, their perception of SANParks' nature conservation practices and the benefits they derive from tourism, have all contributed to a better relationship with the park, its authorities and its associated management practices.

It may be said that Nature's Valley serves as an example of a model community for good community-park relations. However, it must be considered that it is essentially a holiday town and that the people that live there on a permanent basis form a small community. Furthermore, the majority of permanent residents are older than 60 years of age and in their retirement years. As such, due to these characteristics, it would be difficult to generalise these findings to other communities. However, this research study concurs with other studies that have also found that aspects such as (1) higher standards of socio-economic conditions, (2) no significantly negative impact on a community's relation to their natural environment, (3) inclusion in conservation decision-making and management, and (4) significant benefits from tourism could improve community-park relations. The literature on participatory conservation stresses the importance of socio-economic welfare, recognition of traditional use of, and access to natural resources, participation in decision-making and management, and equitable benefit-sharing.

However, this study has also shown, in concurrence with other studies, that despite progressive laws and policies that express the intention of the South African state and

SANParks to embrace the participatory approach, its implementation on the ground is riddled with challenges.

It is recommended that attention be paid to the socio-economic development and capacity-building of especially previously disadvantaged communities such as Kurland, Covie and Storms River. This will be fundamental in realising the objectives set out by the Department of Environmental Affairs and SANParks.

It is recognised that the socio-economic development of above-mentioned communities cannot be the sole responsibility of SANParks. However, more efforts need to be made towards collaboration with other institutions responsible for or capable of assisting in local socio-economic development. This is as it may be key to better relations and enhanced compliance.

The issue of neoliberal agendas attached to protected areas such as national parks needs to be investigated, recognised and addressed.

The rift between stakeholders, the state, scientists and local communities also needs to be addressed and repaired in order for increased collaboration between these parties. If enough effort is put into reconciliation and improvement of relations between stakeholders it can bring about a better future for conservation at TNP.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Household questionnaire

Household Survey (English)

Researcher: Yvette le Fleur

Respondent data:

Household name:
House address:
Village/Community

1. Socio-economic data:

Household member number:	Age	M/F	Level of education	Sources of employment or income

1.5 What is your average household income per month?	
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Fisheries data:

1.10.1 Are any members of your household fishers?	Yes	No
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Tourism:

6.1 Do you think that tourism activities in and around the MPA benefit your community?	Yes	No	Slightly
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Household Survey (isiXhosa)

Researcher: Yve e le Fleur

Respondent data:

Igama lomninimzi:
Idilesi:
Ilali/Indawo:

1. Socio-economic data:

1.1. Inani labantu endlini:	1.2. Iminya ka	1.3. Isini	1.4. Izinga lemfundo	1.5. Izinto ozenza imihla ngemihla eziza nemali ekhayeni

1.6 Ubuya namalini ekhayeni ngenyanga?	
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2. Fisheries data:

2.1 Bakhona abanye ekhayeni abalobayo?	Ewe	Hayi
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3. Tourism:

3.1 Ucinga ukuba ezokhenketho ziyaphuhlisa apha ekuhlaleni?	Ewe	Hayi	Kancinci
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Appendix B: Map of the settlement downloaded from Google Maps



Appendix C: Fishers Questionnaire

Questionnaire: Fishers (English)

Respondent name:
Age:
Community:

1. Fishery data:

1.1. How long have you been a fisher?
(years)

1.2. Were previous generations of your family/ancestors fishers?
Yes / No
1.3 Would you describe your family as having a fishing identity/culture?
Yes / No

1.4. How many days per week do you go fishing?			
Every day of the week	1	3 to 5 days a week	2
2 to 3 days a week	3	1 to 2 days a week	4
Once a week	5	Less than once a week	6

1.5 For what purpose do you fish?	
Subsistence	
Commercial	
Recreational	

1.6 Would you say you fish for a living or for pleasure as well?	Only for a living	Living more than pleasure	Pleasure more than a living	Only for pleasure
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1.7 How responsible do you feel to protect the marine environment?	Very responsible	Responsible	Slightly responsible	Not at all responsible
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2. Perspectives on PA:

Please respond to the questions using a scale from 1 to 5.

2.1 1- strongly agree; 2-agree; 3-undecided; 4-disagree; 5-strongly disagree

- You believe that the area of the MPA is in need of protection. 1 2 3 4 5

2.2 How involved do you feel your community is in decision-making regarding management of the park?	Very involved	Involved	Slightly involved	Not involved
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Cluster Sample Survey: Fishers (isiXhosa)

Igama:
Iminyaka:
Indawo okwenzelwa kuyo udliwanondlebe:

1. Fishery data:

1.1. Mingaphi iminyaka uloba?
(Iminyaka)
1.2. Ingaba uphuma kusapho lwabalobi ?
Ewe / Hayi
1.3. Ungatsho uthi usapho lwakho lwaziwa njengabantu abanenkubeko yokuloba ?
Ewe/ Hayi

1.4. Uloba kangaphi evekini?	
1. Ivekhi yonke	2. Iintsuku ezintathu ukuya kwezintlanu ngeveki.
3. Intsuku ezimbini nantathu evekini 3	4. Usuku olunye ukuya kwezimbini ngeveki.
5. Kanye ngeveki	6. Ngaphantsi kosuku olunye ngeveki

1.5. Zithini izizathu zakho zokuloba? (Chonga zonke izizathu ezifanelekileyo)	
Ukuziphilisa	
Ukuthengisa	
Ukuzonwabisa	

1.6. Ungatsho ukuba ulobela ukuziphilisa okanye uyakonwabela nokuloba ?	Ukuloba ngumsebenzi	Ngumsebenzi phezulu kokubandikowabela	Ndiyakonwabela ngaphezulu kokubalingumsebenzi	Ndilobela ukuzonwabisa
1.7. Uziva unoxanduva olungakanani ekukhuseleni lendawo uloba kuyo?	Oluninzi kakhulu	Oluninzi	Elohlotyana	Alukho

2. Iimbono zakho ngeMPA:

Nceda uphendule imibuzo ngezinga lamandla usukela ku-1 ukuya ku-5

2.1.

- **1- Uvuma kakhulu; 2- Uyavuma; 3- Awuqinisekanga; 4- Uyaphikisa; 5- Uphikisa kakhulu**
- Ukholelwa ukuba ukukhuselwa komda wokuloba kubalulekile. 1 2 3 4 5
- Abantu belali yakho bayayihlonipha imithetho ebekwe kumda wokuloba. 1 2 3 4 5

2.2. Ucinga ukuba abantu basekuhlaleni badlala indima ekuthatheni izigqibo ezinxulumene nokugcina nokulalwulwa kweepaki ?	Badlala inxaxheba engamandla	Banayo inxaxheba	Banayo inxaxheba ethile	Abanayo kwa nxaxheba
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Appendix D: Focus group discussion questions

Focus Group Questionnaire (English)

1. Introductory questions:

- 1.1** How would you describe the socio-economic circumstances of this community?...education, crime, poverty etc?
- 1.2** What natural resources do you use inside and surrounding the park?
- 1.3** How would you describe this community's relationship with TNP, and the natural resources extracted therefrom?
- 1.4** How much do this community depend on the resources inside and surrounding the park?
- 1.5** Are there any restrictions on resource use? What is the nature of such restrictions?
- 1.6** Has any of the historical or traditional access and use rights that may have been taken away in the past, been restored in the new dispensation?
- 1.7** Do you feel relations have improved between TNP authorities and your community in the new dispensation?
- 1.8** Would you describe the park as "community friendly"?
- 1.9** To what extent has surrounding communities' cultural heritage been incorporated into the park?

2. Participation:

- 2.1** Are you aware of the Social Ecology department at SANParks? Have you been in interaction with this department?
- 2.2** TNP management plan speaks of a community advisory committee, are you aware of this committee? If so, how often do you have communication with this committee?
- 2.3** Are you aware of the park forum mentioned in the management plan? Who represents the community on this forum?
- 2.4** To what extent would you say this community is included and participates in TNP's planning and decision-making processes? And where decisions have implications for the community?

3. Socio-economic development:

- 3.1** What educational opportunities have been provided to your community by TNP?
- 3.2** Has there been any development schemes supported by the park?
- 3.3** Do you feel that TNP provides sufficient job opportunities to members of this community?

4. Economic benefits:

- 4.1** Are there any revenue sharing agreements between TNP and your community? If so, how does it work?

4.2 Do you feel that benefits (if any) are equitably shared? Is the community satisfied with the arrangement/agreement and its outcomes?

5. Tourism:

5.1 What entrepreneurship opportunities are there for the community in the tourism industry emanating from the park? (manufacturing, supply of goods and services, transportation etc)

5.2 Do community members make use of the business opportunities emanating from park tourism?

5.3 What assistance does this community receive from government, park authorities, or affiliated organisations in making use of business opportunities emanating from tourism?

5.4 Has the government, park authorities or affiliated organisation made any communications to the community promoting or discussing business opportunities?

5.5 If, and when, business opportunities in relation to tourism are taken advantage of, how regular and reliable are income from such ventures (both formal and informal)?

5.6 Do you think that tourism activities have any impact on the integrity or cohesion in this community?

5.7 Do tourism activities in the area have any impact on crime, begging, loss of morals etc. in the community?

5.8 What is the sentiment towards tourism in general in the community?

6. Capacity building:

6.1 Has there been any workshops held in the community on conservation education?

6.2 Are you aware of any long-term plans for capacity-building in conservation management?

7. Conflict resolution:

7.1 Are there any mechanisms in place between this community and TNP authorities for solving grievances and conflicts?

8. Intra-community questions:

8.1 What is the cultural significance of the natural resources extracted in and around the park area?

8.2 Do natural resources harvested have commercial value?

8.3 What resources have commercial value?

8.4 If resources are not of commercial value, why not?

8.5 If commercial value, at what scale?

8.6 Are there people in the community that are more dependent on the extraction/harvest of natural resources in and around the park than others?

8.7 How involved are these people in decision-making around resource use, at community level and broader stakeholder level?

- 8.8 How do resource users in the community feel about the sustainable use of the resources they harvest? Is it a topic of discussion amongst resource users?
- 8.9 How responsible does this community feel for the protection of the environment and conservation of its natural resources?
- 8.10 How able do you think this community/resource users are to participate in conservation and resource management and decision-making?
- 8.11 How educated is this community on conservation and sustainability of the resources they extract/harvest?
- 8.12 Do you think there is room for improvement?
- 8.13 Do you think there would be a willingness amongst resources users and community members for increased environmental, conservation and sustainable use education?
- 8.14 What is the sentiment towards conservation and protected areas in general in this community?
- 8.15 Do you think that community perceptions of conservation and management of natural resources will improve with increased involvement and participation in decision-making?
- 8.16 Are there any community rules around resource use? Are they adhered to? Who makes the rules? What happens if the rules are broken (outsiders vs insiders)?
- 8.17 Does the community think that the government's rules and regulations on resource use is reasonable and fair?
- 8.18 How do people respond to people (outsiders vs insiders) who break government's rules and regulations on natural resources?
- 8.19 How strong is leadership in this community? Who takes this role and in what ways?
- 8.20 If there are decisions that need to be taken on behalf of the community, how does this process work, who takes the lead?
- 8.21 What is the status of equality in this community? Are there some people with more influence and power than others?
- 8.22 How equal are women to men in this community?
- 8.23 Are there any significant class differences in the community?
- 8.24 How well do people in this community get along with each other and are able to work together?
- 8.25 If there is conflict amongst community members, how often are such conflicts? Around what issues would conflict usually be?
- 8.26 Are there any conflicts specific to resource users in the community?
- 8.27 Are there any issues/conflict amongst different racial, ethnic, religious or language groups in the community?
- 8.28 How are conflicts usually resolved in the community?

9. Inter-community relations:

- 9.1 How would you describe this community's relationship with other communities in the area that surrounds the park?

- 9.2 How is the relationship between resources users from this community and resource users from other communities that also make use of resources nearby?
- 9.3 What efforts have been made by government and park authorities to facilitate relations between stakeholder communities?

Fokus Groep Vraelys (Afrikaans)

1. Inleidende vrae:

- 1.1 Hoe sal U die sosio-ekonomiese omstandighede van hierdie gemeenskap beskryf? (in terme van opvoeding, werksgeleenthede, misdaad ensv.)
- 1.2 Van watter natuurlike hulpbronne maak mense in U gemeenskap gebruik, binne and rondom die park?
- 1.3 Hoe sal U hierdie gemeenskap se verhouding met TNP, en die natuurlike hulpbronne daarbinne, beskryf?
- 1.4 Hoe belangrik is natuurlike hulpbronne binne en rondom die park vir hierdie gemeenskap?
- 1.5 Is daar enige historiese toegang en gebruikse regte, wat weggeneem was in die vorige bedeling, wa nou terug gegee is aan die gemeenskap?
- 1.6 Het verhoudinge tussen TNP en u gemeenskap verbeter in die nuwe bedeling?
- 1.7 Sal U die park beskryf as “gemeenskaps vriendelik”?
- 1.8 Tot watter mate is die kultuur erfenis van omliggende gemeenskappe ingevoeg by die park?

2. Deelname:

- 2.1 Is U bewus van die Sosiale Ekologie Departement by SANParks? Was U al in interaksie met hierdie departement?
- 2.2 Die TNP bestuursplan verwys na ‘n gemeenskaps adviseerende komitee, is U bewus van hierdie komitee? Hoe gereeld het U kontak met hierdie komitee?
- 2.3 Is U bewus van die park forum verwys na in die TNP bestuursplan? Wie verteenwoordig hierdie gemeenskap op die forum?
- 2.4 Tot watter mate sal U se is hierdie gemeenskap ingesluit en neem deel in TNP se beplanning en besluitnemings prosesse? En waar besluite spesifiek impak om die gemeenskap en lede het?

3. Sosio-ekonomiese ontwikkeling:

- 3.1 Watter opvoedings geleenthede is daar beskikbaar gestel deur TNP?
- 3.2 Is daar enige ontwikkelings skemas wat deur die park geïmplimenteer word of geïmplementeer word?
- 3.3 Voel U dat genoegsame werksgeleenthede vir hierdie gemeenskap beskikbaar gemaak word deur TNP?

4. Ekonomiese voordele:

- 4.1 Is daar enige winsdeling van TNP winste met hierdie gemeenskap? Of enige finansiële bydrae wat die park tot ontwikkeling van gemeenskap bydrae?
- 4.2 Voel U dat die winsdeling of ander voordele verskap aan die gemeenskap deur TNP redelik en regverdig is?

5. Toerisme:

- 5.1 Watter entrepreneurskap/besigheids geleenthede is daar vir die gemeenskaps lede in die toerisme bedryf wat deur die park gegenereer is? (bv. Verbouing, verskaffing van dienste en goedere, vervoer ensv).
- 5.2 Maak gemeenskapslede gebruik van besigheids/entrepreneurskap geleenthede?
- 5.3 Watter bystand word daar aan die gemeenskap verleen deur die staat, TNP of geaffilieerde organisasies om besigheids vernuf onder gemeenskaps lede te ontwikkel?
- 5.4 Het die staat, TNP of geaffilieerde organisasies al met U gemeenskap gekommunikeer om entrepreneurskap te bevorder?
- 5.5 Sou, en wanneer, daar van entrepreneurskap/besigheids (formeel of informeel) geleenthede gebruik gemaak word deur gemeenskaps lede, is inkomste daarvan gereeld en volhoudend?
- 5.6 Dink U dat die toerisme bedryf enige impak het op die integriteit en samehorigheid van die gemeenskap?
- 5.7 Het toersime aktiwiteite enige impak op misdaad, bedelaary, moraal in die gemeenskap?
- 5.8 Wat is die gevoel teenoor toerisme in hierdie gemeenskap?

6. Kapasiteitsbou

- 6.1 Was daar al enige werksinkels in U gemeenskap gehou met betrekking tot opvoeding in bewaring van die natuur en volhoubaarheid van natuurlike hulpbronne?
- 6.2 Is U bewus van lang-termyn planne gekoester deur TNP vir kapasiteits-bou in die gemeenskap vir bewarings bestuur?

7. Konflik resolusie:

- 7.1 Is daar enige meganismes in plek om enige griewe en konflik tussen TNP en die gemeenskap op te los?

8. Intra-gemeenskaps vrae:

- 8.1 Wat is die kulturele waarde van natuurlike hulpbronne vir mense in hierdie gemeenskap?
- 8.2 Het natuurlike hulpbronne enige kommersiële waarde in die gemeenskap?
- 8.3 Watter hulpbronne het kommersiële waarde?
- 8.4 As dit nie van kommersiële waarde is nie, hoekom nie?
- 8.5 As dit van kommersiële waarde is, op watter skaal is dit?
- 8.6 Is daar mense in hierdie gemeenskap wat meer afhanklik is van natuurlike hulpbronne vir hul lewensbestaan as ander?
- 8.7 Hoe betrokke is hierdie voorgenoemde gemeenskaps lede in besluitneming rondom natuurlike hulpbronne (gemeenskapsvlak en hoër)?

- 8.8 Is daar gesprekke rondom natuur bewaring en volhoubare gebruik van hulpbronne onder gemeenskaps lede, veral onder hulpbron gebruikers hulself?
- 8.9 Hoe verantwoordelik voel hierdie gemeenskap vir die bewaring van die natuur en die volhoubare gebruik van natuurlike hulpbronne?
- 8.10 Hoe in staat is hierdie gemeenskap om deel te neem beplanning en besluitneming rondom natuurbewaring en volhoubare gebruik van hulpbronne?
- 8.11 Hoe opgevoed is lede van die gemeenskap, veral hulpbron gebruikers, in natuurbewaring en volhoubaarheid?
- 8.12 Dink U dat daar plek is vir verbetering van kennis rondom natuur bewaring en volhoubaarheid?
- 8.13 Dink U daar is 'n belangstelling onder gemeenskaps lede vir verder opvoeding in natuurbewaring en volhoubaarheid?
- 8.14 Wat die algemene gevoel in hierdie gemeenskap rondom natuur bewaring en veral die metode van 'n uitgesete beskermde gebied?
- 8.15 Dink U dat persepsies rondom bewaring en die beskermde gebied sal verbeter as gemeenskap en hulpbron gebruikers meer betrokke is by beplanning en bestuur van natuur bewaring en die beskermde gebied?
- 8.16 Is daar enige interne gemeenskaps reëls rondom hulpbron verbruik? Luister mense gewoonlik na hierdie reëls – word dit gerespekteer? Wat gebeur met lede wat nie die reëls nakom nie?
- 8.17 Wat dink die gemeenskap van die reëls en regulasies van die staat? Word dit beskou as redelik en regverdig?
- 8.18 Hoe reageer mense in die gemeenskap wanneer lede van die gemeenskap staats reëls nie nakom nie? En wanneer hulle sien buite mense kon nie staat reëls na nie?
- 8.19 Hoe sterk is leierskap in hierdie gemeenskap? Wie neem leierskap en op watter wyse?
- 8.20 As daar besluite names die gemeenskap geneem moet word, hoe werk die proses en wie is betrokke?
- 8.21 Wat is die status van gelykheid in hierdie gemeenskap? Is daar mense wat meer magtig en invloedryk is as ander?
- 8.22 Hoe gelyk is vroue teenoor mans in hierdie gemeenskap?
- 8.23 Is daar groot klas verskille in die gemeenskap?
- 8.24 Hoe goed kom gemeenskapslede met mekaar oor die weg? Hoe werk mense in die gemeenskap saam?
- 8.25 Is daar enige konflik tussen gemeenskapslede? Hoe gereeld is daar konflik onder die gemeenskap? Rondom wat is die konflik gewoonlik?
- 8.26 Is daar enige konflik spesifiek tot hulpbron verbruik?
- 8.27 Is daar enige konflik tussen rasse, etniese, taal, geloofs groepe in die gemeenskap?
- 8.28 Hoe word konflik gewoonlik opgelos in hierdie gemeenskap? Is daar enige meganismes in plek?

9. Inter-gemeenskaps verhoudinge:

9.1 Hoe sal U hierdie gemeenskap se verhouding met ander gemeenskappe in die area beskryf?

9.2 Hoe is verhoudinge tussen hulpbron verbruikers van die verskillende gemeenskappe in die area?

9.3 Wat het die staat, TNP en/of geaffilieerde organisasies so ver gedoen om verhoudinge tussen belanghebbende gemeenskappe te fasiliteer?

Focus Group Questionnaire (isiXhosa)

10. Introductory questions:

- 10.1** Ungathi impilo injani ekuhlaleni? Bunjani Ubugebenga, ubundlobongela nolwaphulo mthetho?
- 10.2** Zeziphi izinto zokuphila ozesibenzisayo kwaye ozifumana kwalapha ekuhlaleni? Izinto ezifana neenkuni ukuze ubase namanzi okusela mhlawumbi
- 10.3** Bunjani ubudlelwane basekuhlaleni neTsitsikamma National Park?
- 10.4** Abantu basekuhlaleni bazisebenzisa kangakanani izinto ezifumaneka emhlabeni enihlala kuwo? Izinto ezifana namanzi omlambo, inkuni zokubasa njalo-njalo.
- 10.5** Kuvumelekile ikuba kusetyenziswe nantoni na efumaneka emhlabeni njenga manzi nenkuni? Okanye kukho izithintelo ezithile?
- 10.6** Amalungelo awaye thathwe mandulo malunga nokusebenzisa izinto ezifumaneka ekuhlaleni abayuswa? Umzekelo, ukuba nanikwazi ukutheza naphi na kwaze kwathiwa akuthezwa kwindawo ezithile.
- 10.7** Ungathi ubudlelwane neTsitsikamma National Park bubetere kwelixehsa langoku?
- 10.8** Ungathi ukuba iTsitsikamma National Park inabo ubuhlobo?
- 10.9** Amasiko nenkcubeko yasekuhlaleni ungathi ihlanganiswe njani neTsitsikamma National Park?

11. Participation:

- 2.5** Uyayazi iSocial Ecology department kwiSANParks? Wakhe wasebenzisana nayo?
- 2.6** Umphathi weTsitsikamma National Park uthethe ngeKomiti yocobisa ekuhlaleni, uyayazi leKomiti? Ukuba uyayazi, ingaba wena uphakathi kwayo?
- 2.7** Umphathi ubekhe wathetha ngeForum ethile? Ngubani omele umphakathi kuleforum
- 2.8** Ingabe umphakathi nawo uyayidlala indima xa kuthathwa izigqibo ezithile ezidibene nesihlalo nomphakathi?

12. Socio-economic development:

- 12.1** Zeziphi izithuba zokufunda ezenziwe yiTsitsikamma National Park?
- 12.2** Zikhona iprogram zokuphuhlisa uluntu ezenziwe yiTsitsikamma National Park?
- 12.3** Ucinga ukuba iTsitsikamma National Park inika abahlali imisebenzi oyoneleyo?

13. Economic benefits:

- 13.1** Zikhona indlela ekuhlulwa ngazo imali eyenziwa yiTsitsikamma National nomphakathi? Ukuba zikhona, kwenizwa njani?
- 13.2** Ucinga ukuba kwabelwanwa inzuzo ngokufanekileyo? Umphakathi wonelisekile ngehlobo ekwabelwana ngalo?

14. Tourism:

- 14.1 Zeziphi ingcango zoshishino ezithe zavela ekuhlaleni ngenxa yokhenketho elibizwa yiTsitsikamma National Park
- 14.2 Abahlali bayalisebenzisa elithuba lokuba bathengisele abantu abakhekethayo izinto?
- 14.3 URhulumente nabaphathi bePark ingaba bancedisa njani kumphakathi ukuze abenako ukuphuhlisa ushishino lwabo?
- 14.4 Ingabe uRhulumente nabaphathi bePark bayenza inzime okuba kucetyiswane nomphakathi malunga ngeendidi zoshishino ezinothi ziqalwe?
- 14.5 Ukuba izikrobo zoshishino zithe zavela, imali eyenziwa kuzo ngumphakathi ifika rhoqo okanye ngeziqingatha?
- 14.6 Ucinga ukuba ezokhenketho zichaphazela intlalo njani kumphakathi?
- 14.7 Ungathi ezokhenketho ziyalunyusa uzinga lolwaphulo mthetho ekuhlaleni?
- 14.8 Umphakathi ucinga ntoni ngezokhenketho?

15. Capacity building:

- 15.1 Zakhe zakhona iiworkshop ekuhlaleni, ezifundisa abantu ngokugcina ihlabathi ukuze lingamoshakali?
- 15.2 Akhona amacebo akhoyo owaziyo awenzelwe ukugcina ihlabathi for ulutsha olulandelayo? Umzekelo, ukugcina imithini nezilwanyane ukuze nabo abalandelyo babenakho ukuphila njengathi

16. Conflict resolution:

- 16.1 Zikhona iinkqubo ezikhoyo ezisetyenziselwa ukusombulula iingxabano phakathi komphakathi neTsitsikamma National Park?

17. Intra-community questions:

- 17.1 Zidlala eyiphi indima kwingcubekho yomphakathi izinto ezisetyenziswa yiPark? Umzekelo, mhlawumbi kukho amayeza athile akwiPark abulalwayo.
- 17.2 Ezinto zisetyenziswa kwiPark ziyathengiseka?
- 17.3 Zeziphi izinto ezithengisekayo? Umzekelo, mhlawumbi umhlonyane okanye impepho.
- 17.4 Ukuba ezinto azithengiseki, ucinga ukuba kutheni kunjalo?
- 17.5 Ukuba ziyathengiseka, ziyimalini?
- 17.6 Bakhona abantu ekuhlaleni abaphila ngazo ezinto zifumaneka kwiPark?
- 17.7 Yeyiphi indima abayidlalayo abo bantu xa kufuneka kuthathwe izigqibo malunga nokuvuna ezinto?
- 17.8 Abantu bomphakathi abasebenzisa ezi zivuno bava njani xa kusithiwa mazisetyenziswe ngononophelo ezi zinto ukuze zingapheli? Ingaba kuyathethwa ngalonto emphakathini?
- 17.9 Umphakathi uziva enegalelo okanye uxanduva olungakanani ekugcineni umhlaba nezinto zawo ukuze zingapheli?

- 17.10 Ucinga ukuba umphakathi nawo unako ukudlala indima ekuthatheni izigqibo nokwenza amacebo okugcina umhlaba nezinto zawo?
- 17.11 Lungakanani ulwazi nemfundo emphakathini malunga nendaba yokugcina umhlaba nezinto zawo?
- 17.12 Ucinga ukuba olulwazi lungaphuculwa?
- 17.13 Ucinga ukuba abahlali bangawo umdla wokufunda ngeendlela ezithile zokugcina umhlaba nezinto zawo ukuze zingapheli vuthu?
- 17.14 Umphakathi uziva njani ngokugcina umhlaba nendawo ezithile ezikhuselweyo kubanatu? Umzekelo, mhlawumbi indawo ekungathezwa kuzo
- 17.15 Ucinga ukuba umphakathi angakhathala ngaphezulu koku ukuba nawo ungabanalo igunya lokuhlomla xa kuthathwa izigqibo zokugcina umhlaba?
- 17.16 Ikhona imithetho ethile elandelwayo ekuhlaleni malunga nehlobo umhlaba ophathwe ngalo? Abahlali bayayilandela lemithetho? Xa bengayilandelanga, zithini iziphumo?
- 17.17 Abahlali baziva njani ngemithetho kaRhulumente malunga nomhlaba nentsebenziso yawo?
- 17.18 Abantu benza ntoni xa umntu ophule imithetho kaRhulumente malunga nomhlaba nentsebenziso yawo?
- 17.19 Bunjani ubukhokheli ekuhlaleni? Ngubani okhokhelayo, ekhokhela njani?
- 17.20 Ukuba kukho izigqibo ekumele zithathwe emphakathini, kuye kwenziwe njani? Ngubani othatha inxaxheba?
- 17.21 Kunjani ukulingana emphakathini? Bakhona abantu abantu abathile abanamandla kunabanye okanye wonke umntu uyamanyelwa
- 17.22 Kunjani ukulingana kwentlonipho namandla phakathi kwamadoda nabantu ababhinqileyo?
- 17.23 Bakhona abantu abanemali eninzi kunabanye emphakathini?
- 17.24 Basebenzisana kangakanani abantu basekuhlaleni?
- 17.25 Xa kukho ukungavisisani ekuhlaleni, kusionjululwa njani? Kudla uba yintoni ingxabano ezithi zivele?
- 17.26 Zikhona ingxabano ezikhe zivele malunga nomhlaba nezinto zawo? Mhalwubi kuxatyanwe malunga nendawo yokukha amanzi
- 17.27 Zikhona iingxabano ezingxulamanyene nentlanga, ubuzwe, inkolelo, ulwimi?
- 17.28 Zisonjululwa njani iingxabano ekuhlaleni?

18. Inter-community relations:

- 18.1 Ungathi kunjani ubudlelwane phakathi komphakathi kunye neminye imiphakathi esondele kwiPark?
- 18.2 Ubudlelwane malunga nentsebenziso yomhlaba nezinto zawo, kunye neminye imiphakathi injani? Umzekelo, mhlawumbi kukho indawo ezithile indawo nganye esebinzisa yona for ukutheza

18.3 Zeziphu inzame ezenziwe nguRhulumente kunye nabaPhathi bePark ekuzameni ukuba kubekho uvisiswano phakathi kwezihlalo ezirhanqe iPark?

Appendix E: Consent form



Research Consent Form (English)

Topic of research:

Social analysis of the relationship between Tsitsikamma National Park and local communities

Researcher:

Yvette Le Fleur

Anthropology Department, Rhodes University, Grahamstown

Each participant must receive this document, read, understand and sign it *before* participating in the research.

Aim of research:

The aim of this research is to get a better understanding of the relationship between Tsitsikamma National Park and affiliated local communities

Rights of participant:

1. Your participation in this research will be extremely valuable. However, you may choose not to participate, you may also at any stage withdraw your participation in this research, without any negative consequences.
2. Information given will be treated as confidential.
3. Should there be a question requiring a response that may place you as a participant in danger, carry any negative consequences or make you feel uncomfortable, you have the right not to answer and the researcher will move on the next question.
4. In case you prefer to remain anonymous, this will be respected and a pseudonym will be used instead.
5. No video or audio devices will be used without the permission of the participant.
6. You may also at any time contact the researcher to explain to you any matter relating to the research.

Both the participant and the researcher must keep a copy of this document.

**WRITTEN CONSENT GIVEN AFTER THOROUGH EXPLANATION OF THE
MEANING OF, AND IMPLICATIONS OF PARTICIPATING IN THE RESEARCH:**

I herewith confirm that I have been informed about the nature of this research project. I understand that I can at any time withdraw my participation from the research, without any negative consequences. I had an adequate amount of time to ask questions.

Participant: _____

Researcher: _____

Date: _____

Researcher contact number: _____



RHODES UNIVERSITY
Where leaders learn

Navorsing Toestemmings Vorm (Afrikaans)

Onderwerp Van Onderzoek:

Sosiale Analise van verhoudinge tussen Tsitsikamma Nasionale Park en belanghebbende gemeenskappe

Navorser:

Yvette Le Fleur

Antropologie Departement, Rhodes Universiteit, Grahamstad

Elke deelnemer moet hierdie dokument ontvang, deurlees, verstaan en onderteken *voor* die aanvang van hulle deelname aan die projek.

Doel van projek:

Die doel van die projek is om 'n beter verstaan te kry van verhoudinge tussen Tsitsikamma Nasionale Park en belanghebbende gemeenskappe.

U regte:

1. U deelname aan hierdie projek is uiters belangrik. U mag egter verkies om nie deel te neem nie, en u mag u deelname op enige stadium beëindig, sonder om redes te gee en sonder enige negatiewe gevolge.
 2. Informasie verkry sal konfidensieel hanteer word.
 3. Indien daar 'n spesifieke vraag is wat moontlik enige negatiewe gevolge inhou, of indien dit U ongemaklik laat voel, is dit U reg om dit nie te antwoord nie.
 4. Indien U verkies om anoniem te bly sal hierdie keuse gerespekteer word en 'n pseudo-naam sal gebruik word.
 5. Geen video of stem opname sal geneem word sonder U toestemming.
 6. U, as deelnemer, mag die navorser enige tyd kontak om enigiets rakende hierdie navorsing te verduidelik.
-

Die respondent sowel as die navorser moet elkeen 'n kopie van hierdie getekende dokument bewaar.

**GESKREWE TOESTEMMING NA KENNISNAME VAN VOLLEDIGE INLIGTING
RAKENDE DEELNAME AAN NAVORSINGSPROJEK**

Hiermee bevestig ek dat ek oor die aard van hierdie navorsing ingelig is.

Ek verstaan dat ek op enige stadium en sonder benadeling my toestemming en deelname aan die navorsingsprojek mag onttrek. Ek het genoegsame geleentheid gehad om vrae te vra.

Respondent: _____

Navorser: _____

Datum: _____

Kontak nommer van navorser: _____



Ifomu yesivumelwano sophando (isiXhosa)

Isihloko sophando:

Uphicotho lwemo yezentlalo phakathi kwePaki yaseTsisikama kunye nabahlali

Umphandi:

nguYve e Le Fleur

Isebe le-*Anthropology* (Isebe lofundo-nzulu ngentlalo yoluntu), kwiYunivesithi iRhodes, eMakhanda

Kunyanzelekile ukuba umntu ngamnye othatha inxaxheba kolu phando, alufumane olu xwebhu, alufunde, aluqondisise, aze atyikitye phambi kokuba aphenndule imibuzo.

Injongo yophando:

Injongo yolu phando, kukufuna ukuqonda ngcono ngonxibelelwano nemo yezentlalo phakathi kwePaki yaseTsisikama kunye nabahlali

Amalungelo alowo uthatha inxaxheba:

1. Kuxabisekile kakhulu ukuthatha kwakho inxaxheba kolu phando. Noxa kunjalo, akunyanzelekanga ukuba uthathe inxaxheba kwaye ungarhoxa nanini na, azikho iziphumo ezimbi eziza kwenzeka xa uthe warhoxa kolu phando.
2. Iinkcukacha ozinikezileyo ziza kuphathwa ngokwemfihlo.
3. Unalo ilungelo lokungawuphenduli umbuzo oza kuthi ukufake emngciphekweni, kwiziphumo ezimbi okanye akwenze uzive ungakhululekanga. Umphandi uza kudlulela kumbuzo olandelayo.
4. Ukuba ukhetha ukuphendula ngokungenagama okanye ngokungaziwa, oku kuza kuhlonitshwa kwaye kuza kusetyenziswa igama elingelilo elakho.
5. Azikho izixhobo ze-vidiyo nezesandi eziza kusetyenziswa ngaphandle kwemvume yalowo uthatha inxaxheba.
6. Ungaqhagamshelana nomphandi ngalo naliphi na ixesha, ukuba akucacisele ngawo nawuphi na umba onxulumene nolu phando.

Kufuneka bobabini, lowo uthatha inxaxheba nomphandi bagcine ikopi yolu xwebhu.

ISIVUMELWANO ESIBHALIWEYO ESINIKEZWA EMVA KOKUCHAZELWA NGOKUGQIBELELEYO UKUBA OLUPHANDO LUTHETHA NTONI KUNYE NEZIPHUMO ZOKUTHATHA INXAXHEBA KULO.

Ngalamazwi, ndiyaqinisekisa ukuba ndazisiwe ngomsebenzi woluphando. Ndiyakuqonda ukuba ndiyakwazi ukurhoxa nanini na kulo, kwaye akuzi kubakho iziphumo ezimbi xa ndirhoxile. Ndibenalo ixesha elaneleyo lokubuza imibuzo.

Lowo uthatha inxaxheba: _____

Umphandi: _____

Umhla: _____

Inombolo yokunxibelelana nomphandi: _____