

**Strategies of Exclusion in Non-Timber Forest Product  
Commercialisation in South Africa: An Ethnographic Study  
of Honeybush (*Cyclopia* spp.) Use and Trade**



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## **DECLARATION**

I, Sthembile Ndwandwe, hereby declare that the work on which this thesis is based is my original work (except where acknowledgements indicate otherwise) and that neither the whole work nor any part of it has been, is being, or is to be submitted for another degree in this or any other university.

## **DEDICATION**

This thesis is dedicated to the 31 residents of Haarlem who signed a petition to apply for access to honeybush in 1903. Your voice lives on!

I also dedicate this thesis to my late grandmother Agnes Ndwandwe who was born on the farm and my parents Mthokozisi Petros Ndwandwe and Sibongile Mncwabe who are the first harvesters the universe introduced to me.

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## ABSTRACT

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) set a precedent for recognising the rights of communities and Indigenous groups in the global commercialisation of biodiversity. South Africa is a signatory to the CBD and has embarked on a programme to commercialise non-timber forest products (NTFPs) by targeting biodiversity-based economies to derive revenue for economic development and socio-economic transformation. Transformation is envisaged to be achieved through job creation and by fast-tracking the participation of historically excluded Black people in biodiversity value chains. Many actors, however, are critical about the ability of NTFP commercialisation to reduce economic marginalisation among poorer members of society; research shows that the integration of NTFPs into regional and global markets often creates dispossession and anti-poor value chains, despite promises of increased equity and benefit sharing.

Using the honeybush shrub (*Cyclopia* spp.) as a lens, a NTFP endemic to South Africa, this thesis aims to contribute to these debates by examining how, if at all, marginalised groups benefit from honeybush commercialisation and the extent to which historical strategies of exclusion configure access to associated value chains. By using varied conceptualisations of exclusion, the study aims to improve understandings of how disadvantage is experienced in the honeybush sector and to suggest approaches that may lead to more transformative biodiversity-based economies. A case study and ethnographic approach were used, with data collection conducted in the Garden Route and Langkloof regions of the Eastern Cape and Western Cape provinces of South Africa. These regions have high densities of the two most commercialised honeybush species, *C. intermedia* and *C. subternata*; they also embed long histories of harvesting, tea production and commercialisation by local communities.

Building on a layered concept of exclusion and interweaving theories of access, findings show how unresolved colonial enclosures of land, natural resources, epistemologies, and economies in postcolonial and new democracies like South Africa inhibit benefits from NTFPs. The thesis further demonstrates how a reliance

on the structural and relational mechanisms of access without secure property rights threatens the ability of marginalised actors to sustain benefits from NTFP commercialisation. A key finding is that efforts to involve marginalised actors can, paradoxically, reinforce structural violence. Addressing this concern requires an understanding of situated histories to enable the implementation of context-specific benefits. Acknowledging that communities living in biodiversity-rich regions are not homogenous is an important component of this approach.

The study concludes that socio-economic transformation may need to be preceded by emancipatory transformation. Such an approach would require the state and non-state actors to deliver on structural, systemic, and enabling change by bringing together diverse knowledges, politics, and plural pathways in a transformative manner. The study underscores the importance of land and epistemic justice if biodiversity-based economies are to be equitable.

## ACRONYMS

ABS	Access and Benefit Sharing
ARC	Agricultural Research Council
BEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
BEOP	Biodiversity Economy Operation Phakisa
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CBNRM	Community-Based Natural Resource Management
CPA	Communal Property Associations
DFFE	Department of Forestry, Fisheries and the Environment
ECPTA	Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency
EPIP	Environmental Protection and Infrastructure Programmes
GRNP	Garden Route National Park
HCOP	Honeybush Community of Practice
HTDP	Honeybush Tea Development Project
IPBES	Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services
KOUNED	Koukamma New Enterprise Development
LRAD	Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development
MTO	Mountain to Ocean
NASA	National Archives of South Africa
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NKSC	National Khoi and San Council
NTFP	Non-Timber Forest Product
PPP	Public-Private Partnership
SAHTA	South African Honeybush Tea Association
SANBI	South African National Biodiversity Institute
SANParks	South African National Parks
SMMEs	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Introduction

Between 3.5 and 5.76 billion people use non-timber forest products (NTFPs). Half of these users live in rural areas in the Global South, with the balance split between the urban areas of the Global South and Global North (Shackleton & De Vos, 2021). Harvesters in rural and peri-urban areas of the Global South remain marginalised and excluded from the commercialisation of NTFPs, despite several interventions to transform the natural products sector. Many factors lead to the exclusion of NTFP harvesters and communities residing in biodiversity-rich regions. These include various exclusions emanating from value chain upgrading and local market integration into global markets; barriers to entry that affect poorer households' participation, such as land and credit access; and the failure of policy frameworks, such as access and benefit sharing (ABS), to regulate equity in biodiversity commodification in accordance with the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) objectives (Shackleton et al., 2007; Wynberg & Laird, 2007b; Cunningham, 2011; Shackleton et al., 2011; Lavelle, 2023; Wynberg et al., 2023). Exclusions can also be attributed to the failure of both global and local interventions to challenge the forms of domination enshrined in the history of the globalised natural products sector, which is linked in part to histories of wild flora and fauna commodification (Michon & de Foresta, 1996; Lee Peluso, 2012).

In the late 1980s, the notion of sustainable development emerged, which led to nature commodification being reshaped into a strategy for conservation, poverty eradication, and the development of biodiversity-rich but economically poor regions (De Beer & McDermott, 1989; Sukhdev et al., 2014). Nation states adopted this narrative, and as such, engaged in NTFP commercialisation as a mechanism for conservation, poverty alleviation, and development in poor regions (Gó Mez-Baggethun & Ruiz Pé Rez, 2011).

Many scholars have rejected this poverty, development, and conservation narrative by demonstrating that commercialisation seldom, if at all, leads to conservation, poverty eradication, and development in biodiversity-rich regions (Southgate et al., 1996; Belcher & Schreckenberg, 2007; Wunder et al., 2014; Intergovernmental Science-Policy Platform on Biodiversity and Ecosystem Services [IPBES], 2022). Others, however, note that NTFPs can contribute to livelihoods as a poverty alleviation mechanism (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004; Pullanikkatil & Shackleton, 2019) under certain contexts and predominantly when NTFP collection and trade is for local or regional markets and household use (Shackleton et al., 2007; Shackleton et al., 2008). Belcher et al. (2005) observes that there are some inherent paradoxes because conditions for effective commercialisation are often not met in many poor areas, and therefore, commercialisation may have an anti-poor bias. Nakanyete et al. (2023) examined the contribution of local and global NTFP value chains to the livelihoods of Indigenous San in Namibia, one of the most impoverished groups in Southern Africa, and found that none of these value chains led to improved livelihoods.

The exclusion of local communities from the benefits of NTFP commercialisation has been a problem since the colonial enclosure of lands and people of the Global South. Michon and de Foresta (1996) looked at the consequences of NTFP domestication and commercialisation and provide some lessons from colonial era trade in NTFPs. These include the displacement of community control over the trade of forest resources, resulting the exclusion of local forest communities from commercial benefits because these were transferred to companies and a governing elite. They also explain how cultivated material has always captured the market, for example, the cultivation of rubber in 1877 had by 1913 put an end to the supremacy of the wild resource and negatively affected local tappers, who had to turn to other livelihood strategies to make a living. By tracing histories of exploitative relationships emanating from tenure insecurity, forced labour, indigeneity, ethnicity, and interactions of these with capital accumulation, studies using the lenses of political economy and political ecology reveal the many factors that affect the relations between communities and the

economic extraction of NTFPs. For example, Peluso's (2009) study on the rights of rubber-producing communities in Indonesia connects histories on identity, property, and violence to show how the rubber trade gave rise to territorialisation and the erasure of Chinese identity through dispossessions that overtime delegitimised their spatial belonging. Peluso (2009) disrupts understandings about the visibly assembled actors in the rubber trade, and the assumptions made about indigeneity and communities with claims to legitimate access, by revealing the territorial history and its links to commodification.

It is critical to pay attention to these as NTFPs increasingly evolve from invisible forest produce, hidden harvests, and prerogatives of the rural poor (Scoones & Bishop, 1994; Neumann & Hirsch, 2000; Shackleton & de Vos, 2022) to become sites for nation states' delivery on inclusive national economic growth, recognition of rights to natural resources, social justice, value chain upgrading, and transformations of different ends (Ros-Tonen, 2012; Department of Forestry, Fisheries and the Environment [DFFE], 2016; Nakanyete et al., 2023). Such trends are particularly evident in Southern Africa where NTFPs and biodiversity-based commercialisation continue to receive attention as governments battle with the challenges of unemployment, poverty, and inequality (Förster et al., 2021). Indeed, NTFPs contribute significantly to the livelihoods of rural and urban communities in Africa, with the continent representing 6% of the total global income from NTFPs, which is estimated at \$88 billion (IPBES, 2018).

In South Africa, NTFP commercialisation is being pursued at state level under a biodiversity economy initiative implemented through the Biodiversity Economy Operation Phakisa (BEOP), which is one of several initiatives of the South African government to fast-track the state's National Development Plan. *Phakisa* is a Sesotho word that means "hurry up" (Findlay, 2018; Ndwandwe, 2023). Operation Phakisa is modelled on Malaysia's Big, Fast Results model that bridges the gap between policy and implementation and is said to have quickly increased state performance in service delivery (Muthambi, 2014). Operation Phakisa was launched as a tool to implement South Africa's National Development Plan in the country's Ocean Economy in 2014

(Muthambi, 2014; Radebe, 2017; Engel, 2018; Findlay, 2018) and has been used as a core state management tool (Engel, 2018; Vreÿ, 2020). Another initiative is Operation Phakisa on Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development, which addresses constraints in equitable access to land for economic development and agrarian transformation (Department of Agriculture Forestry and Fisheries [DAFF] & Department: Rural Development and Land Reform [DRDLR], 2016). However, state performance and service delivery in Malaysia, on which Operation Phakisa is modelled, are reported to have been hyped, yielding pockets of short-term success but failing to tackle more complex issues (Siddiquee et al., 2019; Siddiquee, 2019), a pattern that has already been identified in the Oceans Economy Operation Phakisa in South Africa (Engel, 2018; Vreÿ 2020). A study on the biodiversity economy sector by Förster et al. (2021) found that there is limited capacity among policymakers and other actors involved to achieve the set goals.

The biodiversity economy is one of the niche areas the state has earmarked for national revenue generation. The biodiversity economy encompasses businesses and economic activities that either directly depend on biodiversity products for their core business or that contribute to the conservation of biodiversity through their activities (DFFE, 2016). The state sees biodiversity-based economies as a rural transformation pathway. As part of this approach, the state has prioritised rural nodes or beneficiaries for projects centred on the mass cultivation of key species, with a growth target of at least 500 hectares per annum (South African National Biodiversity Institute [SANBI], 2019). The drive behind these initiatives is to create jobs, reduce marginalisation, and deliver racial transformation in biodiversity value chains that historically benefited white settlers.

The pursuit of commercialisation at state level raises several concerns related to the situated histories of the country. For example, it is apparent that the planned mass

cultivation that has seen the land of former homelands<sup>1</sup> being pledged for growing key species (DFFE, 2023) can be viewed as incorporating customary rural land and people into agrarian capitalism, which is a production system that former homelands were unfairly excluded from. The profitable use of land was historically set aside for “civilised” people and/or the economic benefit of white settlers (Mamdani, 1996). The Operation Phakisa activities are therefore bringing significant changes to land transformations and the spatial expansion of capitalism. Another concern is the prominence of ahistorical benefits (with disregard for historical perspectives and context), such as the emphasis on the number of jobs that mass cultivation will create in lands under traditional authorities (e.g., DFFE, 2023). Peluso (2012) reminds us that no form of nature commodification should come as a surprise because nature has been commodified since the emergence of capitalism, with commodification taking place differently at different points in history. Given the rapid changes deployed by the state in the natural products sector through Operation Phakisa, it is pertinent that attention is given to the impact of contemporary commodification and how it differs from past processes of commercialisation.

## **1.2 Honeybush case study**

Honeybush is indigenous to South Africa and has a long history of local use as an herbal tea in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape provinces (Joubert et al., 2011; Van Wyk, 2011; Van Wyk & Gorelik, 2017). Honeybush is part of the genus *Cyclopia* and is distributed in the coastal plains and mountainous regions of the Eastern Cape and Western Cape. It is an endemic perennial shrub that reaches a height of 3 m, belongs to the family Podalyriaceae, is classified as a member of the Fabaceae, and has 23 species recognised under the genus (Schutte, 1997). Only seven of these species have been

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<sup>1</sup> Homelands were areas of forced resettlements of the black population in South Africa, implemented by the apartheid state under the South African Bantustan Policy for self-governing and independence (Khunou, 2009).

traded and commercialised, namely *Cyclopia longifolia*, *C. plicata*, *C. genistoides*, *C. intermedia*, *C. sessiliflora*, *C. subternata*, and *C. maculata*, with 80% of honeybush still harvested in the wild (McGregor, 2017a; Karsen et al., 2022; Malgas, 2022).

The honeybush tea produced from *Cyclopia* spp. is one of several bush teas that have been used for centuries on the African continent by preference or as a substitute for ordinary tea (Cheney & Scholtz, 1963). Several honeybush species have a long history of use for medicinal purposes; for example, honeybush (*C. genistoides*) was featured by Pappé (1857) in a collection of South African plants used as remedies, and Jackson (1873) recorded the use of the leaves of *C. genistoides* and other *Cyclopia* spp. for making bush tea and medicine. Some recorded medicinal uses of honeybush include using it as a restorative and to promote expectoration in chronic catarrh (Bowie, 1830; Pappé, 1857; Jackson, 1873). In 1907, when the South African government attempted to produce Cape bush teas on a commercial scale, medical testimonials stated that honeybush reduced nerve twitchings, paralysis, eczema, indigestion, gout, rheumatism, and dropsy due to heart and kidney diseases, and had soothing effects (Bolam, 1907a). The medicinal properties and other uses of honeybush continue to be explored in the natural products sector. Despite a long history of local use, particularly among rural populations, including “Coloured”<sup>2</sup> people, “poor whites”, and “natives” (MacOwen, 1894; Bolam, 1907b; Hofmeyr & Phillips, 1922), honeybush as a sector has remained a minor industry (Van Wyk & Gorelik, 2017; Stander et al., 2019). However, for centuries honeybush has held economic and a deep heritage significance in regions where it grows.

Although cultivation was encouraged by botanists in 1922 (Hofmeyr & Phillips, 1922; Kies, 1951), it was only in 1992, when the then Botanical Institute, now the South African National Biodiversity (SANBI) and the Agricultural Research Council (ARC),

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<sup>2</sup> A racial category in South Africa referring to “people from a heterogeneous combination of heritages, including the Khoisan; people of biracial heritage; and people brought as slaves or labourers from other African countries and from regions like Southeast Asia” (Ives, 2014: 701).

“rediscovered” honeybush that a cultivated resource was grown and supplied to the market (Du Toit et al., 1998; Joubert et al., 2011). The export market grew between 1999 and 2010, with exports increasing from 50 t in 1999 (Joubert et al., 2011) to 632.221 t in 2011, decreasing to 77.59 t in 2021 because of the COVID-19 pandemic (South African Honeybush Tea Association [SAHTA], 2021).

Honeybush is among 25 key species that the DFFE has earmarked for mass cultivation. It has also been identified as one of seven high value species that is given priority in terms of sector development and investments. Consequently, the plant has received considerable attention from the national and local government since the 2010s and after the creation of the BEOP. This attention can be seen in the development of a honeybush biodiversity management plan and a sector development plan that aims to provide a plan and guide for the development of the honeybush sector (DFFE, 2021). The sector has also received attention from various other emerging investments, with a growing number of actors from industry, research, and civil society involved. It is therefore pertinent that proposals that challenge the state to commercialise biodiversity in a more considered way are made. Particularly, given the neoliberal and fast-paced approach to transformation that the BEOP approach uses, the complex historical dispossessions in the regions where honeybush is endemic, challenges related to wild plant commercialisation uptake amongst small-scale farmers in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape, and the staggering failure of global equity tools such as ABS (Malgas, 2022; Wynberg, 2023; Wynberg et al., 2023) to accommodate the specificity of intersecting marginalisations in Southern Africa’s natural product sector. Hall et al. (2011: 13) use the exclusion analytical framework as a tool to invite “those enacting policy, programmes and projects with excluding effects to acknowledge and understand the diverse implications of exclusion for different groups than to turn a blind eye to them”. This study adopted a similar approach and perspective and used exclusion as a subset of the concept of marginality (Von Braun & Gatzweiler, 2014) to study the history of marginalisation in the honeybush sector.

## **1.3 Study aims and objectives**

This thesis used the honeybush shrub (*Cyclophia* spp.), a NTFP endemic to South Africa, as a lens to examine how, if at all, marginalised groups benefit from honeybush commercialisation, and the extent to which historical strategies of exclusion configure access mechanisms for participation in the value chain. The study aimed to improve understandings of how disadvantage is experienced in the commercialisation of NTFPs and to suggest approaches that may lead to more emancipatory transformative biodiversity-based economies by using varied conceptualisations of exclusion and access. Additionally, given the rapid changes deployed by the state in the natural products sector through Operation Phakisa, it is pertinent that attention is given to the impact of contemporary commodification and how it differs from past processes of commercialisation.

### **1.3.1 Research objectives**

The study had the following objectives:

1. To identify key actors involved in the honeybush sector in the colonial, apartheid, and democratic regimes;
2. To identify exclusions and determine exclusionary factors in honeybush use from the vantage point of marginalised actors;
3. To analyse access control and maintenance hierarchies to reveal ways in which marginalised actors maintain access to honeybush benefits;
4. To contribute to biodiversity policies by exploring the relationship between historic strategies of exclusion and frameworks designed to transform biodiversity-based economies; and
5. To theorise exclusion in the context of NTFP commercialisation by identifying value chain relations that create subordinating hierarchies of access, and in so doing, contributes knowledge to the theory of access.

## 1.4 Contribution to knowledge

This study's contribution to knowledge is both conceptual and empirical. By taking a longitudinal view of exclusion and access, I incorporated a wide historical perspective on honeybush commercialisation and provide a situated explanation of how access, power relations, and exclusions have changed over time in the process of honeybush commodification. The longitudinal view brought a political economy approach to the analysis of results pertaining to benefits and their distribution among actors.

The study contributes to the theory of access by adding a perspective on the precarity of structural and relational mechanisms of access in contexts where legal rights are denied over long periods. The study posits that property and rights-based mechanisms of access should take precedence over structural and relational mechanisms if benefits are to be sustained for longer periods. Property plays a significant role in determining who controls the access of other actors to benefits and who maintains access through property rights, including land and traded resources. The cases in this thesis reveal that actors can maintain access without property for centuries, confirming that actors can benefit from things without having rights to them. On the other hand, actors without property can lose access at any point, with significant consequences to livelihoods. This finding contributes to access debates on 'rights' to benefit from things (legal/rights-based access) and "ability", which is the power to benefit from things (structural/relational) (Ribot & Peluso, 2003).

I expand this theory by proposing epistemic power as an additional mechanism of access. Exclusion has an intrinsic relationship with power, and this shapes the diverse ways people could be prevented from benefiting from NTFPs. Therefore, this thesis identifies epistemic power as one of the mechanisms of access that allows actors to control the discourse and therefore 'discipline' the behaviour that is acceptable for the value chain.

I conducted this research at an opportune time when the state was assembling different actors and corporate support to develop an emerging honeybush industry. I

noticed and learned of the shortage of socially and politically oriented research amid studies that respond directly to the needs of the sector, such as ecological and product development research. I thus set out to conduct research to capture the standpoint of the marginalised groups. Through this process, the study contributes a social history of honeybush commodification and provides perspectives that are timely and imperative for the national biodiversity economy initiatives being implemented in the context of the redressive state of South Africa.

## 1.5 Definition of key terms

The following terms are used in the study:

- **Non-timber forest products** have many conceptualisations, but in this study, NTFPs are defined as wild and cultivated indigenous and non-indigenous biological organisms and materials other than timber collected from any landscape and habitat for human use as livelihoods and for trade in local, regional, and global markets (Shackleton et al., 2011; Shackleton & de Vos, 2022).
- **Marginalised groups** refer to “people who exist at the margins of our political, social, economic and cultural systems, often resulting in exclusions, inequality and social injustice” (Ndwandwe, 2023: 176). Following hooks (1984, 1989: 20), the study approached the margins as both a space of disadvantage and a vantage point for radical perspectives “from which to see and create, to imagine alternatives, new worlds”.
- **Access and benefit sharing** was introduced in 1992 as a CBD tool for regulating the trade and commercialisation of genetic resources and associated traditional knowledge. It lays out responsibilities for “users” and “providers” of the genetic resources and traditional knowledge “where in order to gain access to genetic resources, users needed to give the provider country fair and equitable benefits, including technology transfer; to receive such benefits, a provider country

needed to facilitate access to genetic resources ('access and benefit sharing')" (Wynberg, 2017: 40, brackets original).

- **Access** is defined as the ability to benefit from things (Ribot & Peluso, 2003).
- The definition of **exclusion** is complex, and there is no set way to conceptualise it. In this study, exclusion was seen as a social problem characterised by unequal access to resources, capabilities, and rights (Popay et al., 2008, as cited in Keller, 2014) and a necessary condition that "creates both security and insecurity" in any context (Hall et al., 2011: 8).
- I used the following definitions for races and ethnicities:
  - **Coloured** is a South African apartheid racial categorisation still in use in the democratic administration that refers to people of mixed race and includes descendants of the Indigenous Khoi and San ethnicities. The term is broadly understood in the study as "people from a heterogeneous combination of heritages, including the Khoisan; people of biracial heritage; [various black African ethnicities]; and people brought as slaves or labourers from other African countries and from regions like Southeast Asia" (Ives, 2014: 701, text in bracket not original). The first time I used the term, I used quotation marks ("Coloured") to signal its offensive nature to some people who belong to the Coloured population category in South Africa and globally.
  - In this study, **Black** is used in its broad sense to incorporate all races and ethnicities that have been marginalised. To signal this category, I used a capital letter for [B]lack instead of the lowercase [b]lack, which is simply a racial colour. In few instances where lower case [b]lack is used, it will mean racial colour, specifically referring to black African racial categorisation.
  - In the context of the honeybush case, **Indigenous** refers to the Khoi and San ethnicities.
  - I use the phrase "Coloured, Black, and Indigenous" together throughout this thesis because in the context of the study area, Coloured and

Indigenous Khoi and San participants seldom identified with one of these categories, and instead, they fluidly moved between the three, using the Coloured and Black categorisations more often. Therefore, I use all three terms to avoid imposing an identity on the research participants. The use of these three terms - Coloured, Black, and Indigenous - must not be taken as an imposition or an attempt to create a new identity categorisation for the mixed-race population, more so as the Black category includes other races such as black Africans residing in the study area and using honeybush. More importantly, in line with the objectives of this thesis, using these three terms was more appropriate rather than relying on well-meaning categorisations that may normalise erasure and silencing language such as "community", "harvesters", and "Black".

## **1.6 Methodological approach and study sites**

This was a qualitative and ethnographic study. The methodologies and methods selected for this study were explicitly intended to privilege participants' voices (Given, 2008). I adopted a critical perspective that provided an explicit focus on injustices and marginalities. A critical approach to qualitative research is founded on the basic assumption that all thought is mediated by power relations that are socially constructed and history based (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011). Critical researchers critique existing conditions, and through critique, they aim to bring about change (Patton, 2016). Because of a focus on marginalisation and marginalised groups, critical research is criticised for labelling participants as belonging to a marginalised group and being powerless, which imposes homogenous notions of identity and can maintain a status quo (Scotland, 2012). To this end, collaborations with the marginalised, issues of researcher positionality, and reflexivity throughout the research process were fundamental (Fine, 2018). I elaborate on these issues in Chapter 3.

The research methods I used were interviews, participant observations, transect walks, archival records, and secondary data from government records. These methods were triangulated to verify claims and ensure data quality. Chapter 3 discusses these in detail.

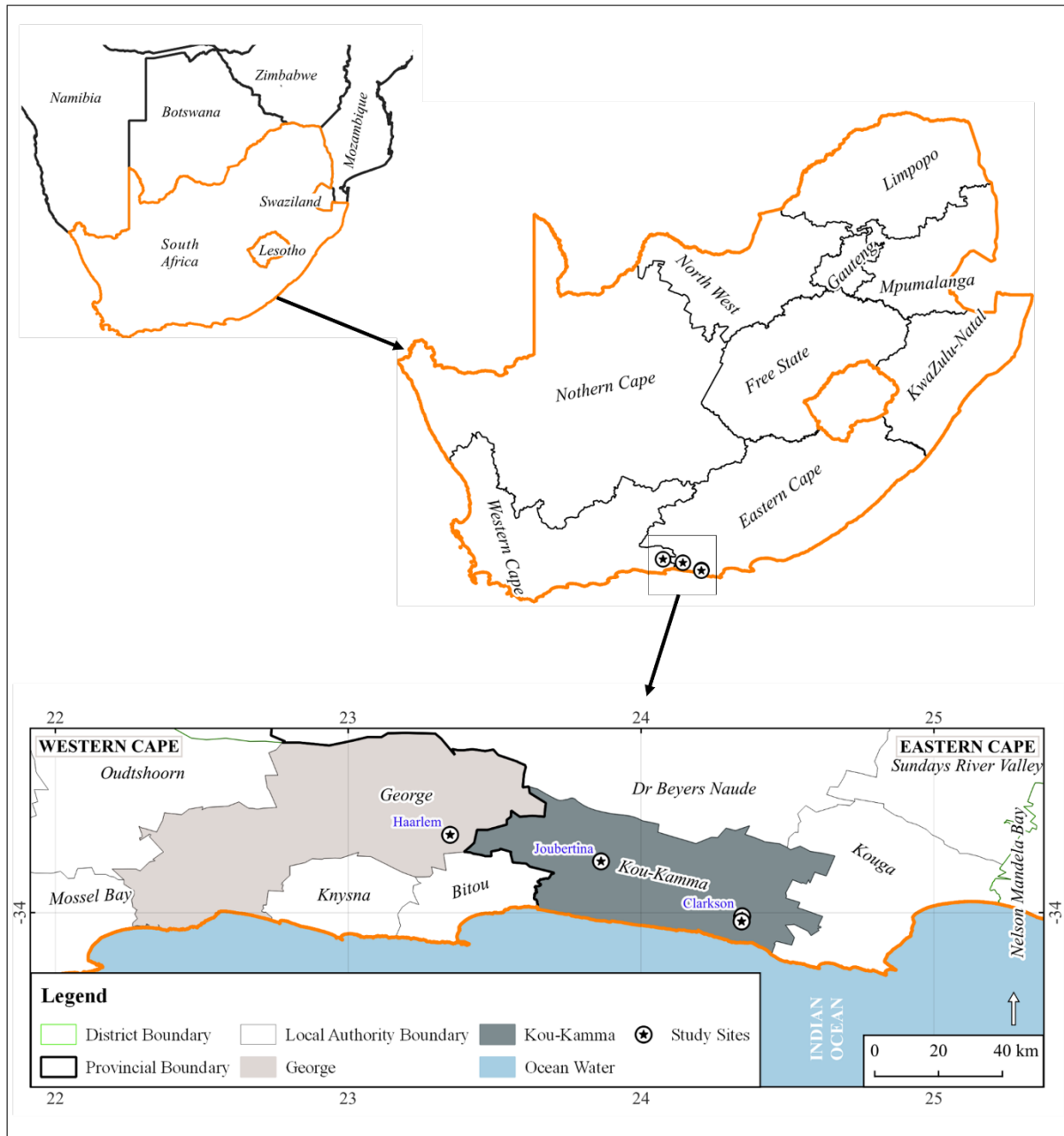
### 1.6.1 Study sites

The study was conducted in the Garden Route and Langkloof regions in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape provinces of South Africa. These areas have a high distribution of the most commercialised species in the honeybush industry, *C. intermedia* and *C. subternata*, and long histories of Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people being involved in honeybush harvesting and tea trade. The study area location was complicated by the fact that harvesting is not spatially fixed to a particular group or community, and that harvesters move across municipal, farm, and regional boundaries. Furthermore, commercialisation projects are interlinked and spread across the Langkloof and coastal areas surrounding the Garden Route National Park (GRNP). The study sites were therefore classified in terms of the observed settlement patterns in the landscape (see Table 1.1). This classification was important to ensure the representation of the distinct contexts that exist in the honeybush region.

**Table 1.1 Garden Route and Langkloof land settlement patterns**

<b>Settlement</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Case studies</b>
<b>Place-based or situated communities</b>	Coloured, Black, and Indigenous communities that were formed in the early to mid-1800s as mission stations and labour reserves	Langkloof & Garden Route (Haarlem village); Tsitsikamma (AmaMfengu/Clarkson)
<b>Farm dweller resettlement</b>	Townships that sprouted from the 1980s and 1990s because of farm dweller evictions and post-1994 housing developments	Langkloof (indicated by Joubertina on map)
<b>Farmland owners</b>	Land demarcated for private ownership, predominantly white owned, and used for commercial farming	Langkloof (indicated by Joubertina on map)

Because of COVID-19 limitations, the ethnographic study focused on the Langkloof region, a 160 km valley that falls in the George and Kou-Kamma municipalities by demarcation and is bounded by the Tsitsikamma mountains on the west and the Kouga mountains on the east (Cockburn, 2018). The ethnographic study was complemented with key informant interviews and an archival review of the regions, particularly the history of conservation and the settlement patterns in Tsitsikamma. The study sites are shown in Figure 1.1.



**Figure 1.1 Map of the study area in the Western Cape and Eastern Cape provinces of South Africa (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

## **1.7 Structure of the thesis**

This thesis has 10 chapters. In this introductory chapter, I discussed and defined the research problem, aims, objectives, and study contributions. I also gave a summary of methods, the honeybush case, and a description of the study area.

In Chapter 2, I elaborate on the conceptual aspects involved in this study and review the literature that informed the theoretical framework. I elaborate on debates on exclusion, access, and broader literature, including political ecology and perspectives on marginality in the context of NTFP commercialisation.

Chapter 3 presents the research design, approach, and methods used to address the objectives of this study. I explain the qualitative approach to research and critical ethnography. The chapter concludes with a description of the study's ethics and limitations.

Chapter 4 provides a historical context for the exclusions that impact equity in the current use of natural resources in the honeybush growing regions of South Africa. I give an account of exclusions during two periods, the repressive regime, which in this study is marked as a period between 1800 and 1993, and the democratic regime, marked between 1994 and the present day (2020). I outline the exclusions embedded in the landscape and NTFP commercialisation and highlight access control and maintenance dynamics between the two regimes.

Chapter 5 looks at the blueprint for commercialising and preparing honeybush as a global commodity. I draw attention to who gets to contribute to the shared knowledge about honeybush and the epistemic exclusions that occur in the honeybush tea industry. I discuss perspectives on honeybush tea-making, and the processes and knowledge involved in making it a marketable product. I use archives and life history interviews on tea-making to discuss exclusion in the history of honeybush commercialisation. I also highlight the traditional tea-making and epistemic contribution of local honeybush use and draw attention to the lack of

acknowledgement of historically repressed groups as knowledge holders. In this chapter, I also demonstrate how the dominance and centrality of western knowledge in the honeybush sector emerged and discuss its role in marginalising communities as tea makers and knowers.

In Chapter 6, I highlight the agency of harvester communities and Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people throughout history, and how they have produced and used honeybush within the limitations imposed by repressive regimes and persistent structural violence.

Chapter 7 gives an overview of the contemporary honeybush sector and how harvesting and trade have evolved with the integration into export-oriented markets. I provide a brief overview of honeybush actors and commercialisation and outline the value chains and contemporary trade dynamics.

In Chapter 8, I provide the results on existing approaches by the state, local government, private sector, landowners, and NGOs to help marginalised groups access the value chains and participate in the commercialisation of NTFPs. I describe the benefits these structures provide, how these benefits are distributed, and the advantages and disadvantages of different interventions. The chapter examines the potential disconnects between historic strategies of exclusion and redress frameworks aimed at enhancing the participation and benefits of marginalised groups in the honeybush sector.

Chapter 9 explores key research findings and insights, contextualising them within broader literatures and theoretical frameworks. I discuss exclusion and access strategies that emerge at different points in history and their interplay with broader politics of commercialisation. Thus, I attempt to deepen understandings of the different ways in which exclusions are produced and maintained in commercialisation and their impact on marginalised groups' ability to benefit from the commercialisation of NTFPs.

Chapter 10 concludes the thesis and revisits the aims and objectives of the study in relation to the key findings. I discuss the study's contribution to literature and draw conclusions.

## **CHAPTER 2**

# **LITERATURE REVIEW: ECOLOGIES OF EXCLUSION IN NTFP COMMERCIALISATION**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the debates relating to the exclusion of marginalised actors in biodiversity commercialisation and natural resource use. Firstly, I define exclusion and introduce strategies of exclusion extrapolated from different disciplines to give a wider conceptual understanding of the concept. Secondly, I position the study in a broader political ecology framework, in particular the debates on degradation and marginalisation, environmental conflict and exclusion, conservation and control, and access and power relations. Thirdly, I discuss and introduce key issues related to marginalised groups' access to commercialisation and participation in NTFP value chains. Fourthly, I provide multiple perspectives towards framing strategies of exclusion and experience of disadvantage in the commercialisation of NTFPs. These perspectives are drawn from different strands of literature, including structural violence, powers of exclusion, epistemic injustice, and emancipatory transformation. Collectively, these complex narratives provide language that challenges the deepening exclusions and the relegation of the poor to the margins of biodiversity commercialisation.

### **2.2 Discourse on exclusion**

The academic literature on exclusion is extensive, and its meaning is far from straightforward (Bernt & Colini, 2013). A key thread in the analysis of exclusion is that it is often based on a theoretical pluralism that uses various intersecting interdisciplinary conceptual frameworks (Kilma, 1972; Midgley, 2011). Taket et al. (2009) argue that these are necessary to do justice to the complexity of the forces and

relationships that shape individuals' and groups' experience of exclusion and being excluded. The most extensive scholarship on exclusion is in the field of social work and looks at social exclusion from a perspective of attaining justice in social policy and welfare (Silver, 1994; Daly et al., 2008; Keller, 2014). There is no one definition of exclusion, and the notion of exclusion in the social sciences has been defined using different frameworks related to social policy (Silver, 1994; Abrams & Christian, 2007; Daly et al., 2008; Grenier & Guberman, 2009; Taket et al., 2009), epistemology (Fricker, 2007; Langton, 2007; Kristie Dotson, 2012), society and culture (Herbet, 2009, 2010; Foucault, 2015), and those dealing with land and natural resource exclusions (Hall et al., 2011). Most frameworks use the term in a negative sense, seeing it as a social problem that creates a continuum of inclusion-exclusion that is characterised by unequal access to resources, capabilities, and rights (Popay et al., 2008, as cited in Keller, 2014). Using the concept of exclusion to navigate the complex land transformations in Southeast Asia, Hall et al. (2011:8) frame exclusion as a necessary condition that "creates both security and insecurity" in any context. This framing of exclusion goes beyond exclusion as a social problem to acknowledge that some things, such as land and other types of property, are excludable by nature, and therefore, they will always produce exclusion. Not everyone can benefit from the same piece of land, whereas everyone benefits from air, which is not an excludable thing. The definition of Hall et al. (2011) further differs in that they do not see exclusion as an inverse of inclusion but of access, which is the ability to benefit from things. Hall et al.'s (2011) concept of exclusion draws extensively on the theory of access by Ribot and Peluso (2003). By framing exclusion as an inverse of access, Hall et al. (2011) situates exclusion in the access heuristics of ability, benefits, things, and use. According to the theory of access, "ability" means an actor has power to benefit from things. "Benefits", on the other hand, "are important because people, institutions, and societies live on and for them and clash and cooperate over them", whereas "things" can be anything, such as institutions, symbols, people, and material objects, and "use" refers to the enjoyment of benefits or benefit stream (Ribot & Peluso, 2003: 156).

Seeing exclusion as an inverse of access rather than inclusion has jarring conceptual significance for those interested in understanding how people are excluded and in finding solutions to those exclusions. When exclusion is juxtaposed to inclusion as a solution, it is the excluding institution or system that gets empowered by the inclusion of that which is excluded. For example, the colonial state's incorporation of traditional institutions and "native" societies through direct and indirect rule in South Africa enhanced colonial power through exclusion by incorporation not by marginalisation (Mamdani, 1996). Foucauldian perspectives suggest that the idea of inclusion as a solution for exclusion can be assimilative and can exclude by virtue of being inclusive without fundamental changes in structures and systems. Assimilation is problematised by Foucault (2015) as one of the procedures of exclusion. Borrowing from Levi Strauss, Foucault, in his 1973 lectures on punitive society, describes assimilation and rejection as ways societies get rid of dangerous individuals and those possessing a formidable and hostile force. Rejection temporarily or permanently isolates and puts away as a means of mastering a hostile force, while assimilation involves assimilating the very substance of the socially unwanted force and neutralising whatever is dangerous and hostile in it (Foucault, 2015). Inclusion therefore may be assimilative and become a form of exclusion or neo-exclusion inclusions (meaning inclusions that are exclusionary). Conversely, when exclusion is juxtaposed to access, attention is paid to the compromised ability to benefit from things. For example, Hall et al. (2011) analyse exclusion by focusing on the changing means by which different social groups have gained or lost access to land, that is, changing means by which different social groups have gained or lost their ability to benefit from land.

### **2.2.1 Strategies of exclusion**

The exclusion discourse is not only broad but also transdisciplinary and interdisciplinary in nature. In this subsection, I outline what I call strategies of exclusion (Table 2.1). Five bodies of work, including Foucauldian perspectives, philosophy, social policy, land and natural resources, and markets and economy, contribute to the

framework this study drew from to analyse ways in which marginalised groups are prevented from benefiting from biodiversity commercialisation and natural resources.

**Table 2.1 Framework for analysing strategies of exclusion**

<b>Exclusion type</b>	<b>Characterisation/analytical guide</b>	<b>Dimension of exclusion</b>	<b>Source</b>
<b>Prohibition</b>	A system of exclusion that disciplines freedom of expression.	Foucauldian perspectives on punishment and discourse  Society and culture  Philosophy	Foucault, 1970, 2015
<b>Assimilation</b>	Inclusion by neutralising that which is excluded.		
<b>Division and rejection</b>	Division of the society into useless and useful members, getting rid of members who do not fit the set standards and norms.		
<b>True/false oppositions</b>	Separating the true from false discourse; a will to knowledge that exercises pressure; a power constraint over other discourses.		
<b>Licensed exclusion</b>	Characterised by land titling, and a title is seen as a natural end point to land rights formalisation.	Land  Natural resources	Hall et al., 2011
<b>Ambient exclusion</b>	Exclusions that are legitimated by environmental concerns.		
<b>Intimate exclusion</b>	Everyday mundane exclusions facilitated by actors who may use state language to exclude kin.		
<b>Volatile exclusion</b>	Rearrangement of land access and exclusion because of crop booms.		
<b>Counter-exclusion</b>	Groups mobilise to reclaim land from other groups using legitimation based on ethnic belonging or social justice. They can also mobilise to claim land from the state.		

<b>Exclusion type</b>	<b>Characterisation/analytical guide</b>	<b>Dimension of exclusion</b>	<b>Source</b>
<b>Post-agrarian exclusion</b>	Competing land uses that push people out of agriculture.		
<b>Apathy and indifference</b>	Exclusion of state and non-state programmes by refusing to participate in their projects or interventions.		Jani et al., 2023
<b>Epistemological exclusion</b>	Epistemic exclusion refers to "an unwarranted infringement on the epistemic agency of knowers", leading to the reduced "ability to participate in a given epistemic community".	Knowledge and discourse	Dotson, 2012: 24
	Happens when a group of people are not counted or get left out as knowers.	Philosophy	Langton, 2006
<b>Institutional exclusion</b>	Exclusion from law and formal systems resulting in a society divided based on those with access to laws that influence their day-to-day lives, and those with restricted access to and alienation from the same laws.	Institutional economics	Oleinik, 2012.
	"The principal dividing line is a vertical frontier, to the right of which are politicians, bureaucrats, and businessmen who profit and live off the government's favour and to the left of which are legal and extra-legal producers who are excluded from favour."	Governance	De Soto, 2005, cited in Oleinik, 2012: 162
<b>Social exclusion</b>	Traditionally concerned with issues of economic disadvantage but has expanded into investigating barriers to the attainment of social justice, and of civil, social, and political rights as well as access to resources.	Social policy	Guberman, 2009

<b>Exclusion type</b>	<b>Characterisation/analytical guide</b>	<b>Dimension of exclusion</b>	<b>Source</b>
	The actual and symbolic exclusion of certain segments of the population from material and social resources.		Vranken, 2001
	Society exhibits a degree of integration from which certain groups of people may be systematically excluded.		Room, 2000
	“Exclusion consists of dynamic, multi-dimensional processes driven by unequal power relationships interacting across four main dimensions—economic, political, social and cultural.”		Popay et al., 2008, cited in Taket et al., 2009: 8
<b>Market exclusion</b>	A form of discrimination that denies access to and fair treatment within the market.	Participation in markets  Economics	Saatcioglu & Ozanne, 2013
	Exclusion is justified by the idea that the market system is intrinsically designed to exclude.		Zohir, 2014
	Exclusion caused by distance from markets such as social exclusion and poor connectivity system/other factors.		
	Exclusion as “a necessary characteristic for goods and services to be supplied under market conditions. Where exclusion is infeasible, it means that anyone can derive benefits so long as nature or the efforts of others supply it”.		Ostrom & Ostrom, 1977: 2

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

The ways in which marginalised actors can be excluded from NTFP commercialisation are extensive because of the nature of the value chains’ dependence on and entanglement in complex and often contested resources, lands, epistemologies, and

social inequalities. As such, all four dimensions including discourse, land, institutional, and social exclusion were considered in answering the objectives of the study.

The strategies of exclusion outlined in Table 2.1 centre power in an analysis that focuses on both the harm done to the excluded and the power possessed by those with the ability to exclude. Michel Foucault (2015: 3, brackets original) warns against the use of the notion of exclusion in a manner that fails to “take into account—or analyse the [struggles], relations, and specific operations of power on the basis of which, precisely, exclusion takes place”. Hall et al. (2011: 13) centre power in their analysis of exclusion, where as their point of departure, they explore how exclusion occurs, and they emphasise the “how” “to tease out the powers at work in different exclusionary regimes”. Elaborating on epistemic exclusion, Dotson (2018: 130) also centres epistemic power and defines it as “differing ranges of privilege and under-privilege that are coextensive with one’s epistemic status with respect to knowledge possession, knowledge attribution, knowledge production, and/or knowledge creation”. The centrality of the power in the exclusion discourse is a key element that situates this concept in the core of political ecology.

### **2.3 Positioning the study in political ecology frameworks**

Ros-Tonen (2012) recommended the use of political ecology as an encompassing approach in dealing with continuing enclosures of community resources and a growing integration of NTFPs into commercial and multi-scalar governance regimes. Political ecology emerged in the 1980s and challenged apolitical ecological perspectives on the use and management of natural resources (Robbins, 2004, 2012). Political ecology presents interdisciplinary scholarship located at the intersection of geography, anthropology, environmental history, and sociology (Perreault et al., 2015), and examines political dynamics that affect human-environment interactions (Bryant, 1998; Robbins, 2012). Those who use political ecology maintain that apolitical environmental research fails to account for “political sources, conditions and ramifications of

environmental change” Bryant (1992: 13). The strength of political ecology is in its capacity to persist in its contestation of injustices in access to and control over resources (Tschakert, 2012). Discourses concerning exclusion in the context of NTFP commercialisation fall within the ‘degradation and marginalisation’, ‘environmental conflict and exclusion’, and ‘conservation and control’ themes of political ecology. These discourses are presented in Box 2.1 together with the other themes in political ecology. Although these political ecology perspectives are standalone theses, the historical lens and the longitudinal study adopted in this study demanded a combination of these perspectives as political economy and environmental relations change at different times in history.

<i>Thesis</i>	<i>What is explained?</i>	<i>Relevance</i>
Degradation and marginalization	<i>Environmental conditions</i> (especially degradation) and the reasons for their change	Environmental degradation, long blamed on marginal people, is shown in its larger political and economic context.
Conservation and control	<i>Conservation outcomes</i> (especially failures)	Usually viewed as benign, efforts at environmental conservation are shown to have pernicious effects, and sometimes fail as a result.
Environmental conflict and exclusion	<i>Access to the environment and conflicts over exclusion from it</i> (especially natural resources)	Environmental conflicts are shown to be part of larger gendered, classed, and raced struggles and vice versa.
Environmental subjects and identity	<i>Identities of people and social groups</i> (especially new or emerging ones)	Political identities and social struggles are shown to be linked to basic issues of livelihood and environmental activity.
Political objects and actors	<i>Socio-political conditions</i> (especially deeply structured ones)	Political and economic systems are shown to be underpinned and affected by the non-human actors with which they are intertwined.

**Box 2.1 Five central theses of political ecological research (Source: Robbins, 2012)**

### **2.3.1 Degradation and marginalisation**

The degradation and marginalisation thesis shows how resource over-exploitation, typically blamed on marginal actors, happens because of wider state intervention and increasing integration in regional and global market systems (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987; Bryant, 1998; Brown & Purcell, 2005). Additionally, it is concerned with how environmental degradation due to global market integration creates dispossession while generating profits afar. Hence, political ecologists denounce the long-held apolitical notions that the extent of natural resource degradation and extraction of forest products are attributed to open access, poverty levels, and population growth. Some critics in the field of economics demonstrate that where corporate profits are involved, the degradation of biodiversity will persist (Czech, 2008). This view is based on the comparison of two types of economies that Czech (2008) classify as the human-inclusive economy of nature, and the growth of human economy. Where corporate profits are at the centre of biodiversity commercialisation, economic models are adopted that seek the growth of human economy rather than a human-inclusive economy of nature.

Essentially, Czech (2008) makes the point that economies of scale in dealing with natural resources have favoured corporate-led research and development and have contributed substantially to their profit but not to biodiversity conservation. The causes of degradation are therefore complex and often not a result of overuse by communities that rely on resources or communal tenure (Larson & Bromley, 1990; Leach & Fairhead, 2000). The degradation and marginalisation thesis therefore allows for a problematisation of the idea that NTFP commercialisation is for conservation and the upliftment of the poor, a claim that the BEOP makes in line with global treaties informing biodiversity-based economies.

### **2.3.2 Environmental conflict and exclusion**

Environmental conflicts are an inevitable consequence of development, and multistakeholder processes (Shackleton et al., 2002; Hirsch & Wyatt, 2004; Hirsch, 2010) which represent social struggles against uneven distribution of resources and issues of power and rights and “reflects poor performance by governments in developing complex public policy” (Jackson & Pradubraj, 2004: 6). Conflicts can also lead to positive change by encouraging actors to search for alternative ways and explore new frameworks and institutions, and as Glasbergen (1995: 7) asserts, conflicts can also be a “vehicle for social progress”. The environmental conflict and exclusion thesis draws heavily on the historical experience of development activities to explain conflicts over environmental access and exclusion. The environmental conflict and exclusion thesis is based on the idea that:

[I]ncreasing scarcities produced through resource enclosure or appropriation by state authorities, private firms, or social elites accelerate conflict between groups (gender, class, or ethnicity). Similarly, environmental problems become “politicized” when local groups (gender, class, or ethnicity) secure control of collective resources at the expense of others by leveraging management interventions by development authorities, state agents, or private firms. So too, existing and long-term conflicts within and between communities are “ecologized” by changes in conservation or resource development policy (Robbins, 2012: 200).

Environmental conflict scholarship has close links with environmental justice discourses that highlight ecological distribution conflicts. These arise at the intersection of corporate and state desire to capitalise on underdeveloped resources and community struggles over access and control over those resources (Martinez-Alier, 2002, 2023). However, Blaser (2013) in their study among Indigenous groups in Peruvian Amazon finds that environmental conflicts go beyond the struggle over natural resources and suggests that a conflict could be over other “things” that are at stake. In this case, Indigenous groups were “explicit about ‘making room’ for or inviting others (corporations or environmentalists) into their territories. Rather, their concern was with

the values and assumptions with which others approach their territories, without care and without a personal relationship with the nonhuman inhabitants of these territories” (Blaser, 2013: 14). Paying attention to perspectives with upper hand and their influence in determining access to, use of, and relation to the “thing” at stake is therefore critical in forging environmental justice and dealing with environmental exclusion in contexts where there have been multiple enclosures (beyond resources and land) by powerful actors.

### **2.3.3 Conservation and control**

The conservation and control thesis targets exclusion by virtue of problematising the bounded and territorial social model of conservation. Two themes of the conservation and control thesis have links to the concept of exclusion: firstly, that conservation reflects a symbol (coercive histories) of colonial occupation of a region, and secondly, hegemonic governmentality where people internalise state control through self-regulation that results from state manoeuvres of space or agenda (Hall et al., 2011). For example, by establishing protected areas, rules are automatically created for what is acceptable and which ecological outcomes are appropriate (Bryant, 2002; Robbins, 2012). Ultimately, “actors excluded from direct access to protected areas are asked to pay the price for a global benefit—the conservation of biodiversity. That the exchange is so unfair is a symptom of the highly unequal powers of the parties involved” (Hall et al., 2011: 10). The following argument is brought forth in the conservation and control thesis:

Control of resources and landscapes has been wrested from local producers or producer groups (by class, gender, or ethnicity) through the implementation of efforts to preserve “sustainability,” “community,” or “nature.” In the process, officials and global interests seeking to preserve the “environment” have disabled local systems of livelihood, production, and socio-political organization. (Robbins, 2012)

Hall et al. (2011) use the term ‘ambient exclusion’ for the process of establishing and reconfiguring control in environmental conservation. Ambient exclusion happens

when certain areas are zoned as off limits for agriculture and other land uses (Hall et al., 2011). The drawing of a forest or nature reserve boundary is often a primary marker of this exclusion as is the setting aside of national parks from people. These boundary demarcations of nature reserves and parks are primarily state sanctioned resource enclosures and exclude communities dependent on forests (Heynen & Robbins, 2005). Even with processes of forest devolution and community participation, the state land is said to remain exclusionary because programmes intended to include people in conservation zoning schemes ultimately recruit beneficiaries to participate to the exclusion of others since only a few can benefit (Hall et al., 2011; Gururani, 2018).

#### **2.3.4 Access and power relations**

The notion of access is used widely in empirical studies seeking to understand issues of inequality and notions of power in resource distribution by mapping mechanisms by which access is gained, maintained, and controlled (Myers & Hansen, 2020). Access is aligned with literature on environmental conflict and exclusion, which grapples with issues of access and property rights. In their seminal paper titled "A Theory of Access", Ribot and Peluso (2003) define access as the ability to benefit from things, and all possible means by which a person can benefit from things through what they call a "bundle of powers". Things can be any unit of analysis, including "material objects, persons, institutions and symbols" (Ribot & Peluso, 2003: 153). The theory of access has deep roots in the political ecology tradition as it builds from the notions of power, benefits and control over resources found in works such as Watts (1987, 1983), Blaikie (1985), and Berry (1989, 1994). As an analytical framework, it allows for a grounded analysis of who benefits from things and through what processes they can do so. It asks who gets to use what, meaning who gets to enjoy the benefits from things, in what ways, and when (Ribot & Peluso, 2003).

Since its conception, access theory has been used by political ecologists as it gives, among other analytical strengths, "a versatile way to understand some of the most

elusive obstacles to effective natural resources governance such as elite control over resources, exploitative market relations, and policies that eschew rights" (Hansen et al., 2020). Rights-based/illicit mechanisms of access are defined as the right to access resources by entitlement or direct benefit. Those who use structural and relational mechanisms rely on a bundle of powers (as opposed to a bundle of rights) to gain, control, and maintain access to resources through mechanisms such as social identities, property, technology, capital, markets, knowledge, authority, and social relations (Ribot, 1998; Ribot & Peluso, 2003).

Access is one of the political ecology theories that relates to power. Power in the theory of access is understood as something that is shaped by a specific set of access mechanisms that an actor or institution possesses; it is therefore seen as something that is accumulated in a process of access (Meyers & Hansen, 2020). Power is also scripted in the definition of access, which is the ability to benefit from things. Ability according to Ribot & Peluso (2003) is akin to power. They see power, "first, as the capacity of some actors to affect the practices and ideas of others", which is in line with an actor-oriented views on power, such as those of Lukes (1974, 1986). Secondly, they "see power as emergent from, though not always attached to, people" (Ribot & Peluso, 2003:156). The power concept presented in the access theory draws from a structural and a post-structuralist perspective, and from the Marxist political economy view of power as influenced by broader societal forces (Ribot & Peluso, 2003; Myers & Hansen, 2020).

Lastly, the theory of access is built on property and livelihood theories such as the entitlements framework (Leach, Mearns & Scoones, 1999), the sustainable livelihoods framework (Chambers & Conway, 1992), and property rights (MacPherson, 1978). What is unique and path paving about access theory is that it moves the analysis from "rights" to "ability" to benefit from "things", recognising that while rights are essential, having a right to things does not always guarantee access (Peluso & Ribot, 2020). Access as an approach is thus broader than property, which has been criticised as narrow as far as its analytical framework is concerned (Ribot & Peluso, 2003). In

essence, attention to the broader means of access to resources other than property centres the fact that benefits can be derived from things without holding institutionally recognised rights to them.

Notwithstanding the shortcomings of property rights as an analytical lens, paying attention to property institutions and the complex bundle of rights they establish is an important element in political ecology because rights distribution influences trajectories of social and environmental change (Robbins, 2012). Access and property have become two strands of literature leading to Sikor and Lund's (2009: 2) exploration of what they term a "grey zone" to explain a conceptual overlap between access and property, illuminating the difference between "what people have rights to and what they merely have access to". With this, Sikor and Lund (2009) assert that actors who access resources without holding rights to them may end up turning access into institutionally recognised claims, because ultimately actors want to move to a position where they do not just have property (rights) or other means of access without property (ability to benefits without rights); both access and property are desired (Kronenburg & van Dijk, 2020). In practice, neither access without property nor property rights alone are inherently a preferable regime for resource distribution and benefit flow. Peluso (1992), for example, shows that opening a few extractive reserves for locals to harvest rubber in Indonesia did not prevent the appropriation of their rights to NTFPs in all forest concessions. Additionally, in this case, identity and property rights recognitions concealed historically racialised/tribalism-based violence in rubber-producing regions (Peluso, 2009).

Property is an excludable resource and thus engenders exclusion, unequal power relations, and subordination; hence, political ecology's attention to the ways in which rights distribution influences social and environmental change. Specifically, the private property regime, as the private ownership grant exclusivity of right to resource use, to exchange the resource, and to the services of the resource (Alchian & Demsetz, 1973), and those with ownership, whether communal or individual, have authority to grant access rights and exclude (Schlager & Ostrom, 1992). For example, in democratic

South Africa, farm dwellers were evicted from the land they accessed for grazing and from their homes by a farmer who held private property rights to the land (Spierenburg, 2020). The negative implications of having rights without ownership was also reported in the case of resettled communities in the Limpopo Park in Mozambique where leaders of resettled communities' lost authority over their "subjects" because they could not help their people with accessing land and resources because the territory they resettled to was under the ownership of other leaders. Whereas the leaders with land gained authority over the same people because they could grant access to land and other resources (Milgroom & Ribot, 2020). Therefore, although title to land, property, and ownership alone do not guarantee benefits, their relative importance is an empirical question depending on each place and political economic context (or time in history) (Ribot, 1998; Ribot & Peluso, 2003).

## **2.4 Perspectives on marginalisation in NTFP commercialisation**

Dove (1993) writes of a parable of "the little man and the big stone" in his critique of the idea that deforestation can be curbed by the development of NTFPs for the benefit of forest dwellers. The parable is shared among forest dwellers who harvest diamonds in the hills of Martapura village in Indonesia. The saying goes, "whoever finds a big stone, he will eventually suffer [as a result]" (Dove, 1993: 18, brackets original). He explains that the tale is one of many that are told in the area "of the woe that befell men who found truly large, valuable stones. The problem with such stones is that they cannot be sold: their value is out of proportion with the marketing channels that are normally used by these part-time miners" (Dove, 1993: 18). The big stone is then taken from the village to town to become a national asset (Dove, 1993) and is illustrative of how poor and marginalised actors are positioned in the commercialisation of natural resources. Other scholars characterise specialised NTFP value chains as anti-poor because of the pro-poor limitations of commercialisation (Arnold & Ruiz Pérez, 2001; Belcher et al., 2005). Extraction of commodities of value from their localities, including

those derived from plants, has for centuries been to service social elites elsewhere (Jamieson, 2001; West, 2010).

In recent years, there has been a growing demand to recognise the impact of global market integration on local trade and livelihoods in communities where commodified natural resources, such as NTFPs, are sourced (Shackleton et al., 2007; Shackleton et al., 2011). Global market integration involves a shift to export-oriented trade, which is problematic because community members who are involved in NTFP trade are said to benefit more from local markets because of several factors. These factors include accessibility to producers/traders and customers, which reduces transaction costs; access to knowledge since they depend on 'unspecialised' skills and local knowledge of the market needs; and low investment requirements for markets that direct incomes and time into livelihood needs (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004); Belcher & Schreckenberg, 2007). Conversely, community members are more likely to not benefit from export-oriented markets because of formalisation, a shift from wild to cultivated resources, and heightened barriers of entry to NTFP value chains. In addition, while sustainability and equity concern typically fuel the formalisation of NTFP trade, its impact is often the opposite, particularly if there is over-regulation (Wynberg & Laird, 2007a; Wynberg et al., 2015). For example, formalisation of the baobab trade in Zimbabwe, a lucrative NTFP and a high earner in the Southern African region, brought diverse new laws and hefty permit costs, pushing harvesters and women out of the value chain, and declining incomes (Wynberg et al., 2015). Several barriers of entry into value chains also affect the ability of marginal actors to benefit from trade. For example, equity along the charcoal commodity chain in Ghana was compromised by barriers of entry such as access to credit, buyers, and information, which affected the participation of resource suppliers in more profitable segments of the value chain (Agyei, Hansen & Acheampong, 2020). A detailed review of barriers of entry into NTFP value chains conducted by Schreckenberg et al. (2006) among households from 18 communities in Bolivia and Mexico shows several challenges that prevented participation in the value chain, including legality, lack of infrastructure, information, and education, and access

to credit and markets. Additionally, producing for export markets may include upgrading within the value chain, which means a transition from activities that may be more accessible or with lower barriers to entry to stricter rules (Giuliani et al., 2005). Some upgrading activities entail that low value-added markets are abandoned in favour of value-added exports (Cunningham, 2011).

Broader political economic contexts that are contingent to coloniality in NTFP value chains have also been flagged as causes and reinforcers of marginalisation. Many communities who participate in NTFP trade have gone through and are affected by colonialism and periods of repressive states leading to a variety of issues that continue to affect participation in commercialisation. Southern African NTFPs such as *Hoodia gordonii*, buchu (*Agathosma betulina* and *A. crenulata*), rooibos (*Aspalathus linearis*), and honeybush (*Cyclopia* spp.) are entangled in regional histories of genocide of Indigenous Khoi and San, land and resource enclosures, and racialised landownership and economic freedom patterns (Brown, 2003a; Wynberg, 2004, 2017; Penn, 2005; Ngcukaitobi, 2021; Wynberg et al., 2024). Furthermore, centuries of NTFP exchanges in global markets have not been without the exploitation of Indigenous and local people, violence, and degradation (Peluso, 2009; Sills et al., 2011). For example, gum arabic commercialisation in West Africa depended on the labour of enslaved locals and the destruction of acacia groves (Hanson, 1992). Such histories of colonialism and 'modernity' have changed and influenced the way natural resources are used, known, and accessed in Africa and other regions of the Global South (Peluso, 2009; Sowman & Wynberg, 2014). These studies underscore the need to pay attention to the contextual histories of local people using the plants and to apply a critical approach to visions and promises of biodiversity commercialisation for poorer regions of the world.

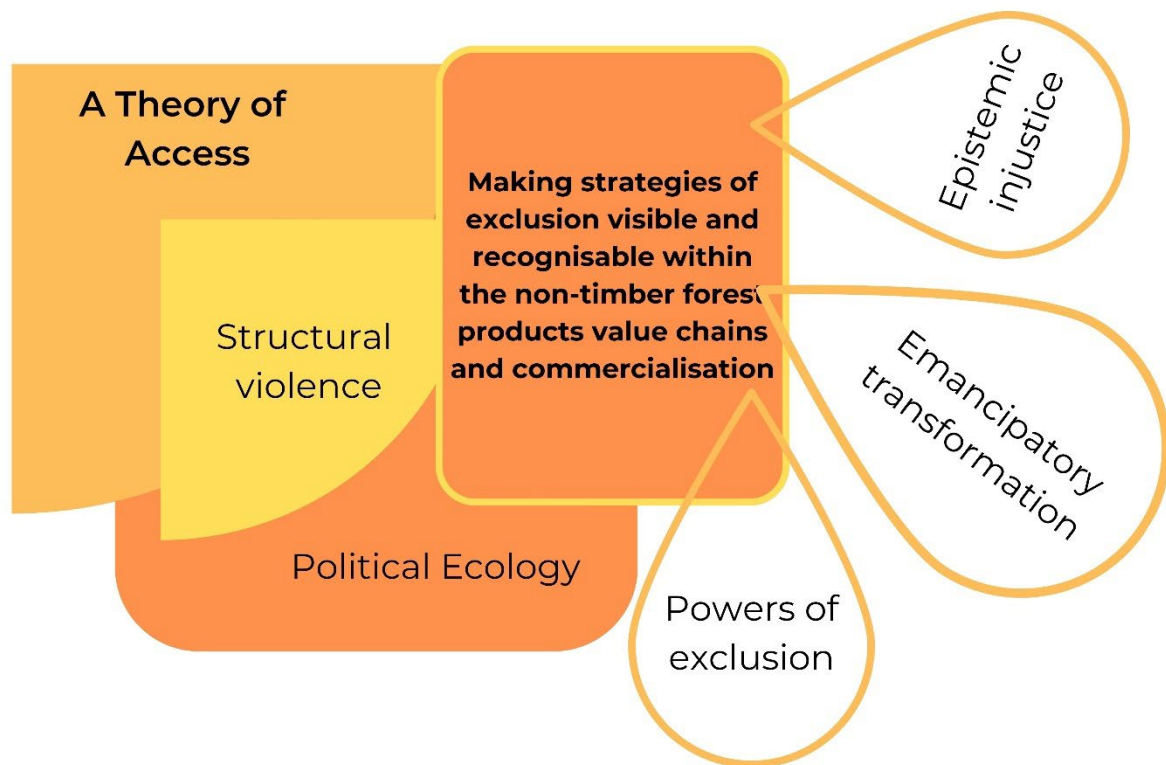
In essence, the research discussed above demonstrates that commercialising NTFPs for the benefit of those living with biodiversity is at odds with the marginalising nature of local product integration into export-oriented markets and formal economies, with coloniality embedded in the global flow of the flora and fauna and neoliberal conservation. Neoliberal conservation is an ideology and technique that is informed by

the premise that nature can be saved on capitalists' terms (Büscher & Dressler, 2012; Büscher et al., 2012). There has been a significant amount of research and still little evidence showing that people in biodiversity-rich regions benefit (socio-economically and ecologically) from commercialisation. In fact, scholars have extinguished the optimism on commercialisation prospects for promoting conservation and development (Southgate et al., 1996; Marshall & Newton, 2003; Belcher & Schreckenberg, 2007; Ros-Tonen, 2012). To this end, de Beer and McDermott (1996) long recommended that making local and regional trade a priority for NTFP markets might resolve some of the complexities surrounding benefits from commercialisation. This view is supported by Shackleton et al. (2007) and Shackleton and Pandey (2013), who also recommend policy recognition of NTFPs that are not intended for global trade but are important for livelihoods. Recommendations have also been made at policy levels, including the need for accessible regulations (Wynberg & Laird, 2007a) and rethinking the role of ABS agreements in curbing social inequality and biodiversity loss (Laird et al., 2020).

Dove (1993) critiques the then new characterisation of forest dwellers and forest dependent people as the "poor" with "valuable" resources. He identifies the use of discourse regarding resources and recommends a de-mystification of the debate over tropical forests by untying the "discursive knots", a phrase he borrows from Rabinow (1986: 253). He goes on to frame what untying the "discursive knots" looks like for better debates and interventions concerning forest dependent people, stating that "these knots are tied by asking, for example, 'How can we help?' instead of 'How are we hurting?', and 'What do we need to give to tropical forest peoples?', instead of 'What have we taken away *from* tropical forest people?'" (Dove, 1993: 22, italics and inner brackets original). These questions propose an approach that centre harvesters, communities, and villagers, and treats the margins as the centre from which equitable benefits might be imagined.

## 2.5 Conceptualising strategies of exclusion in NTFP commercialisation

I elaborated on theories of access and political ecology in Section 2.3 as the overarching conceptual framework underpinning this study. In this section, I present interconnected but distinct bodies of knowledge that were also conceptually valuable for this thesis (Figure 2.1). These bodies of knowledge include structural violence, epistemic injustice, and emancipating transformations. These theoretical perspectives can legitimise and challenge deepening exclusions and the relegation of the poor to the margins of biodiversity commercialisation.



**Figure 2.1** Diagram showing the relationships between the multiple perspectives underpinning this study (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)

### **2.5.1 Access control and maintenance: a theoretical perspective**

Access and exclusion were introduced in the first section of this chapter as two sides of the same coin. Scholars interested in the theory of access have begun to frame the theoretical convergence between access and exclusion. Ribot and Peluso (2020: 301) see the interface with Hall et al.'s (2011) powers of exclusion framework as situated in the access control component of access theory because "to control access is to mediate the access of others and includes the power to exclude". Myers and Hansen (2020) see force, which is one of the powers of exclusion, as a potentially significant contribution to the mechanisms of access, that is, the use of force to benefit from things.

Access theory explains marginalisation in its access control and access maintenance analytical framework. Access control "is the ability to mediate others' access" while access maintenance "requires expending resources or powers to keep a particular sort of resource access open" (Ribot & Peluso, 2003: 158-159). Paralleling Marx's notions of the relations between power and capital, the "access control and maintenance" framework brings class, social differentiation, and subordination into access analysis (Peluso & Ribot, 2020). The framework can be used to illuminate the relations between those who control access and those who maintain access through those with control, making it a valuable analytical schema for revealing subordinating and marginalising mechanisms. Access control and maintenance as an analytical tool in access theory are overlooked in the critique of inequality and marginalisation in NTFP value chains and natural resource management. NTFP research have normatively used access mapping to analyse benefit flows and distribution following Ribot's (1998) study "Theorizing Access: Forest Products along Senegal's Charcoal Commodity Chain", which remains a benchmark study for researchers interested in how benefits are distributed, maintained, and controlled in NTFP value chains. The relationship between control and maintenance has been ignored (Milgroom & Ribot, 2020), and Ribot and Peluso (2020) reinstate it as a gap in the dynamic theory of access, with exclusion as one of the powers used by actors to maintain control or control others access to things.

Lund (1994) reckons that access and control over natural resources are not confined to single institutional domain but are affected by several factors simultaneously, and therefore, a broad contextual analysis that recognises contingent events is necessary to understand complex interactions of different social fields. Hence, the current study further drew from other perspectives, including structural violence, powers of exclusion, epistemic injustice, and emancipatory transformation. The following sections discuss how these perspectives relate to each other and to access theory and political ecology.

### **2.5.1.1 Structural violence**

Structural violence is one of the typologies used by Johan Galtung as a three-layered framework for understanding violence (Galtung, 1969, 1990). The other two typologies are direct and cultural violence (Galtung, 1990). Galtung (1969: p. 171) notes that violence in structures is often done unintentionally but is made visible through consequences, such as hunger and death, and “shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances”. The concept emphasises the violence that takes shape because of unequal power over resource distribution, leading to unjust differences in privilege and power (Galtung, 1969; Farmer, 2004; Evans, 2016).

A study of structural violence reveals exclusion because it deals with unequal power over resource distribution. Hernandez and Galletta (2015) use the lens of structural violence to conduct a historical analysis of the accumulation of economic and social exclusion over time in Southern Sacramento. They reveal how justice or equity-prone policies replicate relations of privilege and exclusion and shift the analysis of injustice from structural conditions to a lack of individual agency (Hernandez & Galletta, 2015; Evans, 2016). In their conceptualisation of a social exclusion theory, Taket et al. (2009) observes that privilege must be understood to deal with exclusion,. Thus, privilege analysis is one of the core heuristic frameworks used in the study of social exclusion. In structural violence literature, Farmer (1996), writing from a health discipline perspective, calls for a more systematic and fine-grained analysis of power and

privilege. Farmer (1996) maintains that while the capacity to suffer is part of being human, not all suffering is equal, and a key determinant of the capacity to suffer is the blurred agency of those experiencing structural violence; for example, those who live in conditions where life choices are structured by exclusionary devices such as poverty, racism, political violence, and sexism (Farmer, 1996, 2004). Others use this blurred or constrained agency as a lens to problematise structural violations of human rights and the extent to which international structures constrain the agency of choices of nation states down to the individual choices of their citizens (Ho, 2007).

One of the factors that leads to structural violence in present history are forms of desocialisation, such as erasure of historical memory, which enables structural conditions that are “sinful” but “nobody’s fault” (Farmer, 1996, 2004). Therefore, Farmer (2004) observes that doing research that reveals structural violence involves fighting amnesia. Fighting the amnesia in the contemporary commercialisation of biodiversity of the Global South involves recognising its reliance on what Byrd et al. (2018) termed economies of dispossession, which refers to the reliance of economic channels on social relations that have long been configured and disposed by imperialism and racial capitalism.

Structural violence allows for a critical analysis of structures and the identification of possible efforts that can transform structures with violence into less violent structures. Using structural violence as part of an explanation of political ecology and access makes it possible to theorise differential access to power and resources as a form of violence, and to shift the category of violence from visible or material aspects to a set of social relations. The use of NTFPs has been associated with direct violence, but it is only recently that scholars have begun using structural violence to enlarge the vocabulary for characterising marginalised groups’ relationships with forests and conservation (Howson, 2018; Mushonga & Matose, 2020).

### 2.5.1.2 Powers of exclusion

Hall et al. (2011) write of land as an excludable resource, and intricately argue, using the context of politics of land transformations in Southeast Asia, that what drives exclusion in landed property is the interaction between market, force, legitimation, and regulation powers (Table 2.2).

**Table 2.2 Powers of exclusion framework. Data derived from Hall et al. (2011)**

<b>Powers</b>	<b>Heuristic meaning to those excluded (quotations in original text)</b>	<b>Heuristic meaning to those privileged (quotations in original text)</b>	<b>Heuristic symbolism</b>
<b>Legitimation</b>	"It's wrong"	"Our lineage is bigger" "We got here first" "I inherited it from my parents"	Presence of moral basis of exclusion
<b>Force</b>	"I will get hurt if I try"	"I am stronger"	Presence of violence/threat of violence
<b>Market</b>	"I can't afford it"	"I paid good money for it, and I have a deed"	Presence of incentives or prices to promote private enterprises
<b>Regulation</b>	"It's not allowed"	"I am stronger"	Presence of state and legal instruments used to set rules

These powers can be exercised by or favour the poor, weak, and strong actors alike because they are invoked in all processes of exclusion that emerge with land transformations. These processes of exclusion were outlined in Section 2.2 and are listed as exclusions based on titled land (licenced), conservation (ambient), crop booms, re-zoning of agricultural land, intimate (kin and neighbours), and collective advocacy movements. Land exclusions and changing land relations are important in NTFP use. The powers of exclusion framework was used in parallel to access frame of property as part of many other mechanisms of access to explain the unequal power dynamics between those with land and those without in the context of NTFP use. NTFPs are entangled in property politics. Ros-Tonen and Kusters (2011: 192) state that NTFP related property is not only limited to land "but also trees and the products derived

from them, and that tenure rights to land and to trees can be separated". Consequently, strengthening land and resource property rights is of critical importance in NTFP management, sustainable use, and commercialisation benefits (Ros-Tonen & Kusters, 2011; Kozanayi et al., 2022; C. M. Shackleton & Pandey, 2013).

### **2.5.1.3 Epistemic injustice**

Epistemic injustice is a type of injustice that was identified by Miranda Fricker (2007: 1) in her work where she explored "the idea that there is a distinctively epistemic kind of injustice". She defines epistemic injustice as a wrong done to someone in their capacity as a knower. The scholarly work on epistemic injustice is an extension of the concept and literature on epistemic violence. Epistemic violence is defined by Spivak (1988: 280) as the "remotely orchestrated, far-flung, and heterogeneous project to constitute the colonial subject as Other". Spivak coined the notion of epistemic violence within a postcolonial frame. As a result, the term has remained largely in feminist and decolonial thought. The most recent contribution to the concept of epistemic violence is offered by Brunner (2021: 204), who emphasises the need to locate "epistemic violence in a specific origin (Europe) and contextualise it within a specific history (colonialism and capitalism) and specific operating modes (racism/sexism, separation, hierarchisation and naturalisation)" rather than using it relatively or loosely.

Fricker (2007) introduces two forms of epistemic injustice, namely testimonial and hermeneutical injustices. Testimonial injustice occurs because of a credibility deficit where a hearer fails to see a speaker as a credible source (Fricker, 2007; Dotson, 2011). An example of testimonial injustice is not being believed because of your social identity (Fricker, 2007). There are two types of testimonial injustice, incidental and systematic injustices. Incidental testimonial injustice is when a prejudice towards a speaker or subject is localised or specific to a moment in such a way that it does not render them vulnerable to any other kinds of injustices. However, if a localised injustice is experienced frequently, the injustice could persist and accumulate in a way that harms the subject or speaker (Fricker, 2007). Systematic testimonial injustice, on the other

hand, harms the speaker or subject based on a systematic prejudice that is connected to potentially many other forms of injustices; for example, identity-based prejudice is likely to be linked to deeper social injustices (Fricker, 2007). On the other hand, incidental injustice could be a dogmatic prejudice against a certain scientific method but does not necessarily occur because the subject is linked to deeper social injustices (Fricker, 2007). The second epistemic injustice is hermeneutical injustice and arises because "our resources for making sense of our worlds can become discriminatory due to an asymmetrical ability of some groups to affect the ways in which a given society makes sense of the world" (Dotson, 2011: p. 29). This results in hermeneutical marginalisation where there is unequal participation in influencing social experience and the production of shared meanings or frames of reference (Fricker, 2007, 2015). The example of hermeneutical injustice given by Fricker (2007) is a situation where one suffers sexual harassment in a society that still lacks the very concept of sexual harassment (where it does not exist in a particular culture).

Dotson (2011) adds a third injustice, contributory injustice, extending Fricker's (2007, 2015) forms of epistemic injustice. Contributory injustice results from the maintenance and use of structurally prejudiced hermeneutical resources leading to epistemic harm (Dotson, 2011). Contributory injustice goes beyond the rhetoric of shared hermeneutic resources from which others then get marginalised. Instead, it problematises the ignorance in shared hermeneutic resources and reveals injustices in not recognising hermeneutic resources that exist among hermeneutically marginalised knowers. Contributory injustice therefore occurs because there are different hermeneutical resources that could be used but are not acknowledged or used as part of ways of knowing the world (Dotson, 2011: 32).

The framing of epistemic injustice that Fricker (2007, 2015) and Dotson (2011) provide moves away from what would be a normative understanding of epistemic injustice in the context of justice literature. For example, justice literature, according to Fricker (2007), focuses on distributive fairness. However, distributive fairness, justice attained where benefits from epistemic goods are distributed fairly among social agents

(Fricker, 2007), fails to address how a person or actor can be wronged in their capacity as a knower. Epistemic injustice theoretical perspectives are instrumental in navigating epistemic exclusions in the accumulation of mainstream knowledge related to the use of NTFPs and for broadening the ways in which knowledge is accounted for in the commercialisation of such NTFPs.

#### **2.5.1.4 Emancipating transformation**

Leff (2015a) writes of the history of political ecology in Latin America as that of emancipation. He points to different forms of emancipation, including emancipation from being subjected to central and external powers, the imposition of modern thinking, and from a global economic system that disrupts livelihoods (Leff, 2015b, a). Stirling (2014) conceptualisation of emancipatory transformations to sustainability calls for change that is emancipatory for the most marginalised. This kind of transformation is at once structural, systematic, and enabling. Structural approaches focus on changes to underlying foundations that assemble economy, politics, and society. Systematic approaches focus on features of the system, such as actors or institutions, that may be instrumental for focused change. Enabling approaches seek a transformative process that is less prone to manipulation by powerful actors and adopt a more optimistic and activist stance (Scoones et al., 2018, 2020). What is important about this literature is how it points out pathways to these complementary transformations, that is, “taking diverse knowledges seriously, taking politics seriously”, and “taking plural pathways seriously” (Scoones et al., 2020: 70). Leff (2012), on the other hand, speaks of plotting the emancipation strategy that is location specific. For Leff (2012, 2015), focusing on emancipation demands new ways of thinking that arise from subjected places, a re-territorialisation of own cultural being and constructing own paths to sustainability, and equality in difference. He warns however that “difference of cultural values and visions does not become a political force by virtue of their ontological and ethical principles *per se*. Rather, to legitimise differences that privilege new values and empower cultural beings hitherto subjugated” (Leff, 2015: 53, italics original).

The literature on emancipation grounded this study on exclusion into transformative change debates and into a vantage point of the marginalised. Transformative change is a way of creating alternative futures and is receiving attention in sustainability and global environmental change debates where scholars are problematising the depoliticised notion of transformations in sustainability policy (Stirling, 2014; Scoones et al., 2018, 2020; Bennett et al., 2019). The emancipation debates in political ecology presented by Leff (2012, 2015) deal with issues of global hegemony and forced homogenisation that are important in unravelling marginalisation in NTFP commercialisation.

## **2.6 Conclusion**

Understanding the strategies of exclusion in NTFP commercialisation may be instrumental to broadening the frame of benefits and ways of subordination in the value chain. This chapter reviewed the literature and theoretical frameworks that were used to answer the study questions and objectives. Political ecology was introduced as an overarching framework because it provides a rounded approach for the analysis of commercialisation and its impact on marginalised groups and local markets. The next chapter discusses methods and methodology.

## **CHAPTER 3**

### **METHODOLOGY AND METHODS**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter presents the research design, approach, and methods used to address the main research question. I adopted a qualitative and ethnographic approach to the research and used a variety of data collection methods to ensure triangulation. These methods included formal and informal interviews, transect walks, observations, and extensive use of archival sources. The interviews were audio recorded, except for where consent was not granted, and I kept a digital journal with detailed notes during the field work. The first section in this chapter provides a description of the qualitative approach and the epistemological perspectives that informed this research. The second section looks at the study design, and the criteria for selecting participants. The third section describes the research methods, data collection, and management tools used in this study. The fourth section describes the approach to data analysis. The fifth section discusses the ethical considerations and limitations, including the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the overall study.

#### **3.2 Research approach and philosophical underpinnings**

This section discusses the research approaches and philosophical perspectives used in designing this study. It focuses on how qualitative research paradigms, critical ethnography, and standpoint theory as key perspectives and paradigms informed this research.

##### **3.2.1 Qualitative research paradigms**

Qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings to make sense of and interpret phenomena using meanings people bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011).

It explores the human elements of a given topic to examine how individuals experience and see the world (Given, 2008). A critical research epistemological perspective and paradigm was adopted for this research. Choosing an epistemological perspective for qualitative research is important as it provides lenses for the types of questions, data, and issues that are important to examine (Creswell, 2007). This study followed a critical perspective because it provided an explicit focus on injustices and marginalities, while interpretive and postmodern perspectives apply more implicit focus. The three epistemological perspectives are described in the following subsections.

### **3.2.1.1 Critical inquiry**

I adopted a critical approach because the aim of this study was to make visible the dynamics that result in the marginalisation and oppression of those without power (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). The critical approach to qualitative research draws from a variety of theories and approaches, such as critical race theory, critical ethnography, queer theory, feminist theory, and postcolonial theory. This kind of research is founded on the basic assumption that all thought is mediated by power relations that are socially constructed and history based, with the research attempting to confront injustices (Kincheloe & McLaren, 2011). Critical researchers critique existing conditions and through critique they aim to bring change (Patton, 2016). Notwithstanding its strength, critical research is criticised for labelling participants as belonging to a marginalised group and being powerless, which imposes homogenous notions of identity and can maintain the status quo (Scotland, 2012). To this end, collaborations with the marginalised, issues of researcher positionality, and reflexivity throughout the research process are fundamental.

### **3.2.1.2 Alternatives to the critical inquiry**

Interpretive and postmodern inquiry were not adopted for this study because compared to critical inquiry they lack an intent to address political and social reality. Interpretive qualitative research adopts a non-realism position (Smith, 1992; Given,

2008); what distinguishes it from other forms of qualitative research is that while other forms hold that certain methods must be employed, the interpretive inquiry does not accept that certain techniques are a required minimum. The rigour of interpretive research depends on how the inquirer makes a case for the procedures they employ (Given, 2008). Interpretive inquiry has been criticised for not addressing political impacts on knowledge and social reality, and therefore, lacks an intent to contribute to social change or the empowerment of researched societies (Mack, 2010). Postmodern research is rooted in postmodernism (Lyotard, 1979) and aims to transcend the limitations of the modernist view that has dominated academic discourses since enlightenment. As such, postmodernism in social sciences is strongly associated with approaches such as discourse analysis, social constructivism, post-structuralism, critical theory, and queer theory (Given, 2008; Grbich, 2013). Postmodern inquiry is hailed for questioning and revealing crises of representation (Gubrium & Holstein, 2012).

### **3.2.2 Standpoint theory**

Standpoint theory draws from feminist epistemologies and provides a research frame that centres the experiences of the marginalised or “start[s] out from the daily lives of oppressed groups, but do not settle for merely conventional ethnographies, valuable as these can be in standpoint projects. Rather, they set out to explain what oppressed groups need and want to know about why and how so much poverty and misery accumulate in their daily lives while riches and pleasures accumulate in the daily lives of dominant groups”(Harding, 2009: 195). Collins (2019) highlights the role of standpoint epistemologies in validating the experiences of marginalised groups for purposes of accepting “subordinated people as a source of epistemic agency” and allowing different groups of people to articulate how they see the world or are affected by an injustice (Collins, 2019: 136). This study engaged with standpoint theory more on its methodological strength, which allowed the research to be conceptualised from the lives of subordinated groups rather than from what is missing in research or philosophy (Harding, 2009). The theory therefore framed the tone of this thesis, which

is overtly biased towards highlighting the position of communities and a deep-seated analysis of their experiences with honeybush. Standpoint theory perspectives see the margins as the centre and a place where change can be forged (hooks, 1984, 1989). This perspective was important for positioning the thesis to be sensitive to the delicate terrain of victimising the marginalised in the process of pointing to injustices.

### **3.2.3 In-depth case study**

A qualitative case study approach is essential for exploring complex problems (Yin, 2003; Creswell, 2014). A case study can be defined as an empirical inquiry for investigating a phenomenon in depth and within its real-life context (Yin, 2009). Case studies are a widely used methodology in many research fields. A case study approach allowed this study to navigate exclusion in NTFP commercialisation in a holistic manner. Participants' experiential knowledge of honeybush harvesting production and trade were interrogated with a variety of qualitative methods to triangulate findings. Stake (2008) advises that a single case gains credibility by thoroughly and continuously triangulating the descriptions and interpretations over the period of study. This continuous triangulation was used to ensure the rigour of the findings.

### **3.2.4 Critical ethnography**

Critical ethnography can be defined as "a research methodology through which social, cultural, political, and economic issues can be interpreted and represented to illustrate the processes of oppression and engage people in addressing them" (Given, 2008: 148). This form of ethnography dates to the 1970s at the University of Birmingham's Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in England and started with an interest in "trying theory to reflect experience" (Quantz, 1992: 455). In his path-paving book "Doing Critical Ethnography", Jim Thomas (1993: 2) describes the role of critical ethnographers as to "describe, analyse, and open to scrutiny otherwise hidden agendas, power centres, and assumptions that inhibit, repress, and constrain". The aim

in critical ethnography is to equip participants with an awareness of the ways in which their daily lives are constructed, to create a sensitivity around power differentials, and to provide intellectual and practical resources for social transformation (Holmes & Smyth, 2011). Critical ethnography research breaks from traditional ethnography in that it takes a political stance with those who are excluded by overtly seeking to address injustices (May, 1997; Madison, 2012). I adopted critical ethnography as an approach because it added an explicit political focus (Given, 2008). Traditional ethnography places emphasis on cultural description and analysis of meanings, but critical ethnography goes beyond this tradition by adding to it “a reflective process of choosing between conceptual alternatives and making value-laden judgements of meaning and method to challenge research, policy, and other forms of human activity” (Thomas & O’Maolchatha, 1989: 147).

#### **3.2.4.1 Engaged scholarship and ethnographic fieldwork**

Between March and April 2019, I conducted a scoping process with 12 key informants. After the scoping phase, I established that although honeybush was selected as a wild product of interest for commercialisation policies, its social aspects were still not well understood. This led to a narrowing of the research to specific social aspects and a focus on harvester communities. I also attended the Honeybush Community of Practice (HCOP), which is a multistakeholder platform established by the Western Cape and Eastern Cape provincial governments for coordinated honeybush sector development (Horn & Ackhurst, 2019). I participated in the HCOP before and during data collection, and this helped determine participants for the study and priorities for the sector, while also validating the need for a socially oriented study of honeybush. Furthermore, a data collection agreement was established and discussed between the University of Cape Town and Living Lands, a not-for-profit organisation based in the Langkloof region, which is the area where most honeybush commercialisation activity has taken place. I lived with Living Lands for six months in 2019 and collected data through their assistance and access to long-established relationships. After the scoping phase and

the first month of fieldwork with Living Lands in July 2019, it was apparent that harvester communities had not been engaged in research, beyond sharing harvesting techniques, and therefore, we needed to establish their experiences with honeybush use. It was hard to identify where they were based because they had not been engaged in this manner, and this was the challenge that government and industry were also facing at the time. I therefore started with informal conversations with a few harvesters and landowners with whom Living Lands had built relationships.

I also went to the settlements where those involved in honeybush lived. To have informal conversations about the space they inhabit and their harvest and use of honeybush. These conversations first happened with community leaders in the settlements. The aim was to hear their perspectives on honeybush, for them to point us to harvesters and cooperatives, and to introduce ourselves and the study to leaders in the area. Visiting the settlements in July 2019 further established that the voices and views of harvester communities had been neglected in mainstream knowledge production and policy decisions. Their stories of honeybush and how they had witnessed unjust changes over time became a point of departure into honeybush history. Critical ethnography was therefore well suited because of its bias towards illustrating and addressing oppression, and how it is premised on how the structure and content of culture make life unnecessarily unfair for some people (Thomas & O'Maolchatha, 1989; Thomas, 2011). The study also organically culminated into an engaged scholarship (see Appendix 4 for an outline engaged scholarship activities). Engaged scholarship bridges the gap between academia and practitioners while adhering to the standards of quality scholarship (van Marrewijk & Dessing, 2019).

#### **3.2.4.2 Positionality and reflexivity**

Reflexivity is defined as “an awareness of the ways in which the researcher as an individual with a particular social identity and background has an impact on the research process” (Robson, 2002: 22). It allows researchers to see power dynamics in the research process, unveil biases and assumptions, and negotiate unique socio-

cultural and political contexts (Mao et al., 2016). The main things I had to reflect on were my race, belonging, and silent objects that constantly wage war against Black bodies in colonial farming landscapes. I had to be aware of these discomforts and manage how I reacted as I collected data and adapted to the lifestyle of the area. The kind of reflexivity I adopted was what Hamdan (2009) refers to as the reflexivity of discomfort, which transpires from an understanding of self. I experienced the discomfort of being tribalised and racialised. The tribalism was linked to being born to a Zulu nation that is considered violent and xenophobic. Three xenophobic attacks occurred nationwide between 2019 and 2020 during my fieldwork, and the June 2021 looting that occurred in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng provinces.<sup>3</sup> Because of these events, I found myself carrying shame as in the Langkloof, tribal and race stereotypes are still an everyday norm. At the same time, these racial and tribal positionalities made me more attentive and sensitive to subtle exclusions in honeybush use. On the other hand, being Black was advantageous in terms of relatability, not only because of race but also because I did not need to learn or immerse myself in the social lifestyle, popular culture, and mundane everyday activities since the lifestyles of participants were similar to my upbringing and normal surroundings. Furthermore, being a woman helped me connect more easily with female participants and provided an advantage with male participants, who may have felt less threatened by my presence as a stranger in their spaces, particularly among landowners who might be less welcoming to a Black male researcher. These gender dynamics were also observed by officials from Living Lands, who shared that landowners were more welcoming to women than their white male colleagues, and that their Black colleagues faced some level of prejudice and micro-aggressions. Doing ethnographic fieldwork as a woman can also come with encounters of threats of sexual violence (Bucerius & Urbanik, 2019). In this regard, I experienced threats of rape, death, and unwanted advances from men while doing the

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<sup>3</sup> See article on looting events: <https://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2022-07-07-one-year-after-one-of-the-countrys-darkest-eight-days/>

fieldwork, which added a level of fear and imposed restrictions on where I could walk and how much time I could spend outside.

### **3.2.4.3 A statement on being a researcher and the researched**

Researchers who belong to the groups that are marginalised in their societies have begun to reflect on the critical intersection of being a researcher and being researched in ethnographic research. This raises several issues, such as overidentifying with those we research, which requires that such researchers be aware of the particularity of this positionality in influencing questions and the trajectory of the research (Henson, 2020; Barnes, 2021). It also means that the normative positionality of the researcher that is often declared by those who occupy dominance in their everyday lives, a positionality of privilege in comparison to the marginalised they research, is not as clear cut because the marginalising factors faced by participants are embodied by the researchers, who cannot divorce themselves from similar lived marginalities (Henson, 2020; Isoke, 2021). To this end, researchers who are researched are urged to be wary of different material conditions experienced by participants because they can easily ignore situated and contextual marginalising factors of the spaces they research. I considered and reflected on being a researcher and the researched throughout the research journey to enable awareness of my own influence or imposition on the findings.

## **3.3 Study design**

This section discusses the research methods, data collection tools, data management, and data analysis used in this study.

### **3.3.1 Selection of participants**

Sampling in qualitative research is “set out to build a sample that includes people (or settings)” and selected with the goal of “gaining a deep understanding of some phenomenon experienced by a carefully selected group of people” (Maykut &

Morehouse, 1994, p. 56). I used the maximum variation sampling technique, which is a purposive sampling tool that allows for a search of cases or individuals with a broad perspective on a researched phenomenon (Palys, 2008). Additionally, maximum variation sampling seeks out participants or settings that represent the greatest differences in the researched phenomenon (Taylor et al., 1984). I used a few strategies to find maximum variation in the sample. First, in July 2019, I spent the first month of fieldwork listening to various people and observing the landscape, and this gave me a clearer picture of who is involved in honeybush use. With the assistance of Living Lands and some other actors I had met, I was then able to select the first set of key participants. Snowball sampling was then applied to identify more participants. I used maximum variation sampling, and therefore, the number of participants interviewed was not intended for probability analysis; participants were selected and deselected using snowballing until the data collected reached a saturation point to the satisfaction of the phenomenon being studied. Participants lists are attached in Appendix 2A-2E.

### **3.3.2 Research methods**

I used primary and secondary sources of data. Primary sources of data included interviews, participant observations, and transect walks. Secondary sources of data included data from government records, archival records, and systematic reviews. Multiple methods were triangulated to verify claims and ensure data quality. Table 3.1 outlines the study methods, tools, and data management techniques used in the study, and the following subsections elaborate on these.

**Table 3.1 Methods and sampling tools used in the current study**

<b>Method</b>	<b>Research tools</b>	<b>Sampling</b>	<b>Sample</b>
<b>Interviews</b>	Semi-structured & open-ended questions, life history interviews	Purposive/maximum variation	76
<b>Participant observation</b>	Informal interviews, observations	Purposive/snowballing	42 recorded observations
<b>Transect walks</b>	Informal interviews, observations, imagery	Purposive/maximum variation	2
<b>Archival material</b>	Historiographic reading of archives	Purposive	National Archives of South Africa (NASA): (1800-2020)
<b>Government organisational records</b>	Ethnographic survey of permit records	Purposive	47

### **3.3.2.1 Participant observations**

Participant observation is a qualitative data collection tool that often takes the form of unstructured interactive experiences that is conducted by a researcher to uncover cognitive elements, norms, and rules that underlie the observable behaviour (Jorgensen, 1989; Taylor, 2002; Bernard, 2006). Participant observation differs from direct observation because the latter is a quantitative technique in which the observer is explicitly counting the frequency and/or intensity of specific behaviours or events or mapping the social composition in a specific setting. I used participant observation as the main method to gather ethnographic data. I lived in the study area for 14 months and remained connected to provincial and local stakeholder meetings and activities between 2018 and 2021. All key observations and informal interviews were recorded for use as part of the collected data. Participant observations were done during transect walks, harvesting with a team in one of the settlements, living in the area, and landscape walks I did with local residents. These observations were performed informally and were recorded in field notes. Participant observations enhanced the quality of the data and analysis and enabled the formulation of new research questions

and themes throughout the study. These advantages have been widely noted in qualitative research (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2011).

### **3.3.2.2 Archival research**

Archival research was instrumental in bringing the documented memory of honeybush to the study. I used the National Archives of South Africa (NASA), which has extensive records on honeybush tea. Other archival material was sourced from digital archive sources, including the Internet Archive,<sup>4</sup> which houses a variety of digital archive repositories from across the globe. Archival research involves a search for traces of what remains of people and events from the past (Moore, 2010). Archives are instrumental in preserving and providing primary sources of data, such as collections of letters, journals, newspaper clippings, broadcasts, published writings, institutional records, speeches, and artefacts (Harris, 2018). I was interested in finding information about the following topics in the archive:

- The role and space of honeybush tea in the tea culture of the Cape Colony;
- Epistemological accounts of honeybush;
- Honeybush use;
- Actors who are preserved in the memory of honeybush and those who are not; and
- Influences of conservation and state interventions on access and general governance of honeybush use.

The steps used to search the archive are shown and explained in Figures 3.1–3.4. I started the search using various search phrases. I started with “honeybush”, which yielded no results, and I then used ‘bush tea’, which was found in five documents (Figure 3.1).

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<sup>4</sup> <https://archive.org>

National Archives of South Africa (NASA)						
Database: Cape Town Archives Repository						
NAAIRS - Result Summary						
<a href="#">New Query</a>	<a href="#">Refine Query</a>	<a href="#">Saved Queries</a>	<a href="#">Multiple Documents</a>	<a href="#">Clear Multiple Document List</a>	<a href="#">Select Page</a>	<a href="#">Clear Page</a> <a href="#">Change Database</a>
<b>Please Note:</b>	For the purposes of enquiries about specific archives or the ordering of copies, it is essential to provide the full information in the SOURCE, VOLUME and REFERENCE fields.					
Result Pages: 1						
SELECT	SOURCE	VOLUME NO	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION	BEGIN DATE	END DATE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">AGR</a>	<a href="#">611</a>	<a href="#">T83</a>	<a href="#">CAPE BUSH TEA - ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY.</a>	<a href="#">1907</a>	<a href="#">1910</a>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">LND</a>	<a href="#">1/873</a>	<a href="#">L16115</a>	<a href="#">APPLICATION FROM COLOURED INHABITANTS OF HAARLEM FOR PERMISSION TO</a>	<a href="#">1903</a>	<a href="#">1904</a>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">AGR</a>	<a href="#">746</a>	<a href="#">F2491</a>	<a href="#">MIDLAND CONSERVANCY, KNYSNA, PERMISSION TO COLLECT WILD BUSH TEA AT</a>	<a href="#">1896</a>	<a href="#">1896</a>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">AGR</a>	<a href="#">751</a>	<a href="#">F2985</a>	<a href="#">WESTERN CONSERVANCY, BUSH TEA AND BOOCHU.</a>	<a href="#">1898</a>	<a href="#">1898</a>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">AGR</a>	<a href="#">763</a>	<a href="#">A37</a>	<a href="#">LICENCE TO GATHER FLOWERS, BUSH TEA AND BUCHU IN THE DIVISION OF</a>	<a href="#">1904</a>	<a href="#">1905</a>
Result Pages: 1						

**Figure 3.1 Results from the first honeybush search phrases**

The search phrases “*Cyclopia*”, “*Clopia*”, “Cape tea” and “Theodor Caspareuthus” were actioned after noticing the terminology used during the analysis of first five documents on bush tea. I then searched for “*Cyclopia*” and “*Clopia*”, which was in two documents (Figure 3.2). The second search led to a search for “Theodor Caspareuthus”, the first colonial merchant to produce a commercial honeybush brand, Caspa *Cyclopia* Tea. This second search led to his personal documents and to more files on honeybush tea (Figure 3.3). Lastly, searching for ‘Cape tea’ led to two documents (Figure 3.4).

National Archives of South Africa (NASA)						
Database: Cape Town Archives Repository						
NAAIRS - Result Summary						
<a href="#">New Query</a>	<a href="#">Saved Queries</a>	<a href="#">Multiple Documents</a>	<a href="#">Clear Multiple Document List</a>	<a href="#">Select Page</a>	<a href="#">Clear Page</a>	<a href="#">Change Database</a>
<b>Please Note:</b>	For the purposes of enquiries about specific archives or the ordering of copies, it is essential to provide the full information in the SOURCE, VOLUME and REFERENCE fields.					
Result Pages: 1						
SELECT	SOURCE	VOLUME NO	REFERENCE	DESCRIPTION	BEGIN DATE	END DATE
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">AGR</a>	<a href="#">621</a>	<a href="#">T121</a>	<a href="#">CYCLOPIA TEA.</a>	<a href="#">1907</a>	<a href="#">1907</a>
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">AG</a>	<a href="#">1662</a>	<a href="#">58/229</a>	<a href="#">CASPAREUTHUS, T. APPLICATION FOR LETTERS PATENT FOR AN INVENTION FOR</a>	<a href="#">1906</a>	<a href="#">1907</a>
Result Pages: 1						

**Figure 3.2 Results from second honeybush search phrases**

National Archives of South Africa (NASA)							
Database: Cape Town Archives Repository							
NAAIRS - Result Summary							
<a href="#">New Query</a>	<a href="#">Refine Query</a>	<a href="#">Saved Queries</a>	<a href="#">Multiple Documents</a>	<a href="#">Clear Multiple Document List</a>	<a href="#">Select Page</a>	<a href="#">Clear Page</a>	<a href="#">Change Database</a>
<b>Please Note:</b>	For the purposes of enquiries about specific archives or the ordering of copies, it is essential to provide the full information in the SOURCE, VOLUME and REFERENCE fields.						
Result Pages: 1							
<u>SELECT</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>VOLUME NO</u>	<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>BEGIN DATE</u>	<u>END DATE</u>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">CSC</a>	<a href="#">2/6/1284</a>	<a href="#">15</a>	<a href="#">MOTION. PETITION OF THEODOR ROBERT REINHOLD CASPAREUTHUS OF ROSEBANK</a>	<a href="#">1906</a>	<a href="#">1906</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">CSC</a>	<a href="#">2/6/1284</a>	<a href="#">15</a>	<a href="#">MOTION. PETITION OF THEODOR ROBERT REINHOLD CASPAREUTHUS OF ROSEBANK</a>	<a href="#">1906</a>	<a href="#">1906</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">MOOC</a>	<a href="#">6/9/24129</a>	<a href="#">5815/56</a>	<a href="#">CASPAREUTHUS, ANN KATHLEEN, FORMERLY ZULCH, BORN KRIEL, ESTATE</a>	<a href="#">1956</a>	<a href="#">1956</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">AG</a>	<a href="#">1662</a>	<a href="#">58/229</a>	<a href="#">CASPAREUTHUS, T. APPLICATION FOR LETTERS PATENT FOR AN INVENTION FOR</a>	<a href="#">1906</a>	<a href="#">1907</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">3/KWT</a>	<a href="#">4/1/174</a>	<a href="#">M9.9</a>	<a href="#">RE VISIT OF SOUTH-AFRICAN AIRMAN, LIEUTENANT RE CASPAREUTHUS,</a>	<a href="#">1930</a>	<a href="#">1930</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">CO</a>	<a href="#">8560</a>	<a href="#">22</a>	<a href="#">APPLICATION FOR LETTERS OF NATURALIZATION, THEODOR ROBERT REINHOLD</a>	<a href="#">1899</a>	<a href="#">1899</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">CO</a>	<a href="#">8560</a>	<a href="#">22</a>	<a href="#">APPLICATION FOR LETTERS OF NATURALIZATION, APPLICATION FOR COPY OF</a>	<a href="#">1902</a>	<a href="#">1902</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">3/CT</a>	<a href="#">4/1/4247</a>	<a href="#">E303/4</a>	<a href="#">OFFENSIVE TRADERS: APPLICATIONS: THEO CASPAREUTHUS: SOAP FACTORY, 6</a>	<a href="#">1922</a>	<a href="#">1922</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">DOC</a>	<a href="#">4/1/1111</a>	<a href="#">1011</a>	<a href="#">MORTGAGE BOND, THEODOR ROBERT REINHOLD CASPAREUTHUS,</a>	<a href="#">1905</a>	<a href="#">1905</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">DOC</a>	<a href="#">4/1/1172</a>	<a href="#">18</a>	<a href="#">MORTGAGE BOND, THEODOR ROBERT REINHOLD CASPAREUTHUS,</a>	<a href="#">1906</a>	<a href="#">1906</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">MOOC</a>	<a href="#">6/9/4539</a>	<a href="#">44457</a>	<a href="#">CASPAREUTHUS, ADA CATHERINE, NEE KRUGER, ESTATE PAPERS,</a>	<a href="#">1935</a>	<a href="#">1935</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">DOC</a>	<a href="#">4/1/1257</a>	<a href="#">2143</a>	<a href="#">MORTGAGE BOND, THEODOR ROBERT REINHOLD CASPAREUTHUS,</a>	<a href="#">1907</a>	<a href="#">1907</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">MOOC</a>	<a href="#">6/9/10469</a>	<a href="#">88816</a>	<a href="#">CASPAREUTHUS, THEODOR, ESTATE PAPERS,</a>	<a href="#">1943</a>	<a href="#">1943</a>	
Result Pages: 1							

**Figure 3.3 Results from third honeybush search phrases**

National Archives of South Africa (NASA)							
Database: Cape Town Archives Repository							
NAAIRS - Result Summary							
<a href="#">New Query</a>	<a href="#">Saved Queries</a>	<a href="#">Multiple Documents</a>	<a href="#">Clear Multiple Document List</a>	<a href="#">Select Page</a>	<a href="#">Clear Page</a>	<a href="#">Change Database</a>	
<b>Please Note:</b>	For the purposes of enquiries about specific archives or the ordering of copies, it is essential to provide the full information in the SOURCE, VOLUME and REFERENCE fields.						
Result Pages: 1							
<u>SELECT</u>	<u>SOURCE</u>	<u>VOLUME NO</u>	<u>REFERENCE</u>	<u>DESCRIPTION</u>	<u>BEGIN DATE</u>	<u>END DATE</u>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">AGR</a>	<a href="#">225</a>	<a href="#">1973</a>	<a href="#">CAPE TEA - JH TENNANT'S CORRESPONDENCE - ANALYSIS,</a>	<a href="#">1894</a>	<a href="#">1894</a>	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<a href="#">GH</a>	<a href="#">1/467</a>	<a href="#">52</a>	<a href="#">PAPERS RECEIVED FROM SECRETARY OF STATE, LONDON: GENERAL DESPATCHES</a>	<a href="#">1900</a>	<a href="#">1900</a>	
Result Pages: 1							

**Figure 3.4 Results from fourth honeybush search phrases**

I then did broad searches using the phrases “tea”, which was in 450 documents, “midlands conservancy”, which was in 76 documents, “nature conservation”, which was in 236 documents, “Langkloof”, which was in 516 documents, “forest company”, which was in three documents, and “forest”, which was in 1 876 documents. These phrases were searched to understand the context and history of socio-ecological changes and

political economic history of the study area. Since these documents represented the entire Cape Colony (Northern Cape, Western Cape, and Eastern Cape provinces), only documents with clear indications of links to the study area and related to the research aims and objectives were requested for review.

### **3.3.2.3 *Transect walks***

Two transect walks were conducted in 2019, one in Haarlem (Western Cape) and the other in Misgund (Eastern Cape). These were done because at the time, there was a lack of research and information about the harvester communities. Using a transect walk as a method enabled me to produce knowledge that helped me understand the kinds of marginality that exist in the landscapes beyond the normative demographics produced by Statistics South Africa. A transect walk method is a participatory rural appraisal tool. Participatory rural appraisal tools are used to better understand the constraints in which communities operate, and more importantly, to understand places at the centre of the research and the people who should be beneficiaries of the research outcome (Chambers, 1994; Walker et al., 1995; Le De et al., 2015). A transect plan was discussed with key informants prior to the data collection day.

### **3.3.2.4 *Interviews***

Key informant, in-depth, and life history interviews were also conducted. Informal interviews took place at all stages of data collection as follow-ups or to complement participant observations and transect walks. The interviews I refer to in this subsection are those where there was a clear understanding between me and the participant that they were being interviewed. For ethical purposes, it was important to make a distinction between formal and informal interviews to ensure issues of consent were properly respected. Interviews were discontinued when saturation and maximum variation were reached. All interviews were history oriented because I wanted to detect and piece together changes in the use of honeybush.

#### *3.3.2.4.1 Key informant interviews*

A total of 22 key informants were purposively selected based on their roles in the honeybush trade. A key informant is “an expert source of information” (Marshall, 1996: 1). Key informant interviews are interviews conducted with key role players in a researched phenomenon, and their competency is measured by the time and experience they have in a community and organisation, and the knowledge they have about specific topics (Fetterman, 1998, 2010). Key informant interviews provided broad insights into the topic of honeybush use and the history of the study area. Key informants generally “increased knowledge of the problem”(Tremblay, 1957: 14), and they were the participants I returned to for clarity and follow-up.

#### *3.3.2.4.2 In-depth interviews*

A total of 36 in-depth interviews were conducted using semi-structured interviews. Semi-structured interviews are the most common type of in-depth interviews (Cook, 2008) and can be defined as interviews that unfold in a conversational manner that allow participants to explore topics they feel are important (Kvale, 1996; Clifford et al., 2016). Different sets of semi-structured and guiding questions were developed for key informants, harvesters, landowners, cooperatives, traders, and processing facilities personnel (see Appendix 3A-3D). The interviews were conversational and were guided by thematic questions to focus and direct the conversation. Semi-structured interviews are distinguished from structured interviews in that there is no emphasis on preconceived topics or questions (Cook, 2008). In-depth interviews have been criticised for not allowing full investigation of a topic as both the participant and researcher are limited by how well they can recall and articulate their experiences. As such, they are often conducted alongside other forms of data collection, such as observations and document analysis, to produce a rich account of a phenomenon (Cook, 2008).

#### 3.3.2.4.3 *Life history interviews*

Life history interviewing is a research method that forms part of a wide range of biographical methods designed to access people's narrative accounts of their world and the changes that have occurred and live in their memory (Jackson & Russell, 2018). Although the other interview methods I used in this study are historically oriented, they differ from a life history approach in that they provide a snapshot of history that is often outside context, such as social sequences in longitudinal studies (Payne & Payne, 2004). However, a life history interview seeks to reconstruct the events in the participants' lives and they "are invited to talk about their pasts, giving their own personal and unique version of their experience" (Payne & Payne, 2004. p. 23). This approach, along with oral history interviews, was critical for reaching out to members who might be ignored in the research, for example, the elderly and settlements that did not seem to engage directly with honeybush. A total of 18 life history interviews were conducted. These interviews ranged from an hour to four hours. Most participants were visited twice, and I spent a significant amount of time in their areas and in landscape activities or socials. These areas were Haarlem, Misgund, and Tweeriviere. I spent more time in these areas than in other areas where I conducted once-off in-depth interviews or key informant interviews for triangulation purposes. Spending time in areas where I did life histories allowed me to have a deeper understanding of the participants' context and gave me time to build trust and relationships. Some of the participants were related, and I learned this as I interviewed them individually. This interconnectedness became a strength of the biographical data as it unintendedly brought the qualities of family case histories, which made the data richer. Life histories were extended and complemented with archival research.

### **3.3.3 Data collection tools**

The data collection tools or techniques that were used in this study included semi-structured questions, informal interviews, imagery, and observations. Guiding

questions were designed for conducting the interviews (see Appendices 3A-3D). These included questions for harvesters, key informants, landowners, companies, and cooperatives. The questions were thematically designed based on data produced during the research scoping between March and April 2019 and during the first month of ethnographic field work and were continually improved throughout data collection between June and December 2019.

Observations and informal interviews are the most common ethnographic fieldwork tools as they allow for casual conversations with a specific but implicit research agenda (Fetterman, 2010). I used structured and unstructured observations. The semi-designed observations were those that were linked to harvesting activities, transect walks, and honeybush stakeholder meetings. Unstructured observations were my lived experiences that were drawn from being in the study area for a long period and during interviews. Informal observations were the most critical because they resulted in more questions, which I informally asked residents with whom I had built a relationship. These observations also helped inform the archival research, which enhanced understanding of observed events. My naivety about the lived impact of South African history in commercial farming areas was useful as it triggered emotions in me that required reflection, questioning, and formulated themes for archival research. I kept a digital journal of observations. Observation allowed for a study of honeybush in its social world in ways that interviews could not have achieved. Lastly, informal interviews were conducted throughout the data collection period to support observations and transect walks and were instrumental for first visits to settlements and farms.

#### **3.3.4 Data management tools**

The data management tools used in this study included field notes, a tape recorder, and ATLAS.ti software. These are discussed in the following subsections.

#### **3.3.4.1 *Tape recorder and field notes***

I used a tape recorder to record verbal data. The tape recorder was useful as it allowed me to be more engaged in the conversation without having to use a pen and paper to capture what was being discussed during the interviews (Fetterman, 1998). The tape recorder was always used with informed consent from the participants. I also used field notes as a data management tool. I kept a digital document in which I wrote extensive field notes, reflections after interviews and transect walks, and key observations.

#### **3.3.4.2 *ATLAS.ti software***

I used ATLAS.ti computer software to organise and manage data, including transcripts, archival records and audio recordings. I also used the software to identify patterns and themes among key participant groups such as harvesters, cooperatives, and processing facilities. ATLAS.ti has long been used in various disciplines. The software is intended to support qualitative reasoning processes. It differs from other statistical packages such as SPSS and NVivo, which are designed for both the qualitative and quantitative reasoning processes, in that it is designed with data analysis and coding language that prioritise qualitative research and is thus designed to maintain and prioritise qualitative rigour (Dowling, 2008; Friese, 2012).

### **3.4 Approach to data analysis**

A large volume of data was collected from different sources. Most of the data were audio recorded and some were in a written format. Audio recorded interviews were either in English, Afrikaans, or isiXhosa languages. All recorded interviews were transcribed and translated, where applicable. Translators were intentionally sourced from a Coloured community for purposes of relatability and were asked to pay close attention to meanings that could come through sounds and other expressions that someone outside the community may miss. This was important since I am not a fluent Afrikaans speaker and not part of the Coloured community. All interviews that were

conducted in isiXhosa language were translated by me. Summaries were made from archival documents and key observations using a reflexive iterative approach to observe patterns for further inquiry and extract sections of the documents that were important for answering the research questions. Reflexive iterative analysis entails revisiting and revising data and connecting them with new insights, leading to refined focus and understandings (Srivastava & Hopwood, 2009). A narrative analysis approach was used to analyse data. A narrative analysis approach is a family of approaches to diverse type of data that have in common a storied form. The family of narrative analysis approaches include analytical methods such as thematic, content, performative, interactional, and structural analysis (Lewis-Beck et al., 2011). This study adopted thematic analysis. Triangulation and a reflexive iterative approach were used to conduct the thematic analysis. These data analysis methods and approaches are discussed in the following subsections.

### **3.4.1 Triangulation**

The study used multiple research methods to allow for the triangulation of data. Triangulation in qualitative research is applied primarily to promote the quality of research (Flick, 2018). Denzin (1970: 297) describes triangulation as “the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomena”. Triangulation entails “checking everything, getting multiple documentation, so that evidence does not rely on a single voice, so that data can become embedded in their contexts, so that data can be compared”(Atkinson et al., 2007: 34). In this study, the process of triangulation ensured a plurality of voices to help understand the examined phenomena.

### **3.4.2 Thematic analysis**

Thematic analysis “is useful to theorizing across a number of cases - finding common thematic elements” across research participants and the events they report (Lewis-Beck, 2011: 3). Themes that define this study were informed by research objectives

and by accompanied observation or statements that led to their construction. Themes were identified after interview audio transcriptions, which were read over to identify emerging insights. The insights were triangulated with findings that emerged from other data collection methods to formulate key themes. This process of thematic analysis was conducted throughout the study in a reflexive iterative method, including for follow-up interviews with participants to fill gaps in the data. Prominent themes were identified in two ways: through Atlas.ti software, and an iterative text process selection using close inspection of field notes, transcripts, and observations.

### **3.5 Ethical considerations**

I applied for ethical clearance with the University of Cape Town ethics committee, which was approved (FSREC 17-2019) in March 2019 (see Appendix 1). All the ethics clearance stipulations were followed during the research, including getting verbal or signed consent before interviews, and asking for consent to record interviews and take images. In practice, this was not as straightforward as it appears on paper; for example, I explained the research to most participants prior to the interview date, and therefore, the recorded interviews do not have this explanation. Furthermore, because asking for consent to record is part of explaining the ethical considerations and rights of the participant, the recorder was only switched on after these explanations occurred. Therefore, in some instances, the interviews started with an 'awkward' statement by me or an assistant asking a participant to say they consent, or sometimes this was done in the middle of the interview when I remembered that the consent had not been recorded. This was particularly the case during life history interviews where participants just started sharing their story before any questions were asked. I did not want to disturb the flow of their narrative by asking for a recorded consent. In some instances, we had to return days or months later to get clearer consent, which was gladly granted by the participants. Additional COVID-19 ethical clearance was obtained to return to the study site in February 2021. Another clearance was obtained in July 2019 from the South African National Parks (SANParks) for conducting interviews with their personnel.

### **3.5.1 Intrinsic issues of consent in ethnographic research**

The issues of consent in ethnographic research have been problematised by various scholars, and as a result, data collection in this study was approached with great sensitivity. Even though ethnography is transdisciplinary, the colonial legacy of its use in anthropology comes with ethical issues of studying 'the Other'. The close relationship ethnographic researchers have with their participants has further made contemporary fieldwork morally and ethically complex (Bourgois, 1991; Sluka, 2012). Additionally, doing research in spatially and socially marginalised contexts presented complex ethical and moral considerations around taking photos and asking questions about identity politics.

#### **3.5.1.1 Taking Photos**

I refrained from taking images of harvesters as they have been objectified in the South African literature on natural products trade for sales or reporting yet are still at the bottom of its chain. I did not consider this until my first harvesting day when I took an image of honeybush weight numbers and mistakenly included the face of a harvester. The image on my camera made an instant impact on me because of the expression on their face. I asked them the following days how they felt about images being taken around them, and they were not happy with being photographed but were more lenient with taking selfies.

#### **3.5.1.2 Research and identity politics**

Even though I am black and from a family with a disadvantaged background like the harvester communities, being a black African in a predominantly Coloured area presented a challenge in how I asked about and how far I went with engaging in identity-related conversations, requiring care in my writing about Coloured people. I intentionally refrained from asking sensitive identity questions that were somewhat key to my research. This decision was made after the observed discomforts or restlessness these questions inflicted on participants. Identity-related questions were therefore

asked as a follow-up if the participants led the conversation in that direction. A question that usually led to engaging with identity politics was that of ABS, which was rephrased to suit the context and was moved to the last question of the interview, so it did not interfere with equally important histories and narratives that needed to be told.

My racial identity allowed participants to be open, with the assumption that I was on their side. I had to manage an expectation that I was on the side of the communities, which was true from the standpoint of this research. However, I also had to be cognizant of managing unrealistic expectations about what the research could achieve.

### **3.5.2 Feedback and research sharing with participants**

Final findings from the study will be shared with participants. A policy brief will be developed and shared with the HCOP and key informants. Research outputs that suit different types of participants will be explored. Most participants were asked to suggest what outcomes they would like to see from the study and their varied preferences will be considered. I have continued to stay engaged with the honeybush sector and broader biodiversity economy platforms where my research has been shared. In this way, the study has been instrumental and integral to the honeybush sector and industry development.

### **3.6 Limitations**

Three limitations emerged during the study: language, national government reluctance to participate in the study, and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the study design. Language was a barrier because I do not speak Afrikaans beyond basic cordial conversations. This meant that I had to rely on an interpreter (fieldwork assistants) for most of the interviews, which created a gap between me as the researcher and the participants. However, the interpreters also acted as a conduit for cultural norms and interpreted historical contexts that I could have missed.

The national government was reluctant to participate in the study because at first, they felt like issues of marginalisation or topics related to communities were already being researched by consultants. My participation in the honeybush and biodiversity economy platforms as part of engaged scholarship while collecting data also affected my relationship with the national government. I sent emails asking for interviews with no success. I then followed another approach, which has been used by scholars such as Li (2021), and immersed myself in biodiversity economy programme documents, conference proceedings, media releases, and parliament discussions related to the implementation of biodiversity economy, which I continuously tracked and filed between 2020 and 2022. I also relied on my insights gained from meetings and interviews with provincial and local governments.

The Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) was disruptive to the academic calendar and culture. In 2019, I focused on participants who were harvesting and actively involved in honeybush use and who could thus provide contemporary data across the landscape. I became aware of the problem of not reaching those in areas where there was no visible active engagement with honeybush, and therefore, I wanted to return to the field to have formal interviews with retired harvesters who were forced to retire because they had lost access to the honeybush resource. Because of the COVID-19 pandemic, this data was only collected between March and September 2021. Because there were still restrictions, including a hard lock down in June-July 2021, the data collection process had to be performed with caution, which affected the speed of the research. For example, there were several outbreaks in schools, which meant we had to cancel interview appointments for a week after every outbreak. COVID-19 outbreaks also affected data collection on commercial farms, and hence, there was a smaller number of participants. The plan was to return to Living Lands in September 2021 to collect data and do follow-up interviews but had to isolate because a colleague caught COVID-19, and a key participant I wanted to follow up with lost their wife to COVID-19 that same week. A decision was then made to discontinue and close fieldwork in

September 2021. Where possible, interviews were moved to telephonic interviews, since participants in the area did not have access to other online platforms.

The pandemic caused delays in the 2019 data transcription and translation process. My transcriber received a frontline job at the start of COVID-19 in March 2020. I thought the job was going to be temporary since I did not know how long the pandemic was going to last. In April 2020, I transferred the transcription and translation work to another service provider, who unfortunately passed away in June due to COVID-19. A data transfer from them to a new transcriber commenced, and I only received the completed transcripts and translations from the 2019 data on 16 November 2020. This delayed the data analysis, and therefore, the thesis writing process. Archival research was also delayed because NASA were closed from March until about October 2020. I accessed NASA through the Western Cape Archives and Records Service, which reopened with restrictions on the number of visitors and with shorter opening hours.

### **3.7 Conclusion**

This chapter introduced the methods that underpinned this research. It reviewed the qualitative approach and epistemological perspectives that informed this research, and the research methods and techniques adopted for data management and analysis. It elucidated on the ethics followed, researcher positionality, and the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on the study.

Chapter 4 now sets the scene on how people and institutions have been positioned differently in relation to natural resource use and biodiversity commercialisation at various historical moments. Chapter 4 also sets the scene for the subsequent empirical chapters focused on honeybush.

## **CHAPTER 4**

# **SETTING THE SCENE: DIFFERENTIAL ACCESS AND EXCLUSIONARY USE OF NATURAL RESOURCES IN THE FORMER CAPE PROVINCE<sup>5</sup> OF SOUTH AFRICA**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This chapter gives a historical context to the exclusions that affect equity in the contemporary use of natural resources in the honeybush growing regions of South Africa. The chapter is divided into three parts: The first part focuses on the colonial and apartheid governments (hereafter, the repressive regime) that is indexed in this study as the period between 1800 and 1993; the second part focuses on the democratic regime, indexed as the period between 1994 and 2020, and the last part provides a summary of exclusions during the repressive and democratic regimes.

The first part of the chapter has three sections that discuss the following: i) The land context of exclusion, ii) situating land exclusion in the Garden Route and Langkloof regions, and iii) examining the repressive regime's exclusive exploration of NTFPs for the white settler society and capitalistic scientific advancement. Section 4.2.1 demonstrates how ambient exclusions (conservation based), licenced exclusions (titled land with rights to exclude), and neo-exclusion inclusions were prevalent in the repressive regime. In Section 4.2.2 the history of woodcutters and commercial forestry practices are discussed as this was the main form of forest land use, and I use woodcutting as a lens to contextualise complex inequalities, resistance, agency, and the constrained agency of the "poor" and those who were subjects of the Crown. The last section of the first part of the chapter, Section 4.2.3 is concerned with the disruption

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<sup>5</sup> Present-Day Western Cape, Eastern Cape, and Northern Cape provinces of South Africa

of epistemic contributions and custodianship related to the use of NTFPs, which is critical to account for exclusions and structural violence at societal level.

The second part of the chapter has the following three sections: Section 4.3.1 discusses the role of land reform in averting repressive regimes land exclusions, Section 4.3.2 discusses the democratic regime's facilitation of access to forest land and NTFPs, and Section 4.3.3 gives an overview of policy and regulatory interventions and a role of ABS in facilitating epistemic and economic justice in the use of NTFPs. The chapter concludes with a brief analysis of resource control and maintenance in its historical context and resulting exclusions.

## **4.2 The repressive regime period: 1800-1993**

This section discusses legislation and policies used by the repressive regime to demarcate and administer access to land, and laws that subordinated and excluded Coloured, Black and Indigenous people from socio-economic benefits. The section also discusses early colonial exploration of NTFPs for commercialisation to contextualise the NTFPs enterprises that are now being transformed by the democratic regime.

### **4.2.1 The land context of exclusion**

The repressive regime used laws that facilitated the skewed distribution of land. These laws, outlined in Table 4.1, introduced formal and informal rules that shaped the exclusion of local people from agricultural land, mountains, and forests. Table 4.1 provides a longitudinal account of key intersecting repressive laws, policies, and proclamations, and reveals the impact these had on creating exclusionary landscapes.

**Table 4.1 A timeline of intersecting repressive land and forest laws of the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> centuries**

<b>Number &amp; year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Impact on facilitating exclusion<sup>6</sup></b>
<b>Procl. 01 November 1809</b>	Proclamation by the Earl of Caledon (The Caledon Code)	Khoi and San are coerced into cheap labour
<b>Procl. 23 April 1812</b>	Proclamation by Sir John Cradock	Formation of racialised hierarchies and racial stratification of space.
<b>Procl. 6 August 1813</b>	Proclamation on Conversion of Loan Places to Perpetual Quitrent	Racialised access to private agricultural land
<b>Act No. 18 of 1859</b>	The Forest and Herbage Preservation Act	Consolidation of forests and enclosure of forest produce
<b>Act No. 2 of 1860</b>	Crown Lands Act	Consolidation of state power to administer, control, and dispose Crown Lands
<b>Act No. 4 of 1870</b>	Agricultural Lands Act	Racialised access to private agricultural land
<b>Act No. 10 of 1877</b>	Agricultural Immigrants Land Act	
<b>Act No. 33 of 1879</b>	Agricultural Immigrants Land Extension Act	
<b>Act No. 2 of 1880</b>	Agricultural Immigrants Relief Act	
<b>Act No. 37 of 1882</b>	Agricultural Lands Act	
<b>Act No. 28 of 1888</b>	The Forest Act	Consolidation of forests and enclosure of forest produce
<b>Act No. 25 of 1894</b>	The Glen Grey Act	Consolidated differentiated land tenure system
<b>Act No. 16 of 1913</b>	The Forest Act	Consolidation of forests and enclosure of forest produce
<b>Act No. 27 of 1913</b>	The Natives Land Act	Racialised access to private land and differentiated land tenure system
<b>Act No. 18 of 1936</b>	The Natives Trust and Land Act	Segregation and dispossession

<sup>6</sup> Laws had varying impacts. Table 4.1 only highlights and interprets what is relevant to the study.

<b>Number &amp; year</b>	<b>Title</b>	<b>Impact on facilitating exclusion<sup>6</sup></b>
<b>Act No. 41 of 1950</b>	The Group Areas Act	Segregation and dispossession
<b>Ordinance No. 19 of 1974</b>	Nature and Environmental Conservation Ordinance	Consolidation of forests and enclosure of forest produce

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

The first laws outlined in Table 4.1 show how the repressive state formalised Indigenous Khoi and San as citizens who were coerced into labour in the agricultural lands of the Cape Province. This was facilitated through the Caledon Code, which preceded Procl. 23 of April 1812 and allowed compulsory farm labour contracts. Enslaving Khoi and San as farm labour was accelerated when the apprenticeship of their children born on farms was introduced. This effectively normalised ownership of Khoi and San labour by white farmers (Dooling, 2005). Today there is a normative presence of generational farm labour in commercial farming regions.

Most laws in Table 4.1 were foundational to the repressive regime’s consolidation of racialised access to private land and/or segregation and dispossession. For instance, the Proclamation on Conversion of Loan Places to Perpetual Quitrent of 1813 (Hereafter, 1813 Proclamation) allowed for titled access to land for Europeans who were cultivating the land, thus formalising Europeans’ secure access to land through private ownership and granting them rights to sell land as free property (Ramutsindela, 2012; McLachlan, 2018;; McLachlan, 2019). The racialised access to private agricultural land continued through various agricultural lands acts and subsequent amendment acts that distributed licenced access to agricultural land by race. These agricultural acts also favoured land disposal to new farm entrants migrating from Europe. Contrary to land provisions for Europeans, the Glen Grey Act of 1894 (Hereafter, the Glen Grey Act) marked a differentiated land tenure system and included tenure provisions that systemically coerced natives into farm labour. The Natives Land Act of 1913 (hereafter, the Natives Land Act) further consolidated the racially disproportionate rights to purchase, lease, and own land, providing a precedent for segregation. Hall (2013) argues that the Natives Land Act marked a new era of political, economic, and spatial

dualism, and that its effects continue to shape South Africa today. Subsequent laws to the Natives Land Act, such as the Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936 and the Group Areas Act of 1950 consolidated segregation and dispossessions.

It is important to analyse the forest laws outlined in Table 4.1 as they allowed for the demarcations and seizure of land that enabled enclosures of forest produce. The Forest and Herbage Preservation Act of 1859 (hereafter, Forest and Herbage Preservation Act) criminalised the cutting of trees and gathering and/or use of pasture vegetation from demarcated state forests. The Forest Act of 1888 was premised on capitalistic conservation by way of natural forest reserves demarcations, and the increased presence of companies and timber plantations. Later, the Forest Act of 1913 provided for further demarcation and protection against trespassers, and through it, the land on commonages and “native” locations and outspans came under the forest office authority. Lastly, the Nature and Environmental Conservation Ordinance of 1974 was passed by the apartheid government to regulate conservation and prohibited picking of flora and fauna in provincial or local nature reserves.

These forest and agricultural land laws normalised the ambient and licenced exclusions and neo-exclusion inclusions that continue to drive marginalisation in the use of natural resources. These strategies of exclusion are discussed in the following subsections.

#### **4.2.1.1 Ambient exclusion: Differentiated access to forest land**

The colonial practice of forest demarcations and setting them as off limit to use began with the Vereenigde Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oostindische Compagnie<sup>7</sup> that brought proclamations aimed at preserving woodlands and controlling woodcutting businesses for the interest of the company (Robertson, 1924). From the 19<sup>th</sup> century onwards, the means for governing crown forests through various forest acts began to

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<sup>7</sup> A European company which depended on slave-based economy, established colonies across the world, and appropriated land from Indigenous populations.

differently affect those with private land and those without. This was more pronounced in the Cape province where land disposed to whites not only put them at an advantage in terms of agricultural land (arable) but also came with natural resources such as rivers and rights to the fynbos biome, which hosts NTFPs such as honeybush. These inequalities were partially portrayed in the Forest Act of 1913 that placed forests on commonages, native locations, and outspans under the forest office jurisdiction. On the contrary, forests on private property could be brought under the Act only if the owner desired this (Robertson, 1924).

#### **4.2.1.2 Licenced exclusions: Racially skewed distribution of titled land**

The licenced exclusions of Coloured, Black and Indigenous people were consolidated with the 1813 Proclamation that legalised rights to hold title. These rights intensified through the Crown Lands Act of 1860 that provided the basis for several laws that catered for the disposal of land under the crown. As discussed in Section 4.2.1.1, the disposal of Crown Lands for agricultural purposes privileged Europeans who were the citizens of the crown by giving them secure claims to land and disadvantaged those who were the subjects of the crown. The way licenced exclusions were to be administered was framed by J.A. Truter, who held the office of the Secretary of the Court of Justice during the first British occupation of the Cape (Penn, 2005). Citing Truter's archival reports on land tenure systems in the colony, McLachlan (2019) refers to what Truter called three principal titles of possession that he argued would allow white settlers a more secure tenure. These were quitrent property, freehold property, and loan places, and were applied by 1811 (McLachlan, 2018), facilitating either secure temporal or permanent exclusive rights to agricultural land. Subsequent private land disposal from the 1813 Proclamation onwards only focused on quitrent and freehold property as these were more secure than loan places (McLachlan, 2018).

The later crown lands disposals to Europeans followed tenure security systems with stipulated minimum and maximum land sizes that could be disposed. As an example, Section 2 of the Agricultural Immigrants Land Extension Act of 1879 states that the land

assigned to agricultural immigrants had to be “an arable lot not less than twenty acres [8 ha] out of such crown land, to be held by such immigrant on lease”. Furthermore, Section 3 of the Act states that in addition to the arable lots, an adjoining commonage had to be assigned “for the joint usage of all the holders of the said arable lots in such location, the extent of which commonage shall be such that if divided into lots equal in number with such arable lots, it would give to each holder of such lots not less than one hundred and eighty acres [73 ha]”. On the contrary, the natives of the Cape province had provisions related to farm labour regulations that were informed by the Caledon Code and Section 10 of the Natives Land Act, which made provisions for restrictions on movement of “native” farm labour. They also had provisions related to restrictions in purchase, leasing, ownership, and occupation of land made through the Glen Grey Act and the Natives Land Act.

#### ***4.2.1.3 Neo-exclusion inclusions and constrained agency: Colonial communal tenure system***

The communal tenure system passed under laws such as the Glen Grey Act, and the Natives Land Act was meant to restrict land access and aid coercion of natives into labour. These laws marked differentiated land tenure systems and cemented communal property as a dominant form of land ownership for black Africans (Ramutsindela, 2012) in a country that has private landownership as a dominant tenure system. This is important because those who were in this colonial communal tenure system were denied agency to own and use land as they wished, while whites were afforded that agency through provisions that allowed them to purchase, own, and sell land. Additionally, colonial communal tenure distorted customary systems in various ways, but overtly by policing communal lands either through traditional authorities as state appointees (Mamdani, 2013) or other forms of state-recognised appointees that accompanied land allocation, such as mission stations. This relegated land administration powers to these structures and legitimated their role as an authoritative voice on land matters for millions of black Africans affected by the likes of the Glen

Grey Act and the Natives Land Act. The section below discusses the impact of skewed land and natural resource distribution in the study areas.

#### **4.2.2 History of land exclusions in the Garden Route and Langkloof regions**

This subsection discusses the land exclusions that are embedded in these landscapes because of forest demarcations and the disposal of agricultural land by the repressive regime. Figure 4.1 shows the commercial agricultural land, nature reserves, and forestry plantations in the Tsitsikamma and Kouga mountains that make up the picturesque landscape of the GRNP and Langkloof landscapes.



**Figure 4.1 A typical landscape in the Langkloof and around the GRNP (Source: Formosa Peak - Garden Route Adventure Guide<sup>8</sup>).**

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<sup>8</sup> <https://gardenrouteadventureguide.com/>

#### **4.2.2.1 *The Midland conservancy: A history of forest land in the Garden Route National Park and Langkloof region***

Seven conservancies were annexed across South Africa because of colonial forest policies. These included the Midland, Western, Eastern, Transkei, Transvaal and Orange Free State, and Natal conservancies (Robertson, 1924; Brown, 2003a). These conservancies were managed under the jurisdiction of the Forest Department, which covered demarcated and undemarcated forests, all land not under cultivation, and the preservation of mountain catchments that required the protection of vegetation and water catchment areas. Therefore, areas impacted by the forest and conservation legislation were extended to non-forested Crown Lands, open ground areas, and mountain ranges (Robertson, 1924). In this way, the control of access to forest produce such as honeybush fell under the jurisdiction of the Forest Department, who formulated permit systems that were administered by various regional Conservator of Forests offices (Conservator of Forests, 1896). In contrast to timber, NTFPs were not as significant in forest and conservation policy and state authorities dealt with them on a case-by-case basis, often with no set systems of access and use. Of interest in this chapter is the Midland conservancy as its history affects the study area. The Midland conservancy included Knysna, Tsitsikamma, George, and Humansdorp regional forest demarcations of the time (Brown, 2003). The Midland conservancy falls in the modern-day GRNP, established in 2009, covers an extent of 130 000 ha, and is administered under the jurisdiction of the South African National Parks (SANParks, 2006; Russell et al., 2010; Kraaij et al., 2011).

The repressive regime's management of the Midland conservancy privileged commercial interests, evident in laws that criminalised the use of forests for livelihoods other than formalised timber felling and the entry of forest companies. For example, laws such as the Forest and Herbage Preservation Act entrenched the state's powers to criminalise community use of forests for livelihoods and changed systems of forest

governance within communal lands. Brown (2001, 2003b) maintains that the demarcation and administration of the Midland conservancy and crown forests was done without consideration for communities who relied on these areas to harvest different resources. Consequently, the livelihoods of those who had been using the forests and open lands, such as mountain ranges, for collecting forest produce were disrupted. On the contrary, the Vereenigde Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oostindische Compagnie had control of forest commerce from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and new companies that participated in upscaled timber trade by the state in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, such as Messrs. Mangold & Co., and Messrs. Thesen & Co., were enabled to benefit disproportionately compared to woodcutters. Figure 4.2 is an image of woodcutters in the Knysna forest felling indigenous trees.



**Figure 4.2 Knysna woodcutters in the late 1800s (Source: Knysna Museums Online<sup>9</sup>)**

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.knysnamuseums.co.za/pages/the-woodcutters/>

Fundamentally, the forest laws facilitated access to forests by companies because profit generation was at the core of Joseph Storr Lister's ideas of conserving and protecting state forests. Joseph Storr Lister was the first Chief Conservator of the South African Forest Office, established in the 1800s. Prior to this, foresters such as Ernest Hutchins had been working as conservators of forests but outside a formalised state forest office and brought the idea of forests as the inalienable property of the state (Brown, 2001, 2003a). Local bushworkers and/or woodcutters that had long participated in the timber business continued participation but with visible inequalities between them and companies. Inequalities in commercial forestry are indicated in various archival reports from concerned local state authorities that were employed as conservators of forests (McNaughton, 1903), and petitions such as those from the Harkerville woodcutters (Conservator of Forests, 1904a). Similarly, applications for forest produce access are portrayed in the Midland conservancy by a petition from Haarlem and by Mr. Ferreira, whose letter indicated that honeybush was "wasting away" in the Crown Lands (Ferreira, 1896; Resident Magistrate Office, 1903; Ferreira, 1896). The impact of the repressive regime on honeybush access and use by communities is discussed in Chapter 6.

#### ***4.2.2.2 The resistant margins: Inequalities, resistance, and agency through a woodcutter's lens***

A woodcutter's lens was crucial for unearthing and grounding the socio-political, socio-economic, and socio-ecological dynamics that shaped forest land and access in the repressive regime. The woodcutters' conditions and engagement with forest land are portrayed in various petitions across the Midland conservancy. The petitions raised concerns about trading on business terms that did not work for the woodcutters' settlement conditions and for poorer woodcutters (McNaughton, 1903; Campher & Other, 1904). Table 4.2 provides a summary of points of contestations that appear in the petitions lodged with office of the Conservator of Forests.

**Table 4.2 Points of contention in the Midland conservancy**

<b>Point of contention</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Archival source</b>
<b>Disposal of wood by auction did not work for woodcutters, and they preferred a lottery system</b>	1895-1911	(McNaughton, 1903)
<b>Power imbalances between section buyers (companies) and employees (woodcutters); elite capture</b>	1895-1897	(Conservator of Forests, 1904)
<b>Companies' refusal to pay advances to bush workers; instead, they gave them timber to work at cost price. The system disrespected the independence and agency of bush workers and represented companies' "misplaced sympathy"</b>	1904	(Conservator of Forests, 1904b)
<b>Petition for bush workers to gain title to forest land where they were cultivating on lease under a cultivators permit system</b>	1904	(Conservator of Forests, 1904c)

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

It can be established from the petitions that there were contestations between the woodcutters and companies such as Messrs. Mangold & Co., and that the state market-oriented forest governance did not work for communities because they introduced systems that were only conducive for companies. The following petition dated 11 March 1904 from one of the communities in Harkerville gives an idea of the position of woodcutters:

The trees have been put on public sale and have been bought by a few of the chief wood-merchants in Knysna at prices double the value of the trees, so that the bushworkers seeing no chance to work the wood so to raise but expenses, could not outbid these merchants, and are now without a tree, and yet must support their families. Having in the past made our living and supported our families by working in the forest and still being bound to do so, we went to the Forest Department to ask for wood but returned without having obtained any. So that we are not obliged to go to

these merchants, and get wood from them at these large prices, leaving them the givers of the extraordinary prices, but us payers. (Conservator of Forests, 1904)

Companies and merchants took advantage of the fact that the laws that governed the state forest management favoured them with systems designed on a highest bidder principle, which resulted in a state where the “entire wood trade is practically in the hands of few firms who are section buyers, millowners or merchants or both” (Conservator of Forests, 1895). The systematised power imbalances were also displayed with Messrs. Mangold & Co. and other firms withholding advances prior to a month of auction to ensure bushworkers had no financial capacity to bid. This helped companies prevent competition (Conservator of Forests, 1904).

Another strategy of keeping woodcutters subordinated was unequal land distribution. Woodcutters wanted to be granted title to the land they were already leasing for cultivation. However, while the state was open to the use of forest land by the woodcutters, it was not willing to grant ownership, even though this was a preferred option. Moreover, woodcutters belonged to a population that landowners relied on for farm labour and were a competition threat for workers should they be granted land. For example, the proposals to refuse titled land to woodcutters was because farmers had raised concerns about forest cultivators in the Tsitsikamma area who were attracting “legitimate farm labour” (Conservator of Forests, 1904). It is not clear from the correspondences what the magnitude of the threat was that the private landowners were raising and what “legitimate farm labour” meant at that time in history. Although these glimpses of inequities are not explained in detail in the archive, they help provide patches to complex intersecting issues that marginalised those of lower classes (including poor whites) and racialised groups of that moment in history.

The letter also highlights class issues and sets a precedent for the position of the poor in South Africa’s capitalist system. Class was relevant to participating in the forest economy because a significant number of registered woodcutters were poor whites (Brown, 2001), who were citizens of the crown compared to native and Coloured woodcutters who were subjects. As such, the poor white’s employment in the forestry

business gives a microcosm of how the citizens who are poor were relegated and treated in natural resource use during the repressive regime. The history of poor whites in the region is important to highlight as it contextualises white elitism and the treatment of the poor in the democratic regime's participation in forest produce trade and the natural products sector, discussed in Chapter 6. The poor whites of the Midlands conservancy are reported to have been refused assistance from public works that would allow them to compete equally with companies because some forest managers maintained a Victorian perspective of poverty as an individual fault. Lister, on the other hand, saw helping the poor citizens of the crown as a threat to capital accumulation because systems such as independent contracting were cheaper (Grundlingh, 1995; Brown, 2001). Therefore, even though they were at the top of the racial hierarchy and potentially more expensive than Coloured and "native" woodcutters (Van Wyk, 1938), citizens of the crown, and some of them owned portions of land, their class did not allow them to compete with companies. The rhetoric of idleness was used to compare them to Coloured woodcutters who were willing to work both the forest and till the land (Brown, 2001). The woodcutters' era ended in 1939 for natural forest regeneration purposes; however, commercial forest plantations continued through companies. The Knysna Museum commemorates this significant era in the history of the region with an excerpt in their website (see Box 4.1).

#### **The woodcutter's life:**

*“The Woodcutter’s Day started with the sun. He would either walk the few miles of forest trail to the tree upon which he was working or wake up beside it to the smell of a smouldering ironwood fire and old ash and the clean scent of fresh woodchips. Soon there would be the fragrance of coffee and tobacco smoke and then, with the first shafts of sunlight, the ringing of axes would begin again. A man and his sons might spend as long as a month working a giant yellowwood or stinkwood tree.”* Hjalmar Thesen, *Country Days* (David Philip, Cape Town, 1974)

Their homes were sometimes no more than crude huts and often just temporary structures built close to whichever tree they were working, and food was scarce (their diet often consisted only of sweet potatoes), and hygiene was poor. But nevertheless, they were, *“self-employed, willing and able to work, but often lacked the necessary capital, training and, most important, the opportunity to benefit from their labours.”*

#### **End of the woodcutters’ era:**

Both the timber merchants and the government began to understand that the natural forests couldn’t last forever, and some conservation measures were put in place in the late 1800s, and plantations of exotic pines, wattles, and gum trees were established in the early 1900s to supplement the supply the country’s timber supply [...]

"In 1939, the right of the woodcutters to work trees in the forests was annulled, and the Woodcutters’ Annuities Act providing for the payment of a small pension to each of them was passed by Parliament.

*“The state-owned indigenous forest of the Southern Cape was granted a well-deserved rest.*

*“What was left ... was a battlefield of devastation. It seemed best to leave the healing of the worst wounds to nature.*

*“In the early ‘sixties the natural recovery of the forest had progressed so far that it was deemed possible and desirable to take steps toward active rehabilitation. On the basis of intensive research and planning, a comprehensive system of natural forest conservation was developed and, in 1967, put into operation.”* F. von Breitenbach *‘Southern Cape Forests & Trees’* (Government Printer, Pretoria, 1974)

### **Box 4.1 Extracts from Knysna Museum commemoration of the woodcutters’ era (Source: Knysna Museums Online<sup>10</sup>)**

Politically, the poor whites’ trajectory in history was resolved as they were assisted from 1913 onwards in a quest to resolve the poor whites issue in the southern Cape region (now Garden Route region), particularly for woodcutters in the Midland conservancy who lived in the same conditions as Coloured woodcutters (Grundlingh, 1995). The period of poor whites relief occurred in parallel with the rapid dispossession of natives and disruptions in the Coloured social relations from 1913 onwards.

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<sup>10</sup> <https://www.knysnamuseums.co.za/pages/the-woodcutters/>

#### **4.2.2.3 Legitimation of profit-generating models and colonial conservation in the management of state land**

Regulation (a prohibiting device) and legitimation (a justification device) powers shaped forest exclusions in the repressive regime. Companies and colonial conservation were legitimated as state partners in a forest administration that sought both the expansion of the nation's economy and the conservation of natural resources. The role of companies was solidified in the 1970s with a transfer of state forest timber plantations to the South African Forestry Company Limited, which took over the administration of forest commercialisation (Kraaij et al., 2011). When the South African Forestry Company Limited took over the plantation timber forests in the 1970s, in the Midland conservancy, the land covered 112 000 acres of which 90 000 acres belonged to the state and 22 000 acres was in private ownership (King, 2010). It was linked to the declaration of the Tsitsikamma National Park in 1964 (Kraaij et al., 2011; Russell et al., 2010), and the subsequent introduction of the Cape Province Nature and Environmental Conservation Ordinance of 1974, which ushered in a complete closure of state forest land that was outside plantation timber and introduced fortress conservation by fencing off the land and making it off limits to traditional or previous uses by communities surrounding the proclaimed area

New institutional arrangements came to the fore, such as the establishment of the Department of Nature and Environmental Conservation, which was to be responsible for the administration of nature reserves. The Ordinance further made provisions for the annexation of provincial, private, and local nature reserves. The implications of these changes included the introduction of a complex permit system for accessing forest produce. This system is laid out in the subtext of Section 1 and 2 of Article 68 of the Ordinance, which introduces permit requirements for picking protected and unprotected indigenous flora on private lands, which before only applied to the state or Crown Lands. This new requirement disproportionately affected those who were not landowners. Thus, for the former Cape province, new permitting systems meant a continued consolidation of racial environmentalism in the use of natural resources

because these were being implemented on landscapes that had long been organised by racial hierarchies. Overall, nature conservation policies during the apartheid regime are reported to have had dire impacts on the livelihoods of communities in the Midland conservancy and the greater southern Cape (Faasen & Watts, 2007; Holmes, 2007; Watts & Faasen, 2009).

#### **4.2.2.4 Racialised and tribalised settlement patterns.**

Agricultural land exclusions were inscribed in the 1800s laws that began the consolidation of racialised access to private agricultural land, starting with the 1813 Proclamation and others outlined in Table 4.1. To elucidate on agricultural land exclusions in the repressive regime, I used three broad settlement patterns that represent how the Garden Route and Langkloof are presently inhabited by local people. These are outlined in Table 4.3 and were used to trace tenure patterns in the repressive regimes.

**Table 4.3 Garden Route and Langkloof land settlement patterns**

<b>Settlement</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Historical tenure pattern</b>	<b>Tenure pattern case studies</b>
<b>Place-based/situated communities</b>	Settlements that were formed in early- to mid-1800s as mission stations and labour reserves	Mission station, communal titled land, commonages	Langkloof & Garden Route (Haarlem village); Tsitsikamma (AmaMfengu, Clarkson)
<b>Farm dweller resettlement</b>	Townships that sprouted from the 1980s and 1990s due to farm dweller evictions and post-1994 housing developments	Landless, some with commonages	Langkloof (Misgund & Tweeriviere)
<b>Farmland owners</b>	Land demarcated for private ownership and predominantly white owned and used for commercial farming	Freehold, leased, and/or titled land	Langkloof

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

#### *4.2.2.4.1 Placed-based communities: Tsitsikamma Clarkson-AmaMfengu land, and the Langkloof Haarlem village*

AmaMfengu is an African tribe that was forced by the repressive regime to settle in Tsitsikamma in 1837 with a ticket of occupation granted by the state. Their settlement was in response to labour requests by colonial farmers. They were settled on five farms, namely Koksbosch, Snyklip, Wittekleibosch, Doriskraal, and Palmeit (Everingham & Jannecke, 2006). However, in 1838, colonial officials granted portions of this land to the Moravian Mission society to establish a mission station to be used by AmaMfengu and “other natives of colour” (Everingham & Jannecke, 2006: 552). As such, the Clarkson Mission Station was formed on the Koksbosch farm and a Deed of Grant was granted to the church to manage this land on behalf of the natives (Jannecke, 2006). Additionally, shortly after their settlement, AmaMfengu were divided by the state into three tribes, reflecting the remainder of the farms, other than the Fingo Reserve (Palmeit). The three farms were held in trust by the Civil Commissioner in Uitenhage, making their settlement a typical homeland or native reserve (Jannecke, 2006). In 1913, the AmaMfengu land was the only one in the Midland conservancy that fell under territories of ‘scheduled native areas’ in the annex of the Natives Lands Act. The Natives Lands Act indicates that all these farms were held by AmaMfengu under the deed of reservation in 1858. The passing of the Natives Trust and Land Act of 1936 further listed both the Clarkson Mission Station and the land under the AmaMfengu ownership as lands that could be relocated by the state (Everingham & Jannecke, 2006). The AmaMfengu were dispossessed over Christmas of 1977, leaving behind the land they farmed and hoped to pass on to future generations (see Appendix 5a & 5b).

The village of Haarlem, like AmaMfengu, is one of the place-based communities located in the Langkloof. Haarlem was established on a private farm through a complex evolving relationship between farm landowners, church, and workers. The documented founding of the Haarlem settlement is written about in an archival letter dated 10 October 1907 by Liesiuas Soman, a lawyer hired by the village to investigate their land case, which traces the settlement from 1821:

The farm Welgelegen was granted with surrounding land to a farmer U Heyns by two deeds of grant respectively dated 24<sup>th</sup> July 1821 and 1st November 1843 and was transferred by U Heyns on the 12<sup>th</sup> of January 1844 to another farmer Jean Charles Jante. During the year 1853-4 a [monument] was commenced by Coloured inhabitants in George district having for its object the establishment of a place of worship on the farm. Meetings appear to have been held and [subscriptions] raised and on the 15<sup>th</sup> of February 1854 a [fourth] meeting was held at which the following persons were chosen "gezameul lyk [direkteur/directors]" for the furtherance of the monument. A deed of sale was therefore entered into between the trustees and the aforesaid Jean Charles Jante on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 1854 whereby a portion of 1 000 morgen was sold for £1 000 to the trustees for the purposes of establishing a school church and residence for a [bastion] and to lay out a township in the deed of sale. The seller JC Jante [bound] himself to deliver half of the water running over his farm to the village.

The mission station at Haarlem was subsequently established in 1860 by the Berlin Missionary Society. The Berlin Missionary Society targeted the rural settings of the former Cape province with agricultural training and schools that were run by the Catechists<sup>11</sup>. Their first station in the Zoar area in the Klein Karoo was established for workers of local farmers, after which a recommendation was made to establish another station in the George/Knysna/Mossel bay areas, which was unsuccessful. The Berlin Missionary Society then bought portions of land in Haarlem with a donation from a clothier in Saxony's Anhalt district, and established the Anhalt-Schmidt mission station, named after the clothier (Western Cape government, n.d.; Karzek, 1994). The congregation "consisted predominantly of servants working for the white farmers in the village of Haarlem" (Karzek, 1994: 8).

Another layer of complexity to the history of the town of Haarlem was the proclamation of the area in 1887 under the Villages Management Act 29 of 1881. The land in Haarlem

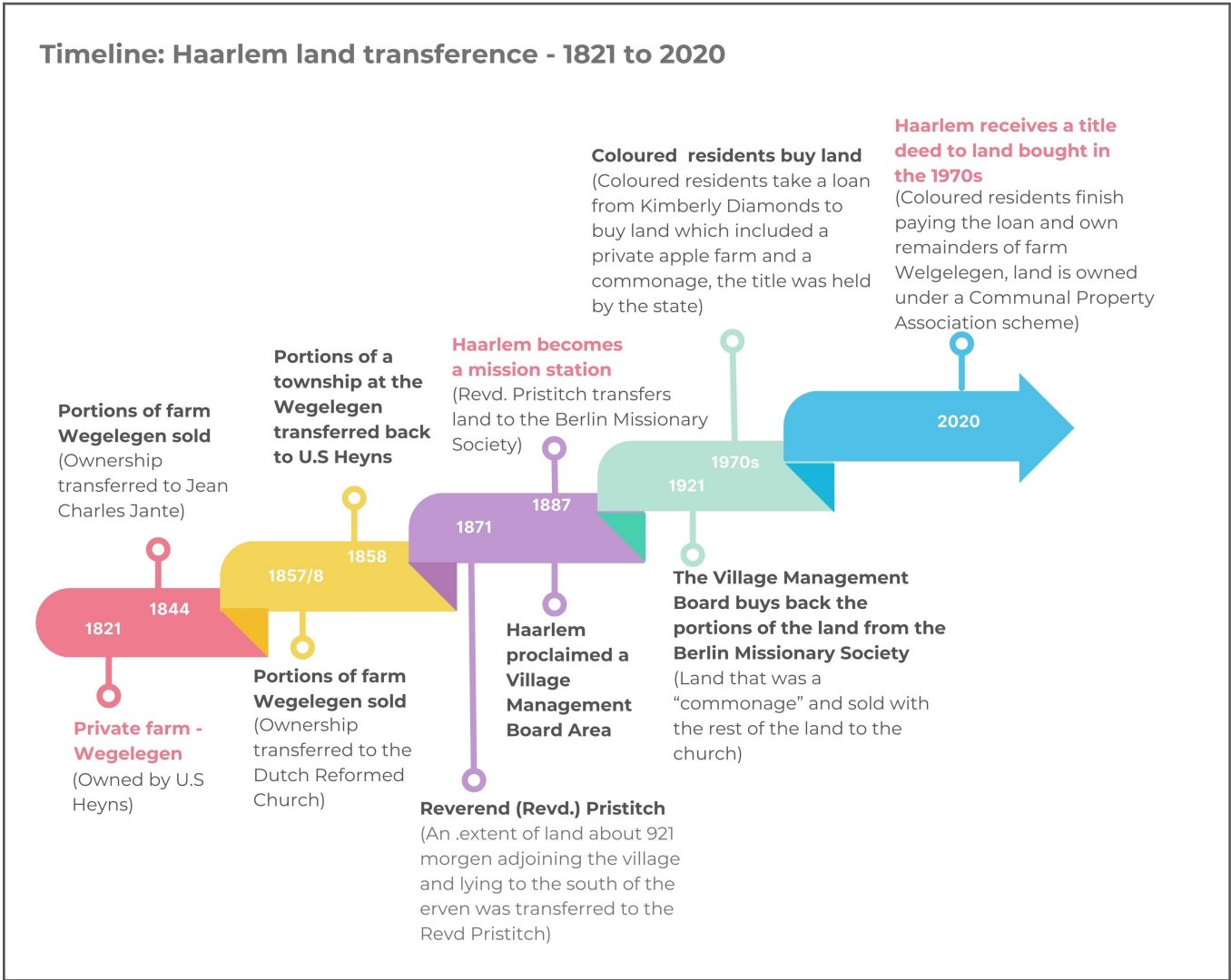
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<sup>1111</sup> A preacher or lecturer in Christian doctrine

was thus governed by the Haarlem Village Management Board, which represented the interests of the villagers, whereas the Berlin Missionary Society represented the interests of the mission station. Thus, the ownership of Haarlem land has been contested between the Haarlem Village Management Board and Berlin Missionary Society throughout the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The following is a description of landownership and rights in 1918 between the Haarlem Village Management Board and Berlin Missionary Society:

The Haarlem Village Management Board Area is made up of parts of the farms 'Welgelegen' and 'Surrounding Welgelegen' and according to the Deeds Registry the land is held by the Berlin Missionary Society by transfer deed No.345 dated the 28<sup>th</sup> September 1887 so that the ownership is vested in the Missionary Society and the controlling rights in the Village which is operating under Act No.29 of 1881 (Magistrate Uniondale, 1918).

Part of this land is a commonage that was predominantly used in the 1800s onwards for livestock grazing, wheat farming, and wild honeybush harvesting. These two structures have dissolved, but the land contestation attached to them remains between residents and the Lutheran Church. The timeline of land sales and transfers in Haarlem is summarised in Figure 4.4 and changes in Coloured residents' land rights are discussed in Section 4.3.



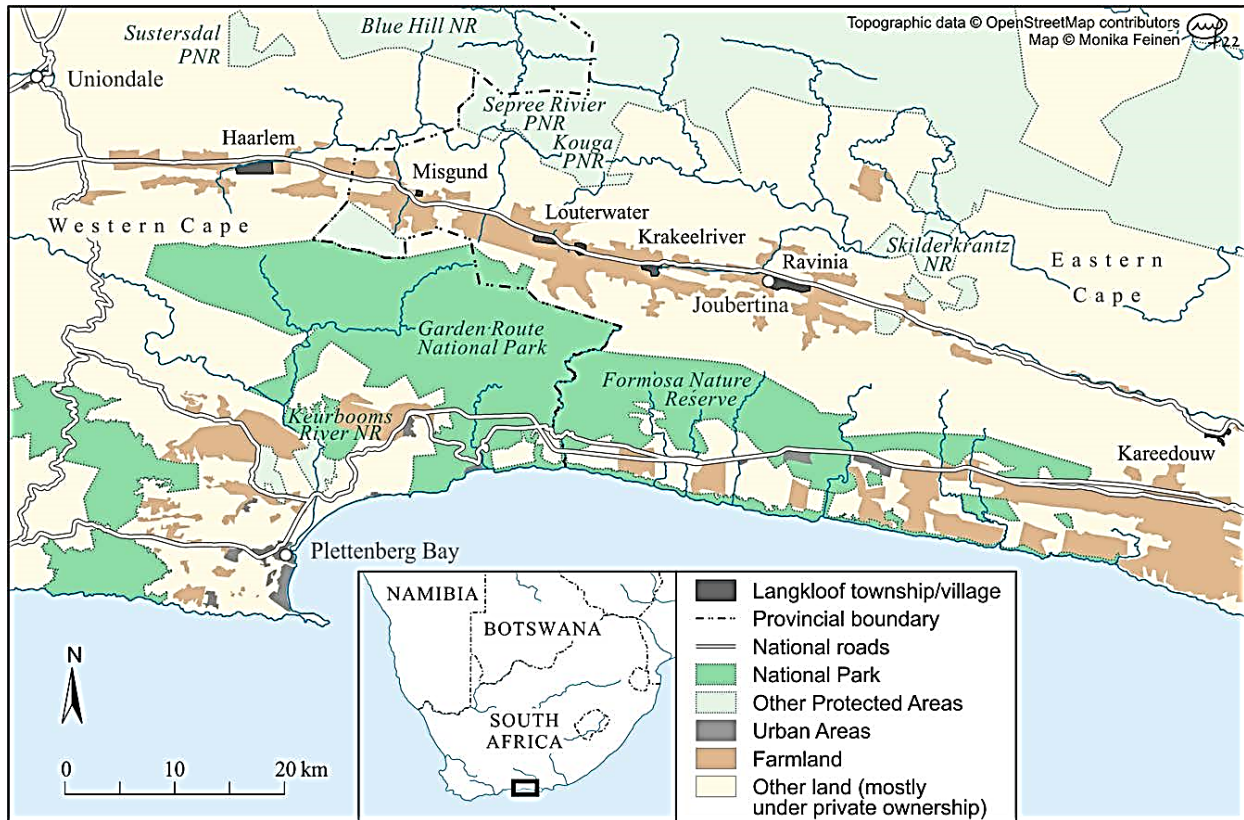
**Figure 4.3 Timeline of the Haarlem land transfer between the 1800s and 2020 (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe).**

The Langkloof Haarlem and the Tsitsikamma Clarkson-AmaMfengu cases provide two distinct examples of place-based communities in the region, namely the native reserve with some land privileges distributed by the state, and the Coloured farm dweller settlement with a high degree of dependence on the white farmer for access to land privileges. Both these settlement patterns were constitutive of constrained agency in the repressive regime. By way of example, during the apartheid era, those who settled in Haarlem as labour to the white farms began to purchase land while the AmaMfengu,

regardless of being settled through the deed of reservation, were dispossessed from their land and exiled to homelands about 400 km away from their known homes (Everingham & Jannecke, 2006). The AmaMfengu land was subsequently given on a subsidised basis to white farmers (see Appendix 5). Even more dire was the separation of families and neighbours as the Dutch-speaking and/or other natives who are believed to have been Khoi were left in the Clarkson Mission Station, which was declared a Coloured only area by the apartheid regime (Everingham & Jannecke, 2006).

#### *4.2.2.4.2 Farmland owners, labour reserves, and farm dweller resettlement: Langkloof case*

The Langkloof farms and settlements (Figure 4.4) are located in the valley and are surrounded by the GRNP and provincial nature reserves bordering the Tsitsikamma mountains and Langkloof mountains and Kouga mountains.



**Figure 4.4 A map of the Langkloof with township/village settlements, farmland, and protected areas surrounding the GRNP (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe; Monica Feinen)**

White farmers are understood to have settled in the Langkloof from 1760 (Cockburn, 2018). In the second decade of the 1800s, white farmers started producing commercial deciduous fruits, which led to a decrease in the relative importance of other types of farming (Bekker, Humphries & Meterlerkamp, 1982). By 1899, the Langkloof, like the surrounding districts of George, Humansdorp, and Knysna, was demarcated as farmlands with a few labelled Crown Lands. These can be assumed to have been obtained through three forms of ownership, namely the quitrent property, freehold property, and loan places (see Section 4.2.1). By the apartheid era, the Langkloof farming community was reported to be “a valley in which modern mechanised agricultural techniques are employed to specialise in the production of deciduous fruit mainly apples. Farms are owned by whites, and most farm workers are (classified)

Coloured. A substantial number of Black farm workers are also employed” (Bekker et al., 1982: 1).

In the repressive regime, the main form of settlement for workers was farm dwelling and a few townships. These were farm labour reserves, such as ones in Krakeel and Twee Riviere. However, this began to shift in the 1980s as more and more farmers dispossessed or resettled their workers into the townships (Bekker et al., 1982; Liebenberg, 1996). It is not clear whether there was any form of landownership or rights that were held by workers in this type of settlement, except for one commonage that was allocated for a township in Twee Riviere during the apartheid regime (Fieldnotes, 2019).

Labour reserves are spread across the Langkloof and house generational farmworkers. Traditionally, the labour in the Langkloof was supplied by the Coloured workforce. This was due to many reasons, including the early workers in the Langkloof who were Khoi and San but identified as Coloured over the centuries (Cockburn, 2018). Also, Langkloof farmers had adopted the policy of Coloured Labour Preference, even though farmers continued to recruit casual Black labour (Bekker et al., 1982). This, along with the apartheid state’s handling and near-erasure of complex native identities in the Clarkson-AmaMfengu communities in Tsitsikamma (Everingham & Jannecke, 2006), had implications for constructions of belonging and the legitimation of the mixed-race Coloured as workers/citizens of the landscape.

#### **4.2.3 The repressive regime’s exploration of NTFPs for white settler sustenance and commercial exploitation**

While issues of land distribution provide context to exclusions embedded at landscape level and experienced more directly in the city peripheries, the concurrent state interest in the flora and fauna for economic and subsistence purposes is vital to expand histories of exclusion beyond resource harvesting. The colonial state in South Africa had a clear interest in NTFPs and accumulated epistemic power about their use as

global commodities. Such interests are evidenced by documentation of vegetation either by the Vereenigde Nederlandsche Geoctroyeerde Oostindische Compagnie's Simon van der Stel formal expedition (Van der Stel, 1685) or by informal casual stops of missionaries such as Christian Latrobe (Latrobe, 1818), a clergyman of the Moravian church who established missionary settlements across the Cape province. Latrobe's notes have been used as part of evidence by government to establish Khoi and San as rightful knowledge holders behind honeybush use (DFFE, 2014). These journals are not without interactions with Indigenous communities, particularly Khoi and San, either as laypersons accompanying the colonists scouting for species of value and/or on church mission visits. Pappe (1857), without citing natives in any explicit sense, prefaced his collection on Cape medical drugs by stating that "the greater part of our information [...] we owe, not so much to scientific research, as to the experience of the colonial farmer, residing in the more remote parts of the interior, to occasional travellers, or to the wandering native"(Pappe, 1857). The interest in NTFPs was not only for knowledge production purposes but also for "furnish[ing] colonists in British South African provinces [with] a clear and concise descriptive catalogue of the vegetable productions of their adopted country" (Harvey & Sonder, 1859). As a result, it is pertinent to premise NTFPs explorations with Indigenous communities as givers of knowledge and custodians of resources that supported settler sustenance and subsequent commercial exploitation. The exclusion of Indigenous communities from NTFP use and benefits thus has affected their epistemic contribution over time, their power as custodians, and access to the species for both sustenance and commercial exploitation.

#### **4.2.3.1 Disruption of and exclusion from epistemic contribution**

The use of South African NTFPs by colonists and European scholars created new knowers, actors, and life worlds for species such as honeybush. The institutionalisation of NTFPs documentation in the 1830s through the establishment of the South African Institution may have indexed a collective societal knowledge production that

undermined what Fricker (2015: 12) calls “the capability [of Indigenous communities] to contribute epistemic materials to the shared pool of epistemic resources”. The South African Institution aimed at “investigating the geography, natural history, and general resources of South Africa” (South African Institution, 1830: 8). The Institution subsequently supported the documentation of plants of value and those new to science as this was vital for the Cape Colony’s involvement in scientific research and for establishing the economies of the colonies (South African Institution, 1830). This colonial search for plants of value by the South African Institute was not limited to the Cape province but also expanded to other Southern African countries. Governor Terao’s memoir of the Portuguese settlement (Mozambique) summarised the colonial society interest as follows:

The whole mass of colonial industry may be reduced to a single point of view, of which the object is to obtain from the lands the greatest possible produce, of those articles which are calculated for the soil and climate, and to furnish sufficient quantities for the purposes of export, commerce, and navigation. Such colonies as do not yield those advantages, and fall short in agriculture and industry, are but a dead and abortive weight upon the mother country. (Governor Terao, 1830)

Despite the institutionalisation of knowledge production and inclusion of NTFPs in the colonial agenda (Colonial Veterinary Surgeon, 1895), the archival evidence illustrates that in practice they appear to have been afterthoughts in the active pursuit of economic development of the colony. By way of example, there was no policy for developing wild economies, although harvesting from the wild was administered using a forest policy. A search for plants in 1895 that led to suggestions and interest in fostering minor industries through cultivation was initiated for the purpose of protecting livestock from poisonous plants. As such, several wild plants went through chemical analysis and testimonial knowledge collection. The resulting interest in minor industries is noted in a letter, dated 23 November 1894, from the Under-Secretary for Agriculture to the Colonial Veterinary Surgeon who led the search. The letter states the following:

The question of fostering minor industries—such as the cultivation of indigenous plants of commercial value—is a very important matter and I would suggest £50 being placed on next year's estimate. At present we have no vote against which we could charge expenses for procuring plants in large quantities for markets. (The Under-Secretary for Agriculture, 1894)

Regardless of efforts to develop industries through cultivation, most NTFPs remained in local markets and household use until the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when industries such as rooibos were pioneered through cultivation (Stander et al., 2019). Drivers of commercial cultivation in the 1800s seemed to have been economic expansion; for example, the cultivation of honeybush was suggested in response to local teas being overtaken by foreign teas (Tennant, 1894). Drivers evolved into cultivation in response to increasing demand for specific NTFPs and the resulting threats of over-exploitation, such as the case with herbal medicine in KwaZulu-Natal (de Lange & Botha, 1989) and honeybush in response to the increasing use of its wild populations for local markets in the 1920s and 1950s (Hofmeyr & Phillips, 1922; Kies, 1951).

### **4.3 The democratic regime period: 1994-present day (2020)**

In 1994, apartheid officially ended, and with it, the colonial era in South Africa. Those who were subjects were accepted as equal citizens with full political rights along with the whites (Mamdani, 1996). These rights are principally mediated by the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act 108 of 1996). Land restitution and redistribution policies were launched to address the skewed landownership of the repressive regime and facilitate land reform, including access to the parks and protected areas. Land reform programmes are ongoing and are discussed in this section. This section also touches on changes in the use of NTFPs.

### **4.3.1 Implementation of land reforms**

The democratic regime through Section 25 (1)-(8) of the Constitution has a duty to pass legislation and adopt mechanisms to ensure rights to security of land tenure, equitable access to land, and measures for redistribution of land. Various laws and implementation mechanisms have been passed to make provisions for the three components of the land reform programme outlined in a 1997 White Paper on South African Land Policy, namely restitution, redistribution, and tenure reform (DLA, 1997). Restitution provided for those who were dispossessed of their land, and they were able to submit claims up to the December 1998 cutoff date. Redistribution aims to allocate commercial farmland to disadvantaged individuals and communities to foster improved livelihood and quality of life. Tenure reform is to address the insecure rights to land in the former homelands or 'bantustans' (R. Hall & Cliffe, 2009; DLA, 1997).

A land audit conducted by the Department of Land Affairs in 2017 showed that the skewed racial ownership of land had not been resolved and that 79% of land was in private ownership by individuals, trusts, and companies, with 72% of agricultural land still in the hands of white farmers, 15% owned by Coloureds, 5% by Indians, and 4% by Black Africans (Land Audit Report, 2017). An all-round key indicator that the democratic regime has failed to deliver on land reform has been its inability to achieve its target of 30% redistribution of agricultural land by 2015 set out in the Reconstruction and Development Programme (Ngcukaitobi, 2021). These failures are linked to the inadequacies of implementation mechanisms to deliver on restitution, redistribution, and tenure reforms. The challenges of land reform implementation mechanisms are outlined in Table 4.4.

**Table 4.4 Land reform implementation mechanisms in South Africa**

<b>Land reform implementation mechanism</b>	<b>Aim</b>	<b>Support mechanism</b>	<b>Challenges delivering redistribution, tenure reform, and restitution</b>
<b>The Settlement Land Acquisition Grant</b>	A land redistribution measure established in 1995 to enable the purchase of property from willing sellers	R16 000 per beneficiary	Seller driven with large number of communal beneficiaries that fizzle out, leading to project distress or mandate failure (Aliber & Cousins, 2013)
<b>The Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD)</b>	A land redistribution measure established in 2001 to fund and promote Black and/or emerging farmers	R20 000–R100 000 per beneficiary	Larger portions of land with fewer beneficiaries and insufficient grants (Aliber & Cousins, 2013)
<b>Comprehensive Agricultural Support Programme (CASAP)</b>	Established in 2004 to complement LRAD as support to emerging farmers who acquire land	Agricultural support by national and provincial departments	Interdepartmental programme alignment and coordination (R. Hall & Cliffe, 2009).
<b>Municipal Commonage Schemes</b>	Land to be disposed for use by poor members of the community	Municipality purchases, manages, and owns the land	Leasing a commonage to the highest bidder or use for few members of the community. Not effective in improving lives of the poor (DLA, 1997; Business Enterprises, 2013)
<b>Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy</b>	A land redistribution measure established in 2006 for acquisition of land by the state for lease to beneficiaries	Private sector Black economic empowerment financing channels (mainly banking sector)	Supply led initiative and property acquired might not be good for beneficiaries (R. Hall, 2009a).
<b>Land and Agrarian Reform Project (LARP)</b>	A land redistribution measure established in 2008. Redistribution of 5 million hectares of	Different service providers. Support provided through the regular mandates and	Transferring more land to fewer people compared to previous programmes. Private

<b>Land reform implementation mechanism</b>	<b>Aim</b>	<b>Support mechanism</b>	<b>Challenges delivering redistribution, tenure reform, and restitution</b>
	white owned agricultural land. Scales up the average land size per beneficiary to 500 ha	budgets of individual stakeholders	and agribusiness oriented (R. Hall, 2009)
<b>Recapitalisation and Development Programme (RADP)</b>	Funding response to assist distressed farms acquired from 1994	Links beneficiaries with strategic partners/mentors	Mentors or strategic partners may not be effective (Maka & Aliber, 2019)

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

Several legal provisions have been made to facilitate access to land and land rights for the communities living adjacent to the GRNP and Langkloof. However, redistribution programmes are the most prominent with few restitution cases.

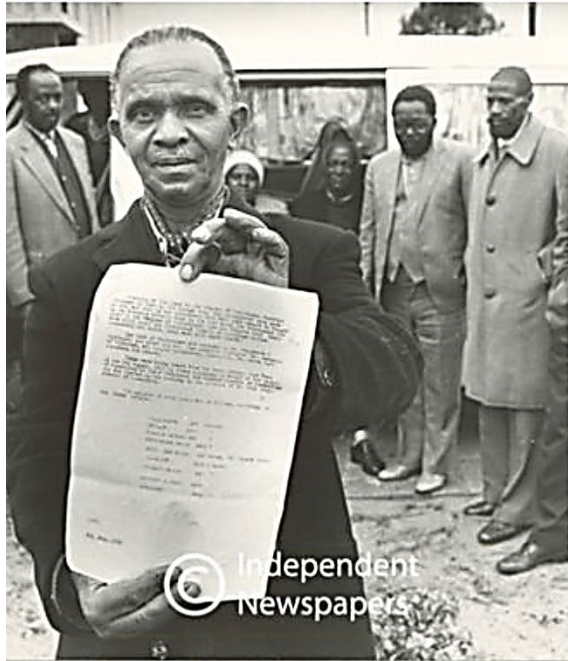
**4.3.1.1 Redistribution programmes**

Land redistribution has been facilitated through the Settlement Land Acquisition Grant, Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD), the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy, and municipal commonages. Examples of these are in the Langkloof with three LRAD farms distributed from the early 2000s, four Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy farms, and two commonages (Finweek, 2014; de Laat, 2017; Fieldnotes, 2019). The programmes have benefited large groups of farm workers who inherited commercial farms, for example, the Eve Brand LRAD farm in Misgund. Others have benefited farm dwellers who have received portions of land, for example, the 20-hectare land owned by workers on Groendal farm in Louterwater (De Laat, 2017; Fieldnotes, 2019). The five Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy farms’ beneficiaries have varied: One included a group of eight farmworkers in the Heights area (a subregion between Joubertina and Kareedouw) who came together and sought assistance from the Department of Agriculture Land Reform and Rural Development, and the other three were single families from Haarlem. The land under redistribution

was predominantly for commercial farming. The two commonages were established before the democratic regime but are currently under municipal management (Fieldnotes, 2019).

#### **4.3.1.2 Restitution claims**

There are two key restitution claims that have been settled in the GRNP, namely the Covie community and the AmaMfengu claim. These have facilitated legal transfer of land ownership to families and individuals who held a title and those who resided as squatters with no rights before dispossession (Jannecke, 2006). The Covie claim was lodged in 1996, and in 2021, their land was returned. The Covie community was established in 1883 in Tsitsikamma and was part of many communities around and inside the GRNP that derived a livelihood from woodcutting and fishing (Kleinbooi & Lahiff, 2007). Their claim also involved 733 ha of commonage and the portions of arable allotments that the community was dispossessed of when the commonage was proclaimed as a protected area in 1964 (Kleinbooi & Lahiff, 2007). Figure 4.6 shows both communities, with AmaMfengu in 1982 during their fight for their land, and the land transfer ceremony in Covie in 2021 for a case that took 25 years to be resolved.



(a) source: Independent newspaper archives, 1982



(b) source: News24, 2021

**Figure 4.5 Land settlement claim wins by two communities in honeybush growing regions: (a) Amafengu leader displaying their deed of sale of land they were removed from in 1977, and (b) Western Cape Premier Alan Winde and former Deputy President of South Africa David Mabuza at the Covie land settlement transfer in April 2021**

#### **4.3.1.3 Independent land purchases and/or arrangements**

Some communities that settled on commercial farms as labour in the 1800s were without title deeds and remained on farms, either residing in townships or as farm dwellers. They do not qualify for restitution because they were never moved and have over the centuries negotiated their user rights and purchased land using social networks. They are largely dependent on commercial farmers or churches. For example, the Haarlem community has relied on participating in land markets over time using what one might call early conceptualisations of land redistribution led by the private sector. This was the case when the community bought one of the old

commercial farms, Anhalt, in the vicinity of Haarlem in the 1970s. The arrangement was like that of the Proactive Land Acquisition Strategy programme where the state buys the land, and the community acquires a loan to purchase it. The Haarlem commonage was also purchased through loans, in contrast to it being demarcated for use by government as community members in earlier years had to contribute to repayments. Both the commonage and a community commercial farm are titled private land. These are managed using the current land reform management strategies such as municipal commonage and the communal property associations (CPAs), respectively. CPAs are a form of land trust provided for under the 2014 Communal Land Tenure Policy (Clark & Luwaya, 2017)

#### ***4.3.1.4 Neo-exclusionary inclusions in agricultural land in the democratic regime***

In the case of land reforms, exclusion is seen as not a penal tactic but as a mechanism towards fixing a social problem, which is inequality in landholdings (Hall et al., 2011). However, exclusions that have occurred after the settlement of claims and transfer to victims of the repressive regime are vital to unpack as they determine whether the structural violence created by such exclusions, such as the denial and constrained agency in accessing natural resources and ability to use of land, is resolved. This has been identified as highly dependent on the land management type adopted and/or attached to the reform program (Hall, 2009b). Thus, the neo-exclusions inclusions that are prevalent among the beneficiaries in the GRNP and Langkloof depend on the adopted land management types; these are outlined in Table 4.5. In a much broader sense, the democratic regime has maintained colonial tenure patterns and lagged in tenure reforms, which has implications for beneficiaries as the state and agribusiness continue to partner in legitimating uses of land and landholding patterns.

**Table 4.5 Typologies of management patterns in the GRNP and Langkloof**

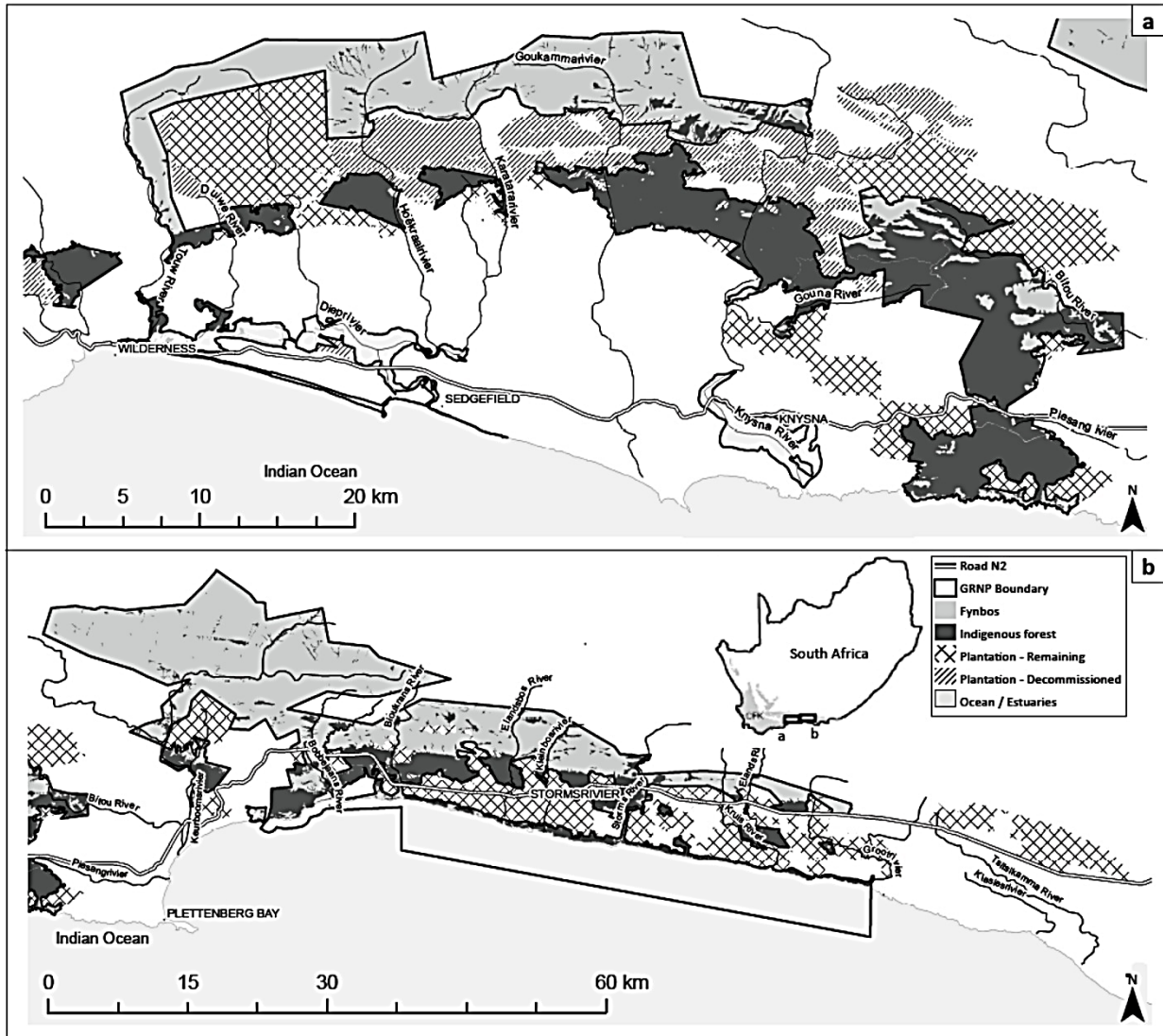
<b>Land management typology</b>	<b>Type of land reform</b>	<b>Beneficiary landownership</b>	<b>Use of typology in GRNP &amp; Langkloof</b>
<b>Communal property associations (CPAs)</b>	Restitution and redistribution	Titled, communal, and/or group user rights	Yes
<b>Trusts</b>	Restitution and redistribution	Titled, communal, and/or group user rights	Yes
<b>Share equity schemes</b>	Redistribution	No title, partial ownership	Yes
<b>Municipality schemes</b>	Redistribution	No title, state ownership	Yes
<b>Contracts farming</b>	Redistribution	No title, partial ownership	Yes

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

Another prevalent form of exclusion is white farmers' use of environmentalism as a ticket to denying access to natural resources and participating in land redistribution programmes. Research in the Eastern Cape, for example, shows such approaches have led to the conversion of commercial, often white owned farms, into private nature reserves (Siedenburg, 2020). In other areas, landowners have enrolled in biodiversity stewardship programmes, designed as a tool to facilitate the Protected Areas Expansion Strategy, which aims to expand protected areas into ecosystems that are underrepresented and to cost-effectively achieve ecological sustainability (Cockburn et al., 2019). These nature-caring duties have helped landowners lawfully remove farm dwellers and avoid land reform requirements in honeybush regions by using environmentalism to deny resource rights to those without land (Peluso & Ribot, 2020). Farms are important for access to NTFPs as they have supported enterprises for owners and their farmworkers, but in the process have excluded communities from the landscape.

### **4.3.2 Access to forests and resource rights in the democratic regime**

The problem of marginalisation from the use and access to the environment was recognised in initial versions of the Reconstruction and Development Program policy of the African National Congress (1994), which noted that “apartheid legislation distorted access to natural resources, denying the majority of South Africans the use of land, water, fisheries, minerals, wildlife and clean air”. Some efforts have been made by government to redress concerns of access and participation in natural resource use. However, inequalities in economic benefits from the use of forests and vegetation between communities, landowners, and companies persist despite the interventions described. This is exemplified by experiences in the Harkerville community and commercial plantations, which both have a history spanning from the colonial regime. The Harkerville community was displaced from their forest land, and in the democratic regime, are poised as target beneficiaries of natural products value chains, having been granted one hectare of land to produce NTFPs. They are part of cultivation enterprises at national level and provincial projects such as the Bitou Agroforestry and Natural Products Project (Bitou Municipality, 2013). However, these initiatives are taking place without returning communities to their land and the ways their ancestors used the forest. Conversely, companies who participated in woodcutting as a major forest land use in the colonial regime are still present in the state forest, although they have shapeshifted since 1994 as state commercial plantations under SAFCOL were auctioned to private companies across the country. In the Midland conservancy, a winning bidder was Cape Timber Resources (generally referred to as MTO), which took over forest commercialisation in 2004 and was granted a 70-year lease in the GRNP to administer former plantations (Louw, 2004; Kraaij et al., 2011). Figure 4.6 shows the current GRNP demarcations and land uses.



**Figure 4.6 The GRNP showing the land uses within the park, including commercial forest plantations, fynbos where NTFPS would grow, and indigenous forest (Source: Kraaij et al., 2011)**

Efforts to redress access and participation in natural resource use include the People and Parks programme, a national initiative adopted at the 2003 IUCN World Parks Congress to address community issues related to conservation, and Participatory Forest Management, established through the National Forests Act of 1998. Another initiative is the Working for Water programme, which was established in 1995 as a job creation and ecosystem restoration project in landscapes invaded by invasive species

(Mcconnachie et al., 2013). In addition, community-based natural resource management (CBNRM) guidelines have been put in place. However, no clear CBNRM policy has been passed and the guidelines seem to only serve the purposes of consolidating what communities and institutions were already doing to formulate a national collective understanding of what CBNRM entails (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 2003).

Research shows that, except for Working for Water, the implementation of these initiatives in the Garden Route and the Langkloof regions has lagged and/or where implemented has not yielded benefits (Holmes-Watts & Watts, 2008; Olivier, 2013). The Working for Water is being implemented widely in the Garden Route and Langkloof, and communities are contracted to clear the invasive plants engulfing private farms, commonages, and state land. Figure 4.7 shows an example of a commonage that is infested with invasives. The invasives that are cleared by Working for Water programme predominantly include pine, black wattle, and hakea (Southwood, 1982; Mulkerrins, 2015).



**Figure 4.7 Haarlem commonage and mountains with invasive species from timber plantations (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

The prevalence of the Working for Water programme in predominantly commercial farming regions could also be attributed to the Alien and Invasive Species Regulations (National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act, No. 10 of 2004, regulations, 2016) that requires all landowners to have management plans for alien and invasive plant clearing.

### **4.3.3 Policies, laws, and institutions influencing the use of NTFPs**

The democratic government's interest in wild product economies is reflected first in the 1997 White Paper on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of Biodiversity in South

Africa. The document celebrates the diversity of nature and cultures, emphasises participation, and aligns environmental policy to the three objectives of the 1992 CBD that the country ratified in 1995 (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1997). The objectives are the conservation of biodiversity, the sustainable use of biological resources, and the fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the use of genetic resources (CBD, 1992). Subsequent legislation (Table 4.6), such as the National Environmental Management Act of 1998, outlines mechanisms for participation in conservation and use of natural resources, while the National Environmental Biodiversity Management Act of 2004 strongly advocates for biodiversity economies and for ABS.

**Table 4.6 Policy and legislation regulating commercial use of honeybush**

<b>Legislation/regulations</b>	<b>Provisions/relevant details</b>
<b>International commitments</b>	
CBD's Nagoya Protocol on Access to Genetic Resources and the Fair and Equitable Sharing of Benefits Arising from their Utilization (2014)	Advances the third objective of the CBD of 1992 to promote the use of genetic resources and associated traditional knowledge and strengthen the opportunities for fair and equitable sharing of benefits from their use.
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species: (1973)	Recognises that international cooperation is essential for the protection of certain species of wild fauna and flora against over-exploitation through international trade. Commits South Africa to international conservation efforts.
<b>National regulatory framework</b>	
Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (No. 108 of 1996)	Supreme legislation giving provisions for conservation and ecological sustainability in the Bill of Rights (Chapter 2).
White Paper on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of South Africa's Biological Diversity (1997)	Objective 3 outlines policy provisions for "access to indigenous genetic resources" (3.1), "access to genetic resources for food, agriculture and forestry" (3.2).
National Forests Act (No. 84 of 1998)	Regulates forest use and management. The preamble stipulates that the economic, social, and environmental benefits of forests were distributed unfairly in the past.

<b>Legislation/regulations</b>	<b>Provisions/relevant details</b>
National Environmental Management: Protected Areas Act (No. 57 of 2003)	Provides for the protection and conservation of ecologically viable areas, representative of South Africa's biological diversity and its natural landscapes and seascapes.
National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act (No. 10 of 2004)	Provides for equity in bioprospecting (Chapter 6), permitting arrangements for bioprospecting involving indigenous biological resources (Chapter 7) and conservation and sustainable use.
National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act (No. 10 of 2004): Threatened or Protected Species Regulations	Makes regulations relating to listed TOPS
National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act (No. 10 of 2004): Regulations on Bioprospecting, Access, and Benefit Sharing (No. R138 of 2008)	Lays out requirements for benefit-sharing agreements
National Environmental Laws Amendment Act (No. 14 of 2009)	Amends National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act. 2004 No. 10 of 2004 and sets out procedure for the discovery phase in bioprospecting project, considers knowledge of specific individuals when issuing bioprospecting permit
Intellectual Property Laws Amendment Bill (2010)	Makes various provisions for the recognition of Indigenous knowledge and heritage. Provides for further protection of geographical indications, recognition of terms and expressions of Indigenous origin and for the registration of such terms and expressions as trademarks.
National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act (No. 10 of 2004): Amendments to the regulations on bioprospecting, access, and benefit sharing (2015)	Prescribe the notification process for the discovery phase of bioprospecting, and criteria for benefit-sharing and material transfer agreements and the administration process of the Bioprospecting Trust Fund.
Protection, Promotion, Development and Management of Indigenous Knowledge Act (No. 6 of 2019)	Provides for the protection, promotion, development, and management of Indigenous knowledge
<b>Provincial ordinances</b>	
Nature and Environmental Conservation Ordinance (Ordinance No.19 of 1974)	Passed by the apartheid government, prohibits picking of flora in provincial or local nature reserves in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape

Legislation/regulations	Provisions/relevant details
	provinces. The Eastern Cape government uses it to inform their permitting system and ensure no honeybush tea may be obtained from persons who are not registered.
Provincial Notice No. 955 of 1975 (dated: 29 August 1975)	Aids permitting system. Used to track the sales of NTFPs by ensuring that prescribed invoices are issued to buyers when delivered and sold to them.
Western Cape Nature Conservation Laws Amendment Act (No. 3 of 2000)	A revision and re-publishing of the Nature and Environmental Conservation Ordinance (Ordinance No.19 of 1974). Prohibition on picking of flora in provincial or local nature reserve is maintained by state authorities.
Eastern Cape Nature Conservation Amendment of Schedule 4 (of Ordinance No.19 of 1974), 2011	Amendments to the protected flora section; schedule four to list certain honeybush species as protected.

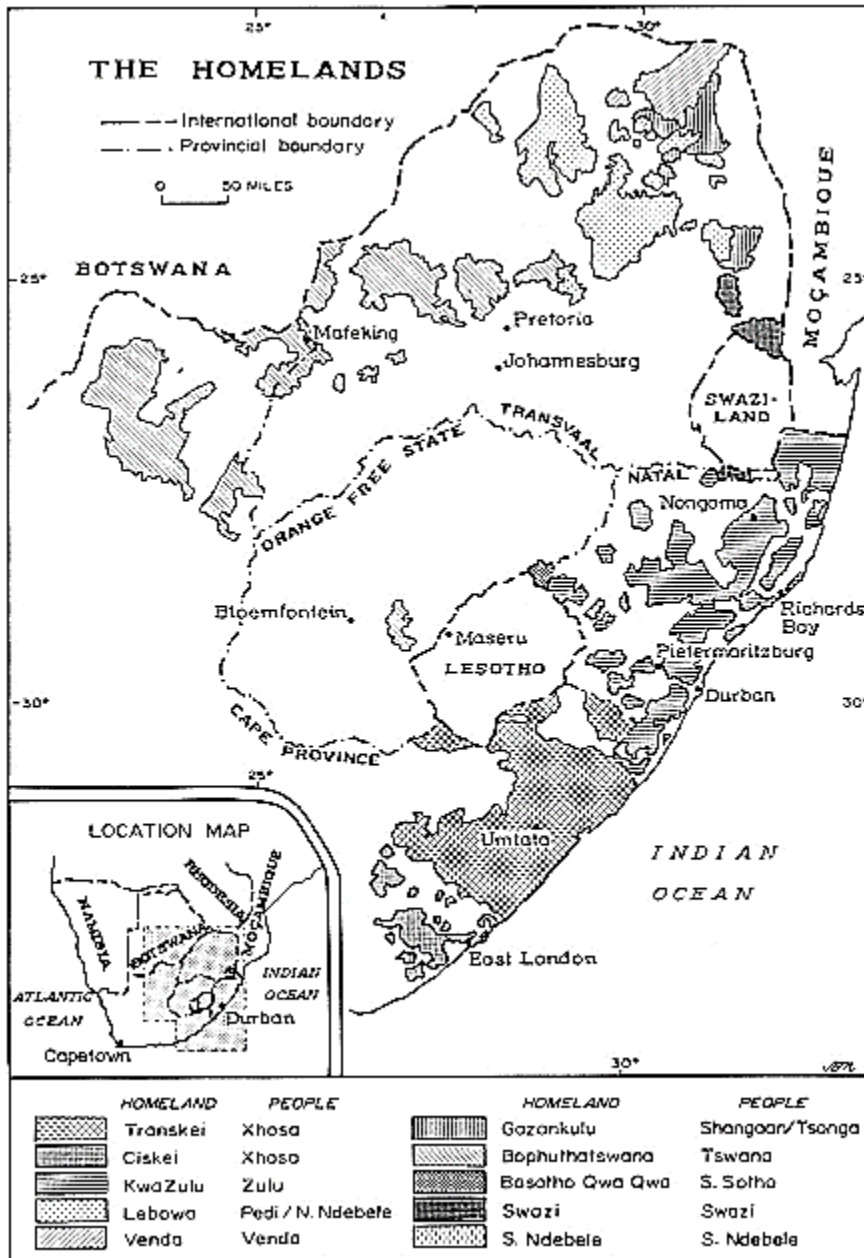
Biotrade (local or international trade of NTFPs in bulk raw material) and bioprospecting (exploration of NTFPs for biochemicals and genetic material) economies (Wynberg et al., 2015) are provided for in the National Environmental Laws Amendment Act 14 of 2009, which provides inter alia for the development of biodiversity management plans, and considerations related to bioprospecting permits. The implementation of the legislation for biodiversity-based economies is guided by the draft National Biodiversity Economy Strategy, which is linked to the 2015 National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan (DFFE, 2015). The current focus of the democratic government is to upscale flora and fauna commercialisation and to transform the biodiversity economy by bringing in those who were marginalised and/or repressed (DFFE, 2016).

**4.3.4 Access and benefit sharing: A state approach to redress and justice in the commercialisation of natural resources**

The ABS framework introduced an international transactional approach for facilitating epistemic and economic justice between resource and knowledge holders, who are typically Indigenous and local communities in the Global South, and users, who are

typically industry players in the Global North and South. For South Africa, ABS has become a key tool for redress and addressing inequalities resulting from centuries of exclusions in the use of NTFPs (Wynberg, 2017, 2023). To date, the government has issued over 130 ABS permits (Wynberg, 2023) and has facilitated several key benefit-sharing agreements between industry and traditional knowledge holders and/or indigenous and local communities. These have included the *Hoodia* agreement in 2003, the rooibos agreement in 2019, and the buchu agreement in 2023 (Wynberg et al., 2009; Schroeder et al., 2020; Baard, 2023).

In the Garden Route and Langkloof regions, ABS negotiations have involved the National Khoi and San Council (NKSC) and the South African San Council, whom the government has recognised as representatives of Indigenous Khoi and San peoples, who are the traditional knowledge holders for some commercialised plants (DFFE, 2014). The formation of the NKSC was initiated at the dawn of democracy by the late President Nelson Mandela as a temporary negotiating body for Khoi and San people who had suffered severe loss of identity, languages, cultures, land, and several other disruptions at the hands of the colonial regime (Penn, 2005; Le Fleur, 2016; Schroeder et al., 2020; Jansen & Sutherland, 2020; Wynberg et al., 2023). Further recognition of Indigenous Khoi and San are provided in the Traditional and Khoi-San Leadership Act of 2019. However, unlike the traditional authorities who were settled and/or dispossessed to homelands, such as the Rharhabe chiefdom in the Eastern Cape who hold benefit-sharing agreements based on their traditional knowledge of *Pelargonium sidoides* (Morris, 2019), the establishment of the Khoi and San leadership structures is at odds with the lived realities of legitimacy and lack of coherence as to who could claim belonging. The Rharhabe chiefdom and other black Africans who were disposed or confined into homelands (Figure 4.8) by the repressive regime were able to maintain awareness of (ethnic) belonging, heritage and cultures.



**Figure 4.8 Map showing the homelands (Source: Butler et al., 1978).**

The Indigenous Khoi and San issues of legitimacy and belonging were exemplified in the case of the ≠Khomani San land claim in 1995 where the name ≠Khomani San as an identity did not resonate with some beneficiaries who identified as Coloured “as no

single unifying ethnic identity for the southern Kalahari San existed before the land claim” (Ellis, 2015: 127).

The rooibos ABS agreement signed on 25 March 2019 by the rooibos industry and the state-recognised Khoi and San leadership structures offered hope for redress and justice in the biodiversity-based economies. More importantly, the rooibos agreement provided a glimpse of restoration of dignity and healing for the Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people who remain fractured and live with wounds of the repressive regime (Jansen & Sutherland, 2020; Schroeder et al., 2020). However, the rooibos case also revealed the institutional exclusions that are embedded in the ABS framework’s persistent use of the language of “first” and a universalising concept of indigeneity in determining rightful beneficiaries and indigenous knowledge holders (Ives, 2014; Dutfield et al., 2020). These institutional exclusions undermined the very notion of redress when it became apparent that the ABS agreement negotiations had sidelined marginalised and largely Coloured identifying cooperatives who did not or had not yet positioned themselves as traditional knowledge holders but had been farming rooibos for about 20 years (Wynberg et al., 2023). Additionally, these Coloured identifying rooibos farmers were lumped together with white producers (beneficiaries of the repressive regime) to contribute an ABS fee to the bioprospecting trust fund, regardless of their marginal status in the industry (Wynberg et al., 2023).

The diversity and different settlement patterns of Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people of the Garden Route and Langkloof may present a challenge like that of rooibos and the ≠Khomani San assumptions that indigeneity claims and belonging will not be contested. To use the language of the CBD, the Indigenous peoples and local communities is comprised of Coloured (mixed-race), AmaMfengu, and black Africans (predominantly AmaXhosa), and Khoi and San chieftaincies who may not affiliate themselves with the NKSC. As discussed in Subsection 4.2.2.4, these groups of people have varying situated histories and belonging claims to the landscapes that grow honeybush.

## 4.4 Conclusion

The history shared in this chapter reveals entrenched subordination and hierarchies in the enjoyment of benefits from natural resources. Some actors, particularly the state and white private landowners, control access to resources, while others have had to maintain access through them. Ribot and Peluso (2003) speak of access control and maintenance as complementary lenses that bring a political economic angle to the analysis of access. In their study on resettlement impact on access to livelihoods and natural resources in Mozambique, Milgroom and Ribot (2020) used access control and maintenance to navigate hierarchies between authorities and communities. Their study reveals how a loss of access control is akin to a loss of authority because access control constitutes authority (Milgroom & Ribot, 2020). This chapter provided context to an access hierarchy (having a divide between those who need and those who control access) configured in the repressive regime and maintained in the democratic regime. The access (ability to benefit from things) hierarchy is reproduced through several forms of unresolved exclusions.

This chapter discussed the historical underpinnings of differential access and exclusionary use of natural resource in the honeybush growing regions of South Africa, including exclusions that occur through epistemic injustices in the use of wild plants. Such exclusions are often discussed separately from the raw material supply to which communities are relegated in commercialisation. The next chapter focuses on honeybush commercialisation in the repressive regime.

## CHAPTER 5

# COMMERCIALISATION: MAKING HONEYBUSH A PLANT OF VALUE

### 5.1 Introduction

Honeybush is known in its localities as bush tea, and its popular vernacular name used by participants in this study is *heuningbostee*. It is traditionally consumed for its health properties and as a leisure beverage (Du Toit et al., 1998; Bester et al., 2016; Joubert et al., 2017). The leaves, flowers, and stems of *Cyclopia* spp. have been and still are traditionally used to produce herbal tea. The first available evidence of honeybush use as a medicine and beverage is from the 1800s, when it was mainly used as a medicine. In a description of drugs in the Cape Colony exhibition in Paris, bush tea (*C. genistoides*) was introduced as a plant “used in a form of tea for chronic cough and consumption” with remarks made that the “the smell of the leaves is agreeable, and the taste is sweet and astringent” (The Paris Exhibition, 1878: 85). This is in line with the description that “in the form of decoction or infusion is often made use of for the purpose of promoting expectoration in chronic catarrh, and even in consumption” (Pappe, 1857: 72). Theodor Caspareuthus, who founded the first branded product of honeybush, is cited in Bolam (1907) in an archival letter dated 24 April 1907 stating that “for some years he knew or was of the opinion that the Herb known to the natives here as ‘bush tea’ contained valuable medicinal qualities”. Bowie (1830) noted that it is used by colonists as a restorative. From the 1900s onwards, honeybush species were more popular as local tea beverages sold across the country with the name bush tea being applied mostly to *Cyclopia* spp. (Marloth, 1909; Hofmeyr & Phillips, 1922). The medicinal properties of honeybush tea are intertwined with its use as a tea beverage as these make it unique to caffeinated beverages according to an observation made in 1894 in a request for government to prioritise local teas over imports (Tennant, 1894). It was its medicinal properties that enabled industry encouragement in 1907 that led

to the first branded product (Bolam, 1907, 1907b; Caspareuthus, 1907). By the 1920s, honeybush tea was sold across South Africa as a local tea with the demand prompting recommendations for cultivation (Hofmeyr & Phillips, 1922). The market demand for herbal products long observed by Kies (1951) and in popular opinion (Ludman, 1983) was a motivation for the product rediscovery and industry development in the 1990s (Du Toit et al., 1998; Joubert et al., 2011).

This chapter discusses activities and processes involved in making honeybush a tea of commerce during the repressive regime. The first section places honeybush in the global search for plants of value and explains how its value continues to be explored in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. It highlights the occurrence of hermeneutical injustice in the exploration of honeybush as methods from scientific fields, such as botany and chemistry, are used to assert credibility to establish epistemic authority. The second section discusses the generational practice of honeybush tea production drawn from experiences of place-based communities and generational landowners. It highlights the traditional tea-making and contribution of local honeybush markets. The third section is juxtaposed with the second section in that it provides activities that were involved in making honeybush a tea of commerce by merchants and the state. The last section pulls together the chapter with an analysis of the convergence of epistemic exclusion and institutionalised exclusion in honeybush commercialisation.

## **5.2 Honeybush as a plant of value**

The search for plants of value is as old as humankind, and there is written evidence of plant collection and expeditions dating back to 1495 BC (Juma, 1989). Honeybush first appears in literature in an 18<sup>th</sup> century botanical text as “an illustration in Pluk. Phyt. 4: t. 413, fig. 5 (1705) under the title *Genista rosmarinifolio triphyllos Promont, Bonae Spei*” (Kies, 1951: 1). Since then, botanists have identified honeybush species new to colonial science, with 23 species documented to date under the genus *Cyclopia* (Schutte, 1997). European colonial collectors of the 1700s, such as Carl Peter

Thunberg, and others in the 1800s, such as Etienne Ventenat (1808), Augustin Pyramus de Candolle (1825) and James Bowie (1830), introduced honeybush to colonial science through systematic botany and its related use in medicine and pharmacognosy. Systematic botany in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries focused on explanations related to the macroscopic morphology of honeybush. This botanical search provided definitions, anatomy and physiology, classification, collection, preservation, and examination of plants. The documentation created a knowledge base for use by notable chemists and pharmacists, such as Arthur Herbert Church (1870) and Henry Greenish (1881), who conducted chemical assessments on whether honeybush contained caffeine to establish whether it qualified as a tea of commerce. Owing to globalised preference for caffeinated beverages such as tea, coffee, and cacao in the 16<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, a tea of commerce came to be understood as one with a caffeine content (MacOwen, 1894). Table 5.1 outlines some of the documentation of honeybush in the colonial era.

**Table 5.1 Honeybush introduction to colonial science in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Link to colonial South Africa and honeybush<sup>12</sup></b>	<b>Science discipline</b>
<b>1705</b>	Author Unknown [ <i>Cyclopia</i> spp. illustration in Pluk. Phyt. 4: t. 413, fig. 5]	Plant collected and/or identified in the Cape of Good Hope.	Botany
<b>1772-1775</b>	Carl Peter Thunberg	A Swedish botanist that travelled to South Africa in 1771 as a Dutch East India Company's ship doctor and plant-hunted in areas where the company's trading activities were opening territory for scientific exploration (Thunberg, 1823). Identified <i>C. genistoides</i> .	Botany & medicine

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<sup>12</sup> An office that advised government mainly on economic plants.

<b>Year</b>	<b>Author</b>	<b>Link to colonial South Africa and honeybush<sup>12</sup></b>	<b>Science discipline</b>
<b>1808</b>	Etienne Ventenat	A French botanist that received plants from South Africa. Contributed to the discovery of species new to science and their introduction into cultivation in Europe. Cultivated and sold plants (Callmander et al., 2017). Founded the genus <i>Cyclopia</i> in 1808.	Botany
<b>1825</b>	Augustin Pyramus de Candolle	No indication of a visit to South Africa. First to classify <i>Cyclopia</i> spp. Classified three <i>Cyclopia</i> spp.	Botany & medicine
<b>1829/30</b>	James Bowie	One of the first British collectors who was sent in 1816 on an official collecting trip to South Africa by Kew. Introduced many indigenous plants into cultivation (Smith & Van Wyk, 1989), including tests on honeybush domestication. He states in his work that “in the years 1825 and 1820, one species resisted the severity of British winters, though fully exposed, (without covering) to the action of frost” (Bowie, 1830: 29).	Botany
<b>1857</b>	Ludwig Pappé	First Government Botanist in South Africa. Practised in South Africa as a medical doctor and investigated the medicinal properties of local plants (Rourke, 1996).	Botany & medicine
<b>1868-1870</b>	Arthur Herbert Church	A chemistry professor that focused on agricultural chemistry and was considered an authority in London on the chemistry of plants. Had a strong interest and contribution to the arts and archaeology (Kurzer, 2006). Identified cyclopic acid and was first to examine whether honeybush contains caffeine.	Chemistry
<b>1881</b>	Henry Greenish	A professor of pharmaceutics at the University of Vienna who was credited for contributing to the knowledge base of civilisation through his methods for the microscopical examination of foods and drugs (Hudson, 2013). He examined whether honeybush could be a substitute for tea.	Pharmaceutical
<b>1881-1895</b>	Peter MacOwen	Immigrated from Britain to South Africa in 1861 as a professor of chemistry with an interest in botany. Contributed extensively to the work and establishment of herbaria. Held the Government Botany post from 1882 (Gunn	Botany & chemistry

Year	Author	Link to colonial South Africa and honeybush <sup>12</sup>	Science discipline
		& Codd 1981 collections ). Discouraged the honeybush industry development due to its lack of caffeine.	

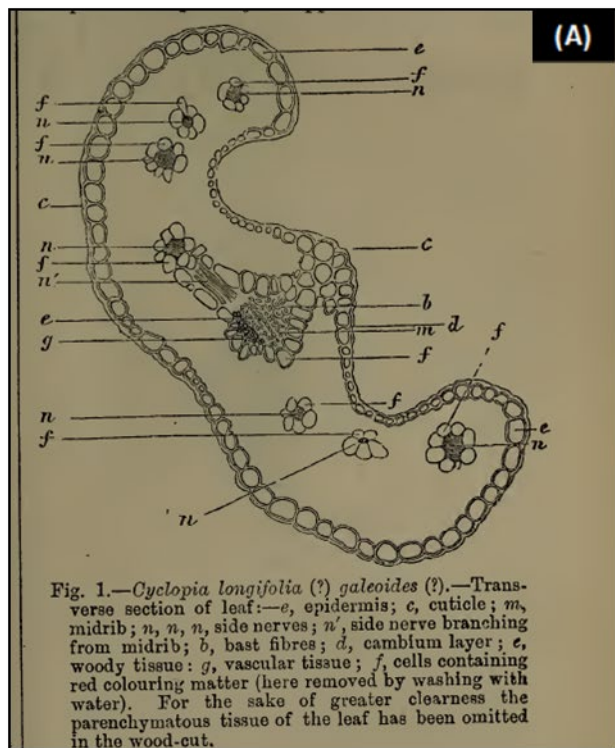
Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

The use of materia medica or pharmacognosy as a form of knowledge production gained prominence in the chemical analysis of plants documented in Southern Africa in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Materia medica or pharmacognosy is a science that aimed to gain a complete and systematic knowledge of crude drugs of animal or vegetable origin. Drugs were understood to include all parts of animals and plants that are or have been used in medicine or such that their products as have not undergone any material elaboration or separation into their constituents (Greenish, 1929). This kind of knowledge was essential for transitioning plants and animals from traditional medicine to exploring modern forms of medicine and use. In the materia medica literature, honeybush is cited as bush tea<sup>13</sup>, and along with *Abyssinian* and *Arabian* or *African tea* are categorised as allied drugs to *Camelia Thea*<sup>14</sup> (Greenish, 1929). Figure 5.1 shows images of (a) the microscopical structure of honeybush published by Greenish on a study examining *Theine* properties in 1881, and (b) a botanical illustration of honeybush published in 1810 in the Curtis botanical magazine.

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<sup>13</sup> The bush tea referred to was honeybush: “Bush tea is the leaves of various species of *Cyclopia* (Fam. Leguminosoe); it is used in S. Africa” (Greenish, 1903: 30).

<sup>14</sup> Ceylon tea



**Figure 5.1 Honeybush introduction to science through botany and pharmacopoeia: (A) Honeybush microscopic image (Source: Greenish, 1881), and (B) a drawing displayed in Curtis Botanical Magazine (Source: Sims, 1810)**

Knowledge produced in botany and in materia medica and/or pharmacology represented a universal rationality in the knowledge and valuation of the flora. The exploration of honeybush value continued over three centuries. This is evidenced in Table 5.2 that outlines honeybush-related patents through history. Outlining published patents over the years shows how innovation has evolved and who and where exclusive rights to inventions were granted. While analyses in the 19<sup>th</sup> century were conducted for purposes of developing the tea industry, the explorations have evolved to

industries including cosmetics, health, food, and alcohol. However, the tea industry has remained a niche market for honeybush, with other industries only sprouting in the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

This section placed honeybush in the global search for plants of value in the 18<sup>th</sup> century and showed how its value continues to be explored in the 21<sup>st</sup> century. The issue of hermeneutical marginalisation is at the centre of honeybush exploration from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 21<sup>st</sup> centuries. The next section provides empirical results on hermeneutical marginalisation and discusses other kinds of epistemic exclusion that occurred in honeybush use.

**Table 5.2 Honeybush-related patents in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries**

<b>Publication year</b>	<b>Patent name</b>	<b>Patent number/ref</b>	<b>Institution/ applicants</b>	<b>Industry</b>	<b>Office<sup>15</sup></b>
<b>1907</b>	Patent for an invention for improved <i>Cyclopia</i> tea	3808	Theodor Caspareuthus	Tea	SA
<b>2001</b>	A process to produce instant honeybush tea	2001/9559	Agricultural Research Council (ARC)	Tea/beverage	SA
<b>2002</b>	A process to produce green honeybush tea using vacuum-drying	2002/2802	ARC	Tea/beverage	SA
<b>2006</b>	Topical cosmetic composition	2879446	Biolog Vegetale Yves Rocher SA	Beauty/cosmetics	FR
<b>2006</b>	Tea blend of herbs and Bach flowers	8428	Trückl Heinz Rudolf, and Schrenk Astrid Maria	Tea/beverage	AT
<b>2003</b>	Food supplement	WO/2003/092413	Gardian Cipla (Proprietary) LTD	Natural products	Intl
<b>2008</b>	An anti-diabetic extract of honeybush	WO/2008/110552	ARC & Medical Research Council	Natural products	Intl
<b>2009</b>	Antimicrobial composition comprising an extract from <i>Cyclopia</i>	WO/2009/077850	ARC	Food	Intl
<b>2010</b>	Use of honeybush or honeybush extracts for skin and hair	WO/2010/000577	NESTEC S.A.	Beauty/cosmetics	Intl

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<sup>15</sup> SA = South Africa, FR = France, AT = Australia, Intl = international, KR = Korea, RU = Russia, CN = Canada

<b>Publication year</b>	<b>Patent name</b>	<b>Patent number/ref</b>	<b>Institution/ applicants</b>	<b>Industry</b>	<b>Office<sup>15</sup></b>
<b>2010</b>	Diet tea	2666102	Crause, Kenneth I	Tea/beverage	CA
<b>2013</b>	Improved process for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages	2013/068999	Red Dawn	Alcohol/beverage	Intl
<b>2014</b>	Composition for preventing or alleviating skin wrinkles containing honeybush extract or a fermented liquor thereof as an active ingredient	WO/2013/012197	Korean Institute of Oriental Medicine	Beauty/cosmetics	Intl
<b>2015</b>	Cosmetic composition for skin moisturising and health functional food comprising honeybush extract, fraction thereof, or fermented product as active ingredient	1020150124900	Korean Institute of Oriental Medicine	Beauty/cosmetics	KR
<b>2015</b>	Fraction of honeybush extract and composition for skin improvement containing compound derived therefrom	WO/2016/108522	Huons Co., Ltd.	Beauty/cosmetics	Intl
<b>2016</b>	Vicenin 2 and analogues thereof for use as an antispasmodic and/or prokinetic agent	WO/2013/079623	Amino Up Chemical Co., Ltd	Beauty/cosmetics	RU
<b>2017</b>	Liver-tonifying effect and application of <i>Cyclopia</i> spp.	107158066	Beijing Jianxukang Technology Co., Ltd	Health/medicine	CN
<b>2019</b>	Method for preparing ring-shaped tea and ring-shaped tea thereof	1020190056943	Jong, Jeh Yeon		KR
<b>2021</b>	Composition for preventing or treating obesity comprising combination extract	1020210064868	Yu, Dong Sool Choi, Kyu Dong	Health/medicine	KR

<b>Publication year</b>	<b>Patent name</b>	<b>Patent number/ref</b>	<b>Institution/ applicants</b>	<b>Industry</b>	<b>Office<sup>15</sup></b>
	of <i>Cissus Verticillata</i> and <i>C. intermedia</i> as active ingredient				

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe (data sourced from WIPO IP Portal<sup>16</sup>; Joubert et al., 2011; Colonial Secretary, 1906)

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<sup>16</sup> <https://patentscope.wipo.int/search/en/search.jsf>

### **5.3 “Traditional” honeybush tea-making process**

Honeybush tea was a popular local beverage among rural populations, including Coloured people, poor whites, and natives (MacOwen, 1894; Bolam, 1907; Hofmeyr & Phillips, 1922). The tea was produced on farms, in rural areas, in settlements, and on mission stations. The tea was traditionally made using the following process: “The fresh leaves are submitted to a process of fermentation by putting them into heaps and then drying them in the sun” (Marloth, 1909: 3). The most basic explanation of how the tea was made is found in a comment made by a government worker who was stationed in the Cape Town of Robertson and who observed tea-making and sales on the farms. He saw it as an opportunity for upscaling since it required less effort in terms of production, and he reckoned that “the only trouble is to pick it, dip it and dry it” (Letter to The Resident Magistrate, 1906). Those who produced the tea had no access to machinery or ‘modern’ production means, with machinery introduced by Theodor Caspareuthus, who also lodged an associated patent (Table 5.1). The machine invention is outlined in detail in Caspar’s patent application in the United Kingdom where Boulton Alfred Julius who applied on his behalf summarises how the machine processes honeybush tea: “The leaves of cyclopia or bush tea are pounded and then deposited by an elevator upon a centrifugal separator comprising a plate G rotating upon a hollow shaft” (Boulton Alfred Julius, 1907). The pioneering efforts of Caspareuthus and its details are discussed in section 5.4.

#### **5.3.1 “Pick it, dip it, and dry it”: Honeybush tea-making recollections by farmers and *ou-teemakers***

The *ou-teemakers* (an Afrikaans term used to refer to olden days tea makers) detailed and reminisced about making tea. Making the tea entailed more than picking, dipping, and drying. However, the phrase catches the essence of traditional tea-making. The ease of picking and dipping (sweating the tea or steaming in more formal processing terms) the tea depended on resource access and rights. Farms

and/or landowners had a setup where workers picked and made the tea on the farm. The tea was then sold by way of bartering, and constantly brewed on the coal stove for household consumption. I was told on a farm where we conducted a life history that if I wanted details of tea-making, I must go to Haarlem and ask people there. Therefore, much of the understanding of the tea-making process I describe is derived from Haarlem; however, elderly harvesters across the landscape also added to the understanding of honeybush tea-making. Making honeybush tea was eventful, and those who recollected memories were filled with energy and excitement. Making tea involved going to the mountains where families and friends would camp for about a month and return when the tea was packaged and ready for sale. The technology and ways that were used to process the tea are discussed in the following subsections.

### **5.3.1.1 Technology**

Participants in Haarlem spoke of 'the machine' in their recollections of tea-making. The machine was a tobacco and/or silage cutter that was used to chop the tea during the first phase of processing. The machine was not community-owned but was owned by few households who shared it. A participant who produced harvested and produced tea from the 1960s shared that they used the machine for about 30 years, and explained how it worked:

We made it [tea] in the field. At that time, the government had already designed a machine that you could turn by hand. Two people: one man takes so, and the other man takes in the middle, and then you turn him [...] The machine was not designed for tea, it was an old grinding machine for the farmers silage [...] It was not that they designed that machine for us; we took the silage feeding machine and started to grind with it, so previously the people chopped the tea like that [participant repeatedly hits top of table to demonstrate how they grinded the tea before; participant laughs]. (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/2019)

The machine was run by men because it was easy to get your fingers caught in it as you had to throw in tea as the machine was running. In the family model of harvesting and making tea (discussed more extensively in Section 6.3), which

comprised both men and women, the male children operated the machine. However, during the industry's rediscovery, the farmers developed established processing facilities to process the tea. This began to invalidate the traditional tea-making by the Coloured community. Prior to this change, the community had been using the machine to process tea for years. There is only one silage machine left in the village, and another one was reported to have been sold to a processing facility near Louterwater (Harvest team leader 5: 29/11/2019).

Other than the machine, *ou-teemakers* in the olden days used knives, hand pits, axes, and other tools. The machine was only introduced in the 1950s and 1960s. The honeybush tea that the *ou-teemakers* sold in the local market was coarse because it was chopped by hand. An elderly participant reminisced about honeybush stating the following: "Friends of mine they also bought honeybush, [...] they made honeybush long ago and so sold it to the shop, and when these people came from Kirkwood, his mother always brought a bag of honeybush. This was coarsely cut. They put it in a kettle, put it in the stove, and it was boiling all the time" (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/2019). A tea-making process was recreated with one of the participants as part of data collection, and because we could not access the machine, harvesting scissors and knives were used to chop the tea (Figure 5.2-5.3).



**Figure 5.2 Honeybush tea-making: (A) Cutting at home with scissors and knives; and (B) sweating the tea for 3-4 days (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

The *ou-teemakers* waited in the mountains or at home for the tea to finish drying in the sun and then threw it in the bag. The tea was then brought to the buyers (the tea sales by *ou-teemakers* are discussed in Chapter 6). A tea cut with the machine is said to have been much finer, yet still coarse, than our recreated tea (Figure, 5.3).



**Figure 5.3 Honeybush tea-making: (A) Dried tea after 4 days; there was no sun in the week at this time so the tea could not dry properly; and (B) homemade honeybush tea taken from Aunt Evelyn’s tea storage (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

We did not manage to get the key to the storage that had the machine, and therefore, this could not be recreated. Figure 5.4 shows a lookalike of the tea cut with the machine or finely chopped with an axe or machete.



**Figure 5.4 Coarsely cut honeybush, *C. longifolia* (Source: Coetzee & Coetzee online<sup>17</sup>)**

A car was also used to grind or chop the tea. They would put a rope on the bakkie, put the engine on, and let the bakkie stand on two tyres. They put syrup on the belt to make it tight. This was reported to be a good strategy because they could use syrup for the chopping and also eat it. These means of making the tea were told with cheer and laughter (Field notes: 2019). Another key component in terms of technology was donkey cart which were an integral component for transporting the raw material in the mountains; the *ou-teemakers*, especially much earlier in the years:

Went with their group of donkeys and a wagon [...]. They will [stay] for 6 weeks then the donkeys also stay with them. They also use the donkeys if the tea is far, then they cut the tea now, then they pack it on the donkey's back. Then the donkey goes to the floor. I did it with them myself. Then you go about four times and then

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<sup>17</sup> <https://coetzeltd.com/products/honeybush-longifolia-coarse-15kg-organic>

they pack up. The cutters are on top of the mountain, then we do not carry it on the back, the donkeys carry it. (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/2019)

### **5.3.1.2 Camping to make tea**

The tea was typically made in summer to allow for the fermentation and sun drying process. The *ou-teemakers* would arrive at the site and clear a space where they would sleep for a month and another for fermenting big piles of tea. They would typically pack food such as pap (maize), sweet potatoes, cabbage, and all the food that makes your legs strong (Field notes: 2019; Ou-teemaker 9: 25/05/21). Although camping in the mountains was the predominant practice for making the tea, at times the *ou-teemakers* in Haarlem would bring the raw material to the village and process it in an open space. Most of the *ou-teemakers* at the time cut and made tea while smartly (Figure 5.5)dressed because it was how people dressed on an ordinary day.



**Figure 5.5 Oom Dan Fortuin (ou-teemaker who harvested from 1940s and pioneered involvement in overseas market with his friends and neighbours). In the photo he is taking a break from chopping honeybush tea in the 1980s, Haarlem. Photo credit: Geraldine Wildeman’s photo album (9 June 2021).**

Another way of making tea involved using a tortoiseshell to make a pit for fermenting the tea. A participant stated, “We made a hole and then pour in the tea, sprinkle it with water and then close it [...] for eight days. You open it again and then shake it and close it again for four days; open it to dry. When it is dry you put it into a sack” (Ou-teemaker 15: 12/09/19). Tortoises are common in the Langkloof, and the *ou-teemakers* used the technology available to them to produce honeybush.

There is a generational practice of honeybush tea production and use, particularly among the place-based communities such as Haarlem. However, their epistemic contributions and acknowledgement as knowers are seldom accounted for in the archive that generously shares the involvement of local colonists, farmers, and European scientists who helped explore Cape teas’ potential as teas of commerce.

## 5.4 Producing honeybush at commercial scale

In the latter half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, local colonists pushed for the development of Cape tea. They believed that Cape teas were being overlooked by the government, who was importing *Camellia thea*, L., (Ceylon tea), which was also being prepared for domestication in neighbouring colonies such as the present-day KwaZulu-Natal province. Speaking on behalf of local colonists, Tennant (1894) believed that Cape teas could be as profitable as *Camellia* tea and that plantations of local teas should be encouraged. The public interest in commercialising Cape teas is further indicated in MacOwen's (1894) correspondence where he indicates that for years the public had urged the government to prioritise the use of Cape teas. His response to this public interest was as follows:

I have heard the argument stated before in the form that if we all drank Cape tea, we should keep so much more money in the country. But we do not pay for Kangra or Mazawatee in cash. We exchange it for produce, wool, diamonds, and so on. No coin passes between exporter and importer until the balance of exchange of commodities is seriously deranged. (MacOwen, 1894)

There was no political will to commercialise Cape teas as examinations by Greenish (1881) and Church (1870) had ascertained that they did not contain caffeine. The value of honeybush tea against the true teas of commerce is captured in Figure 5.6, which shows correspondence from a pharmacist dated 25 August (no year) that summarises MacOwen's advice to the public, stating, "I am induced to send you the above corroboration of the caution given by the Government Botanist lest any correspondent should be hoping to make a coiner in Cape Tea and lose money".

## Bush Tea in 1881 and Earlier.

The curious correspondence upon Cape Teas in some recent numbers of the *Journal* induces me to send you some particulars, probably known to one of the writers, but clearly unknown to the other.

The *Pharmaceutical Journal* for January 8th, 1881, contains an elaborate article on Cyclopia Herb Tea, by H. G. Greenish, an assistant of Prof. Dragendorff, of Dorpat.

The former portion of this article goes into the question of identification of the species, and gives microscopic sections of the leaves, and much other detail. The conclusions come to are the same as those of Prof. MacOwan. To eliminate any alkaloid resembling caffeine that might be present, the operator repeatedly exhausted 100 grammes of leaf and stalk with successive portions of water, and concentrated the solution. After treatment with magnesia to separate colouring and extractive matter, it was evaporated to dryness, and the mass exhausted with ether, and the ethereal solution similarly evaporated to dryness. A portion of the residue, dissolved in acidulated water, was then tested in every possible way, but failed to give the slightest reaction of alkaloids. Hence it is definitely affirmed that the cyclopia of nitrogen contains no alkaloid whatever.

The estimation was then undertaken, and gave the following results:—

0.866 gr. dry leaves gave N, .01988 = 2.29 per cent.

1.026 gr. leaves after extraction with water gave } N, .03066 = 2.03 per cent.

Hence the total nitrogenous matter passing into an aqueous solution, amounts to the difference, viz. 0.26 per cent. only. The writer adds: "The tea so made must therefore be almost entirely destitute of any nourishing property." The total amount of nitrogen in the true tea of commerce varies from 4.15 to 6.72 per cent.

In the same year's issue, is an article by Prof. A. H. Church, commenting upon Mr. Greenish's investigation, he shows that the whole subject had been gone into more than ten years previously, and the results published by him in the *Chemical News* July 1, 1870, adding: "I utterly failed to detect a trace of theine in my sample of Boer tea."

I am induced to send you the above corroboration of the caution given by the Government Botanist lest any correspondent should be hoping to make a corner in Cape Tea and lose his money. I enclose my card, and am,

Capetown, 25th August.

PHARMACEUTIST.

Figure 5.6 Public report on Cape teas: Bush tea in 1881 and earlier (Source: Pharmacist, not dated)

The 19<sup>th</sup> century closed with a government proposition to foster minor industries from indigenous plants including honeybush (The Under-Secretary for Agriculture, 1894). The minor industries of Cape bush teas, namely rooibos and honeybush, were encouraged in the first decade of the 1900s. Plans included the collection of knowledge on where bushes grew, whether they were sparsely scattered or grew densely (Du Toit, 1907), developing a local market (Superintendent, 1907), and ascertaining whether a market demand could be created among the poorer classes (Department of Agriculture, 1906) as upper classes were consuming caffeinated beverages. Others made recommendations for the Department of Agriculture to advise farmers to plant bush tea on their farms and develop the industry (Letter to The Resident Magistrate, 1906). Around this time, a public notice was published for comment on a patent application by Theo Caspareuthus, who was the first colonial merchant to attempt production of honeybush tea on a commercial scale. Prior to the involvement of Caspareuthus, there is an indication of export activity in the year 1900; however, it is not certain at what scale, or for which motive the tea was exported. For example, the archive from as early as the 1700s has all sorts of teas exchanged across countries in the form of gifts and not necessarily trade. The difference with the papers dated 29 July 1900 is that they are marked as 'commercial' and requested the "admission of Cape 'Tea' into Prussia<sup>18</sup> duty free". No volumes are disclosed, and the request was "sent to the board of Trade" (Foreign Office, 1900).

#### **5.4.1 Making tea for industry encouragement**

Theo Caspareuthus approached the South African government in 1906 with plans to establish a tea market for honeybush using its health properties as an advantage. Figure 5.7 is an image of the public notice on the "Patent for an invention for an improved *Cyclophia* tea". The notice foregrounds the first state-recognised initiative to produce honeybush tea at a commercial scale.

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<sup>18</sup> Part of modern-day Germany

Patent for an Invention  
FOR "AN IMPROVED CYCLOPIA TEA."

THIS is to notify that THEODOR CASPAREUTHUS, of Rosebank, Cape Division, in the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope, Landed Proprietor, did on the 1st day of November, 1906, deposit at the Office of the Colonial Secretary, in Cape Town, a specification or instrument in writing under his hand, particularly describing and ascertaining the nature of the said Invention and in what manner the same is to be performed, and that by reason of such deposit the said Invention is protected and secured to him exclusively for the term of six calendar months thence next ensuing, and I do further notify that the said THEODOR CASPAREUTHUS has given notice in writing, at my Office, of his intention to proceed with his application for Letters Patent for the said Invention, and that I have appointed Thursday, the 21st day of February next, at eleven o'clock in the forenoon, at my Office, to hear and consider the said application and all objections thereto; and I do hereby require all persons having an interest in opposing the grant of such Letters Patent to leave before that day, at my Office in Cape Town, particulars, in writing, of their objections to the said application, otherwise they will be precluded from urging the same.

Given under my hand, this 21st day of December, 1906.

VICTOR SAMPSON,  
Attorney-General.

VAN ZYL & BUISSINNE,  
Applicant's Attorneys,  
Church Square, Cape Town.

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**Figure 5.7 Public notice: A patent for an invention for "an improved Cyclopi tea" (Source: Sampson, 1906)**

At first, the patent was not granted because the office of the Attorney-General found nothing new to the invention. The Colonial Secretary stated in his response to the patent application that the application "is an attempt to obtain the sole right of selling bush tea that has been refined. [T]he leaves are gathered as before and put through a process of pounding and refining whereby 16% of woody fibre containing the injurious substances ... are eliminated'. No new process is disclosed" (Colonial Secretary, 1906, inner brackets original). However, the patent was approved in 1907 after the specifications of the invention were amended from "an improved *Cyclopi tea*" to "An improved method of manufacturing *Cyclopi tea*". The Credit Reform & Trust Association remarked that both a trademark and patent were granted to Caspareuthus: "He, Mr. Caspareuthus has disposed of his rights for Australasia,

Germany, France and Great Britain [...], I may mention that his trademark has been registered here and both patent and trademark duly protected in Great Britain" (Bolam, 1907).

With the patent filing in place and with scientific testimonials, Caspareuthus became the first colonial merchant granted permission by the state authorities to produce honeybush on a commercial scale. He founded the first brand, Caspa Tea. The brand appears in correspondence from 1907, and a company named Caspa Tea and Produce Company was registered in 1919 and traded all sorts of bush teas. The records of the company end in 1930. Caspareuthus approached the government in 1906 with intentions to prepare honeybush for an export market. The government supported the production of honeybush at commercial scale, but there was difficulty selling the tea because it was a new article in a global tea industry. A letter titled "Caspar Tea" dated 4 April 1908 directed to Caspareuthus by the Trades Commissioner in London informs him of some developments in the overseas market, stating the following:

I have the honour to enclose herewith for your information a copy of a report from Mr. E. H. Watson who is well known on the London Tea Exchange and kindly undertook to obtain reports for me from the Dealers there on your Caspar Tea [...]. I am not surprised with the adverse report which Mr. Watson sent? me as I have found that the London dealers are not all ready to take up or push an unknown product which must eventually displace some other established article in some degree if its sale increases at all appreciably. They prefer to deal in goods that are well known and sell themselves without any extra effort to push them [...]. I shall be happy to help you further in any way I possibly can. (Trades Commissioners, 1908)

The correspondence dated from 1906 to 1909 shows that the government also encouraged the sales of Caspareuthus tea on the local market. A letter dated 5 October 1906 addressed to the commercial agent requests that the tea is placed with shopkeepers stating: "Be good enough to place this tea with shopkeepers in such quantities as you may think fit, with a view to ascertaining whether the demand could be opened for this article among poorer classes and report the results in due

course" (Director of Agriculture, 1906). Figure 5.8 shows honeybush exhibited in London as part of the exhibition of various South African products.

CAPE . . .

# "CLOPIA."

*This Popular Beverage was first found in the Cape Colony,  
 . . . about the year 1870. . . .*

It is largely used by the rural populations of the Cape and neighbouring Colonies.

It is indigenous to the Cape, and is inter-exported throughout the whole of South Africa.

It is invaluable to dyspeptics, as it can be drunk with impunity, and with beneficial effects.

It is recommended by many of the Medical Profession, in the place of Tea and Coffee, as a mild, exhilarating and soothing beverage.

In the prepared state it can be made in the same way as ordinary tea, allowing it to draw in the teapot for say fifteen minutes, and adding milk and sugar as desired.

*Samples and all information obtained at the*

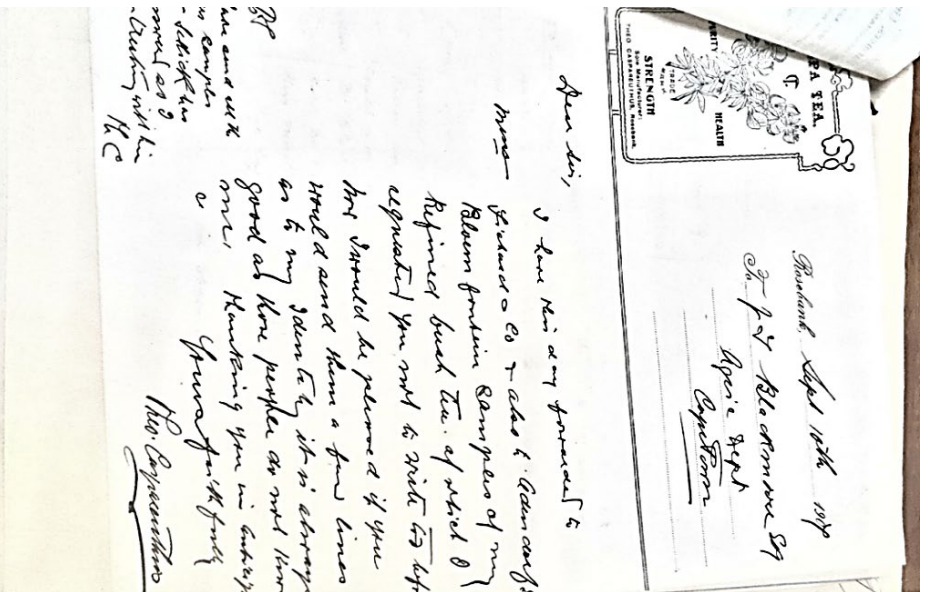
**South African Exhibition,  
LONDON, 1907.**

**Figure 5.8 Honeybush exhibition in London, 1907 (Source: Caspareuthus, 1907)**

A letter dated 2 September 1907 indicates that some farmer cooperatives, such as in Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg, were approached to trade Caspareuthus tea, develop a local market, and participate in the industry development. The correspondence from the Superintendent reads as follows:

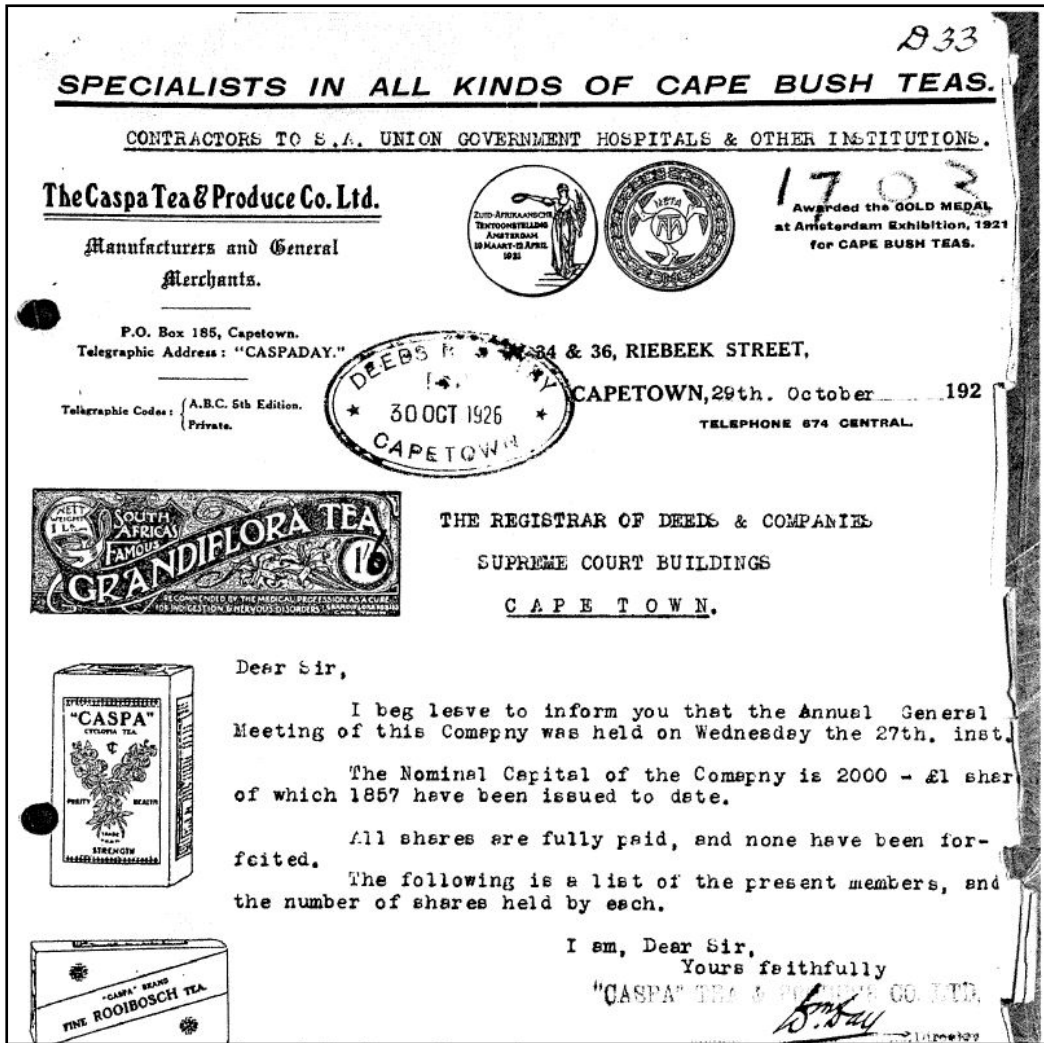
I have the honour to inform you that Mr. T. Caspareuthus of Rosebank is producing Cape tea and is now undertaking it to market this article on a commercial scale. I have recommended Mr. Caspareuthus to write and submit suitable samples of his tea direct to you, and I shall accordingly be glad if you will be good enough to go fully into the question of developing the local market in this connection. (Superintendent, 1907)

The South-Eastern Cooperation (1907) in Port Elizabeth responded in a letter dated 6 September 1907 that “we have taken this matter up with Mr Caspareuthus”. However, the brand Caspa Cyclopia Tea is believed to only have been put on the market in the 1960s, about 50 years after the industry’s encouragement attempts. It is believed that it was halted in the 1960s as the demand exceeded the supply (Joubert et al., 2011). Figure 5.9 shows the similarities between the brand in 1907 and the tea brand that is believed to have been traded in the 1960s.



**Figure 5.9 (A) The Caspa Cyclopia Tea brand as it appeared in 1907 correspondence, and (B) the brand (design) sent out to the markets in the 1960s (Source: NASA; Rooibos Limited)**

Caspa Cyclopia Tea, named after Theodor Caspareuthus, is known as the first honeybush brand to be produced in South Africa under the registered company called Caspa Tea & Produce Co. Ltd (The Union of South Africa, 1921). The company traded and specialised “in all kinds of Cape bush teas” (Figure 5.10), not only honeybush tea, and they were also “contractors to S.A. Union government hospitals & other institutions” (Caspa Tea & Produce Co. Ltd, 1930). The company was small with a declared capital of £2 000 (US\$ 8 544) in 1919, the first-year company books were published (Caspa Tea & Produce Co. Ltd, 1930).



**Figure 5.10 The record of the Caspa Tea & Produce Company (Source: Caspa Tea & Produce Co. Ltd, 1930)**

The following subsections discuss the knowledge resources that the Caspareuthus product depended on and the epistemic exclusions that were ingrained in producing wild products at a commercial scale. Caspareuthus's letter dated 4 April 1907 explaining his invention to the government is a key text (see Appendix 6) and highlights a few themes such as the need for scientific validation, product uniformity requirements in a scaled market, and dependence on scientific experts.

#### **5.4.1.1 Scientific validation**

The basis of Caspareuthus' patent was the mechanical means to chop the tea finer than had been done until then. He further claimed that his invention contributed to

the contents of the tea. The scientific validation of his claims on tea contents is highlighted in a letter by Bolam (1907) to Messrs Jackson and Co in London that explains Caspareuthus' discovery as follows:

For some years knew or was of opinion that the Herb known to the natives here as "Bush Tea" contained valuable medicinal qualities, and about 6 months ago sent samples to Germany for analysis which resulted in highly satisfactory reports, subsequently he contacted our esteemed Professor of Chemistry Dr Marloth who reported as per enclosed copy (Bolam, 1907).

The enclosed copy from Dr Marloth was supplied as a report on the chemical analysis of the *Cyclopia* tea being produced by Caspareuthus. Marloth conducted the same tests that had been done in the 1860s on the chemical composition and the unique cyclopic acid that bush tea plants contain. The report highlights that the tea contains several substances that are not known to exist in any other plants. Marloth subsequently focused his tests on ascertaining that the tea chopped using Caspareuthus' machine is chemically of higher quality than that from the farms. This quality was based on the size of the twigs and was scientifically described as follows:

This tea contains of the leaves of a small shrublet, viz *Cyclopia vogellii* which grows on the mountains of the Southwestern Districts of the Cape only. Generally, the twigs and branches of the plant are collected with the leaves and the tea as it mostly occurs in the trade, **often consists of as much woody matter as leaves.** In these investigations however, **a parcel of the purified quality of the tea was used**, such as is put on the market by Mr Theo Caspareuthus (R Marloth Analytical & Bacteriological Laboratory, 1907).

Figure 5.11 shows the results of the chemical analysis of two samples of *Cyclopia* tea labelled "crude tea" and "refined tea".

Report on the chemical analysis of two samples of  
Cyclopia-Tea labelled

No 1. Crude Tea.  
No 2. Refined Tea.

and received at this laboratory on the 21st October 1906

	CRUDE	REFINED
Extract soluble in water	4.3	20.7%
Total ash	2.5	4.2
Silica	1.1	2.4
Mineral substances in extract	0.3	1.3
Woody fibre	91.2	74.3

The chemical analysis of the cyclopia tea has shown that it contains several peculiar substances such as cyclopin and cyclopic acid, which are not known to exist in any other plant, but that, on the other hand, no alkaloids like theine are present.

**Figure 5.11 Analysis of crude tea and refined tea (Source: R Marloth Analytical & Bacteriological Laboratory, 1906)**

Marloth gave the following explanation of the results:

The difference in the crude article as it comes from the farms and the manufactured and refined product as supplied by you [Caspareuthus] is considerable, for the latter contains much less woody matter while the soluble ingredients, as extracted from the tea by boiling water, amount to nearly five times as much in the former. This means that one pound of the refined yields as much soluble matter as 4 and  $\frac{3}{4}$  pounds of the crude article. (R Marloth Analytical & Bacteriological Laboratory, 1906)

The contents of the results on the difference between the crude and refined tea are that the refined tea dissolves better in boiled water. However, the results were peculiar, and hence, the government recommended changing the title from "improved Cyclopia tea" to "refined Cyclopia tea". Dr Marloth's Laboratory had to provide an authoritative voice as to what was already practised and known to colonists and natives.

#### **5.4.1.2 Medical testimonials**

Caspareuthus sourced testimonials from medical doctors locally and abroad to ascertain the medicinal properties of honeybush tea. In these testimonials,

Indigenous communities were not consulted. On the other hand, farmers who were landowners were consulted for data on honeybush plants and trade as part of industry development. However, they are also not indicated in scientific documents that testify on the medicinal properties for industry. Physicians provided testimonials based on their observations of patients after consuming honeybush for sicknesses, such as dyspepsia, dropsy due to heart or kidney diseases, paralysis, exzema [eczema], gout and rheumatism [Rheumatic] (Bolam, 1907). The medical doctors administered the same tea as medicine, prepared it the same way across the colony and overseas, and were trusted to give scientific truth. These testimonials are outlined in Table 5.3, which shows physicians and the countries where testimonials were sourced by Caspareuthus after sending them “a sample of his Refined Cyclophia Tea”.

**Table 5.3 Testimonials from Caspareuthus sample of refined Cyclophia tea**

	<b>Testimonial</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Reference</b>
<b>Physician 1</b>	A case of paralysis of the lower limits has greatly benefited by using your <i>Cyclophia</i> -tea. The patient sleeps and eats better and especially speaks of the soothing effect, all nerve twitchings have ceased since using the tea, a slight catarrh of the bladder which was a source of great annoyance entirely disappeared after ¼ 1b of the tea had been used.	Ireland	Bolam, 1907
<b>Physician 2</b>	A constable suffering from Eczema with slight oedema declares <i>Cyclophia</i> -Tea has almost cured him, it allayed irritation, made him sleep better, and cured indigestion.	Ireland	Bolam, 1907
<b>Physician 3</b>	I have no doubt <i>Cyclophia</i> -Tea besides being a wholesome beverage, has the property of holding uric acid in solution, several cases of gout and rheumatism are deriving more benefit from an infusion of <i>Cyclophia</i> -Tea than from any of the usual remedies.	Ireland	Bolam, 1907
<b>Physician 4</b>	I ordered <i>Cyclophia</i> -Tea for? a patient suffering from dropsy, the beneficial effect was immediate and in one week, owing to the diuretic action of the tea, the patient was practically convalescent.	Ireland	Bolam, 1907
<b>Physician 5</b>	I have known this article in its more crude form for years, as a very excellent substitute for ordinary “tea”. It is much used in the country as such. As a doctor, I have found it of considerable value in	Not disclosed (possibly	Bolam, 1907

	<b>Testimonial</b>	<b>Country</b>	<b>Reference</b>
	cases of dyspepsia, it having all the refreshing attributes of China Tea without its deleterious action on the stomach and nervous system. It has also some diuretic value and can be recommended in cases inclined to dropsy due to heart or kidney diseases, as an adjuvant to other treatment.	South Africa)	

Caspareuthus's company went on to supply government hospitals and other institutions as contractors. The medicinal properties of honeybush had been known in the colony by those who consumed honeybush; for example, in 1894, J.H. Tennant had already proposed that testimonials be gathered from people like him as at that time he claimed to have been consuming honeybush for 30 years (Tennant, 1894). Others considered it a remedy in view of its difference from ordinary tea and coffee, such as the correspondence from the Prussian Finance Ministry which reads as follows:

It is announced in the Prussian "Centralblatt" that the Prussian Finance Ministry has decided that Cape Tea (Bush Tea) made out of the dried leaves of various kinds of "Cyclopia", and which cannot be used as a substitute for Chinese tea, is to be admitted free of all duty into the Kingdom of Prussia, under No. 5, m. of the Tariff. It is now considered to be a remedy, and not as a drinkable tea, for it does not contain the characteristic foundation of tea proper and of coffee, namely "Koffein". (Gastrell, 1900)

Honeybush is an herbal tea beverage and separating its use as tea for leisure or food from its use as medicine requires a reductive view. When the participants in this study were asked about the medicinal properties of honeybush, they often saw the question as redundant, especially when asking them to separate drinking it as a hot beverage from drinking it as medicine. Most participants recollected its use for appetite control and others recollected being sent as kids to collect honeybush from the communal forest when they had a cough (Harvest team leader 1: 15/08/19; SMMEs 5: 11/05/21). However, they seldom referred to drinking honeybush because of health reasons even though there is knowledge that it is good for their health.

### **5.4.1.3 A case for uniformity**

Uniformity is one method of product quality assurance for articles that are produced at commercial scale. It favours universally agreeable methodologies in product examinations and approvals. Uniformity is addressed in Caspareuthus' letter to the government dated 15 April 1907 as follows:

I have laid down a plant to deal with 2000 lbs (one Cape Ton) per day, this machine will ensure uniformity of the tea for always, so that it would be a great danger there being on the market any tea of which you cannot guarantee a quantity and uniformity; many a good industry has been ruined through the want of regularity of both quality and quantity [...] I propose that there should be one uniform name and Trade Mark throughout the globe, as I have already disposed of the sole rights of the sale in [...] Australasia, France and her dominions, Great Britain, America, and Germany, subject to their using the same Trade Mark. (Caspareuthus, 1907)

Caspareuthus' invention on "Improvements in or relating to the Treatment and Preparation of Bush Tea" promised a standardisation of honeybush processing. The processing method he proposed is like the machinery used today in the processing facilities. The following section provides a summary of exclusions, access control, and maintenance in honeybush commercialisation activities.

## **5.5 Exclusions in commercialisation**

The use of imperial science in mainstream knowledge production on honeybush favoured hermeneutical resources that promoted reductive and/or universal narratives. In so doing it marginalised hermeneutical resources that promoted webbed narratives. There is an absence of Indigenous communities or natives in the list of 'knowers' (Fricker, 2007) outlined in this chapter who generated descriptions of honeybush in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Indigenous communities were therefore hermeneutically marginalised knowers, meaning they were and are excluded from the creation of interpretations and materials used to make sense of a shared social world (Fricker, 2015). All knowers outlined in Section 5.2, for example, were trained in Europe and deployed or migrated to the colonies.

Patenting is by design an exclusionary practice as it grants an inventor the capability to exclude others. All patents presented in this chapter are linked to scientific studies and commercialisation. Although 17 out of 18 of these patents were filed in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there is still an absence of Indigenous groups and local communities in the production of shared hermeneutic resources about honeybush. This can be attributed to a credibility deficit and contributory injustice. Credibility deficit relates to an absence of epistemic authority (Dotson, 2014); for example, credibility was afforded to botanists, physicians, and chemists as knowers who could define honeybush and its value.

In essence, commercialisation has epistemologies of exclusion engrained in its practices of universalism, patenting, and selective use of hermeneutic resources for establishing credibility, leading to societal reliance on few knowers. This creates or leads to contributory injustice. Contributory injustice occurs when there is a refusal “to acknowledge and acquire the necessary tools for knowing whole parts of the world” (Dotson, 2011: 32).

## **5.6 Conclusion**

This chapter outlined and discussed empirical evidence that reveal epistemologies of exclusion in the history of honeybush commercialisation. The chapter also demonstrated how the mainstream knowledge in the honeybush sector emerged and its role in reshaping honeybush use. The following chapter, Chapter 6, looks at the impact of the structural violence of honeybush trade on harvester communities and highlights the agency of harvester communities throughout history.

## CHAPTER 6

# STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE AND AGENCY IN THE COLOURED, BLACK, AND INDIGENOUS PEOPLE LIVED EXPERIENCES OF THE HONEYBUSH TRADE AND COMMERCIALISATION<sup>19</sup>

### 6.1 Introduction

This chapter describes the role of Coloured tea producers in the history of honeybush commercialisation. This specific chapter maintains a focus on Coloured producers to preserve the significance of the Coloured identity in the histories of honeybush use by those who are marginalised. The first section discusses ways in which resource exclusions and access were forged and negotiated during the repressive apartheid regime. The section relies on archival data from the late 1800s to 1904 and life history interviews with those who harvested and produced honeybush tea in the apartheid period. The second section discusses the trade of honeybush from the margins, and profiles *ou-teemakers*<sup>20</sup> in Haarlem village to explain tea-making and trade at the margins of land ownership, economic participation, and government support. The sections highlight both the agency of the Coloured tea producers and the persisting structural violence. The non-absent past is the past that would not go away (Domanska, 2005), and in this chapter denotes the continuities of the resource access struggles from generation to generation, refuting a reference to the past as history.

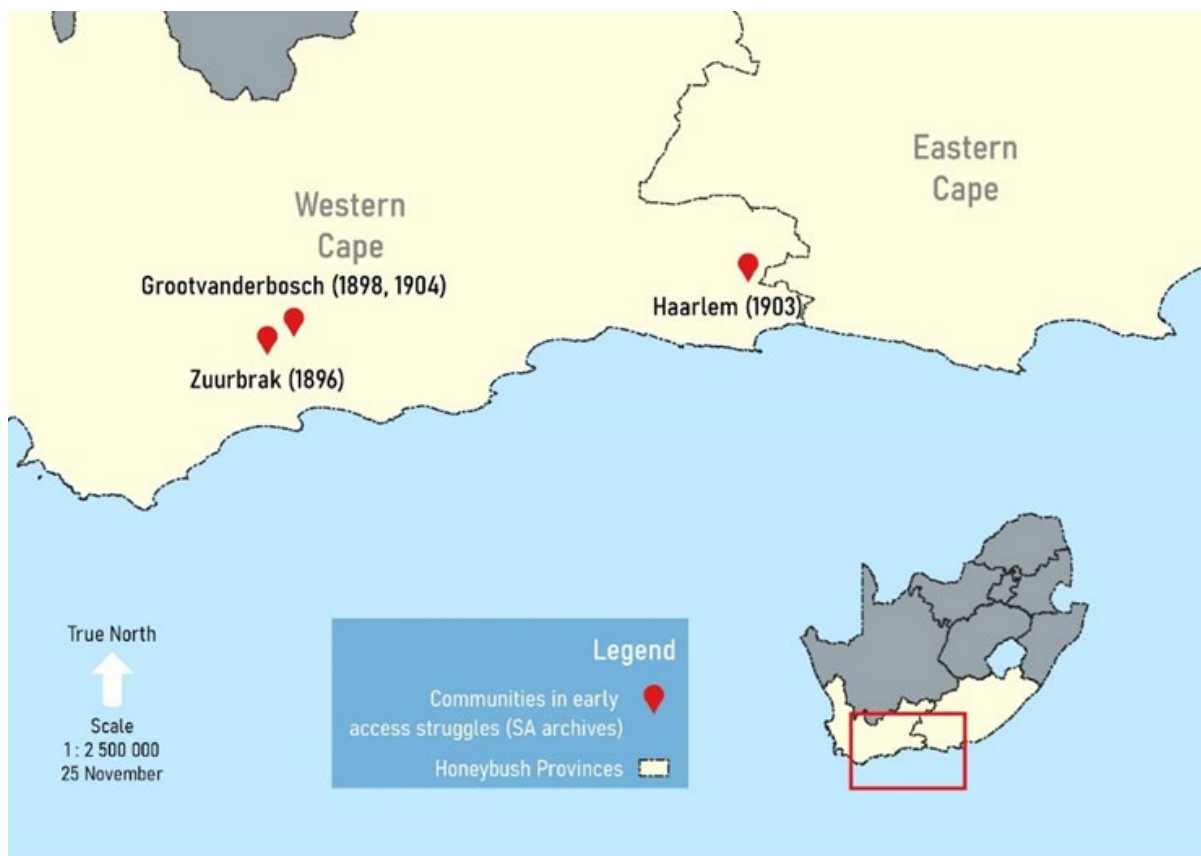
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<sup>19</sup> Much of the contents in this chapter have been published in Ndwandwe et al (2024), DOI: 10.1080/23323256.2024.2333356.

<sup>20</sup> English language translation from Afrikaans language: the old tea makers or elderly tea makers

## **6.2 Resource exclusions and access in the repressive regime**

In Chapter 4, I introduced key forest and agricultural land laws that created exclusionary landscapes in the honeybush growing regions of South Africa. These laws created racially skewed access to wild honeybush and constrained Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people's use of natural resources. In addition to the forests and agricultural land laws, some forest produce revenue regulations were passed that legitimised fee payments for accessing resources on lands demarcated for state ownership. Applications submitted by Coloured tea producers in Haarlem and Swellendam (Zuurbraak and Grootvaderbosch) between 1896 and 1904 provide evidence and insights into the impact of land exclusions and introduction of new forest produce regulations on Coloured tea producers. Figure 6.1 shows the three settlements, including Haarlem, that appear in the archive. Haarlem was used as a case study because it is within the bounds of the study area, and more importantly, the names of their tea producers feature on the application they made in 1903 which made it easy to follow up on the trajectory of their descendants.



**Figure 6.1 Map showing communities with early evidence of struggles for access to honeybush (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe; Jonathan Southwood; data derived from NASA)**

Table 6.1 outlines all three applications as a way of showing a pattern in the state’s response to applicants. The state response to Grootvaderbosch and Zuurbraak is important for understanding and triangulating the archival data from Haarlem.

**Table 6.1 Summary of factors appearing in the state’s review of permit applications**

Community	Date of access petition/permit application	Factors considered in decision-making process
<b>Zuurbraak (Swellendam)</b>	March 1896	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trespassing</li> <li>• Free permits compromise forest revenue generation</li> <li>• Dismissal of claims of need of honeybush for a livelihood</li> </ul>

<b>Community</b>	<b>Date of access petition/permit application</b>	<b>Factors considered in decision-making process</b>
<b>Grootvaderbosch (Swellendam)</b>	August 1898, October 1904	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Too many people are getting permits because of the low fee</li> <li>• Fears of forest fires when allowing too many people onto state lands</li> <li>• Trespassing</li> </ul>
<b>Haarlem</b>	June 1903	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Trespassing</li> <li>• Lack of labour to police harvesting</li> <li>• Fixing harvesting times in a way that do not clash with farm labour</li> </ul>

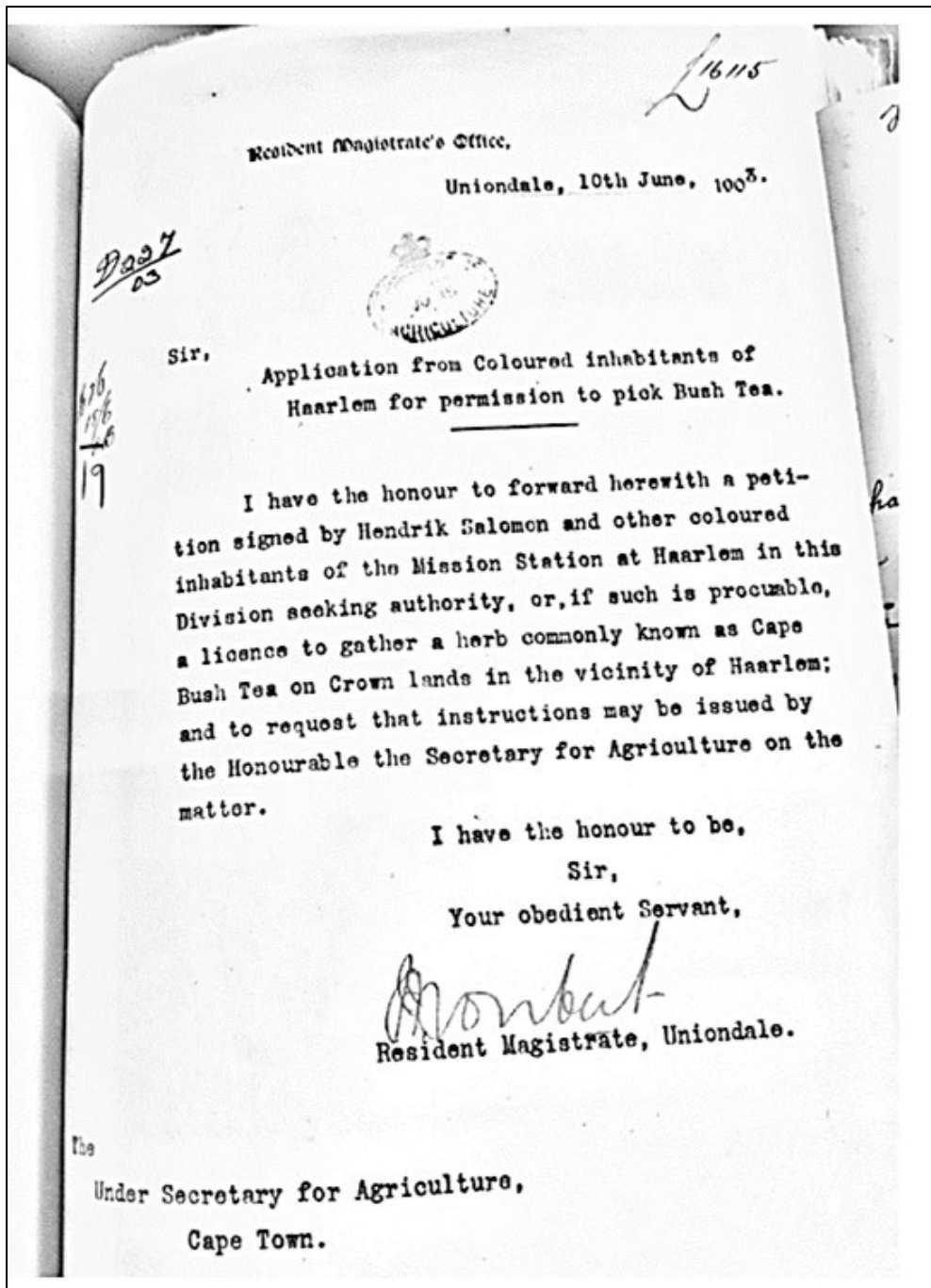
Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

The state's deciding factors to grant access included fears of trespassing on private farms, linking people's presence and use of forests to wildfires, prioritising state revenue over livelihood needs, and controlling the harvest season in a manner that did not undermine farm labour supply. In all three cases, trespassing was a key factor that informed the granting or rejection of an application. For example, trespassing is articulated in letters dated 19 October 1903 and 20 November 1903 by state authorities discussing the authorisation of permits for Haarlem applicants, with the Under-Secretary for Agriculture, stating the following:

I am further to say that permits should be issued on the clear understanding that the government will in nowise [in no way/in no manner] be answerable for risks run by the permit holders through knowingly or unknowingly trespassing upon private property nor can the government be called upon to provide or point out a way of access to the Crown Lands over which permits to gather holds good. This should be clearly notified on the permits. (The Under-Secretary for Agriculture, 1903)

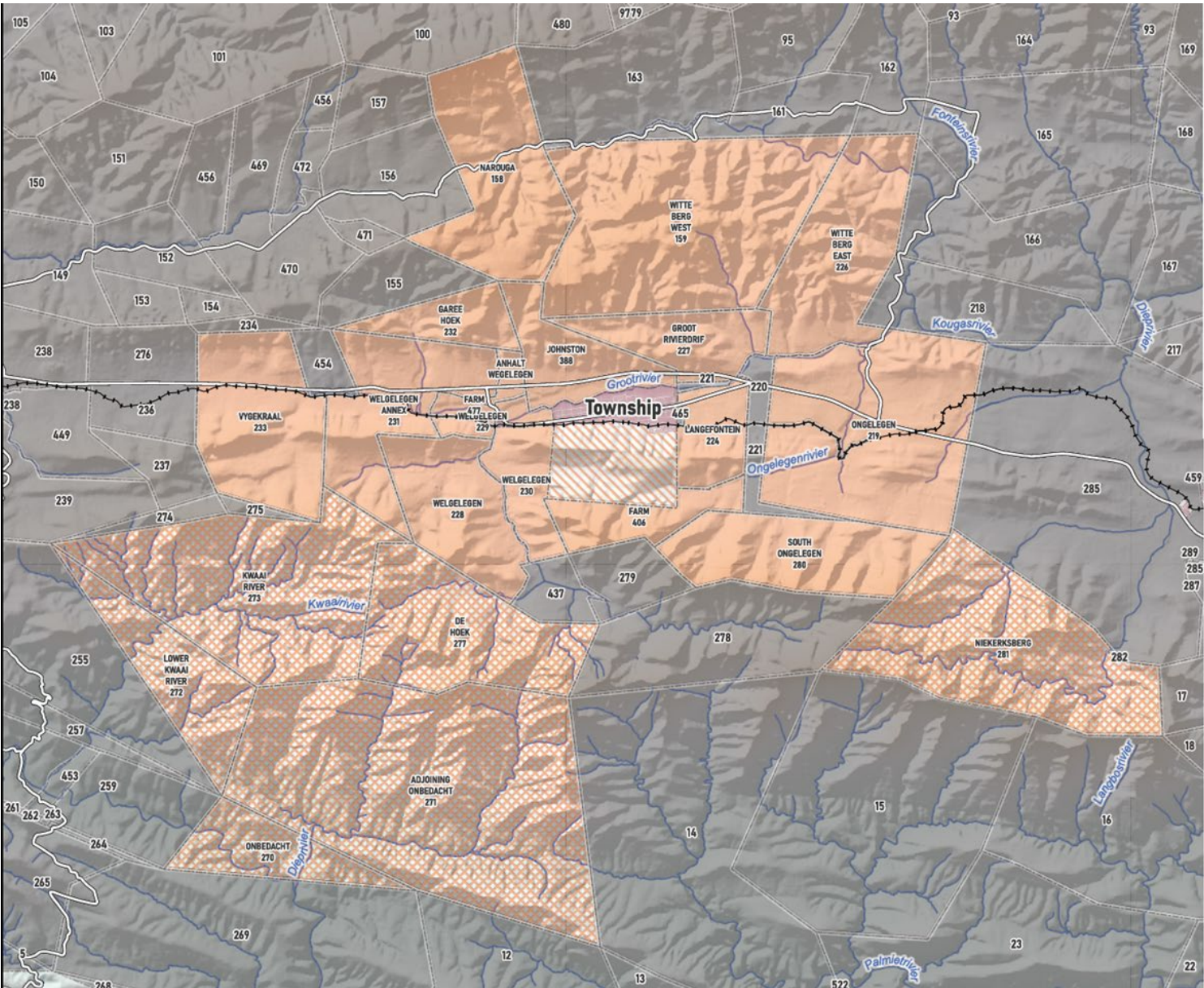
In Zuurbraak, permits were refused because permit holders who were destitute women, children, and girls might trespass on private farms, and the Conservator of Forests (1896) wrote, "I think it would be inadvisable to issue free permits. It would be likely to lead to trouble with the neighbouring farmers whose ground would be

trespassed upon" (Conservator of Forests, 1896). Another factor that took prominence in the state's response to applications for access to honeybush was relegating Coloured residents to labour. For example, the concern for farm labour was expressed by the state authorities who in their correspondence cited a recommendation by the Conservator of Forests, who suggested "fixing season of couple of months only so as not to interfere with farm labour requirements" (Civil Commissioner Uniondale, 1903). This relegation to farm labour is confirmed by the fact that most of the interviewed families in the study area are generational farmworkers. The same issues appear in Haarlem's application. Haarlem's petition for honeybush was a request for access to honeybush on the crown lands, which is depicted in their letter in Figure 6.2. The petitioners in Haarlem had applied for access to the state crown lands in 1903. These crown lands are then depicted in Figure 6.3. According to the Surveyor General letter dated 4 September 1903, the crown lands in Figure 6.3 could be harvested . Figure 6.3 also shows some known old private farms in the village, that were indicated by the Surveyor General in 1903 and confirmed by Haarlem community (Local key informant 7:8/10/19; Local key informant 1:10/10/19; Ou-teemaker 1:28/08/21).



**Figure 6.2 A summary of a Haarlem application for honeybush access (Source: NASA)**

The crown lands shown in Figure 6.3 were the only state land that the Surveyor General indicated was available and could be harvested. This land was bounded by farms, and thus, they used trespassing as part of decision-making because the land demarcations were shaped in a manner that restricted accessibility of the state land where wild honeybush was to be harvested.



N  
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 Scale  
 1 : 85 000  
 15 June 2023

Figure 6.3 State and known private farms in 1903 in the Haarlem area (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe; Jonathan Southwood)

Allowing access to honeybush was also a form of state forest revenue generation. The Forestry Office considered forest revenue in their decision-making and stipulating conditions for honeybush access in Haarlem and Swellendam. Officials administered a honeybush permit system in accordance with the forest revenue generation objectives of the state. Later, the Sources of Revenue Act of 1899 introduced a more formal valuation of revenue from forest produce. Plants such as honeybush, buchu, and everlasting flowers were graded using the tariff for forest produce. This is indicated in a letter dated 12 November 1904 that refers to page 40 of the Sources of Revenue, 1899 edition. The 1899 edition stipulated a forest produce tariff for collecting bush tea and buchu in Swellendam (The Under-Secretary for Agriculture, 1904), and the Controller and Auditor General refers to advising tariffs for collecting buchu in Swellendam (Hopkins, 1905). Generating revenue from honeybush as forest produce is further depicted in a letter from the Knysna Forest Officer dated 3 April 1896 in response to an application from Zuurbraak. The Officer stated, "The present petition is unsupported by the Civil Commissioner's recommendation [...] Should there be genuine distress a contribution towards this relief should not be debited to Forests Revenue!" (Conservator of Forests, 1896). A letter from the Forest Officer in Swellendam dated 24 August 1898 indicates that the price paid for a permit and the conditions around it were tools to curb the number of permits issued and thus the number of people entering the government land. The letter reads as follows:

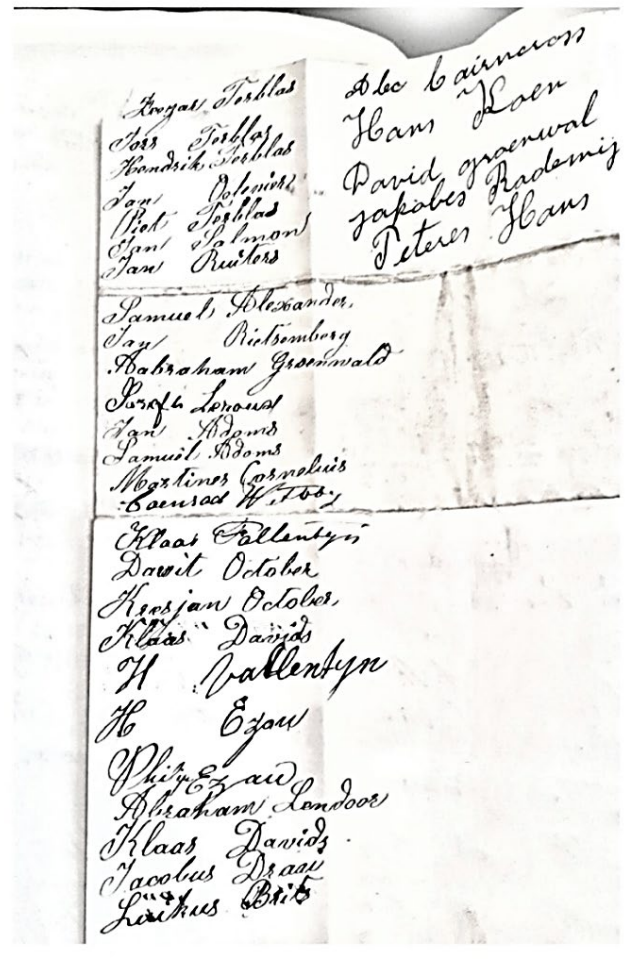
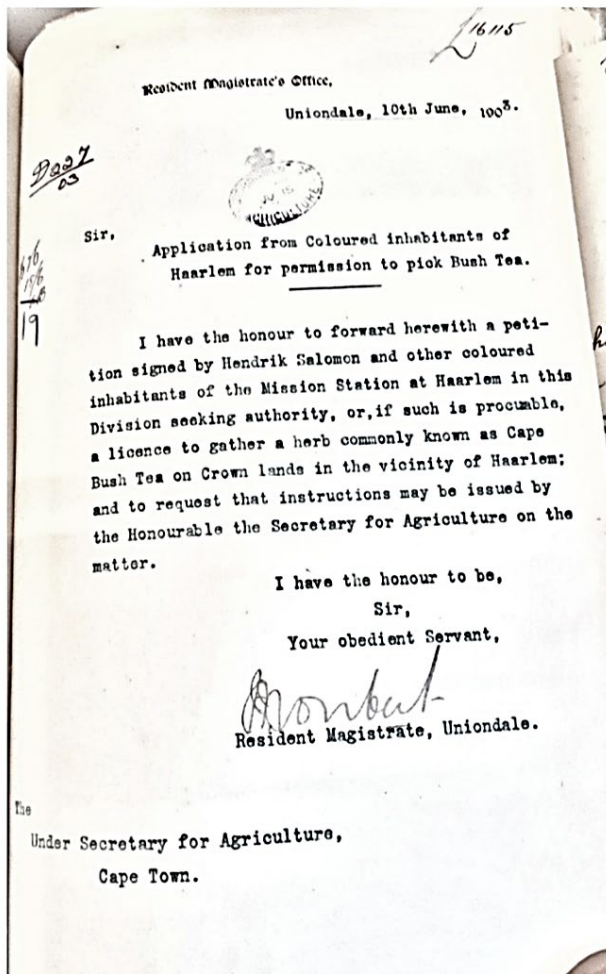
[A] licence issued for the purpose of gathering bush tea and Boochu by the Civil Commissioner Swellendam at the rate of 15f 15 shillings per year, whereas I received an order from you to give licences out for the picking of bush tea at the rate of 1f one shilling per day, lots of people came to me for licences but now they go to the Civil Commissioner Swellendam, these they get them for 15f per year [...] when they came to me for licences, then they were responsible for any outbreak of fire in the mountains, and in that way I had nearly put a stop to all fires occurring on the Crown Lands which caused the destruction of Forests, and dried up the springs, but now since the issuing of licences at Swellendam, the fires are nearly as bad as ever they were. (Forrester, 1898)

In Haarlem, the Divisional Council advised that the following should happen if they decline permits:

... decline to issue permits as recommended by the DC [Divisional Council]? If so [,] we should instruct the CC [Civil Commissioner] to take steps for keeping the Coloured people from picking the tea leaves at all for if nobody keeps an eye on them, they will most likely gather leaves without paying a licence in which case the end the DC have [in view] would be defeated as well as the revenue defrauded. (Civil Commissioner Uniondale, 1903a)

### **6.2.1 Experiences of resource access: learning from the descendants of Haarlem petitioners**

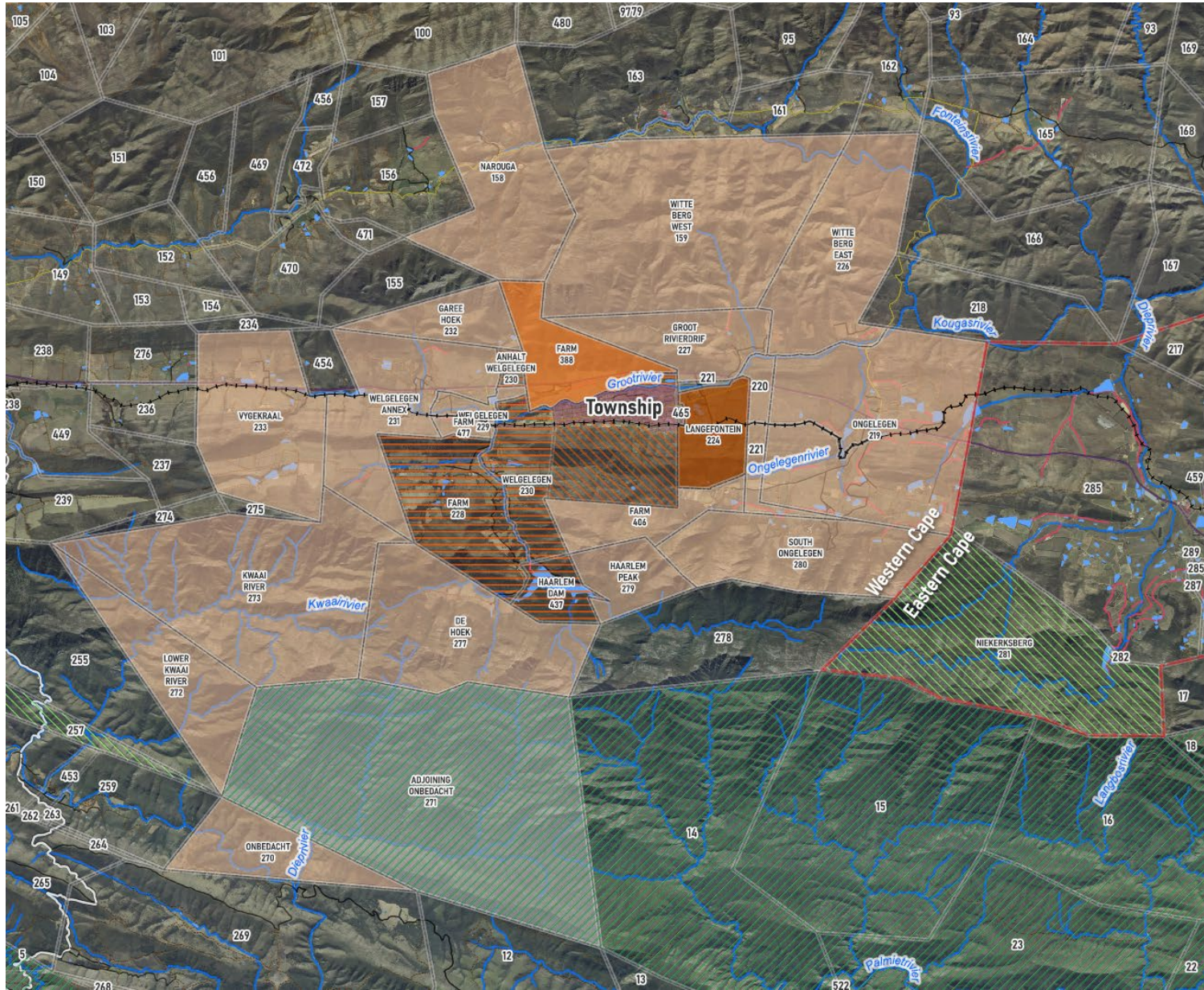
It can be extrapolated from the permit applications in Haarlem and in other areas that *ou-teemakers* and the forefathers could harvest on the state land for a period between the late 1800s and early 1970s when harvesting in the state land was discontinued. In the 1970s harvesting on state land was prohibited and therefore discontinued. Some of the interviewed *ou-teemakers* were direct descendants of the Coloured residents in Haarlem that submitted a petition (Figure 6.4) or an application to harvest honeybush on the Crown Lands in 1903. Others are related to them and/or their great-grandparents were also living in the village and harvesting honeybush at the time. Most of the *ou-teemakers* got involved in tea-making from a young age because they had to help their parents. Experiences of resource access and trade that are shared from Section 6.2.1.1 onwards reflect those of relatives and neighbours of the petitioners in Haarlem.



**Figure 6.4 Haarlem Petitioners in the Honeybush Application dated 10 June 1903 (Source: NASA)**

The land designated as crown land in 1903 is now either privately owned or has been incorporated into national parks or provincial nature reserves, restricting access to natural resources. As a result, crown lands that were accessible to the 1903 petitioners for harvesting a century ago is now off-limits. Figure 6.5 shows the land uses, revealing that crown lands shown in Figure 6.3 have now been turned into private commercial farms, National Park, Provincial Nature Reserve, and ownership by South African Police Services (SAPS).

Figure 6.5 Map showing contemporary (2020) land ownership patterns in



**Legend**

- Arterial Road
- Other Road
- Secondary Road
- Main Road
- Street
- +— Railway
- Furrow
- Perennial River
- Dam
- ▭ Provincial Border
- ▭ Parent Farms

**Tenure (2020)**

- Haarlem Township
- ▨ Commonage
- Private (CPA)
- Private Farm
- Private (BEE)
- Private (Plaas Farm)
- SAPS
- ▨ Nature Reserve
- ▨ Garden Route National Park



Scale  
1 : 85 000  
15 June 2023

## Haarlem (Ndwandwe, 2024)

The remaining accessible land for harvesting since the 1970s is commercial farms. Some of the state land was opened occasionally through a racialised tender system.

### 6.2.1.1 Resource access control by commercial farmers

The *ou-teemakers* reported that their primary source of the wild resource was white commercial farmers. Most of the time these farmers got a cut of the profit made from the tea sales. There were exceptions where a farmer gave the tea for free. The cut taken by a farmer was usually low, and therefore, participants still referred to this as getting tea for free. A participant made an example of a cut farmers took from tea sales as follows: “Kyk, die boer vra ook mos ‘n deel [the farmer asks for a share]. Say for example you receive R2 ‘n kilo [...] then you give him ‘n 50c, and now you have R1.50. Jy moet mos maar deel afgee [you just have to give a share]” (Ou-teemaker 12: 07/06/21). Sometimes they took a portion of the tea, and another participant stated that landowners took one bag out of 10 bags, “If you have 10 bags, then he must get one. Sien jy?” (Ou-teemaker 7: 16/04/2021). The reasons given for farmers allowing harvesting ‘for free’ and at a lower fee is that they did not care about honeybush. Farmers not caring about honeybush was articulated in many ways. One of the participants who harvested around the 1960s stated the following:

At that time the private farmers did not think of tea. It was just bushes. So, they gave us the tea for free, you can say [...] Then we give them a tenth part. So, we got the tea at the farm [...] and occasionally found [it] at the forest; at that time the Nature Conservancy [Conservation] was not yet in. (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/19)

Another reason farmers did not care about honeybush was because they had apple trees, which relieved the poor whites who had land to participate in the fruit market. An elderly commercial farmer explained the prevalence of tea consumption in their household and among farmers in general, and how their interest in honeybush changed based on market opportunities:

[T]hey cook this what they call bossies tea. It is very coarse. They cook it so its strong. It's not like a teabag that you put in and take out [...] that is what most people anyway Coloured, white everyone was using in that time because they was not very rich and when apple [farming] started everything changed [...] They was not interested in honeybush tea; now it suddenly it's all flare everyone wants to harvest. They want to plant it [...] The whole thing flares up when Peter started this company [...] with rooibos [...] and then this harvesting thing came [...] totally out of hand. (Key informant commercial farms: 17/10/19)

On the contrary, this early disinterest by landowners allowed the Coloured producers to make the tea without competing for the resource. Access to wild honeybush on the farms was facilitated through a flexible informal permit system that was mostly verbal and at times involved the Department of Agriculture. Responding about the permit system, a government official confirmed that before 2011/2012, "there were no permits required; they could sell it to anyone without permits, no control of any sorts" (Government key informant 3: 02/03/20). Another participant stated the following:

There were no permits at first. We will cut here then there: no permits. The permission we got, we had to get consent from the owner of the farm. If you get the permission from the owner of the farm, then the owner only gives a paper that he has given the permission. From there you cut until you finish there. So, when you finish there, you tell that man you are done. Now you are going to ask another man [...]. That's all we did. (Ou-teemaker 15: 12/09/19)

The land owned by commercial farmers was the most accessible. Some families who were farm dwellers made and sold tea either because they had a friendship with a farmer or because they were allowed to make tea as part of farm work. Relational access to honeybush through friendships with farmers was indicated in the case of a family who lived on a farm, and the wife of the farmer<sup>21</sup> was friends with their house help, and through that relationship they could access honeybush for sale and make extra income (Ou-teemaker 11: 04/06/21). Some farmers decided to give the tea to

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<sup>21</sup> Farm owners usually refer to the male head of a household and not their wives.

their workers so they could avoid paying a full salary. One participant explained that “mense het nie tee [people do not have tea]. The farmers started giving their tea to their farm workers [...] The farmer pays less now; sees now how much we make with the tea, you see? Then he pays people less, and they cut his tea. Die boere is oulik [The farmers are clever]” (Ou-teemaker 12: 07/06/21). Another way to access tea was to try in other towns where the *ou-teemakers* would ask farmworkers in that town to make an arrangement for them with a farmer. For example, Haarlem does not have farm factories, so some members of the community were working outside the vicinity of Haarlem where there was more work. This was explained by a participant who leveraged such relations: “The majority of our people work on farms. Sien, [...] maybe you have [...] a good friend who works for a farmer in Misgund, [...] through that person who works on that farmer’s farm you make a contact for Haarlem to come to the farmer and arrange for the tea” (Ou-teemaker 5: 13/04/21).

Resource access control by commercial farmers also converged with unwritten racial rules that made the whites in the study area superior. Thus, although white farmers were more open to allowing access to honeybush than the state, the geography of the Coloured community in relation to their white neighbours in the landscape was and continues to be defined by making those who do not have land rights ‘to stay within bounds’. Two stories tell of how Coloured people were made to stay within bounds. One participant said, “Others survived gunshots and used nudity as a strategy for accessing honeybush because if you are naked in the mountain, the white man can’t see you”. A participant stated that on one of the days they were shot at by the farmer who was a neighbour of the farm on which they were cutting the tea, and because the farm boundaries were not clear, the neighbouring farmer thought they were harvesting on his land without his permission. A participant told the following story:

Ons het baie uitdagings gehad [we had a lot of challenges]. [...] Kyk, the farmers here in the onder-Langkloof have their fields lying next to each other, nè. Most of the time the wire was fallen. You still think you are cutting on that farmer’s side, then you are over, then you just hear ghwa-ghwa! It’s shooting. Jirre, we ran a lot,

[...] ask Evelyn. Oe jirre, ons het gelad. Dit was lekker ook gewees [It was fun too]. Lourie pulls her [clothes] out to fetch the tea so that the farmer cannot see her [...]. That child, you cannot see him [her] that far now, but if you're wearing clothes, he's going to see you. (Ou-teemaker 12: 07/06/21)

Although traumatic to the listener, this story and other survival stories are told with much laughter. It was clarified also in this story that the daughter was darker skinned, and she had to go naked to fetch honeybush when her father and brothers were already hiding from the gunshots. She could do it because her skin blended with the trees in the mountain, and in that way, they still accessed the honeybush they needed to make the tea.

### **6.2.1.2 Resource access control by nature conservation authorities**

In 1974, the Cape Nature and Environmental Conservation Ordinance was passed, prohibiting the plucking of flora from protected areas. With this ordinance in place, the *ou-teemakers* had to depend on the commercial farms where they worked or lived for access to the honeybush resource. Furthermore, in 1993, the Cape province split into three provinces. This had consequences for the governance of land under nature conservation. A key informant explained the history of conservation in the study area as follows:

Pre-93 we were the Cape province, and they split us, Western Cape, and Eastern Cape. Now we had the same legislation, Ordinance 19 of 1974, which is still applicable. The only difference with the Western Cape - they have done so many amendments in their ordinance like the licence fees [...]. Some farms were split into two provinces [...]. Then what happened after 1994, was they had to decide what happens to the Eastern Cape. Now remember the Eastern Cape had no Nature Conservation head office [...]. Our managers, directors, they were all sitting in Cape Town, which was now Western Cape [laughs]. See we had to start a new department from fresh. (Government key informant 3: 02/03/20)

This split mostly had implications for transport permit costs and access to honeybush across borders (see Chapter 7, which discusses the current setup of the honeybush sector). The *ou-teemakers* recollected the period when the land they

used to harvest from was put under conservation, with one of the elderly participants recalling:

We got the tea at the [...] farmers and occasionally found at the forest. At that time the Nature Conservancy was not yet in [...] What happens then, the Nature Conservancy comes in and closes the Kouga mountain and just opens Tsitsikamma [on a tender system]. Then it's a problem now because the mountain has the tea, but the tea is now closed by nature conservation [...]. We struggled to get the tea from nature conservation, but we still did not get it right. Nature conservation sits with the tea. There are thousands, thousands, thousands of acres of tea within nature conservation here in the field. Those 200 bags [a total 200 20 kg sized bags that the group from Haarlem had harvested before] were with them. (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/19)

In the 1980s after the state land was closed, *ou-teemakers* would only go into conservation areas when the government occasionally opened Tsitsikamma and Knysna forests using a tender system, but these would be granted to farmers, such as the one in Jansenville who won the tender to pick tea in the entire Tsitsikamma area (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/19). The *ou-teemakers* of Haarlem arranged to work with the Jansenville farmer. Many of the *ou-teemakers* that harvested between the 1960s and 1999 indicated that in the late 1970s to 1980s they would still go ask Bosbou (Forestry Office) to harvest tea in the Tsitsikamma area and Knysna forest. Currently, the mountains under nature conservation are completely closed to honeybush harvesting, and one participant explained the situation as follows:

Government also makes it difficult for us. They say we can't go there in the field [...] our grandfathers and fathers were doing the job and still the plants is still there. I don't know why Cape Nature have a problem with us for the tea [...], but they have contractors there who [are] doing the pines for them. Knysna forest they have contractors who trim pines for them, and even Cape Nature also they have people who [are] doing the fire belts for them, so I don't know what's the problem for us. They have contractors doing other jobs there, but they don't want us for the tea. (SMME member 2: 04/06/21)

Accessing honeybush through the tender system was cumbersome for *ou-teemakers*. Explaining the extent of the tender and the unfair system, a participant noted that “there were 20 men, two teams of men, made the tea for six weeks [...] Then we get nothing now, just R1000, for every man a few rand [...]. Then they bring in other rules, laws for tea” (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/19). It was also mentioned that when the Forestry Office granted permits for making the tea on the state land in Knysna and Tsitsikamma, the *ou-teemakers* would be faced with the dynamics of access to the land they were permitted to harvest. For example, one of the only remaining team members of a team that harvested in a friends/neighbours’ model stated that the gate to Forestry land was in the Plettenberg Bay side of the GRNP. This was problematic for access since the mountains in which they were granted permits to harvest were closer to where they lived than the gate that is 92 km away. The location of the access gate in Plettenberg Bay and not in Haarlem is one of the signals that the demarcations were made without communities in mind. Other signs are that the villages and other settlements are surrounded by private land that buffers access to public beaches and some of the state-owned lands. Within this spatial demarcation, access to resources is not only a matter of landownership and closure of state land but also a matter of being confronted by evidence that you are not supposed to belong beyond the Coloured or labour reserves. A Municipal official articulated the space boundedness as follows:

[The] farming neighbourhood community is very much protective to nature, you know [...], you know in Koukamma, a resident of Koukamma coming from west-end more especially [...] coming from western or coming from Kareedouw we all meet in Jeffery’s Bay, but here [there is] a coast that’s running in the edge of Koukamma. Seven is a number of beaches around here but we don’t have access to that. One of them is Esterievere and one of them Huisseklip. Well in Huisseklip the challenge is that when you go to Huisseklip, you must go through a farm, a private farm. (Government key informant 3: 02/03/20)

Another example of land demarcations and allocations that continue to be repressive is that of the ‘floods family’ in the Tweeriviere area. This family secured rights to land during the apartheid years and farmed the land. Making tea was one

of their main livelihood activities. However, they had to migrate because of floods, and an elderly participant described the family land situation by saying, “Nge la xesha [you see that time], we lived in the mountains. Now we did not know about other people. Look there [pointing towards the Kouga mountains] in those mountains it was just that one old man and us. There could have been more people maybe. We did not know other people” (Ou-teemaker 15: 12/09/19). Explaining the severity of floods and their impact on their livelihood he stated, “If the river comes down, then it is full of water all over. You cannot get out. You are close to being hungry behind the rivers. You cannot ride with the donkeys. The place is washed out. You now have to fetch groceries on your back. Such things, then it was decided the people come out here with us” (Ou-teemaker 15: 12/09/19). The land that the ‘floods family’ left has honeybush, but the family no longer has access to it. When the family had to migrate because of floods, they became farm dwellers and farm workers. The space boundedness in this case is more related to the body politic (embodiment) in the study area where there was, and continues to be, limited choices beyond farm labour for those who are not white and those who do not own or have land rights. Explaining the current land tenure in their family land, one participant stated:

There were people here with us to claim those grounds back. But it’s a little hard now the old people are all dead all that kind of stuff. It’s a little difficult [...]. That is grandfather’s land, who sold the tea. Forestry had to pay him [...], but Nature Conservation they did not pay him well enough. Now they are doing things now. There where we stayed, now there are ‘white’ people living there. Now there stays ‘white’ people. (Ou-teemaker 15: 12/09/19)

Land under nature conservation has been closed since the 1974 Ordinance, and prospects of it being opened have been under negotiation, particularly in the Eastern Cape side of the regional boundary, since 2012. Discussions have involved landowners, including Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA), South African National Parks (SANParks), and the Mountain to Ocean (MTO) forestry company. In relation to land ownership, participants stated the following:

The state owns most of these mountains, and there's tea on these mountains. Now if the state can help us with tea that is on their grounds, on their land [...]. If we can come to an agreement on that deal then, or they can help us with a farm where the wild tea comes in handy. (Harvest team leader 4: 10/10/19)

We know for a fact that there is lot of money in the mountains, you see, we know for a fact [...] I know a place you can go there in Oudtshoorn, they call it Swartberg, if you stand there, you see tea it's like a carpet, but government don't want me and other guys to go in there. (SMME member 2: 04/06/21)

Others have resorted to theft to access tea on the state land. For example, two cases were shared of honeybush being 'illegally' harvested on protected areas:

Look everywhere, any farm lies against Forestry. He is up against nature conservation. Now that man is giving you the land, now you are cutting there [...]. You cut there in nature conservation land, now you carry the tea in [back] here [...]. Then the people find out, but jonga, it can't be so. You cannot get so much tea in this small place. When they look then, they see Nature Conservation and the tea almost cut. (Ou-teemaker 15: 12/09/19)

In Haarlem, the *ou-teemakers* got some of their tea from the portions of the commonage. However, its communal nature meant that there was not enough for each family that participated in the tea-making business. A participant explained that although there was tea in the community land, the tea was still not enough because the tea grows sparsely in the mountain, and therefore, the size of the land means there is not a lot of tea. This was explained as follows: "[T]he whole mountain is not full of tea [...]. He does not stand, as you say, in the whole mountain [...], that is why I tell you that if he runs out here, we will go to that farmer [...]. He stands here and there" (Ou-teemaker 5: 13/04/21). Other participants stated that there was a lot of tea but not enough in the community land for everyone in the community to use: "Kyk [look], this side is more our side, nè. A lot of tea was this side [...]. Kykie, it was free for cutting [...] and because of that, it was not enough" (Ou-teemaker 12: 07/06/21). Harvest teams in Haarlem also reported that there is not enough or no honeybush on the community land. Indeed, the *ou-teemakers* could not rely on the community land and instead travelled across the Langkloof and the greater Garden

Route region to obtain enough tea for commercial use. Towards the end of my stay in the village, after I had walked the commonage and other mountains well enough to begin to question whether there was ever any honeybush, I was told by my elderly key informant and research assistant, together with the neighbours we were sitting with, that the fence between the state land and communal or private mountains was not that high (Field notes, August 2021). This implied that honeybush harvesting on the state land continued even though the permits were no longer granted.

### **6.3 Trading honeybush from the margins**

You see, in [since] 1945, we've been doing this [producing tea] all these years, from year to year. (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/19)

This section explains the structural setup of the teams and value chain used by the *ou-teemakers* at the margins of land ownership, economic participation, and government support during the repressive regime.

#### **6.3.1 Characterising the *ou-teemakers'* value chain**

The *ou-teemakers* participated in honeybush harvesting and tea-making as families and friends. These two categories used honeybush tea and configured structures for harvesting as well as tea-making differently. The participants fell into the two tea-making typologies of the 'family model' and the 'friends/neighbours' model', which are used in the following paragraphs to navigate harvesting and trade dynamics between the 1940s and early 2000s. Many had to either leave school or balance school with going to the mountains to make tea. The older children, especially the firstborns, regardless of gender, had to help their fathers. One of the children, now an elder, shared that "those years back then were hard years. Then there is no chance that you can reach standard six because the food, income in the house [...], your father cannot make it. You just have to stand up" (Ou-teemaker 5: 13/04/21). Another participant recalled that they started harvesting honeybush a day after World War II ended. His mother woke him up early in the morning and told him that

he must leave school and start working to help her with food for the younger children. He put it this way:

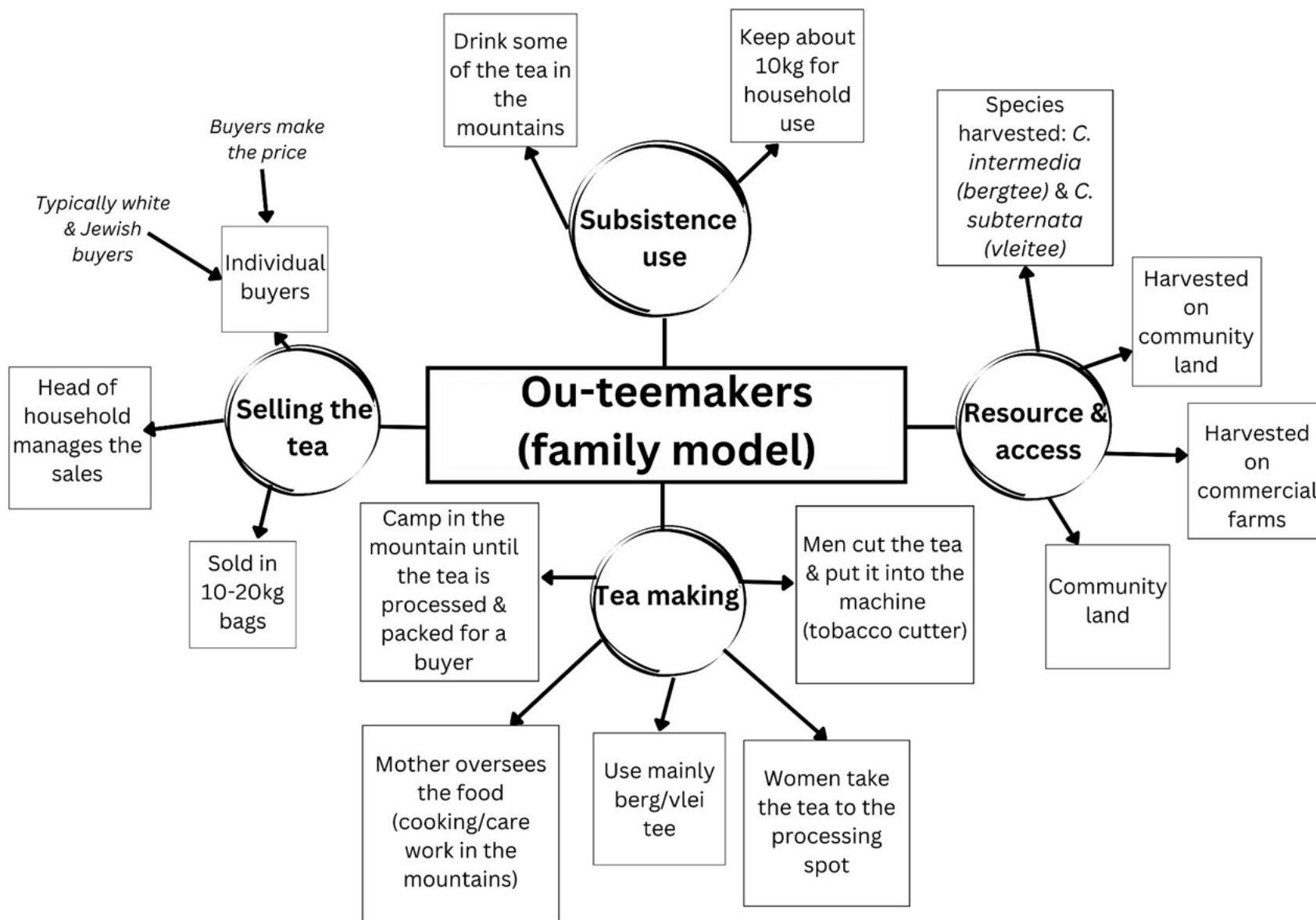
“Yes. Juffrou, ek is in 1945, daai dag met die vrede van die Tweede Wêreldoorlog, spesifiek daai dag toe haal my ma vroeg, 5 o’clock die môre maak my ma my wakker [Miss, in 1945, the day of the World War II peace, specifically that day, 5 o’clock in the morning my mom woke me up]. ‘Mom, what is it now?’ ‘George, as of today you are not going to school [...] from today you are going to work’.” (Outeemaker 7: 16/04/21)

### **6.3.1.1 Making tea as a family**

Making tea as a family was a dominant form of honeybush production between the 1940s and 1990s. Children, regardless of their gender, mothers, and fathers were all involved in the tea-making. Families that made tea often had a standard buyer, and the tea was sold in 20 kg bags. Access to the resource was negotiated with commercial farmers. Haarlem village had access to some community land where they claimed to have harvested honeybush freely without a permit. Their experiences were triangulated with those of families in other locations in the study area who also produced tea as family units. Figure 6.6 shows the typical family model typology. Families made and sold tea for commercial and subsistence purposes.

The friends/neighbours’ model was families coming together rather than a single family. Making tea as friends/neighbours was initially not as popular as the family model but became more popular as families split when some members relocated for jobs and parents got older.

**Figure 6.6 Tea makers: A family model**



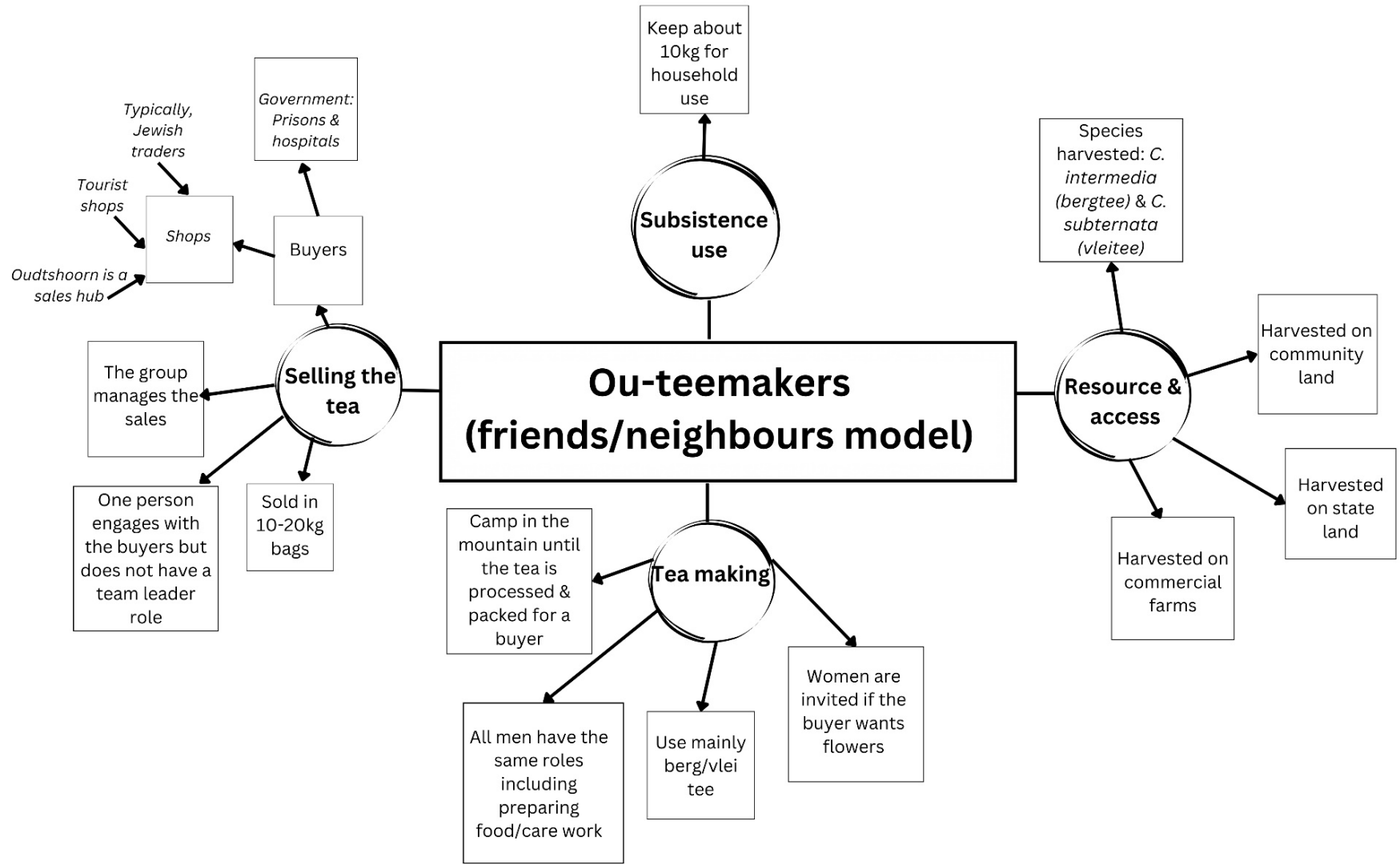
### **6.3.1.2 Making tea as friends**

The main differences between the family and the friends/neighbours' model were the market they attracted, the amount of income they retained, and the involvement of women. The friends/neighbours model involved males who arranged honeybush access with Bosbou (Forestry Department and Nature Conservation), commercial farms, and community land. The women were not involved in the friends/neighbours' model, and one of the participants clarified the situation as follows:

If the Jew says throw a bit of flowers, we aren't going to make flowers, we make tea, but now the Jew wants to give the nice flowers. Because it now just blooms in October month, now that the women go and pick flowers. The Jew throws a bit of flowers in the tea, you see. Then the women go and pick flowers. The women were not involved with the men that made the tea. (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/19)

The Jewish members of the village were involved in the tea value chain as traders, and their role is explained in Section 6.3.2.1. Two themes emerged during the coding and analysis of data, namely land and resource access and the tea market. Many of the *ou-teemakers* who harvested as friends/neighbours had arrangements for harvesting in the Tsitsikamma and Knysna forest tender system, but those harvesting on a family model seldom made logistic arrangements with the Tsitsikamma and Knysna forest areas. Figure 6.7 shows the typical friends/neighbours model typology.

**Figure 6.7 Tea makers: A friends/neighbours' model**



### **6.3.2 Selling the tea and the informal market**

Those in the family model often sold to one buyer that they sustained over time, and those in the friends/neighbours' model sold to many different buyers. In the friends/neighbours' model, the tea was sold to tourist shop owners, retail shops in Oudtshoorn (a town in the Klein Karoo, South Africa), and predominantly, the Jewish community, who sold the tea in their shops in Haarlem and to prisons and local hospitals. At times, they took tea to what was then Port Elizabeth (now Gqeberha) for use in leather tanning and other uses that the *ou-teemakers* did not know of as their role was to make and sell tea. In the late 1980s, the tea was also sold to a hospital in Eswatini. The income from the tea was split between the members, and the system is reported to have been somewhat fair. Honeybush tea sales under the friends/neighbours' model emulated a cooperative framework, although their trade was not formally recognised as cooperatives. Each of the traders or buyers are discussed in the following subsections.

#### **6.3.2.1 The Jewish traders**

It was reported that from 1945 everyone was poor in Haarlem and the Langkloof except for the Jewish community. The Jews did not make the tea themselves and were only involved in its trade. A key informant who was present at the interview with one of the *ou-teemakers* mentioned that "the brown people went to cut it" (Local key informant 7: 8/10/19). Another participant mentioned that the Jewish traders knew the health properties of the tea, linking their interest in tea to their lifestyle, stating, "[T]hey sold that tea to the Jews, and the Jews knew what health properties that tea had. They knew. Where he lived, the Jews had a pomegranate tree, an olive tree, and a fig tree [...] and there were many pomegranate trees that remained here when the Jews were here, as well as in Uniondale" (Harvest team leader 4, 10/10/19). Some households in Haarlem still have these trees in their yards, and they remain patches of evidence of how the identity of the village has changed over time. Because the Jews were not poor, they bought the tea with cash, as explained here:

[I]f the tea is finished then they bring the tea with the wagon to the Jew [...], then the Jew gives the money [...]. Now the important thing was, 1945, when the Jews started making tea, we came to survive on the tea. There we made tea to survive. It was all earnings that were there, where money came in [...], so here was no money, right. When the Jews were here, the place had no 'white' shop<sup>22</sup>, no other shops, here were about four Jewish shops. (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/19)

The Jewish traders also used a bartering system with the Coloured community in which tea was exchanged for groceries; for example, "Now the Jew let it go so close, the prisons and to the hospitals and those places [...]. He gives you the food at the store. You have no money; he gives you the food for a month away. You come back; he deducts the money from the food" (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/19). There is still one shop owned by a Jewish trader in Haarlem. One of the elderly participants who started harvesting about 76 years ago stated that the tea business was a Jewish business and that he used to sell tea to the shop that is still trading in the village with different owners: "Business was mostly Jew business [...] here on the other side [pointing to a shop], this old man also sold tea. But he [Jewish shop owner] buys now, and then maybe he [...] might be selling to another Jew in Oudtshoorn or somewhere else. That's the Jewish. It's the people who most of them was the buyers of the tea" (Ou-teemaker 7: 16/04/21). When asked to comment on the reasons the Coloured community did not have shops where they could sell the tea themselves, he explained that at that time only special people could own a business that way. He further contextualised his point by telling how, when he was a police officer, it was difficult for him because he was Coloured, however, with some rights that the black Africans did not have, such as owning a business. He explained that "might be one in a thousand who get the right to do business, you see". He further said that he lost his job as a police officer because he tried to help a Black person who wanted to buy wine in Port Elizabeth, and then he returned to Haarlem and worked on the

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<sup>22</sup> Although the Jewish community that settled in South Africa were predominantly white and European, the participants in Haarlem do not speak of them as the white people. The concept of "white people" was used to refer to Europeans in a sense of colonial settlers. Hence the participants would not say a white buyer if the buyer was Jewish. In writing about Haarlem, I follow the separation made by the participants..

farms in a supervisory role. Upon his return to Haarlem, he did not harvest honeybush tea, which he had done when he was young (Ou-teemaker 7: 16/04/21). His story highlights some intersecting issues that pushed him and his peers to the margins of economic advancement and the precarious position he held as a police officer who had to be biased against his own people, even though he did not agree with the system. Similarly, close to 50 years later, a Coloured Conservation Officer, after answering all my interview questions, asked if I think things will ever change (Fieldnotes: October 2021).

### **6.3.2.2 Individual buyers**

Individual buyers were common in the Langkloof and the surrounding Garden Route areas. The *ou-teemakers* did not have information about where the buyers sold the tea. It is clear that the individual buyers bought large volumes of tea as some families were able to live on honeybush income alone. One family indicated that they would sell about 40 x 20 kg bags of processed tea after camping in the mountains. The tea was sold at 50c per kg. However, most of the participants indicated that they were not the ones taking the tea to the buyer where the tea was weighed, and thus, they could not stipulate how many kilograms the 20 kg bag<sup>23</sup> full of tea weighed (Ou-teemaker 10: 26/05/21). The following paragraphs depict the nature of the buyers and the ways in which tea sales<sup>24</sup> were arranged.

The Port Elizabeth and Humansdorp markets were places of trade for local produce, including tea. Farmers and individuals in these markets were the tea buyers, as explained here:

[M]y father and grandfather themselves harvested the tea green, and they carved it with a hand-turner, those carving machines, the old-fashioned hand-turners. They cut it, they threw it on a tarpaulin, they poured water on it, and they closed it

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<sup>23</sup> A 20 kg sack, i.e. for maize or livestock feed

<sup>24</sup> Most participants did not know and qualified the significance of their tea income in non-monetary terms.

in a tarpaulin [...] then they sold that tea to Mr. [Farmer] at the time and to Humansdorp market. (Harvest team leader 5: 29/11/19)

The 'floods family' reported that their grandfather made tea for a farmer and that their trade relationship continued with the farmer's son. The farm they sold their tea to is one of the few old landowners in the Langkloof, and they were the only buyers that the 'floods family' sold their tea to: "This [the farmer], he bought it. He probably just sold over. We sold to him; we just got him. I cut for [farmers son]. He was only here yesterday when you left here [...]. We cut for his father; I never got out to his father. The big people always took the tea there" (Ou-teemaker 15, 12/09/19). Other families did not remember the buyers but remembered the area they sold it to; for example, a participant from Haarlem stated that the buyer "lived here on Twee Riviere; I do not know the farmer's name. But let's say we sold to Johan if it's the best now" (Ou-teemaker 12: 07/06/21). Some of the buyers were religious community groups such as Samaritana people, a religious community that was based in the area between Haarlem and Misgund (Ou-teemaker 7: 16/04/21).

Others made tea on a farm that they had a relationship with, either directly as farmworkers or through a family member who could ask a farmer if a tea-making arrangement could be made. Sometimes in these arrangements, the farmer would buy the unprocessed or processed tea from the *ou-teemakers* and sell it to a buyer (Ou-teemaker 11: 04/06/21; Ou-teemaker 12: 07/06/21; SMME member 4: 11/05/21). The income from making the tea was usually used to buy groceries and clothes for children as an incentive for participating in making the tea. An example of the payment being used for groceries is the 'floods family' and their buyer, explained as follows:

When the tea is ready, then the tea becomes two bags on each donkey: one bag that side, one bag that side [...]. It's far from here to Louterwater [where the buyer resided]. You go from here to there through the mountains. The donkeys already knew if you loaded them, they would walk. You take two paths: Now you take someone who walks with them [donkeys], then you [seller] come [...] in front, then you wait for them [...]. When they get there, then you unload them, then you do

what you have to do. You buy groceries, then you put those groceries back on them. (Ou-teemaker 15: 12/09/19)

### **6.3.2.3 The community post office**

The old post office was an information centre in Haarlem. Some of the tea orders were made through it, and a lady who worked at the post office in the late 1980s to early 1990s shared an album with random memories from the community (Local key informant 3: 09/06/21). She told of the honeybush tea orders she received from a hospital in Eswatini and from “farmers who only spoke English”. The *ou-teemakers* would send the ordered tea via the post office (Figure 6.8) through to the railway bus, and then from Port Elizabeth the tea would be distributed to a hospital in Eswatini and “farmers who only spoke English”. The hospital in Eswatini bought the tea for several years to treat tuberculosis (Local key informant 3: 09/06/21).



**Figure 6.8 An image of telephone exchange unit at the old Haarlem Post Office. Photo credit: Geraldine Wildeman’s photo album (9 June 2021).**

## 6.4 Global market integration: Elite capture and a Faustian bargain

At the close of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the ARC and South African Biodiversity Institute (SANBI) began what they termed a “rediscovery” of a honeybush product and development of an industry. Many of the efforts by ARC and SANBI went into cultivation trials, innovation, tea-processing technologies, and product and market development (Du Toit et al. 1998; Joubert et al. 2011; Stander et al. 2019). The rediscovery introduced honeybush domestication, which had been recommended by botanists as early as 1922 in the second genus revision conducted by Hofmeyr and Philips (1922). The SANBI had a long history of participating in the international botanical community and now monitors biodiversity and conservation and acts as an advisory to organs of state and other stakeholders (National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act, No. 10 of 2004). The ARC was formed through an Act of Parliament in 1990 with a mandate to conduct “research, development and technology transfer, to promote agriculture and industry and thereby to contribute to the improvement of the quality of life of the people of the Republic, and having regard to the protection of the environment” (Agricultural Research Act 1990: 5) and to “conduct or commission market research and sell the results thereof” (Agricultural Research Act 1990: 7). The rediscovery coincided with the transition to democracy and ARC earmarked settlements, including Genadendal, Zuurbraak and Haarlem, for the establishment of commercial plantations because they historically involved in the processing of honeybush and there was a recognised potential for the plant as source of income for resource-limited communities (du Toit et al., 1998; Malgas, 2022). Haarlem swiftly got involved in the rediscovery. Participants indicated that even though the tea was produced in certain traditional norms and sold locally, given the resources and opportunities, the *ou-teemakers* would have upscaled their trade as it had been in their plans since the 1980s. However, those with resources, such as processing facilities, land, and the resource, took over when the overseas market increased. This is indicated in the following quote:

When was it now, somewhere in the 80s, yes about 1980, then the two young farmers came to me, and they asked that we go make the tea for them. They now want to try to process the tea, that he [tea] can come in packets and get [...] in the store. We now went to make the tea for him and to get the tea fine [...] we went to get the tea through a hammer mill on a farm [...] to make it packets now [...]. We kept the tea for him, but apparently, he then went bankrupt. The tea was lying here. Then about five years later, they opened a factory in Wolseley, and they started with the same thing from the farmer. (Ou-teemaker 14: 09/10/19)

Haarlem involvement in the rediscovery was also propelled by their loss of access to the wild resource and processing facilities. Various participants noted that there was an increasing number of producers because “they now saw there is interest in the honeybush tea industry” (Harvest team leader 5, 29/11/19). Haarlem was left wanting also because they did not receive support to build a processing facility which they “would have used to carve and pack the tea, the wild tea, and sell it overseas” (Harvest team leader 5, 29/11/19). Further, the landowners started to harvest the tea that grows on their land. This shift is articulated in the following quotation:

All the years, over the years we our forefathers did survive, they survive with honeybush because whenever they got any difficulties in financial circumstances or situations they can go into the mountains, get the permission of the commercial farmers because all the land and the mountain in any case belongs to one or other ‘white’ commercial farm. So, over the years, we did harvest honeybush tea but with the permission of the ‘white’ commercial farm who at that time did not have an interest in the harvesting of honeybush, but since the market was developed overseas [...] but now it’s not a survival thing anymore. It’s a money thing. It’s a business so that totally changes the field and the players you see. (Honeybush SMMEs key informant 2: 23/04/21)

Another participant who led a harvest team during the time of data collection linked their marginalisation in the export-oriented markets to systems that do not work for the poor: “Ya sometimes they implement too many rules, you see, that poor people cannot abide by. Only the rich people are gaining. You see, only the rich people are gaining and the poor people they are suffering you see” (Harvest team leader 3:

19/11/19). In essence, the introduction of rules that poor people could not adhere to has enabled elite capture by those who are at the top of the racial and land ownership hierarchy. In addition, Malgas (2022) identified several biophysical and institutional barriers including input costs, land, water, seeds, and infrastructure amongst communities like Haarlem who adopted cultivation and export-market opportunities.

Resultantly, Haarlem residents find themselves trapped into a Faustian bargain condition where honeybush commercialisation is concerned. A Faustian bargain is a figure of speech denoting a state where often the poor or relatively powerless people have had to postpone their desires or needs for surviving in the present. For Haarlem, the desire was to continue with their tea production tradition; however, they have had to accept participation in the contemporary harvest teams where they supply a resource, provide cheap labour (Ou-teemaker 8: 12/05/21; Ou-teemaker 1: 28/05/21), and as one of the participants articulated, “put a tail in between our legs” (Harvest team leader 4: 10/10/19) for survival.

## **6.5 Conclusion**

This chapter used historical evidence to paint a picture of how a marginal space was constructed for Coloured producers and discussed their agency in making tea at the margins of land ownership, economic participation, and government support during the repressive regime. It highlighted relational access and illicit access as means to secure the honeybush resource, particularly in the context of fading rights as the state closed the land for conservation. The chapter also introduced the honeybush value chain and the flexible structures that evolved, such as the friends/neighbours and family models. The old flexible structures and value chain were juxtaposed with the contemporary setup of the sector and the exclusions and access present in each. The contemporary honeybush sector is discussed in the next chapter.

## **CHAPTER 7**

# **OVERVIEW OF THE CONTEMPORARY HONEYBUSH SECTOR: GLOBAL MARKET INTEGRATION, CHANGING HARVESTING PATTERNS, CULTIVATION, AND NEW ACTORS<sup>25</sup>**

### **7.1 Introduction**

This chapter discusses the contemporary honeybush sector that has been largely informed by two key periods. The first period is the “rediscovery” of the honeybush product and industry in the 1990s with commercialisation activities such as cultivation and value chain upgrading. The second period is the BEOP, which was officially launched in 2018 to deliver on socio-economic transformation in the natural products sector. The rediscovery and the BEOP periods introduced new actors and institutions, tea-making through a formal value chain, and the elimination of the traditional market through a process of global integration.

This chapter comprise five sections. The first section discusses contemporary honeybush use. The second section discusses the honeybush value chain, including the setup of the wild and the cultivated resource value chains. The third section discusses the processes of value chain upgrading and the introduction of the export-oriented market. The fourth and fifth sections discuss the impact of the introduction of the export-oriented market by focusing on changes in harvesting and trade patterns, and industry actors.

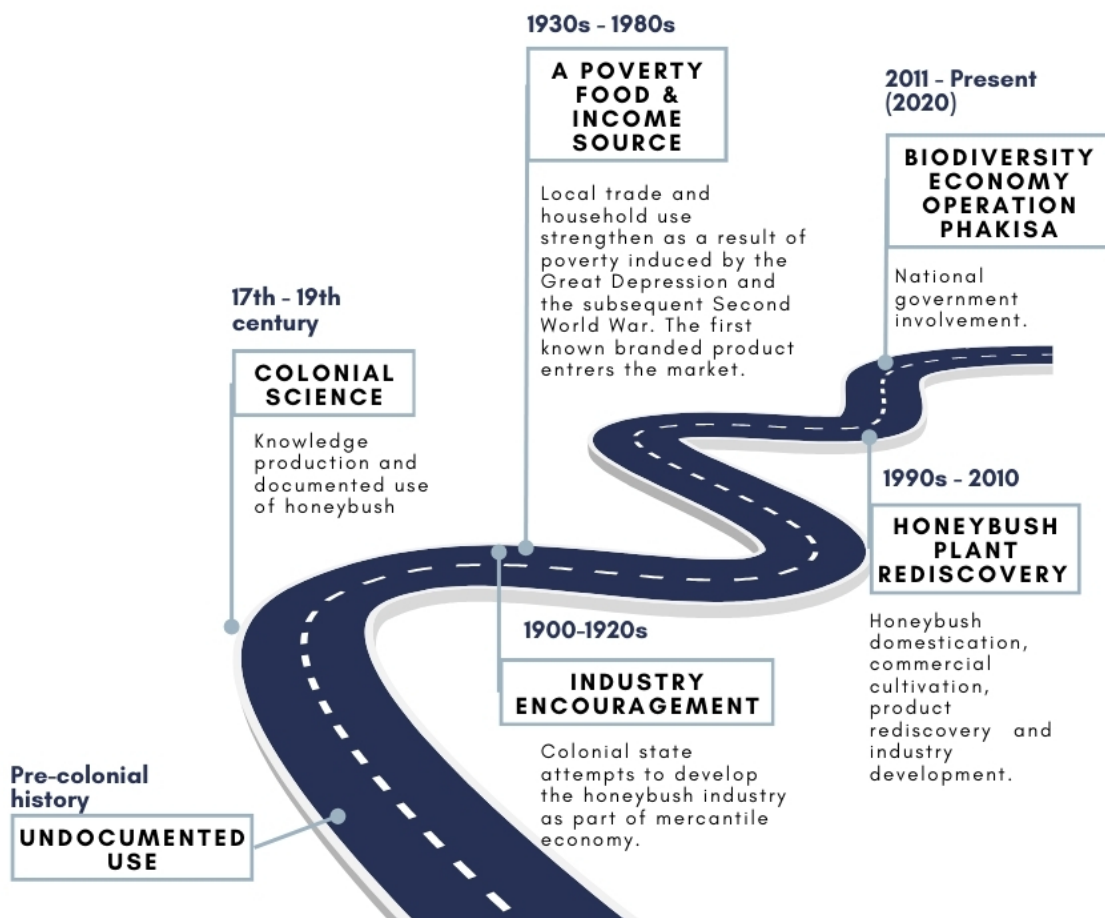
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<sup>25</sup> Parts of the research in this chapter have been published in a book chapter authored by the researcher, Ndwanwe (2023). The chapter is accessible here: <https://doi.org/10.2307/jj.3643592.13>

## 7.2 Contemporary honeybush use

As in the past, the contemporary honeybush industry continues to depend largely on wild-harvested material rather than the cultivated resource (McGregor, 2017b; Slabbert et al., 2019; Malgas, 2022). Although cultivation has long been encouraged by botanists (Hofmeyr & Phillips, 1922; Kies, 1951), it was only in 1992 when the National Botanical Institute and the ARC 'rediscovered' honeybush that a commercially cultivated resource was grown and supplied to the market (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4). Because of this significant shift in honeybush production, this study considers contemporary honeybush use as commencing in the 1990s. Figure 7.1 illustrates key points in history of the commercial use of honeybush.

### Early and contemporary histories of honeybush



**Figure 7.1 Key points in the history of honeybush use. (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe).**

Honeybush is still predominantly used for its traditional use as a tea. Although a once popular local beverage (MacOwen, 1894; Hofmeyr & Phillips, 1922), its consumption by local people has decreased with an increase in harvest for the export market. Transect walks conducted in Misgund township and Haarlem village revealed the absence of local honeybush consumption in these areas. Informants revealed that immediate local memories of honeybush pertain to its harvest and not the use of the tea itself. Some had never seen the plant, despite residing in the landscape that grows it. This finding was triangulated with interviews with harvesters, who indicated that they only found out about the honeybush plant when they started harvesting, usually in their teen years (NGO harvesters: 10/09/19; Misgund transect walk: 18/10/2019). In contrast, the elderly retired harvesters and those profiled in this thesis as *ou-teemakers* grew up with tea around their villages and households as it was made and processed by the villagers. There is thus a significant generational shift in the attachment to and awareness of honeybush. All contemporary harvest team leaders (usually of an older generation) shared a memory of growing up with honeybush tea being used in the house or at least by a family member. However, they themselves did not consume the tea. Some key informants remembered growing up drinking the tea, and one who resided in Krakeel Riviere township remembered it as a “tea water” that he referred to as normal drinking water that was stored in the house basins or small tanks (Local key informant 8: 26/11/19). The harvesters who consumed honeybush when they were growing up indicated that their mothers used to give it to them for coughs, others stated that it made them hungry, and others just immediately touched their stomach when asked about medicinal uses. However, they seldom set out to consume it for medicinal purposes, although they were aware of its health properties. Honeybush tea became a beverage for the poorer households, particularly after the proliferation of caffeinated teas and coffee. The poorer households could not afford caffeinated beverages or the sugar and milk that go with them. For example, the descendants of H Valentyn, a Haarlem 1903 petitioner, mentioned that they grew up as the poorest of the poor in Haarlem and so other families could afford milk and they only drank honeybush and drank it black (Local key informant 3: 09/06/21). This was corroborated by an elderly commercial farm owner, who at the time of the

interview was 81 years old; he emphasised that they drank honeybush because they were poor and stopped consuming it when they could afford coffee and black tea (Key informant commercial farms: 17/10/19).

In the first two decades of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, there was a rise in commercial research on honeybush. The commercial research was led by national science institutions, including the ARC, Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, Medical Research Council, and SANBI; all of whom entered the scene during the rediscovery phase of commercialisation that commenced in 1992. Although these institutions only became active in honeybush in 1992, they represent a consolidation and institutionalisation of scientific innovations and botanical research that had been introduced and conducted throughout the repressive regime. Contemporary medicinal uses include help treating diabetes and obesity (Van Wyk, 2008; Mahomoodally, 2013; Larsen et al., 2016; Joubert et al., 2019). More uses are now emerging outside the tea industry, including in the cosmetics and wine industries. Examples include patent applications by the Korean Institute of Oriental Medicine for the anti-wrinkle properties of honeybush (Chae et al., 2016), by Red Dawn for an improved process for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages (Strydom et al., 2011), and to reduce allergic reactions to hair dyes (Basketter et al., 2010).

Honeybush provides an extra source of income for harvesting communities in the Garden Route and Langkloof regions. Honeybush also forms part of farm products for landowners, along with other land uses such as commercial fruit farming, livestock farming, crop farming, lifestyle farming such as ecotourism, and wildlife ranching (Cockburn et al. 2019). Participants indicated that honeybush can be a sole source of income if there is access to enough tea (Harvest team leader 5: 29/11/19); however, most harvesters cannot bargain on honeybush anymore because of the limited places where they can harvest (Harvest Team leader 7: 22/10/19). Like any other land-use activity, those who harvest honeybush and grow it as community-based cooperatives still lag in terms of participation because of historic land dispossessions, unequal distribution of resources, and the continued legacy of colonial and apartheid policies (Mulkerrins, 2015; De Laat, 2017; Cockburn et al., 2019).

### 7.3 Value chain upgrading

For more than two decades, the ARC and SANBI have led efforts on honeybush value chain upgrading processes. Value chain upgrading includes specialised innovation activities that set up the sector for export markets, including, but not limited to, product and process upgrading (Giuliani et al., 2005; Cunningham, 2011). Value chain upgrading also means a transition from activities that may be more accessible to those without capital or resources, or from a situation with lower barriers to entry to one where rules are stricter (Giuliani et al., 2005). Such actions have varied impacts on individuals and households that are found trading on the pre-upgraded value chain and informal markets. Cunningham (2011) mentions four types of upgrading within NTFP value chains, summarised in Table 7.1.

**Table 7.1 Types of upgrading within the value chain and their occurrence in honeybush commercialisation**

Type of upgrading	Definition of upgrading as it relates to NTFPs (Cunningham, 2011)	Honeybush industry development period	Upgrading example in the honeybush value chain
<b>Process upgrading</b>	Transforming production process by improving technology	Early industry development by colonial merchants (1900-1930/40) Domestication and rediscovery period (1991-2010)	Processing machine in 1907: Separators for granular and pulverulent bodies. ARC processing machine in 2001: A process to produce instant honeybush tea. ARC processing machine in 2002: A process to produce green honeybush tea using vacuum-drying.
<b>Product upgrading</b>	Natural products are developed into diverse and more sophisticated product lines with higher value	Domestication and rediscovery period (1992-2010) Biodiversity Operation Phakisa (2010+)	ARC and Medical Research Council 2008-2011: Anti-diabetic extract of honeybush.
<b>Functional upgrading</b>	New superior functions are developed in the value chain; traditional product value addition	Domestication and rediscovery period (1992-2010) Biodiversity Operation Phakisa (2010+)	Tea product uniformity, tea infusions, and development of green honeybush and organic honeybush tea markets. Cultivated material 1997: ARC seed orchards and seedling breeding.

<b>Type of upgrading</b>	<b>Definition of upgrading as it relates to NTFPs (Cunningham, 2011)</b>	<b>Honeybush industry development period</b>	<b>Upgrading example in the honeybush value chain</b>
<b>Intersectional upgrading</b>	New research and technology enable a shift from the one sector to the next sector	Biodiversity Operation Phakisa (2010+)	Red Dawn 2013: Improved process for the manufacture of alcoholic beverages.

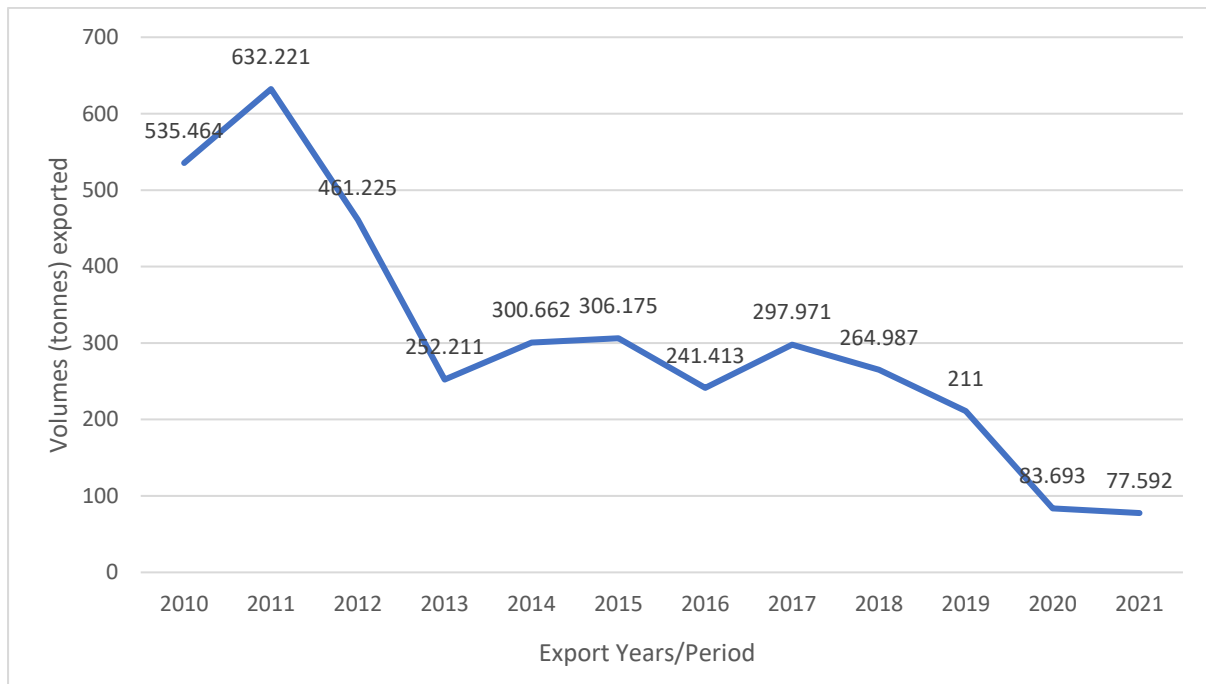
Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

The four upgrading processes outlined in Table 7.1 have varying impacts on local markets. The honeybush local market was displaced by the combination of upgrading within the value chains, but two were reported as significant for on the ground displacement of Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people who had previously dominated the local market in terms of harvesting, processing, and sales. This was at a time when commercial farmers had stopped relying on the tea and had escaped poverty because of their involvement in a lucrative fruit farming boom (Key informant commercial farms: 17/10/19). The reported upgrading that displaced the local market included the process and functional upgrading for export-oriented markets. Process upgrading occurred through the introduction of new technologies and the formalisation of processing, while functional upgrading included activities that improved the tea product and the introduction of cultivated material. The impact of value chain upgrading on the Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people who harvested and produced honeybush is elucidated in Section 7.4. The following subsections give an overview of the formalised value chain emanating from the 1990s rediscovery efforts.

### **7.3.1 The honeybush tea value chain**

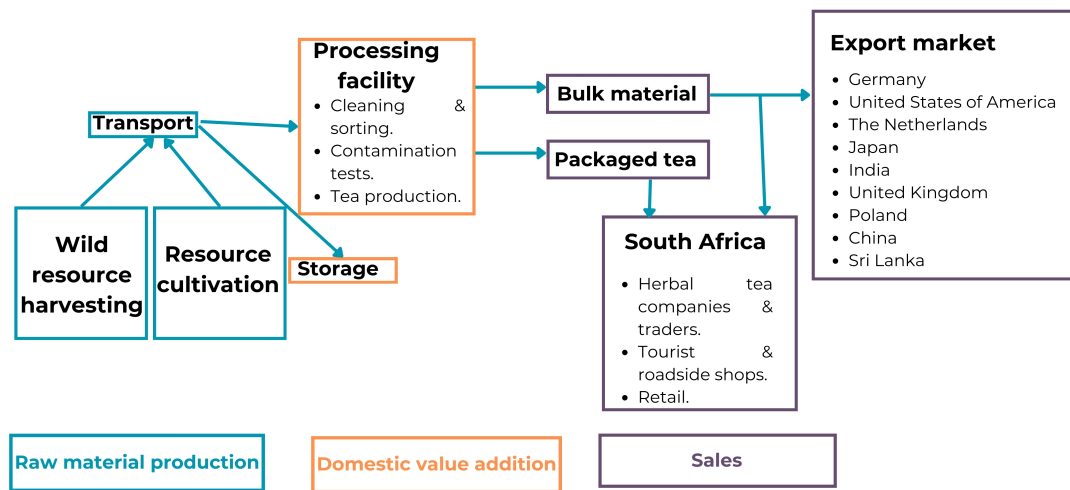
In 2015, honeybush was exported in bulk to 13 countries (DAFF, 2015). As shown in Figure 7.2, the volumes exported have been decreasing, with the lowest volumes in 2021. According to SAHTA, the industry was affected by the COVID-19 pandemic (SAHTA: 29/11/21) and the impact was significant since it is an emerging industry with a stagnant 350 tonnes a year for about five years (Kriel, 2020). Globally,

honeybush is commercially categorised as a food and supplement market (SDP, 2021). Figure 7.2 shows the export market figures between 2010 and 2021.



**Figure 7.2 Honeybush exports between 2010 and 2021**

The honeybush value chain has three segments, namely raw material production, domestic/local value addition, and sales. The raw material is supplied by growers and harvesters who, depending on their land rights, fall into categories of either pickers/cutters or farmers. Figure 7.3 illustrates a honeybush value chain.



**Figure 7.3 The contemporary honeybush value chain (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

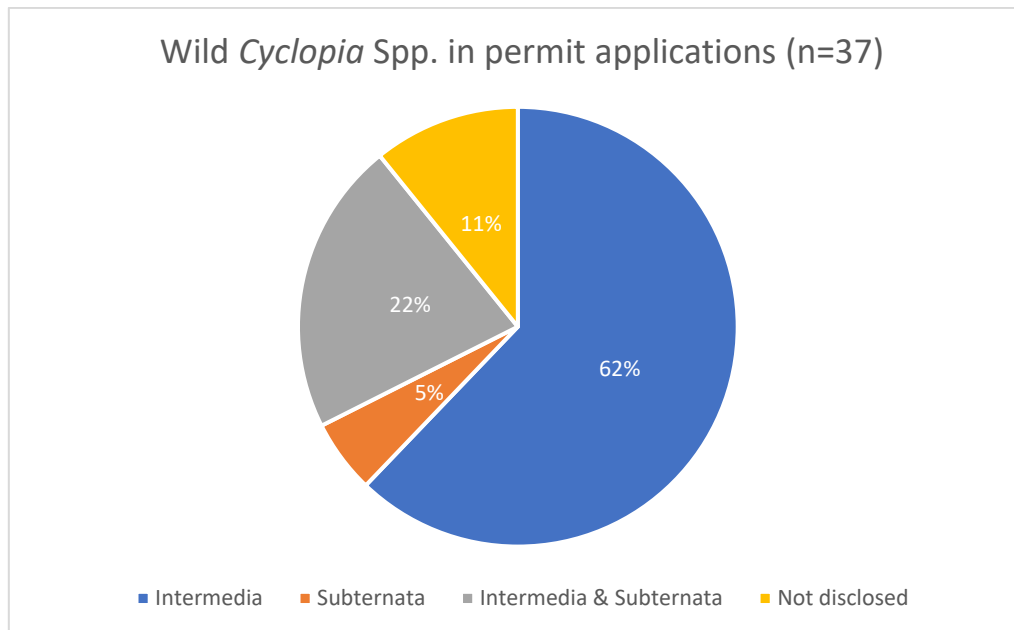
Local value addition is done by processors and companies, and sales continue to follow the centuries old trend of tourist/roadside shops and some retailers, including supermarket chains such as Pick and Pay, Woolworths and Spar, and online markets. Overseas value addition and sales are done in importing countries. In 2017 the price of tea per kilogram ranged between R533.80 (\$31,16<sup>26</sup>) and R1216 (\$70,98) per kg overseas, and between R114 (\$6,65) and R199 (\$11,62) per kg locally (McGregor, 2017b).

### 7.3.2 The wild resource

The honeybush resource is still largely sourced from wild material. Nine harvest team leaders that were interviewed indicated that their teams harvested *C. intermedia*, followed by *C. subternata*. One team sometimes harvested *C. plicata* from the wild, however in smaller quantities. This data was triangulated with the permit application files that showed that most applicants harvested *C. intermedia*

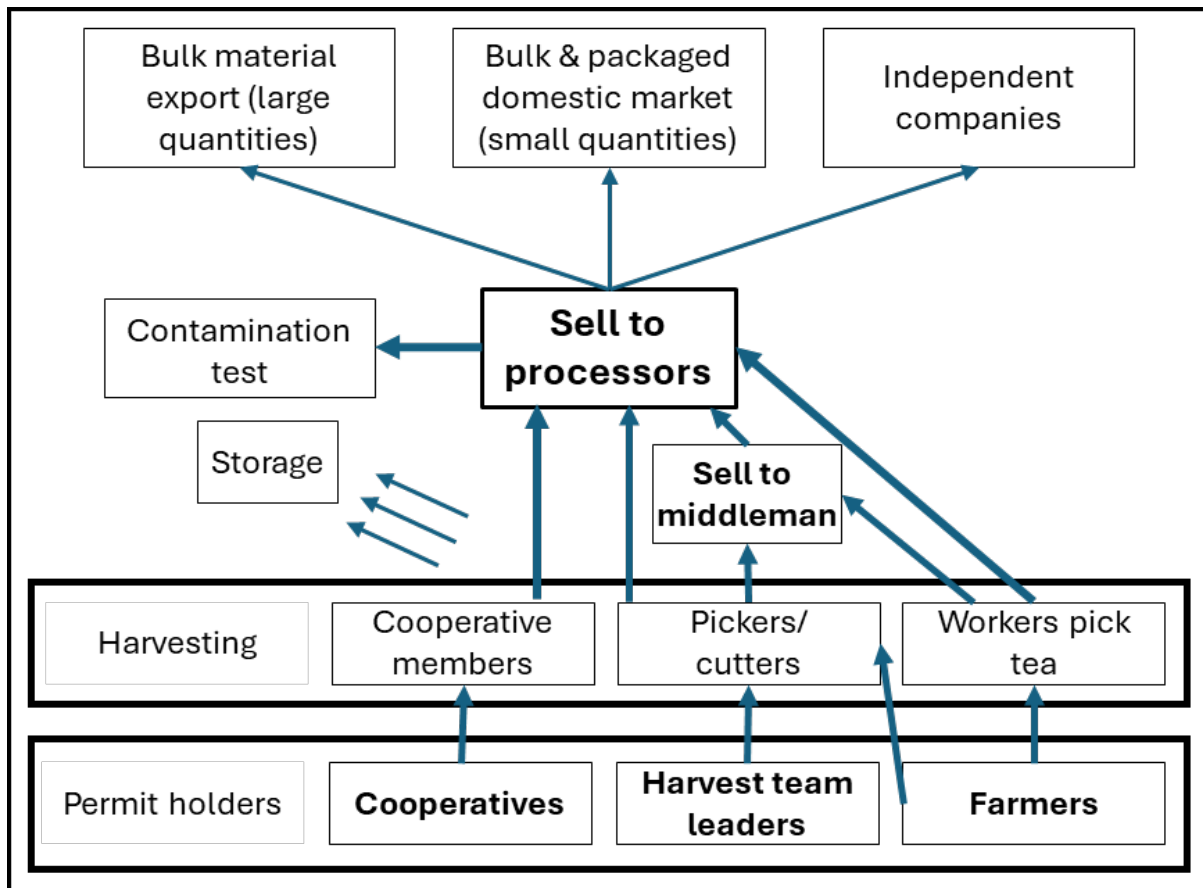
<sup>26</sup> Exchange rate as on 18 July 2022: 1 USD = 17.1167 ZAR

or a combination of *C. intermedia* and *C. subternata*. Figure 7.4 shows proportions of species that are harvested.



**Figure 7.4 Wild honeybush species appearing in harvest permit applications in the Eastern Cape, between 2012 and 2019**

The harvest team leaders, farmers, and cooperatives supply the wild resource, sourced from private lands. Cooperatives seldom participated in the sale of the wild resource as they are channelled into cultivation and often with no land where they can harvest honeybush. The resource is sold to the processors in the Eastern Cape or Western Cape: A permit holder pre-arranges a drop off with the processor to make sure the tea can be processed in time. This is important because sometimes facilities have a waiting list, and if the facility is full, harvesters store the resource until there is space. Upon arrival, the tea is typically thrown on the floor and then a sample of the tea is taken for a contamination test. Figure 7.5 shows key actors involved and their activities in the wild resource value chain.

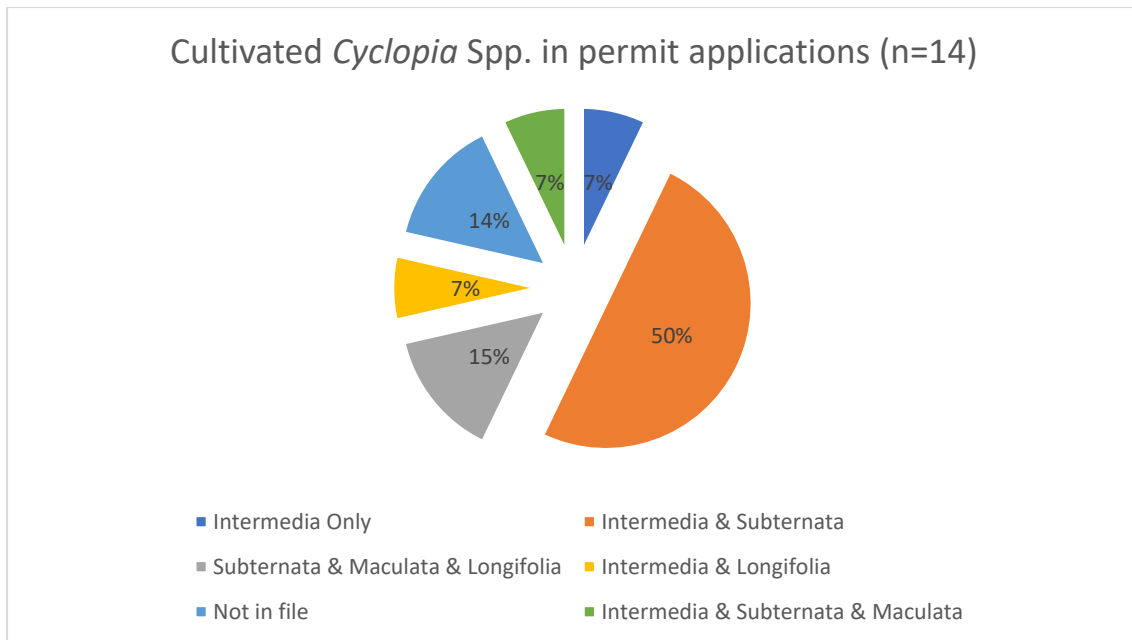


**Figure 7.5 The value chain for wild-harvested honeybush (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

Wild honeybush is harvested and sold throughout the year. There are downtimes, particularly in February and March, because of high temperatures that can make the material start fermenting before it reaches the processors (Harvest team leader 5: 29/11/19). The July to November months is prime harvesting times as they represent downtime for other farming activities. Most pickers who balance farm work and harvesting tend to harvest between July and December.

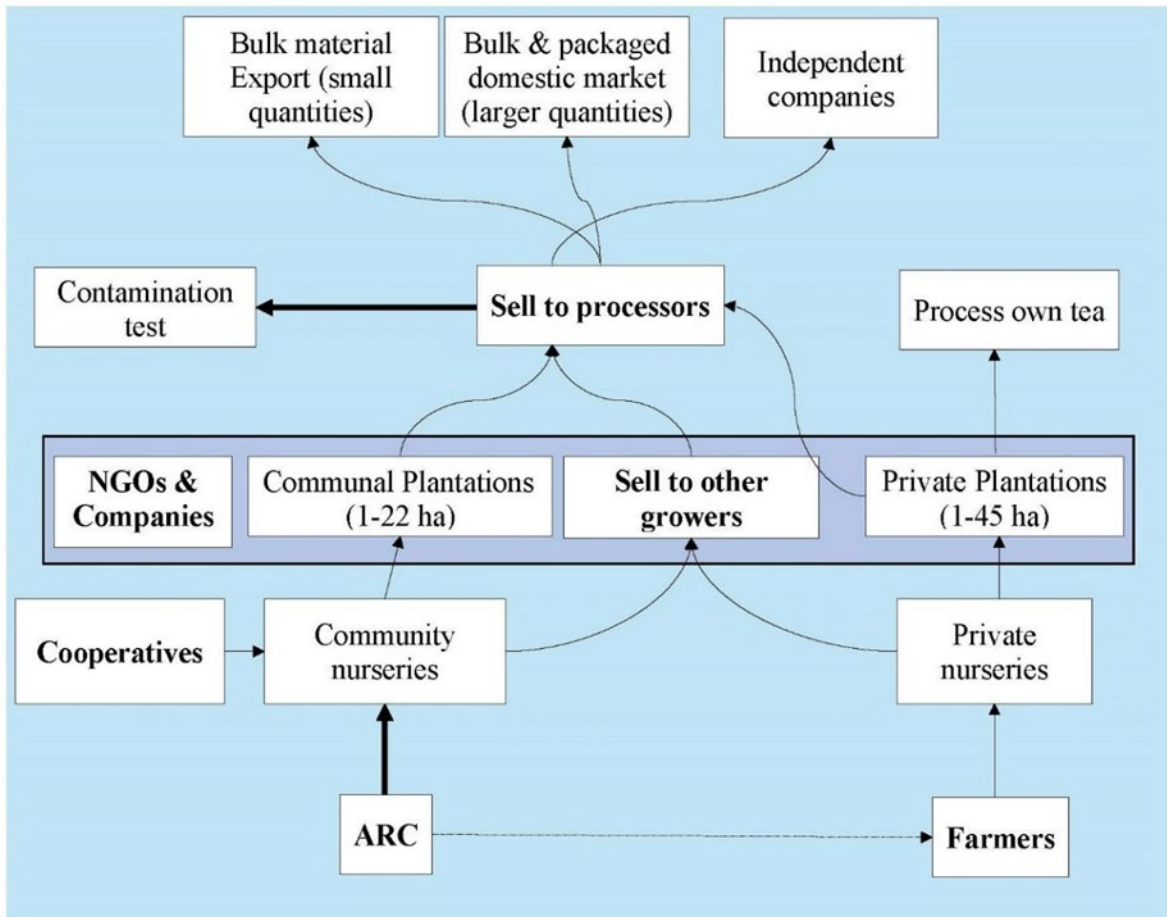
### 7.3.3 The cultivated resource

Cultivated species consist of a wider variety compared to the wild resource. Figure 7.6 shows species that are cultivated. These include *C. longifolia*, *C. subternata*, *C. intermedia*, and *C. maculata*. Cultivated species also include *C. genistoides*, but it is not cultivated in the study area.



**Figure 7.6 Cultivated honeybush species appearing in cultivation permit applications in the Eastern Cape between 2012 and 2019**

Landowners are the main participants in the sale of the cultivated resource, followed by those organised into cooperative structures. Companies increasingly participate in the cultivation process, either by procuring land or through contractual arrangements with the landowners. Figure 7.7 shows key actors involved and their activities in the cultivation value chain.



**Figure 7.7 The value chain for cultivated honeybush (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

Cooperatives plant honeybush in land sizes ranging from 1 to 22 ha and produce volumes ranging from 1 to 40 tonnes. However, farmers who own private land have flexibility with plot sizes, ranging from 1 to 45 ha. It was reported that those who grow honeybush start-off with smaller land sizes as a trial-and-error period, which can take years. By way of example, a honeybush grower reported that they only mastered the cultivation process in the 10<sup>th</sup> year (Farmer 1: 12/09/19). The resource is sold to the processors, who then export it as bulk material or as packaged material, particularly for the domestic market. Not much of the cultivated material is exported because of the market's preference for wild honeybush (Company 1: 18/08/19). Support to honeybush growers is provided largely by ARC, which has a strong involvement in community nurseries and honeybush plantations run by communities, while NGOs and companies often are involved in ensuring communities have channels and/or nurture business relationships to sell their

cultivated resource and seedlings. This section discussed the ways in which the honeybush value chain has been upgraded, and the following section focuses on the impact of upgrading and market integration on marginalised groups.

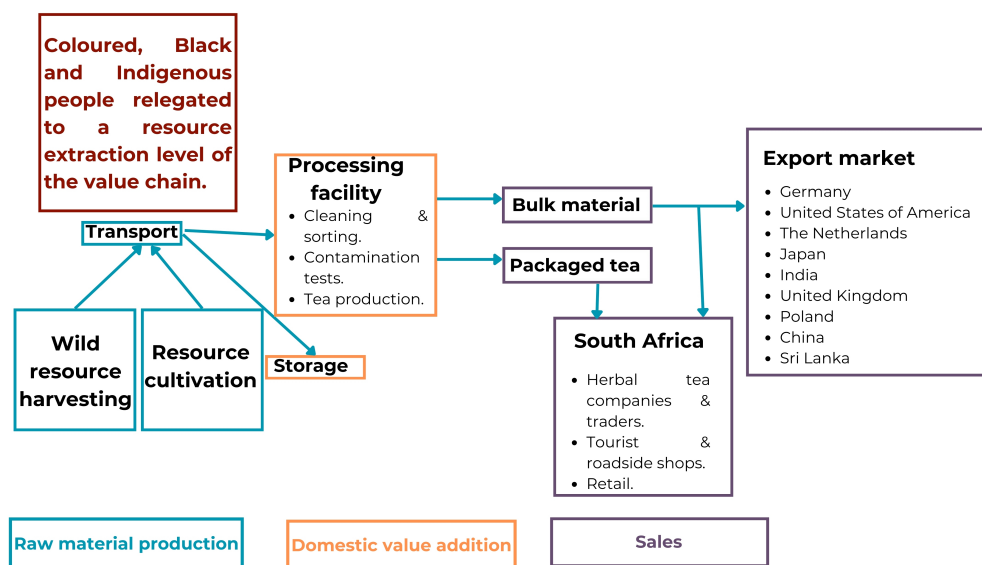
#### **7.4 “So, it’s difficult now for us to get tea, it’s very, very difficult”: Impact of global market integration on local communities’ participation in the honeybush sector**

When I began my data collection in 2019, most harvesters were not harvesting, and small, medium, and micro enterprises (SMMEs) that had been established to promote cultivation among harvesters and traditional tea makers were not producing honeybush. Coloured, Black, and Indigenous peoples were angry that they did not have access to the mountains because of the introduction of a permit system for harvesting on commercial farms, and some regarded the changes in the sector with suspicion. My first meeting with community members in the Eastern Cape started and ended with them telling me to go tell the government to point to the route where they must walk to get to the mountains without trespassing on farms. The trespassing phenomenon that appears in the 1800s and early 1900s archive is therefore still an issue and a barrier to NTFP access. My first visits in the Western Cape were dominated by the view that white farmers took away honeybush business from the Coloured people and they wanted it back. In general, very few people were harvesting, and white harvest team leaders were blamed for taking over operations because of the perceptions that they were preferred by white private landowners.

To elaborate on the changes that led to the marginalisation of Coloured, Black, and Indigenous harvesters and tea producers in the development of an export-oriented market, I will the following subsections on changing harvesting patterns, new processing facilities and their supplier preferences, and new industry players.

### 7.4.1 From tea producers to raw material suppliers

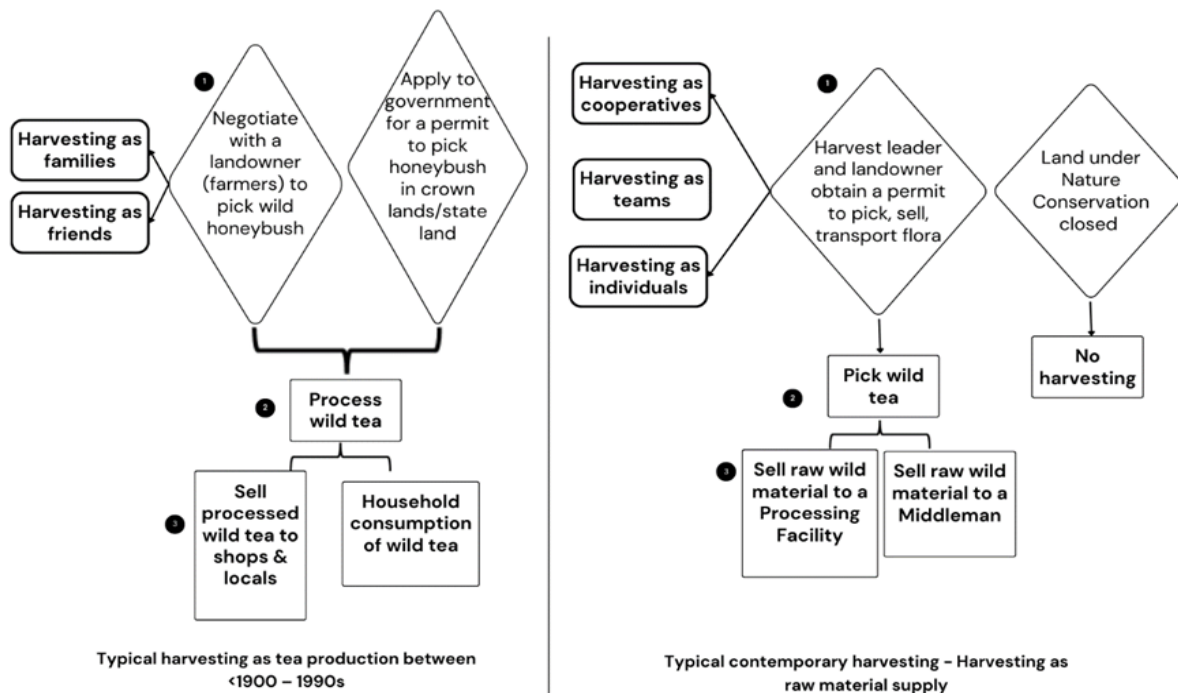
The main change that has occurred with the upgrading of the value chain is the relegation of Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people to a resource supply segment of the value chain (Figure 7.8). Participants complained about this change because they felt like it made them labourers, whereas before they were the owners of the tea production. Their ownership of the tea production was lost as commercial farmers and/or landowners increasingly denied access to the wild resource that they historically allowed harvesters to use. A recurring assertion was that the farmers were not interested in using the tea; for example, a harvest team leader shared that “at one point we had free access to the mountain. Because the owner was not interested in honeybush tea. It was like a weed to him” (Harvest team leader 4: 10/10/19).



**Figure 7.8 The segment of the value chain where Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people participate (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

Coloured, Black, and Indigenous peoples face marginalisation within the resource collection segment of the value chain, where their participation has been relegated. This marginalisation is strengthened by the increasing difficulty to access both the

wild and cultivated resource. Figure 7.9 shows the changing wild resource access pattern between the old and contemporary honeybush trade.



**Figure 7.9 The narrowing involvement of harvesters as harvesting and value chain patterns change to the disadvantage of the harvesters (Source: Ndwandwe, 2023)**

As shown in Figure 7.9, contemporary harvesting arrangements involve a permit and harvesting the resource for sale to processing facilities. These changes in harvesting patterns are a disadvantage for contexts such as those of Haarlem and other situated communities, who, as shown in Chapter 6, had harvesting and trade arrangements that allowed for a sense of ownership of the tea production processes and business. A permit system could be seen as a form of a benefit-sharing arrangement (Wynberg & Hauck, 2014) to facilitate access for those with no rights to land and the resource, especially given the colonial conservation patterns and skewed land distribution in honeybush growing regions (see Chapter 4). However, in this case permits, were introduced for purposes of controlling harvesters’ access to private farms as this is the only land that was harvested at the time of data collection. The permit system was pertinent for landowners as the number of

harvesters was increasing in response to the market demand (Government key informant 3: 02/03/20; Researcher key informant: 19/08/19).

Participation of Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people in the commercial cultivation invited new challenges other than land rights. These included costs of labour, profitability, access to water, insurance, and wild resource preference in the market. Moreover, plantations are harvested once a year or once in two years, depending on the species, and can be profitable depending on the number of beneficiaries and land size. The typical breakdown of costs and income is outlined in Table 7.2.

**Table 7.2 Estimated financial costs and income from the cultivated resource. Data derived from various interviews conducted between 2019 and 2021**

Costs		Income			
Items	Amount		Volume	Rate/kg	Profit
Membership fee (aansluitingsfooie)	R50 (\$2.68 <sup>27</sup> )	Typical minimum volume/hectare	1 000 kgs	R11 (\$0.59)	R11000 (\$59.04)
Labour	R100 (\$5.37)/per day	Typical maximum volume/hectare	5 000 kgs	R11 (\$0.59)	R55000 (\$2951.79)
Bakkie hire	R800 (\$42.94)				
Transport permit (3-month permit)	R1000 (\$53.67)				
Seedlings	R4 (\$0.21)/head				

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

Cultivating honeybush commercially was reported by SMMEs as a difficult task as members can seldom afford labour, and thus, have to be labour themselves in the projects in addition to maintaining a full-time job to make ends meet. The *ou-teemaker* who transitioned into growing honeybush explained the issue of having to work in the plantation and still having to supplement income by working elsewhere:

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<sup>27</sup> Exchange rate as on 9 May 2023: 1 USD = 18.6299 ZAR

Because you've got one hectare of honeybush tea, you cannot survive on that, you cannot live on that. The guy must now still go and get a permanent job on the farms or wherever. And then in his spare time he must then grow that honeybush and see to it that it is a success and then on top of that, he must go over the mountain to get to the land. So, for a guy who works five days a week and then maybe on a Saturday he must go over the mountain and see to his plot and go and work there, it's not easy, you see (Ou-teemakers:30/03/21).

Natural disasters such as fires and floods are a frequent phenomenon in communities where the honeybush plantations and community projects are based. Fires and floods have affected the Haarlem SMME over the past 20 years. Members reported fires and floods as part of the challenges that have set back the honeybush projects across the region (SMME key informant 3: 11/09/19; SMME 3: 9/10/19). Having a plantation also requires farm insurance that SMMEs cannot afford to pay out of the income they make from a nursery or cultivation. An elderly woman who had been involved in a honeybush plantation from the early 2000s described how she had gone to seek assistance from government following a fire. She was told by a white guy in a meeting in George (a town in Western Cape province) that they should have insured their plantation. In response, she "got up in the meeting [held] after burning of the project, then I asked the white guy [...] In what way can they say we should have insured our tea since we did not even have enough money for us? Where can we insure, you see? Then we asked for help from them, and they offered us nothing" (SMME key informant 1: 29/03/21).

The market still prefers the wild resource. Therefore, lack of access to the wild tea despite having access to the cultivated resource is a disadvantage for harvesters and traditional tea producers. During the rediscovery transition into an export-oriented market, those with land that grows wild tea were able to supply both the cultivated and wild material. On the contrary, those who were channelled to honeybush cultivation projects had to rely on the cultivated resource, even though the preference was and still is wild tea. Preference of the resource was reported based on taste, tea quality, and market demand. Preference based on taste and

quality was articulated by a processor when explaining how they saw the difference between the cultivated material and the wild tea:

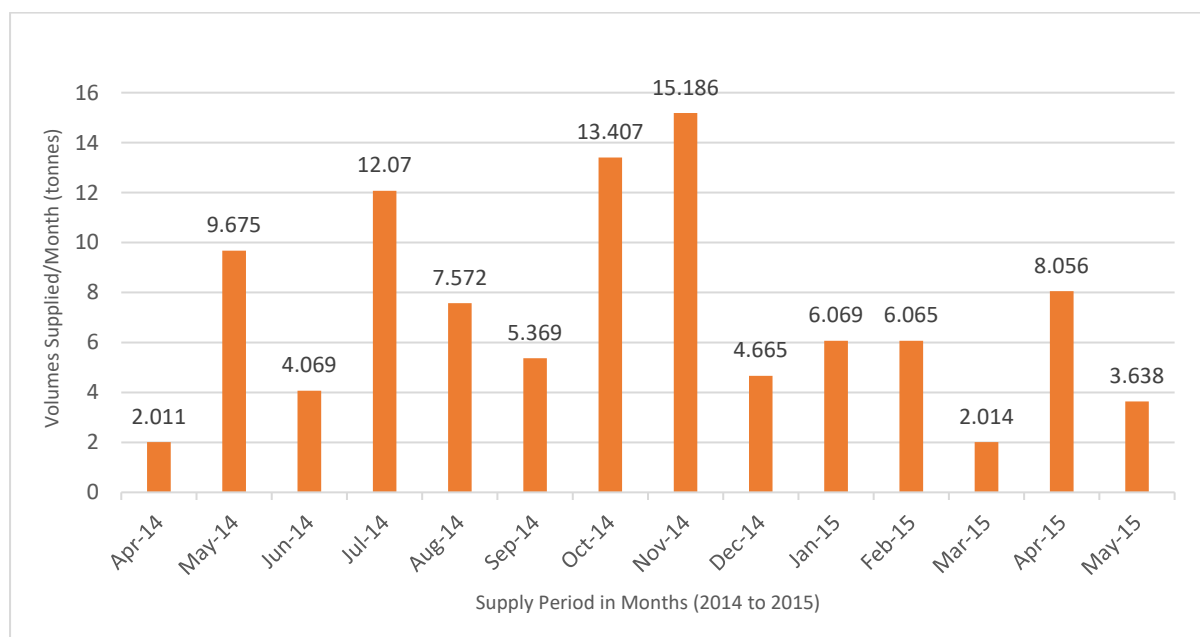
[When it] come down to things like taste profiling and things like that, it is indisputable that I think mature properly harvested wild tea has a better profile taste, aroma - everything than cultivated [...]. This thing [wild tea] has survived in a cliff of a rock, it gets drizzled on or maybe it's a mist every second month maybe, a fire goes over it, this thing is living because it is as tough as nails. When it is as tough as nails like that, it has flavour because it's loaded with all the magnopheran, and the polyphenols and all the other things are built up in there that adds value to it. (Company 3: 11/09/19)

Commercially grown honeybush, on the other hand, is put on drip lines and are fertilised. Traders and/or processors do not know what is used in tea production as they can put "anything just to get biomass because that's how they are paid not for quality but for a kilogram, you see that's why there is a difference" (Company 4: 02/12/19). Further, the wild resource has less moisture and is easier to process because "the time that you can harvest your subternata and/or your intermedia the plant will be like 5 years, 4 years old [...] it doesn't have a lot of moisture so it's easier to process a wild harvest plant than a cultivated plant" (Company 2: 18/08/19). Cultivated material in contrast often has a lot of moisture because plants grow faster after say 6 months of the year, and they start cutting because it is getting a big bush. The fast growth affects the aroma of the tea as the plant does not flower in the wild (Company 2: 18/08/19). Another processor did not want certain cultivated species, such as *C. longifolia*, because of its very thick sticks (Company 4: 02/12/19), while others mentioned the lack of resilience in the cultivated material stating that "because [...] they have nursed it they have watered it, they have put fertilisers, they have done things to make it grow, they have looked after it, they have spoken nicely to it" (Company 3: 11/09/19). Cultivated material is thus not preferred, even though it promises resource security and a quicker regrowth turnover compared to the wild material. Farmers who engage in commercial farming of other crops are not eager to grow honeybush because it is not as profitable when compared to crops such as fruit orchards and domesticated fynbos, such as proteas.

Preference of a wild resource over cultivated resource is further fuelled by the fact that wild *C. intermedia* is the most preferred resource in the market and makes up 85% of the commercialised wild material (McGregor, 2017). Indeed, harvesters prefer harvesting *C. intermedia* because of the market demand. A harvest team leader explained that there is a difference in that “intermedia is top. But the other tea is not so good, then it’s subternata. Then it’s longifolia, maculata is about the same. Plicata is the weakest. Plicata is very frank” (Harvest team leader 5: 29/11/19).

#### 7.4.2 Who sells the tea in the contemporary honeybush sector?

Before the implementation of value chain upgrading initiatives, the processed tea was sold by those who harvested it, but now the resource is sent to processing facilities and to private companies. Figure 7.10 shows honeybush procurement over 12 months in one of the processing facilities. This data is important for depicting both the prime months and typical volumes bought by a facility.



**Figure 7.10 Typical annual wild resource intake for processing. Data derived from Company 3’s annual honeybush supply records (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

### **7.4.2.1 Supplier preference by processors**

Processors procure the resource differently, depending on how their operations are setup. Three facilities adopted a flexible approach, while one prefers fixed contractual agreement with its suppliers. These arrangements are discussed in the following subsections.

#### *7.4.2.1.1 Fixed contract suppliers*

Company 2 does tea processing and domestic and international sales. They buy wild honeybush from their standard suppliers, who are reported to be landowners and companies. The landowners were approached by the facility to enter a contract for purchase. In this case, the landowner signs a contract with a processing facility and the landowners “just use their own harvesters” as the facility “don’t want to cope with harvesters and producers and honeybush tea [...] only producer [landowner], only the tea, that’s it. If there is complaint about the tea, I know I go direct to the producer, and he must deal with his own harvesters” (Company 2: 18/08/19). Five landowners have contracts with Company 2, and these are referred to as inhouse farms. Several companies also contracted with Company 2, but only for processing. These companies supply cultivated tea because they plant their own tea and then take it to the processors. The tea supplied by the companies do not belong to the processor but is sent back to the companies who then do their own value addition and sales.

#### *7.4.2.1.2 Flexible suppliers*

The Companies 3, 4, and 5 are more fluid in their approach to sourcing material for processing. These facilities accommodate all types of suppliers. Company 3 has fluid relational arrangements with a few landowners as a way of securing the resource, but not through formalised contracts. The facility has its own harvest teams that harvests tea from landowners with whom they have arrangements. Company 4 is run by a family who have been involved in and consume the tea that is processed in a traditional way. Their situatedness is reflected in their choice to prioritise suppliers who are involved in the traditional processing, and their

inclusion of the old processing into their new processing systems. They source most of their tea in Elands Riviere because they have “a good product and they [are a] clean area” (Company 4: 02/12/19), but they also always accommodate tea from the Haarlem community. Regarding accommodating the Haarlem community, the company owner stated: “I always try to accommodate them somewhere in the process [...] They have been harvesting tea for a long time, but they can’t get raw material. I think other people in the field don’t allow them to harvest there” (Company 4: 02/12/19). Company 5, on the other hand, processes a variety of species, not just honeybush, and are more open to working with the different groups that approach them (Company 5: 13/03/19).

Growers and harvesters prefer this flexible approach, and keeps the back door open with tactics involving an underlying principle of loyalty. A harvest leader that supplies tea in both fixed and flexible arrangements prefer the later, stating:

Sometimes some of the factories are also involved with acquiring the permits [...] So, then you actually have to give the tea to them, I am just a contractor, I am not harvesting and selling all the time, I am harvesting either by agreement with a farmer or by agreement with the factory. If a farmer for instance gives me permission to cut, but he doesn’t have an agreement with one of the factories, then I can sell it to any factory, which was very nice in the past, you see, because sometimes you are harvesting and now this factory is full, its capacity. Then you sell it to the next factory. They can tell you I can’t take it, or I can take it, I can just take a ton I can take two and then there is another factory. So, you can get the product to the factories off the farm harvested much quicker, but if you bound to one factory [...] through the agreement with the farmer or through the agreement with the factory then your hands are tied (Harvest team leader 7: 22/10/19).

The flexible and contractual arrangements represent ways in which buyers and suppliers are secured by harvesters and processors, respectively. A move to formalised and somewhat binding contracts privileges those who can guarantee the resource supply, and this requires a form of resource rights that most harvesters do not have. This change strengthens the participation of landowners and the few

harvesters with secured access to the resource, maintained through relations and agreements with landowners.

#### **7.4.2.2 Price determination and distribution**

The price paid by the buyers ranged between R15 (\$0.79) and R20 (\$1.05), but in some cases was as low as R13 (\$0.68) and as high as R25 (\$1.31). The price fluctuation depends on various factors, including the species, whether a producer received competing prices for their cultivated tea, and how long a resource could be kept before a harvester receives a good price. On the species type, it was reported by one of the processors that “you pay different prices for different species [...], your subternata or your vleitee it doesn’t command the same price as with your bergtee or intermedia [...] it is market driven. Market demand from the predominantly European markets is for intermedia first” (Company 3: 11/09/19). A harvest team leader also noted that prices differ according to the species, stating that “but for now, the current price is R15 (\$0.79) for the mountain [*C. intermedia*] and R13 (\$0.68) for the vlei [*C. subternata*]” (Harvest team leader 4: 10/10/19)”. Sometimes the price negotiation depends on the circumstances of sellers and buyers. For example, buyers may pay a higher rate as part of a deal with landowners. To this, a company reported that they have been forced to pay as much as R20 (\$1.05) a kilo (Company 3: 11/09/2019), while those who harvested were sometimes unable to negotiate a price if they cut a resource before securing a buyer (Harvest team leader 3: 19/11/19).

#### **7.4.3 Increasing number of industry actors**

Industry actors are institutions with formal and informal links to the honeybush value chain. There has been an increasing number of new entrants (Figure 7.11) who have overtaken and marginalised the actors who were traditionally involved in the local market. The industry development and product rediscovery in the 1990s led to the formation of the first formal industry structure in 1999, which was renamed SAHTA in 2009. SAHTA serves as a honeybush industry representative and have taken a

critical role in working with the national government to transform and develop the honeybush sector (see Chapter 8).

## Influx of new entrants puts pressure on SA honeybush producers

By Glenneis Kriel | 24 September 2020 | 4:05 pm

***Demand for honeybush tea has declined dramatically since the introduction of the COVID-19-related lockdown regulations, with an influx of new entrants to the industry adding to price pressure.***



South Africa's honeybush industry is taking strain due to a decline in demand and too many new entrants to the market.  
*Photo: FW Archive*

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Demand for honeybush tea has declined dramatically since the introduction of the COVID-19-related lockdown regulations, with an influx of new entrants to the industry adding to price pressure.

<https://www.farmersweekly.co.za/agri-news/south-africa/influx-of-new-entrants-puts-pressure-on-sa-honeybush-producers/>

### **Figure 7.11 Farmers Weekly article front page on the increasing new honeybush entrants (Source: Kriel, 2020)**

The contemporary industry is comprised of companies, processors, harvesters, and commercial growers. The roles of these actors are summarised in the following subsections.

#### **7.4.3.1 Companies and processors**

Several small to medium companies are involved in the production and sale of honeybush. Active local companies include Khoisan Gourmet, Melmont Honeybush Tea, International Foods, Goldberger Trading, Honeybush Natural Products Limited, Agulhas Honeybush Tea, Cape Honeybush Tea, Heights Tea Enterprise, Kuurland, Pure Wild Honeybush, and Langkloof Honeybush Company. Some of the companies are new entrants, such as the Langkloof Honeybush Company, while others are well established, with Melmont Honeybush tea being the oldest with history emerging from the 1930s, and the Khoisan Gourmet.

The tea is processed locally by eight processing facilities, five in the Eastern Cape and three in the Western Cape. Processors play a critical role in local value addition, particularly in tea products. They also hold a critical role in the permitting system and state policing of raw material sales. They contribute to the permitting system by tracing who is supplying the material, the quantities, and the nature of the material, species type, and not accepting material without a valid permit.

#### **7.4.3.2 Small-scale commercial growers**

Honeybush is grown by small-scale commercial producers who cultivate *C. intermedia*, *C. subternata*, *C. longifolia*, *C. sessiliflora*, *C. genistoides*, and *C. maculata*. In 2019, the estimated area under cultivation was 37.3 ha in the Eastern Cape and 293.6 in the Western Cape (Karsen et al., 2022). The number of growers is still small but has been increasing since the 1990s. The tea is grown by cooperatives on lands ranging from 1 ha to 22 ha and by private landowners on lands ranging from 5 ha to 45 ha. In this study, I refer to cooperatives and ARC SMMEs because under the BEOP, the government has focused more on making small businesses and thus have transitioned all ARC cooperatives into small enterprises. However, there are honeybush cooperative structures that are not operated by ARC and/or a focus of national government. Both cooperatives and SMMEs are focused on cultivation and some on wild tea, if they have access to the mountains (Cooperative 3: 11/10/19).

### **7.4.3.3 Harvesters**

The wild resource is harvested by a broad set of actors. Harvesters involve farm owners (farmers) and collectors/pickers. These two typologies of harvesters differ primarily in terms of resource rights and power dynamics and the financial benefits they derive from honeybush. The gender of the harvesters is predominantly male.

Farmers belong to a broad category of landowners who own land where the honeybush resource grows. The resource is harvested on private land, which includes farmland, communal land owned by a CPA, municipal land, and church land (see Chapter 4 for a description and discussion on land). However, farmland contains more volumes of the harvested resource, especially since no harvesting takes place in the protected areas and private nature reserves (McGregor, 2017). Farmland owners are landowners who in this study were considered as harvesters in cases where they cut and trade the resource as part of a farm produce and where harvesting work is done inhouse as part of farm their labour. Because farmers are landowners, their role as harvesters differs significantly in that they hold resource rights and therefore are central in controlling resource access in contrast to landless harvesters. Their role also expands to conducting farm level resource assessment, ensure sustainability of the resource, and control the harvesting of the resource growing in their land.

Collectors involve those who participate in flexible community-based structures including harvest teams, SMMEs, and individual harvesters. The harvest teams are the main structure that harvests honeybush. Their role in the value chain is to supply the resource directly to a processing facility or through a company. The team sizes explored in this study range from a minimum of four to a maximum of 20 members, depending on the demand, with a standard team comprised of about eight harvesters. The harvest teams are fluidly joined by collectors aged 14 to 40, with the younger ones often harvesting during school holidays. A harvest team leader elucidated on the involvement of school pupils, saying "sometimes there is a few young guys who also wanna get a bit of pocket money, let me call it that way because they [are] cutting for two, three weeks and then they are out of the game

they go into school" (Harvest team leader 7: 22/10/19). The younger collectors made teams flexible in terms of numbers, stability, and reasons for collecting honeybush.

#### **7.4.3.4 Harvest team leaders**

Each team has a leader whose role does not involve tea-cutting but rather overseeing the coordination and wellbeing of the team. The harvest team leaders' role involves overseeing collectors' recruitment, transport, and safety of the collectors in the mountains; applying for a permit; and organising logistics for tea harvesting and sale (Harvest team leader 2: 27/11/19; Harvest team leader 5: 29/11/19). The harvest team leaders are often a male with experience in harvesting, and those who own transport and have long-term social relations with landowners. They also have experience setting up appointments with processors and building relations with companies. They typically have assistants or deputies, "basically a senior guy" (Harvest team leader 7: 22/10/19), who is part of the collectors but help oversee harvesting in the mountains or organise logistics in the absence of a harvest team leader.

## **7.5 Conclusion**

The change that has occurred as a result of value chain upgrading and export-oriented sector development has privileged the participation of white landowners, capitalistic production, and elite capture. This chapter has provided a comprehensive overview of the honeybush sector. Honeybush has been used in its growing regions and has attracted the state, scientists, and capitalist merchants for centuries. Its traditional use as medicine and tea are still a blueprint of the contemporary sector, although there is increasing interests for other innovative uses. Global market integration through the rediscovery has led to marginalisations that are reproduced and steeped in historical unequal and capitalistic use of the land and the exclusion of Coloured, Black, and Indigenous groups in the mainstream economic activities (see Chapter 6). The next chapter explores the role

of state and non-state actors in contributing to marginalised groups' ability to benefit from contemporary commercialisation efforts.

## **CHAPTER 8**

# **FAST-TRACKING THE BIODIVERSITY ECONOMY AND IMPLICATIONS FOR ENABLING ACCESS TO HONEY BUSH BY MARGINALISED GROUPS**

### **8.1 Introduction**

The previous chapters showed how communities have struggled and used their agency to navigate access to the honeybush resource for trade and subsistence use since the late 1800s. The chapters discussed the history of honeybush commercialisation, the challenges faced by Coloured, Black, and Indigenous groups that affect their ability to benefit from commercialisation, and the current setup of the honeybush sector. The chapters also highlighted exclusions in the sector, including actors who have controlled access, and those who have maintained access at different points in history. Together these experiences reveal the subordination of those denied socio-economic freedom and property rights, and the exclusionary process to make honeybush a plant of commercial value. This chapter discusses contemporary interventions adopted to facilitate the access by marginalised groups to honeybush commercialisation. I first provide an overview of the institutions that have attempted to facilitate access by marginalised groups to honeybush commercialisation. I then discuss interventions by the state, implemented through national, provincial, and local governments and parastatals, those by non-state actors, and finally, interventions by conservation agencies and forestry institutions. Lastly, I give an analysis of the links between these interventions and exclusions in the honeybush sector.

## 8.2 Overview of institutions and their role in the honeybush sector development and transformation

Actors with interests and active involvement in honeybush are described in Table 8.1. The description reflects only those they were involved during the duration of this study, that is, 2019 to 2021. An understanding of the key actors that are involved in contemporary honeybush sector development and transformation is essential for revealing interventions and efforts made to facilitate the ability of marginalised groups to benefit from honeybush commercialisation. This facilitates an understanding of the relationship between historic strategies of exclusion and frameworks designed to transform biodiversity-based economies.

**Table 8.1 Institutions and their role in the honeybush sector development**

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Role in the honeybush sector development &amp; transformation</b>
<b>National government</b>	
The Department of Forestry, Fisheries, and the Environment (DFFE)	Works with the honeybush industry and the NKSC to implement ABS legislation.
The Department of Trade and Industry	Works with the local municipalities in developing community-based projects.
The Department of Agriculture, Land Reform and Rural Development	Actively involved in land administration for CPAs and emerging farmers.
<b>Provincial government</b>	
Department of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs and Tourism	Eastern Cape provincial government. oversees the honeybush sector development in accordance with provincial policies, and co-chair the HCOP. Administers and enforces permit systems pertaining to all forms of honeybush use.
Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning	Western Cape provincial government. Oversees the honeybush sector development in accordance with provincial policies, and co-chair the HCOP. Actively involved and supports honeybush community cooperatives.
Western Cape Department of Agriculture	Supports community projects and emerging farmers with funding and agricultural expertise. Actively involved in honeybush cultivation and coordination of support for communities and emerging farmers.
<b>Local government</b>	
Municipalities	Municipalities, including Koukamma, George, and Bitou, coordinate and support honeybush economic

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Role in the honeybush sector development &amp; transformation</b>
	development initiatives in line with their integrated development plans.
<b>Parastatals</b>	
Agricultural Research Council (ARC)	Runs state cultivation projects. They assist cooperatives and emerging farmers with technical skills related to honeybush cultivation and access markets.
South African National Biodiversity Institute (SANBI)	Produces species botanical knowledge, sustainability of the species, and led the development of the honeybush biodiversity management plan. Advises the state in accordance with the National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act, No. 10 of 2004, where biotrade and bioprospecting sectors are outlined.
<b>Traditional Authorities</b>	
National Khoi and San Council (NKSC)	A state-recognised structure that acts as a traditional authority and represents traditional knowledge holders who identify with Khoi and San. It is a primary structure that negotiates honeybush ABS agreements with the industry.
<b>NGOs, Not-for-Profit Organisations and development agencies</b>	
Living Lands and Grounded	Established business and ecologically sustainable pathways of sourcing honeybush and facilitated learning and collaboration between all and often disparate stakeholders in honeybush growing landscapes.
Eastern Cape Development Corporation	Provides funding support and coordination for the honeybush projects. Works with provincial and local government.
The Small Enterprise Development Agency	Provides skills development and business training for cooperatives and community members interested in the commercial use of honeybush.
<b>Communities of practice</b>	
Honeybush Community of Practice (HCOP)	Addresses issues related to governance, legislation, socio-economic transformation, sustainable use and promotion of the honeybush industry, knowledge sharing, and funding or incentives. Has drawn together actors such as commercial farmers, landowners, provincial government, communities, the private sector, researchers, and NGOs that had been loosely engaging with the honeybush trade.
<b>Community institutions</b>	
Ward Councillors	Linked to municipalities, and organised villagers and township dwellers for the honeybush projects. They are actively involved in community development projects that involve honeybush. Ward Councillors are often experienced harvesters and former farmworkers.
Cooperatives and SMMEs	Community-based flexible structures organised by the local government as entities for involving communities in the honeybush industry. Cooperatives and SMMEs include Haarlem, Ericaville, and Harkerville in the Western Cape, and AmaMfengu, Clarkson, and the primary and secondary Honeybush Tea Project cooperatives in the Eastern Cape.

<b>Institution</b>	<b>Role in the honeybush sector development &amp; transformation</b>
Heights Tea Enterprises	A key community partner for the Honeybush Tea Project in the Eastern Cape. Works with government to establish public-private partnership for the implementation of the Honeybush Tea Project in the Eastern Cape.
<b>State and non-state landowners</b>	
South African National Parks	Owns the GRNP, a state-owned land where some of the wild honeybush grows. They collaborate with communities to facilitate access to the resource through cultivation, yet have run into conflict with communities due to fortress national conservation policies that complicate access to wild honeybush.
Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA)	A conservation agency operating in the Eastern Cape province. Manages land and is directly involved in the protection of coastal areas and mountains where honeybush grows. They implement a permit system and enforce laws to protect areas under conservation.
Cape Nature	A conservation agency operating in the Eastern Cape province. Manages land and are directly involved in the protection of coastal areas and mountains where honeybush grows. They implement a permit system and enforce laws to protect areas under conservation.
Commercial farms	Individual and family-owned farms. Owns and/or lease the land with wild honeybush and control access to the honeybush resource.
Emerging farmers	Commercial farmers who are beneficiaries of land reform programmes. Owns and/or lease the land with wild honeybush and control access to the honeybush resource.
Communal property associations (CPAs)	Manage community land. Some of the CPA land grows wild honeybush, although in smaller quantities.
Church	private landowners who own land that villagers and township dwellers established under mission stations can rent for housing, farming, and other purposes.
Municipalities	Owns and lease land to communities for honeybush harvesting and cultivation.
<b>Mountain to Ocean (MTO)</b>	Has about a 90-year lease to the state commercial forest land. Collaborates with SANParks and Tsitsikamma areas for harvesting agreements.
Tsitsikamma Development Trust	Administer the land that was returned to the AmaMfengu under the land restitution policy. Parts of the land has wild honeybush that is harvested by AmaMfengu.
<b>Industry associations</b>	
South African Honeybush Tea Association (SAHTA)	An industry body that coordinates various actors to deliver on product uniformity, quality, and sustainability of the honeybush industry. In recent years, it has supported industry-oriented honeybush research. SAHTA was preceded by the South African Honeybush Producers Association, which was launched in 1999. SAHPA changed its name to SAHTA in 2002 to inspire inclusivity in the

Institution	Role in the honeybush sector development & transformation
	industry. During this study most of the industry players were still not affiliated with SAHTA or any structure.
Honeybush Joint Action Group	A short-term structure formed in 2021 in response to the shortcomings of SAHTA and to deliver on transformation, particularly in terms of racial representation and fast-tracking the needs of Black, Coloured, Khoi and San people groups who are unable to participate in the industry because of lack of access to land for cultivation and to areas to harvest wild honeybush.

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

The interventions made by the institutions outlined in Table 8.1 are discussed below. I organised these into three intervention categories: government, NGOs/not-for-profit organisations, and landowners' led interventions. Some of the institutions, such as the funding agencies and traditional authorities, do not have any direct interventions but support or are partners to the three groups.

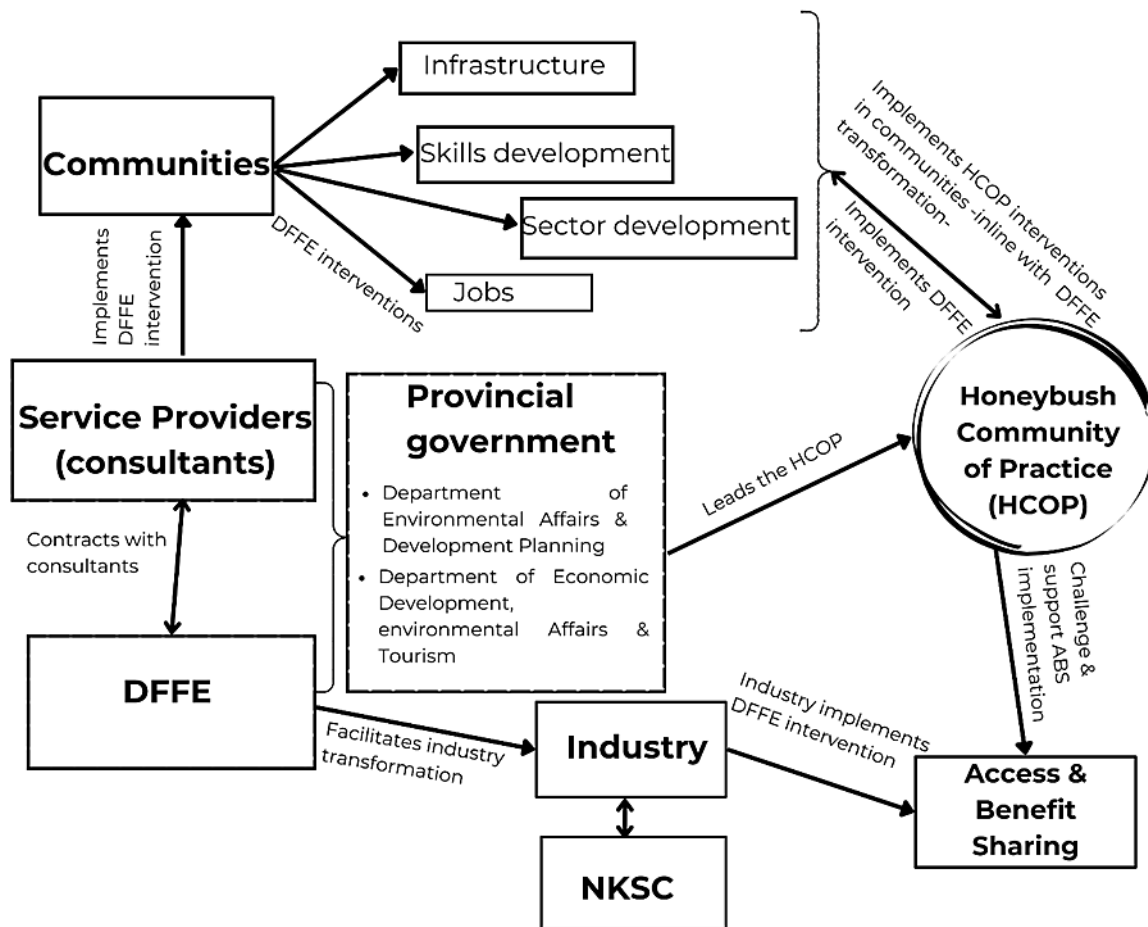
### 8.3 Government-led interventions

The state is involved in the contemporary honeybush sector because they implement the BEOP at national level. Therefore, the state interventions in the honeybush sector are largely for the BEOP implementation, which is led by DFFE. In this section, I discuss government (national to local), and state parastatal approaches to facilitating Coloured, Black, and Indigenous groups' access to the honeybush sector, particularly as the value chain has transitioned from local trade to export-oriented markets with specialised value chains.

#### 8.3.1 National government-led interventions

The government interventions referred to in this section are those implemented by the DFFE; the provincial government, including the Department of Environmental Affairs and Development Planning, and the Department of Economic Development, of Environmental Affairs and Tourism; and the local municipalities. These

institutions work individually and collaboratively with marginalised groups. Figure 8.1 shows national government (DFFE) interventions in the honeybush sector.



**Figure 8.1 National government interventions in the honeybush sector (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe).**

Recent national government interventions in the honeybush sector have taken place through three channels. The first channel is the use of service providers to implement community projects; the second is the implementation of industry transformation and the introduction of ABS; and the third channel is work with provincial governments to establish the HCOP as a space to assemble disparate actors and institutions and to channel decision-making regarding BEOP implementation in the honeybush sector. The following subsections elaborate on these channels forged for national government interventions.

### **8.3.1.1 Community projects**

The DFFE support the sector by working through service providers to train cooperatives, provide infrastructure, develop sector plans, and create jobs. As shown in Figure 8.5, service providers and consultants are integral to state support to communities and the sector. One such project is infrastructure development, funded through the Environmental Protection and Infrastructure Programmes (EPIP) to support two cooperatives, with a budget of over R5 000 000 (\$265 463.40)<sup>28</sup>. The EPIP infrastructure support is linked to job creation, including the Expanded Works Programme. The Expanded Works Programme supports infrastructure related projects that contribute towards environmental protection, conservation, and sustainability while creating work opportunities and providing skills development to beneficiaries. The DFFE, through the EPIP and Expanded Works Programme, is therefore able to implement projects that address a myriad of environmental challenges while creating much-needed jobs. However, the use of service providers and the pressure to create jobs for many beneficiaries brought many challenges to the cooperatives. A senior government official who was involved in planning and implementation reported that they were forced to spend the budget in a short time, and that the pace did not align with the infrastructure construction and other development plans that were needed by the cooperatives (Government 2: 16/04/19). Spending the budget in a short period was motivated by the need to deliver on the number of jobs. Expressing displeasure, the government official remarked:

We suffered great damage because of that approach, so these two projects I had with EPIP. It was 8.6 million rands spent into two projects. My project plan was for over three years for that amount. You know initial stage is just construction, training, development, project development. It was a phased plan, and they forced us to use that total amount of money, in other words, triple up on the number of people, so that they get a huge tick mark from the people employed, and then I

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<sup>28</sup> Exchange rate as of February 2024

sat in the next year with no funding, and I had to fund most of development myself from my office, and I didn't have much, but we pulled through till we came to this phase when we started harvesting. (Government 2: 16/04/19)

The EPIP support brought in service providers, including an engineering company that worked with the cooperatives to install infrastructure, and this created employment for beneficiaries. About 40% of the budget was for job creation, 10% was for the company, and the rest was for infrastructure. The EPIP funded project was supposed to run for two years, but instead the service provider implemented everything within one year.

Another challenge encountered with the DFFE service provider/consultant approach is that that "they [service providers/consultants] don't have this deep knowledge of community" (Government 2: 16/04/19). It was also reported that the consultants are unwilling to listen to the beneficiaries the DFFE contracted them to serve. A chairperson of one of the cooperatives referred to the whole processes as a 'disaster' because the service providers did not see the project to completion:

It was a disaster because they appointed a company from Cape Town to implement, and these people just didn't listen to us farmers, they had their ways. The project stopped when the money was finished. Only two weeks before the project stopped, the planting material arrived, so there was no sustainability because of the disaster. They just took money away from here because this funding was for 4.2 million, and we didn't even get 1 million's worth of it. The rest went to consultancy fees and engineer drawings and all the boxes. (Cooperative 1: 13/03/19)

Another concern that was expressed was that people or companies who win the bids for consultancy are often not connected to the communities or come from outside the region. For example, for the EPIP project, "they brought in builders from Cape Town to come and build, it was a whole waste" (Cooperative 1: 13/03/19).

Another significant challenge is the short-term funding cycles. The parastatal reported that the government did not want to commit to a project that is longer than two years, which frustrated and hindered the sustainability of benefits from their interventions. This short-term support creates a grey zone for the beneficiaries as

there is no activity because of budgetary constraints. This situation was also reported by the provincial government. The two-year project cycles with forced deliverables in terms of infrastructure and jobs also comes with a lack of understanding from the national government of the need to build relationships and trust with the communities and cooperative structures. Parastatal 1 commented as follows:

So now DST [DSI] is giving me money for two years. If I start in a community first, they must trust me, and I must trust them, so that's basically a year is gone just for relationship building, sorting out who you must talk to, then a year is gone. Then now the money is gone, now it takes me two years again to get money, so for two years nothing happens. Now I must go back to the community, and [they] say 'oh, you are back now. Okay, let's try again'. Then basically, you start from the beginning again. You can't teach somebody a business skill in just a year or two, and especially like apples and all the long-term crops. (Parastatal 1:24/04/19)

The national government typically use consultants as their 'foot soldiers' across the country. Many projects were infrastructure development and linked to job creation, and fewer were concerned with non-technical issues that may hinder the flow of benefits from biodiversity economy projects such as the EPIP-linked projects (see also Sections 8.3.2, 8.3.3, and 8.5.3). Another focus has been the appointment of service providers for conducting feasibility studies for biodiversity economy implementation, with millions of rands spent on consultants rather than on the communities they intend to reach (see Appendix 7 for a list of funded feasibility studies).

### **8.3.1.2 Sector development interventions: Coordination through the Honeybush Community of Practice**

The HCOP was conceptualised in 2016 by the provincial governments of the Eastern Cape and Western Cape provinces. In 2017, the national government provided terms of reference to establish the HCOP as a space for addressing issues, such as those related to governance, legislation, socio-economic transformation, sustainable use, the promotion of the honeybush industry, knowledge sharing, and

funding or incentives. At its inception, the HCOP discussions on inclusion had a keen focus on the harvesters, quantifying the ecological state of the resource, industry development, and sustainability. The discussions revolved around the following:

- The need for a head count of harvesters for better coordination of multi-stakeholders at the SAHTA level;
- The participatory development of sustainable harvesting guidelines that were developed with the harvesters and completed in 2017;
- Training harvesters to use the sustainable harvesting guidelines developed to guide harvesting to ensure species conservation and sustainability of the industry;
- Discussions and concerns about the inclusion and absence of harvesters in the HCOP meetings; and
- The drafting of a Biodiversity Management Plan for commercialised honeybush “to ensure the long-term survival of *C. subternata* and *C. intermedia* populations in the wild, while safeguarding and respecting the livelihoods of stakeholders” (DFFE, 2021: 67).

The HCOP subsequently evolved into a space where sector issues are raised, and where new research and development projects that contribute to the BEOP are introduced, discussed, and monitored in terms of progress and impact. The HCOP platform has been of critical importance to frame discourse and as a channel for local communities to discuss commercialisation ideas.

Problematically, these discussions are configured with interested companies, NGOs, government, researchers, and universities. Those involved in this structural setup believed they had “to set the table first” to not raise expectations, which means that marginalised groups are unable to participate in and comment on research related to product improvement, market trends, new technologies, and land and resource access ideation concerning ‘their’ indigenous plant.

### **8.3.1.3 Sector development interventions: Looking for and creating access and benefit-sharing beneficiaries**

As explained in Chapter 1, ABS is a framework that governs the three objectives of the CBD, namely conservation, sustainable use, and the fair and equitable sharing of benefits arising from the use of genetic resources (CBD, 1992). Its viability and ease of implementation differ from context to context. For the honeybush case, ABS implementation started in 2018, although there had been few individual permits granted prior to sector wide engagements. This followed a study commissioned by the DFFE in 2014 that identified the Khoi and San as rightful holders of traditional knowledge related to the use of honeybush (DFFE, 2014). The background to the identification of traditional knowledge holders, the formation of the NKSC, and links to the ABS are discussed in Section 4.3.3.

The NKSC began negotiations with SAHTA in 2018, but these deliberations were disrupted by the COVID-19 pandemic and had been discontinued when I concluded my data collection. ABS was introduced, or at least entered the sector with the rhetoric of benefiting communities, and there was a perception that finding sector beneficiaries meant finding harvesters who had traditional knowledge related to honeybush and with links to Indigenous Khoi and San communities. However, many actors in the value chain, including communities, did not know what ABS was and/or how practitioners were meant to participate in its implementation. The initial responses and perceptions of ABS by SAHTA and other actors in the honeybush sector are discussed in the following subsection.

#### **8.3.1.3.1 Enforcing industry compliance with access and benefit sharing**

The SAHTA response to ABS has been positive. However, several members have had concerns related to the complexity and costs of the Bioprospecting, Access, and Benefit-Sharing permits. Such permits are issued in terms of the Bioprospecting Access and Benefit Sharing 2008 regulations for different phases of commercialisation, including the collection of material, biodiscovery, commercialisation, and export (National Environmental Management: Biodiversity

Act, No. 10 of 2004). In response, the industry sought legal help with ABS procedures to assist its members with compliance (SAHTA: 29/11/21; Industry key informant: 15/03/19). ABS compliance in the honeybush sector was a key concern of the DFFE. A processor explained:

[Government official] was at the last SAHTA meeting, and you know, she was like if she had a whip to, would take it out and crack it because she was really upset. She's like how many times am I gonna fly down here to tell you as an industry get your ducks in order? And the guys were, (some of them) were taken aback, like who the hell are you, you know, to come and tell us to get our stuff, I mean no one knows what's going on. She says our department is ready to send out people to find out who you are and where you are and start clamping down. (Company 3: 11/09/19)

The DFFE strongly promoted a biodiversity economy transformation agenda concurrently with ABS, resulting in blurred lines between economic transformation and ABS compliance. For example, SAHTA, when asked about their engagement with ABS, showed frustration with being expected to deliver on transformation, and one participant stated the following:

To be honest with you, it's difficult in the sense that, you remember when I was still part of the HCOP, I said to [provincial government official] okay, here's our feedback on what's happening with honeybush, and all those things. I don't want to be funny now, but for many of them, the first thing they ask is, "What about transformation?" Now my question is: What about transformation? I mean, I can't go to a farm and say, "Hey, give half of your farm now to these people they want to cultivate honeybush forever". I mean, it doesn't work that way. So, everybody wants to focus on transformation. Where we can, we give, if we can [...] But then somebody will, in a meeting, will say we don't focus enough on transformation. And then I don't know what the hell, what more must we do for transformation? (SAHTA: 29/11/21)

The industry attempted to open SAHTA to marginalised groups by offering free membership to harvesters who wished to join the formal industry structure. However, this was not enough and was a contentious task since there was no clear consideration on how the field was going to be levelled apart from membership. The efforts were also challenged because the honeybush industry is small and has

insufficient revenue to make investments beyond the scientific research activities that it supports (SAHTA: 29/11/21).

South Africa's National Environmental Management: Biodiversity Act, No. 10 of 2004, separates traditional knowledge holders from resource providers, with different permitting requirements for each, and with insufficient recognition of linkages between the two. Although the ABS negotiations between industry and the NKSC are based on the traditional knowledge and not the ownership of the resource, actors who are involved in the honeybush sector responded with questions that readily linked the traditional knowledge to the resource. For example, concerns pointed to the politics of land and resource rights as the people who have provided the honeybush resource have typically been white landowners, who are implicated in the history of racial land exclusion that has disproportionately affected who can be a "provider" of the resource under ABS requirements. The general concern, often from white industry actors, was that the harvesters or people who are living with the resource or "our guys" should benefit from ABS agreements on honeybush, not the people from the Northern Cape province, which is where negotiating San and Khoi Councils are based. These concerns also point to blurred links between knowledge and resources in many sectors and communities where ABS is introduced.

The gap between resource providers and knowledge holders and the resulting confusion from participants are understandable considering the land context in South Africa. Unlike other dispossessed groups who were pushed to homelands with some level of autonomy, the Indigenous Khoi and San were left completely landless and reduced to labour (see Chapter 4). Now, through cultivation, the gap between the provider and knowledge holder continues to widen because of government facilitated arrangements that link cooperatives with companies that will create a market for their resource. One such arrangement is a pilot project with Parceval Pharmaceuticals.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> <https://parceval.co.za/community-cultivation-of-honeybush/>

The public-private partnership (PPP) project discussed in Section 8.3.2.1 named private landowners as resource providers when they applied for a Bioprospecting, Access, and Benefit-Sharing permit. The permit was approved by the minister with Heights Tea (Pty) Ltd as an applicant on behalf of the cooperatives involved in the PPP.

A key informant who was involved in the administration of the PPP project indicated that at the time of permit application, the honeybush industry had been prioritised at national level, and the PPP was a priority project (see Section 8.3.2.1) meant to promote ABS implementation (KOUNED key informant: 11/09/19). They received a permit because they showed that the project benefited those who gave access to the resource. The key informant, who was delighted about the hype created around the PPP, described some of the confusion and ignorance about the industry among those issuing permits as follows:

[We were required to ...] understand who were the TK [traditional knowledge] holders in this thing [the Honeybush Tea Project], so that was our local people, but also the access part, who were the people giving us access to the resource? Who is the access part? They are a bunch of white farmers that own the land [...] because they [government] thought that what we were dealing with is that we were going to little people that still wore loin clothes and things and had spears and lived in a cave out in the Kouga, and we were going you know, "dear Chief so-and-so, would you give us access to the honeybush that's growing on your mountain". (KOUNED key informant: 11/09/19)

#### *8.3.1.3.2 "If I am first, then it means the President is second": Identity politics and community involvement in ABS discussions*

The ABS discussions in the honeybush sector often led to confusion as the lived experiences of those involved do not match the expectations of policymakers. The introduction of ABS in the honeybush sector came with beneficiaries and negotiation channels that were already established by the DFFE. Although study participants generally welcomed the view that Indigenous Khoi and San would receive justice, benefits, and recognition, there were concerns related to identity

politics. For example, a harvest team leader who showed support for ABS remarked that “what I can say is, fair is fair! You see my knowledge is that, if you see behind this mountain here, I was still very young, I used to go there, and I was seeing [rock arts] the Khoi and the bushmen. So, I totally agree with that” (Harvest team leader 3: 19/11/19). However, other participants expressed concerns about the possibility of communities being subsumed by the NKSC rather than being at the forefront of the conversations and potential benefit streams. Highlighting these initial reactions to ABS is important because it reveals the subordination of certain identities and issues of legitimation in contexts where diverse peoples, groups, races, and ethnicities have histories of resource contestations along identity lines (see Chapter 4, section 4.2).

The ABS engagements are relatively new in the honeybush sector. Additionally, the sector has seen rapid changes in land reform, the number of actors, and early reactions to ABS implementation that have been hard to keep up with. However, towards the completion of my data collection, there a legitimisation process emerged with communities and harvesters linking to traditional authorities. For example, some Indigenous groups started linking their plight to their indigeneity and began to call harvesters “Indigenous harvesters”. Problematically, SAHTA is beginning to welcome such classifications. The revival of indigeneity is being brought to the forefront through various projects initiatives including those funded by the German Development Cooperation South Africa (GIZ) and implemented through the BioInnovation Africa initiative,<sup>30</sup> which promotes European-African partnerships for biodiversity conservation and local development.

Others have been working with government on separate projects, placing them advantageously for new initiatives. For example, a place-based Khoi and Coloured village called Zoar, which worked with Cape Nature in honeybush projects, has always had traditional authorities and were assisted by government to establish a

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<sup>30</sup> See initiatives <https://www.abs-biotrade.info/projects/bioinnovation-africa/general-information/>

“Biocultural Protocol<sup>31</sup>” a few years before ABS emerged as an opportunity. The village was seemingly adept in government processes and positioning themselves for opportunities in the honeybush sector. However, key actors in honeybush trade, such as *ou-teemakers* in Haarlem and the Langkloof, who had made tea for years, had no awareness of ABS and were not consulted on either the benefits or rights that might be due to them. While most welcomed recognition of Indigenous Khoi and San, a few who regarded honeybush as part of their heritage questioned why they had not been recognised as traditional knowledge holders. Some questioned who the Khoi are (not because they did not know, they asked the question in opposition to the proposal that it is the Khoi and San who are rightful beneficiaries), and if Coloured people wanted to be associated with that identity (Ou-teemaker 1, 25/10/19; Ou-teemaker 9: 25/05/21). An *ou-teemaker* in his late eighties mockingly expressed his view as follows:

So where will the people of Haarlem fit in between the Khoi and the San? The sun and the moon? [chuckles] How will they define us then? As Khoi or San or what? [...] Now the question is, who is the Khoi now? There’s nobody here who wants to be Khoi. Here’s maybe just one or two who say he’s a Khoi, see. Now my ancestor is Khoi, the Wildemans are Khoi, but they no longer want to be Khoi, they want to be white [chuckles]. I would say if the government had money to give to the Khoi, then they should give it specifically to people who are going to do something with the money. (Ou-teemaker 7: 16/04/21)

On my last day of data collection in September 2021, one of the leaders linked to the NKSC through the Khoi Cultural Heritage Development Council visited Haarlem. While we were both pleased to see each other as we had worked together before, she was displeased by the fact that I was an outsider doing research on “their” plant. To me, her visit to Haarlem signalled the continuity of many changes that are yet to materialise in terms of identities and cultural awareness among the Coloured population. Traditional authorities and groups who work outside the NKSC also

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<sup>31</sup> Local community guidelines providing a range of rules, expressions, articulations, and practices crafted by the communities themselves to outline how they wish to engage in negotiations with external stakeholders in regard to their traditional knowledge and natural resources (Rakotondrabe & Girad, 2021).

emerged. These included the House of Dawid Stuurman, which is one of the Khoi groups with members involved in honeybush use; a group in Louerwater in the Langkloof; and other Khoi and San groups in the Tsitsikamma area that had begun linking their work and long fight for honeybush access to their identity. A key informant who served in the House of David Stuurman indicated that their structure was not affiliated with the NKSC, and that they had not yet been approached by DFFE to be part of the negotiations.

While there was traction among groups and structures that had participated in funded projects and/or initiatives with links to traditional authorities, the harvesters with no links to formal structures had not been engaged about ABS. Instead, ABS-related decisions were made by industry, companies, consultants, and the DFFE on their behalf. The Langkloof and Garden Route areas have a variety of ethnicities, racial diversities, and migrant workers (inkommers). However, those who have settled there for longer include Coloured (mixed-race) and black African generational farmworkers and Indigenous identities including those that belong to the AmaXhosa nation, and the AmaMfengu, who have resided in the area since the mid-1800s and grew up using honeybush. Therefore, prioritising harvesters and participation in the honeybush sector based on indigeneity and/or identity disturbs and revives histories of belonging. Politics of belonging were particularly invoked by white farmers and predominantly white practitioners involved in the honeybush sector in somewhat paternalistic protection of Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people from the NKSC, with questions about who would ultimately benefit from the revenue. One farmer ironically expressed this concern while shouting at some of her workers while we were interviewing her. She intended to punish a worker who had forgotten to water about five young honeybush seedlings by withholding their pay, knowing that this would hurt them the most. She shouted in frustration at the Coloured worker who had damaged her seedlings, and voiced her concern with ABS as follows:

Who is getting the money? The communities? Is it one guy and he must spread it? How does it work? At the end of the day, there's always some corruption [...] How much do they want for doing nothing and who is getting it? Who is behind this?

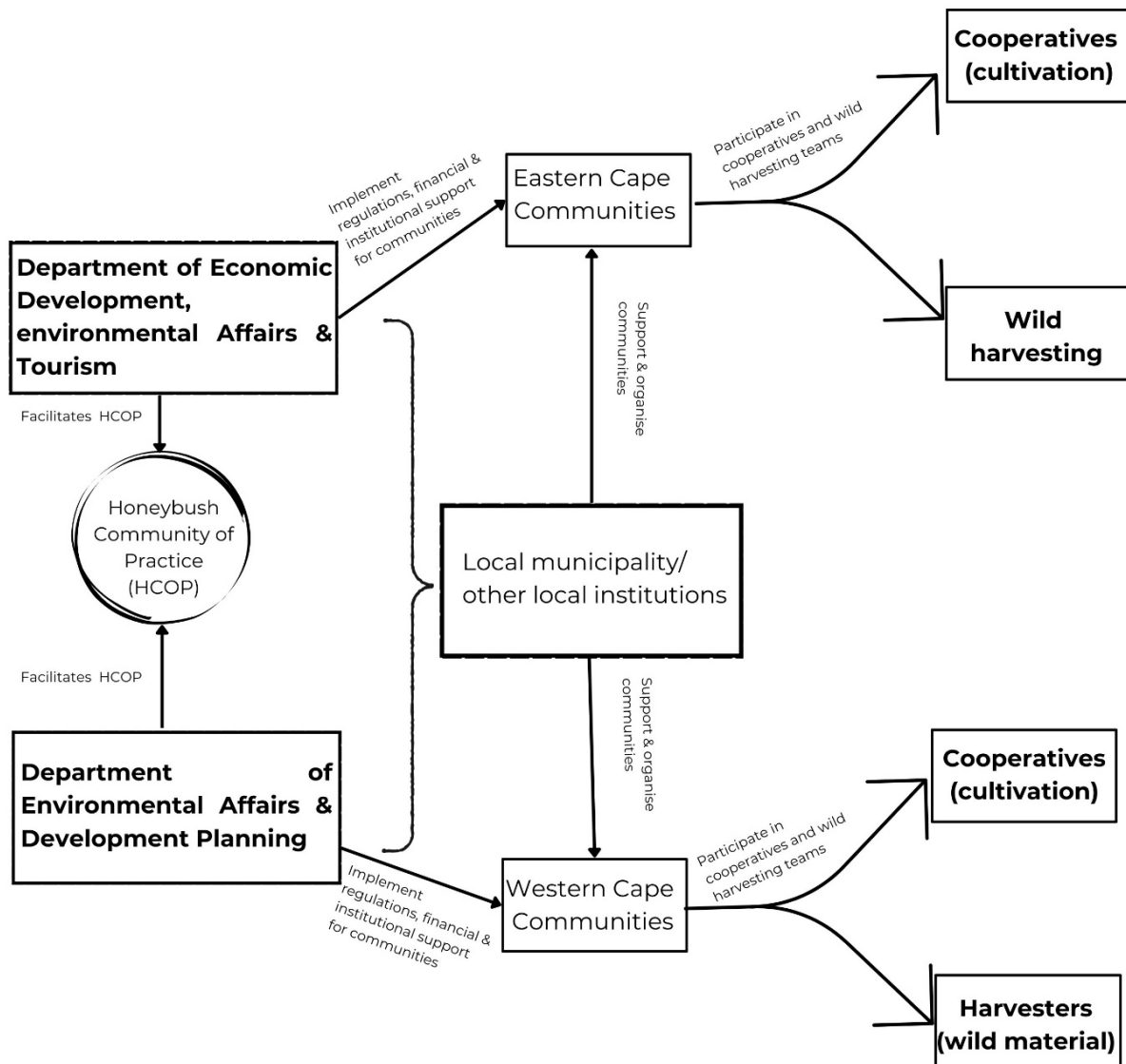
I'm always thinking the guys behind this get the most money. The guys pushing for it are not the guys on this ground, the actual boys. It's one or two guys that see a gap to make some money and now they're pushing this. (Farmer 2: 1/10/19)

The model that SAHTA (predominantly white landowners) planned to use to channel benefits from ABS reflected a distrust of the NKSC, invoking questions about whether harvesters and communities involved in honeybush were going to benefit. One proposal was that all harvesters should be involved in a trust, and that those with benefit-sharing agreements could then channel the benefits to the trust, with money then distributed to harvesters. This was proposed to avoid a situation where the money did not reach harvesters. A honeybush industry board member remarked that the Khoi and San "say they own everything. They want all the benefits going into their council. They don't want the money going to anybody else" (Industry key informant: 15/03/19). The plan was to collect the names of harvesters and register them as beneficiaries of the trust, but this was not practical since harvesters are seldom static, and teams change with new harvesters.

Such dynamics and related identity politics in the honeybush sector are still new and are becoming more pronounced as government attempts to assemble the emerging honeybush industry in a transformative way. What places the honeybush sector at an advantage is that actors are continually learning from exclusions and mistakes from the rooibos agreement, which has a similar context to honeybush. However, we are yet to see whether flexible community structures such as harvesters, cooperatives, and other Indigenous groups will be excluded in the engagements or if there will be an unequal distribution of benefits as is the case with the rooibos agreement (Wynberg et al., 2023). What is clear for now is that those who were historically excluded from honeybush use are reverting to identity as a mechanism to gain access to honeybush commercialisation and associated benefits.

### **8.3.2 Provincial and local government-led interventions**

The provincial and local government departments in Western Cape and Eastern Cape provinces have more direct contact with honeybush communities than the national government. The provincial departments facilitate projects individually with their respective local governments in the Eastern Cape and Western Cape and work together to coordinate the honeybush sector through the HCOP platform (Figure 8.2). Two government-led initiatives included the Honeybush Tea Development Project (HTDP) implemented as a PPP project, and land devolution plans with the conservation agency ECPTA between 2011 and 2012. This section explains the approaches of provincial and local government to facilitate community involvement in the honeybush sector.



**Figure 8.2 Provincial and local government approaches to facilitate honeybush commercialisation (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe).**

### **8.3.2.1 The Honeybush Tea Development Project and the public-private partnership**

The HTDP aimed at uplifting communities. It was led by the Koukamma Local Municipality in partnership with the Department of Economic Development, and the Environmental Affairs, and the Tourism and the Coega Development Corporation, which is a development agency located in Gqeberha in the Eastern Cape province. The role of these actors is discussed in Section 8.2 of this chapter. Prior to this collaboration, honeybush had been included in the municipal Integrated Development Plans and was listed under mega projects of the district municipality

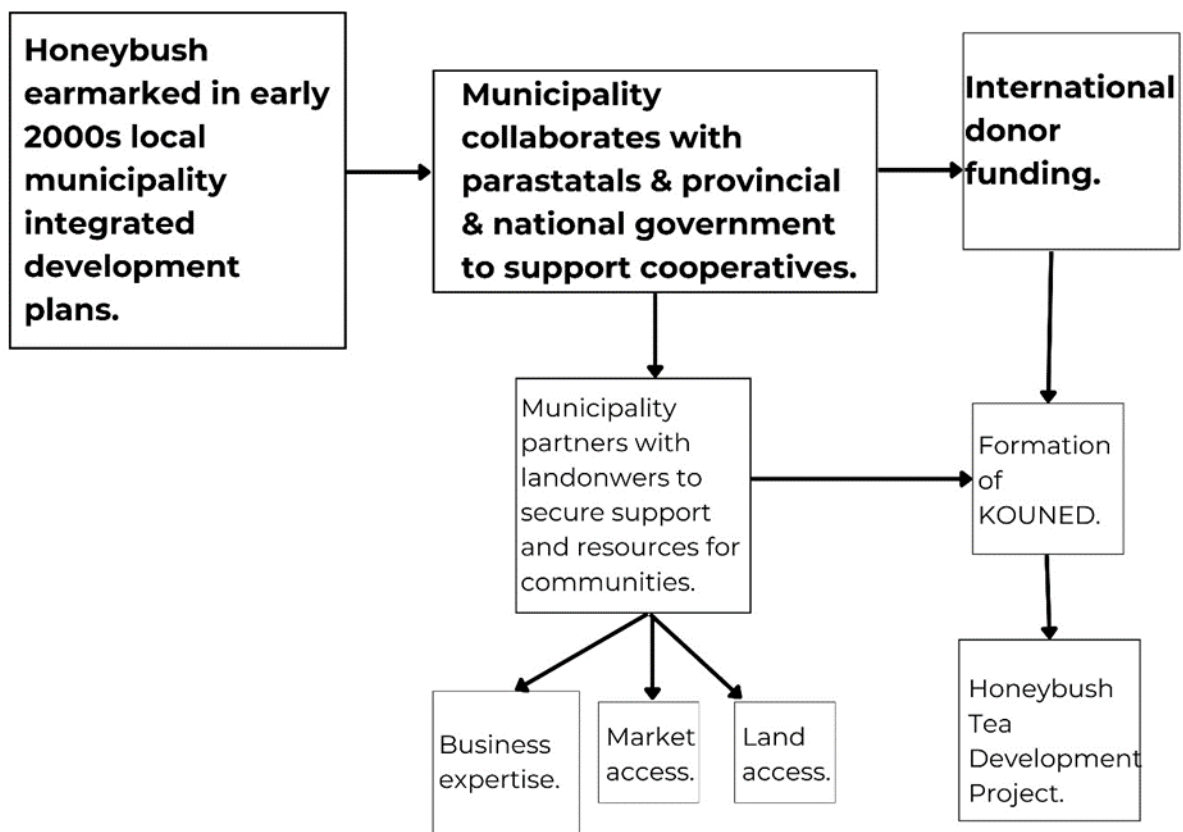
(Cooperative 2: 12/08/19). As explained by the municipality official, local and provincial government established a HTDP and opted for cultivation as a key investment area to secure honeybush access for communities. The official explained it as follows:

Honeybush tea grows more in the wild and mostly in the private lands. In the HDI [Human Development Index<sup>32</sup>] communities, they won't really have access to the wild growing honeybush tea. That is why we opted for cultivating the resource, and some studies were done to check whether it will be viable, and fortunately, the results were positive. (Government 1: 02/12/19)

The first implementation of the HTDP came after the failure of the first initiative, called the Koukamma New Enterprise Development (KOUNED). KOUNED comprised 13 cooperatives that were moved to the HTDP. Participants cited corruption and unclear expenditure that led to a rejection of funding renewal as the reason for the failure of KOUNED to deliver benefits to the community. The failure of KOUNED led to the founding of the PPP in 2013 to drive the project from a business angle. The provincial government also took active steps towards opening up several protected areas, and the municipality built a processing facility for community cooperatives and other building structures. The municipality also coordinated the integration of disparate cooperatives from the previous initiative into a primary cooperative (Figure 8.3). The primary cooperative comprised 13 cooperatives and were spread across the Langkloof and Tsitsikamma communities in the Eastern Cape province. Most cooperatives, except two, were made up of five members, totalling 65 beneficiaries.

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<sup>32</sup> The participant said HDI means Human Development Index, and at the time of the interview, it seemed like they were using the phrase to refer to communities where the municipality efforts are concentrated in terms of improving the human wellbeing.



**Figure 8.3 Local municipality involvement and interventions in the honeybush sector (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe).**

In 2013, when the PPP was established, honeybush had been earmarked in local economic development project plans to be financed under the Service Delivery and Budget Liquidation Plan. The PPP comprised the DFFE, Koukamma Municipality, Sarah Bartman District Municipality, and the Heights Tea Estate. The cooperatives never benefited, even though investments into the PPP were to support access to the resource and value chain. The project collapsed before they could harvest and process the resource.

The reasons for the collapse included corruption and wildfires. The municipality and KOUNED blamed a hired independent project manager and the Heights Tea Estate, who worked with cooperatives to get the project off the ground (Government 1: 02/12/19; KOUNED key informant: 11/09/19). The wildfires affected the plantation, and because the cooperatives had no access to wild honeybush, they had nowhere to harvest the material and no use for a processing facility (Fieldnotes 2019; Cooperative 2: 12/08/19). Wildfires were also not considered as a risk in the

business plan, even though the plantation was in a fire prone landscape, and the independent project manager admitted that this was a mistake (KOUNED key informant: 11/09/19).

### **8.3.2.2 Facilitating access to the wild resource**

The provincial and local government of the Eastern Cape began working with ECPTA in 2011 to assess land where organised access to honeybush could be facilitated for primary cooperatives. The ECPTA indicated their willingness to allow access for harvesters to protected areas as per their policies. However, they demanded a scientific report on resource assessment from the communities to show how harvesting could be done sustainably before allowing access to the land (Government 3: 02/03/20). A series of meetings were subsequently held with primary cooperatives to establish a system for harvesting on ECPTA land where groups were subsequently matched to protected areas adjacent to their settlement. Some of these sites are outlined in Table 8.2, although at the time of the research, these sites remained closed to harvester communities.

**Table 8.2 Planned pilot sites for harvesting in the Formosa Reserve, Eastern Cape**

<b>Harvesters' settlement area</b>	<b>Land under ECPTA jurisdiction</b>	<b>Estimated land size (hectares)</b>	<b>Estimated honeybush volumes (tonnes)</b>
<b>Kareedouw &amp; Tsitsikamma</b>	Dam se Kloof area	182	30
<b>Joubertina to Misgund</b>	Upper Kromme	125	22,9
<b>Joubertina to Misgund</b>	Niekerksberg	332	91

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe (data derived from the HTDP reports: Hobson, 2011; Smith & Wortel, 2011)

Access to wild honeybush was the first plan of action for HTDP beneficiaries, and it was only when this plan did not work, that investments were allocated to a cultivated resource. Both the local municipality and provincial government pointed to ECPTA for their failure to open land to harvesters and cooperatives. They blamed ECPTA because of the time lapse resulting from the delay caused by the scientific report the conservation agency required before allowing access. The provincial

government subsequently hired a consultant to produce a scientific report on behalf of the harvester communities (Government 3: 02/03/20). The municipality reported that ECPTA “actually indicated that they can give access to their areas but there should be a management plan in place. Now [as] the municipality, we don’t have capacity to draw up a management plan. That delayed processes between us” (Government 1: 02/12/19). The provincial government stated that ECPTA had pulled-out of the arrangement because they rejected the scientific report that the government submitted because it did not follow the research procedures of the conservation agency as no research permit had been secured (Government 3: 02/03/20). Cooperatives were left with a new processing facility, a burnt honeybush field, and no wild resource because of the ECPTA rejection of the report they had requested.

### **8.3.3 State parastatal led interventions**

The ARC leads all honeybush cultivation and innovations related to its domestication and value chain upgrading. Although the honeybush industry is still dependent on about 80% of wild material, it aims to change this to greater dependence on the cultivated resource. Honeybush growers are organised into two types of small-scale growers, namely private landowners and community-based cooperatives or SMMEs. Community enterprises have been supported to enter the value chain through various projects for purposes of empowerment, poverty alleviation, and job creation. Another significant reason reported for channelling communities to honeybush cultivation is that they do not have access to wild resources (Government 1: 02/12/19; Haarlem Farmers Association: 08/09/21). A cultivated resource therefore facilitates their secured participation in the value chain, but since its domestication, the honeybush cultivated crop had been less profitable in the market compared to the wild resource. More importantly, provincial and local government officials have reported that if the motivation for establishing honeybush SMMEs is community upliftment, then there are more profitable wild plants and agricultural commodities that can better support economic upliftment, especially given that the study area produces export

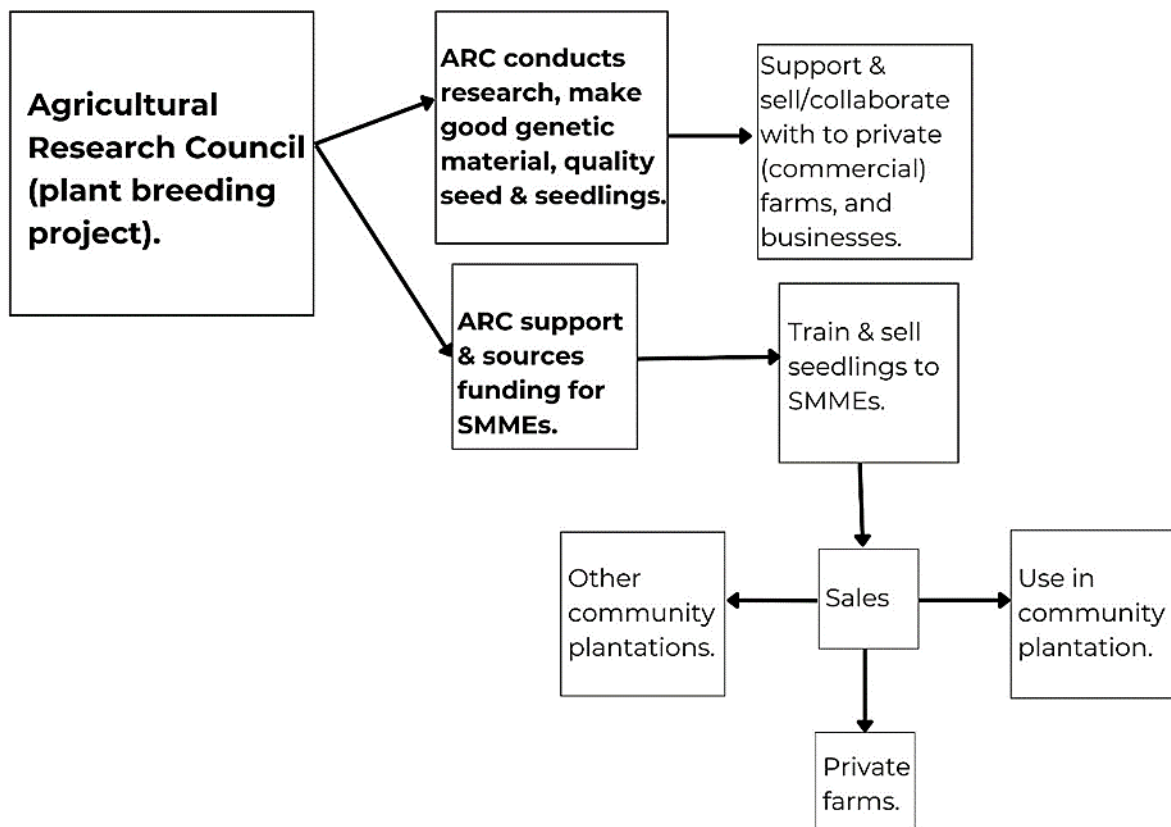
commodities (Government 3: 02/03/20). ARC-led community cooperatives are described in Table 8.3.

**Table 8.3 Profile of ARC-led community cooperatives**

<b>Projects</b>	<b>Partnerships/ Collaborations</b>	<b>Year formed</b>	<b>Type of business</b>	<b>Number of beneficiaries at the start of the project</b>	<b>Status in 2020</b>	<b>Number of beneficiaries active in 2020</b>
<b>Sonskyn Heuningbos (Pty) Ltd</b>	ARC	2001	Seedlings for sale and own plantation	11 individuals	Active	2
<b>Kuyasa Amamfengu (Pty) Ltd</b>	ARC	2012	Farms seed orchards for seed sales, own plantation	8 individuals	Active	3
<b>Clarkson Heuningbos (Pty) Ltd</b>	ARC	2014	Plantation	8 individuals	Active	8

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

The ARC approach to cultivation is a business model aimed at fostering industry sustainability. Cultivation is implemented to reduce pressure on the wild resource and to secure the quality and the standardisation of honeybush (Parastatal 1: 24/04/19). The ARC works with communities through SMMEs, and the initiatives are aligned with a partnership with the Department of Science and Innovation called the Department of Science and Innovation/ARC Honeybush Project. The model that the ARC follows is illustrated in Figure 8.4.



**Figure 8.4 ARC approach to commercial cultivation (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe).**

The SMMEs are supported through the ARC honeybush plant breeding project, which has been at the forefront of seed orchards and seedling production. All three ARC SMMEs are in what I categorised as place-based communities, which are situated settlements that have been in the landscape since the 1800s. This gave them an advantage in terms of community organisation and land access compared to other SMMEs that are led by the local government and a non-profit company in predominantly new settlements established from the 1980s to early 2000s evictions of farm dwellers from commercial farms. The Kuyasa AmaMfengu (Pty) Ltd, for example, harvested wild honeybush and planted seed orchards on land that the community has owned since the 1800s and were planning to establish a honeybush plantation without land challenges and the need for external interventions to help organise beneficiaries (SMME 2: 15/09/21). In 2020, the SMMEs linked to the ARC had been producing honeybush at commercial scale for between 4 and 20 years.

The ARC implements biodiversity economy projects in five SMMEs in partnership with the Department of Science and Innovation. The focus has been mainly on developing nurseries and seed orchards to supply community plantations and selling to commercial honeybush growers. Nurseries produce seedlings, and while those involved in seed orchards produce use seeds using “seeds produced from selected, genetically superior plants developed through the ARC breeding programme. Obtaining seed from plants that have been selected ensures good quality plants and improved yields”.<sup>33</sup>

When asked how they started with the community nurseries and seed orchards project, the ARC mentioned that they go and harvest the plant material and the seeds from the wild. The participant who is a plant breeder working directly with the SMMEs explained it as follows:

“I said if I can supply you [referring to the SMMEs] with seed and I know it is a good seed, we have tested with tea quality everything, the yields are good everything because if you harvest in the wild, we don’t know how the tea quality is because the plants are dual. - I don’t know if this is a two-year plant or a five-year plant. Where in the plantations, I know the age and I know where the tea comes from and I know the quality because I have tested the chemical, whatever, and I have tested the yield, and I say you can expect five tonne per hectare or whatever. While in the wild, you don’t know because your genetic material will have good genetic material and poor [genetic material], some with high yields and some will have poor yields” (Parastatal 1: 14/04/19).

The ARC also trained the SMMEs on seedlings and seed production. While there is training and SMMEs had booklets, some were unsure what types of seeds they were producing and referred me to the ARC, mentioning that they do what ARC demonstrates and follow their lead. Thus, the ARC extends its epistemic resources

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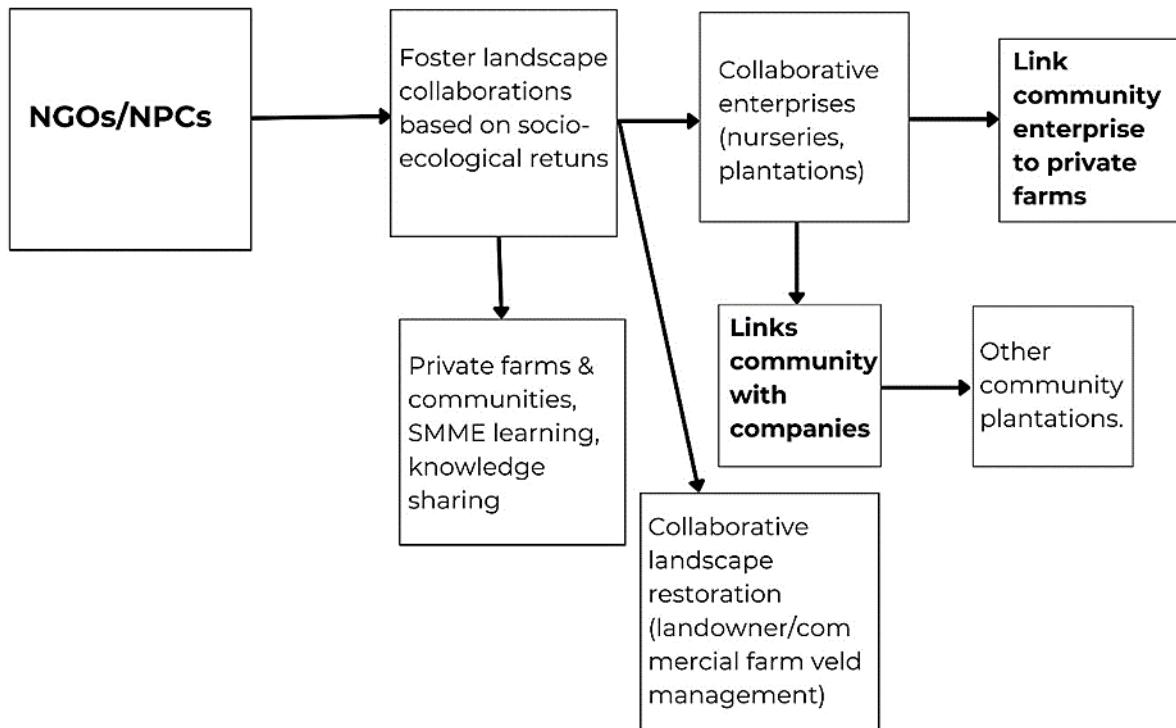
<sup>33</sup> Department of Science and Innovation DSI/ARC Honeybush Project-community partnership webpage: <https://www.arc.agric.za/arc-infruited-nietvoorbij/honeybush/Pages/Community%20Partners.aspx>

to their community projects for economic inclusion and has not yet considered collaboration in terms of knowledge and redressing epistemic exclusion.

While the ARC has a direct contact and involvement in their community projects, all three SMMEs commenced because harvesters or community members had heard of the ARC and its honeybush cultivation activities, which at the time were focused on commercial farmland owners. Thus, although the ARC has an industry development commitment to include the 'poor' and create jobs, their mode of entry into the communities had been indirect and occurred through social capital relations. The Clarkson Heuningbos (Pty) Ltd, for example, started through referrals emanating from informal conversations between community members and municipal officials (SMME 1: 26/10/21; Haarlem Farmers Association: 8/09/21), while the Sonskyn Heuningbos (Pty) Ltd started preparing for cultivation when they heard about the ARC honeybush projects from relatives (SMME 1: 26/10/21). Members of the SMMEs who were interviewed remarked that while the ARC SMMEs are active, members are either not benefiting and/or only a few are benefiting and participating in producing a cultivated resource. This was because none of them were productive, and members had to seek employment elsewhere at times, leaving only few members with the SMME responsibilities (SMME 3: 29/10/19; SMME member 1: 29/03/21; SMME 2: 15/09/22).





#### **8.4 NGO and NGO-honeybush led interventions**

Since the rediscovery phase, several NGOs and not-for-profit organisations have facilitated the involvement of communities in the honeybush sector, but most of them are no longer operating. There was one active organisation, NGO-honeybush, that works with harvesters and commercial farmers who cultivate and grow honeybush. Their models follow a landscape approach and socio-ecological model for the commercial cultivation of honeybush. Figure 8.5 illustrates the NGO/non-profit company model for commercial cultivation of honeybush.



**Figure 8.5 NGO models for commercial cultivation of honeybush (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe).**

Through a honeybush company, NGO-honeybush worked with a harvest team in the Misgund area and a nursery established by two individuals in the Tweeriviere area, both in the Langkloof. The harvest team was approached by the company that was already working with NGO-honeybush, and the nursery approached NGO-honeybush when they heard about them through a referral. NGO-honeybush and the company approached honeybush commercial cultivation with hopes that it would contribute to a framework they described as “four returns” to guide their socio-ecological restoration, and at the time, that underpinned their conservation work in the landscape (see Box 8.1). Their partnerships with the harvest team and the nursery are described in the following subsection.

4 returns	Different entities	Values measured
<b>Return of inspiration</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Meaningfulness, spiritual/ holistic awareness, Gross National Happiness, re-sacralise nature</li> <li>▶ Local culture wisdom &amp; outreach</li> <li>▶ Landscape leaders, commitment to local ownership, less corruption</li> <li>▶ Understanding meaning of long-term commitment for companies, investors</li> <li>▶ Time for inner reflection, worship</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ % of stakeholder group/ yr/ ha: # local cultural, social, religion events</li> <li>▶ # 'defining moments' of people involved</li> <li>▶ % of stakeholder group/ yr/ ha</li> <li>▶ % of stakeholder group/ yr/ ha committed; % -/- corruption benchmark</li> <li>▶ % responding to long term commitment</li> <li>▶ • # volunteers # inspirational sessions</li> <li>▶ • % of free time to rest and think</li> </ul>
<b>Return of social capital</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Jobs</li> <li>▶ Security</li> <li>▶ Local social cohesion</li> <li>▶ Education &amp; social services</li> <li>▶ Healthcare</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ # of new jobs / project / municipality / ha</li> <li>▶ # various savings / yr / project</li> <li>▶ # social ventures / yr / project</li> <li>▶ # schools, trainings, services / project</li> <li>▶ # medical posts, doctors</li> </ul>
<b>Return of natural capital</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Biodiversity</li> <li>▶ Invasive species</li> <li>▶ Vegetation cover</li> <li>▶ Top soil</li> <li>▶ Water</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ # of native species / yr / ha</li> <li>▶ % decrease/ yr / ha</li> <li>▶ % coverage / yr / ha; % cloud formation</li> <li>▶ mm layer / yr/ ha; % microbes; % C / ha</li> <li>▶ % humidity; # stream flow (m<sup>3</sup> / yr / ha)</li> </ul>
<b>Return of financial capital</b> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Agriculture, carbon, timber</li> <li>▶ Leisure, hunting, bush harvesting</li> <li>▶ Real estate &amp; other incomes</li> <li>▶ Water</li> <li>▶ Decrease erosion, increase topsoil</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Yield / yr / ha</li> <li>▶ Yield / yr / ha</li> <li>▶ Value / yr / ha</li> <li>▶ Production m<sup>3</sup> / ha/ yr</li> <li>▶ Decrease costs input chemicals / ha / yr</li> </ul>

**Box 8.1 The four returns framework followed by NGO-honeybush (Source: Ferwerda, 2016)**

### 8.4.1 Nursery collaboration

Two nursery owners have entered a two-year off-take agreement with the company. The company worked with growers, harvesters, and processors who were registered harvesting and trade permit holders. The company then bought the wild

or cultivated resource from those with whom they partnered. NGO-honeybush agreed to help, recognising that the nursery owners have the knowledge to grow seedlings. They put up a two-year contract stipulating that the owners were responsible for running the nursery, and that the company would invest to assist with infrastructure and related costs. The agreement was that “they give us the funds; we’re doing the plants here and we give the plants back to them, that means we pay off the capital” (SMME 3: 9/10/19). That is, the nursery would only supply plants to the company until the investments made were paid off. The company would then sell the seedlings to different farmers in the Kouga, and in the valley they would sell it to everyone who wants to establish honeybush plantations. The owners of the nursery would be able to run the seedlings sales independently when their debt is paid off and they welcomed the agreement. When they finish paying off their debt, they would go ahead with this business. The nursery owners will then have a separate business without NGO-honeybush and the company. The company actively worked with the nursery while NGO-honeybush played an oversight role. These roles were maintained in their partnership with the harvest team they partnered with and NGO-honeybush retained the oversight role.

#### **8.4.2 Harvester-landowner collaboration**

Harvester-landowner collaborations have allowed harvesters without land to secure honeybush by partnering with landowners to conduct land restoration using veld management activities led by NGO-honeybush. This has allowed harvesters to do paid work on landscape restoration beyond harvesting honeybush.

The team harvested on a commercial farm where their leader had a decades-long relationship with the landowners. His father had worked with the parents of the current landowners for years, and he had the same working relationship with the children of the original owner. The company entered into an agreement with the landowners using this existing relationship and the fact that the leader already had a permit for wild harvesting. The plantation was trialled as an alternative to the conventional plantations. The difference to conventional plantations was that the

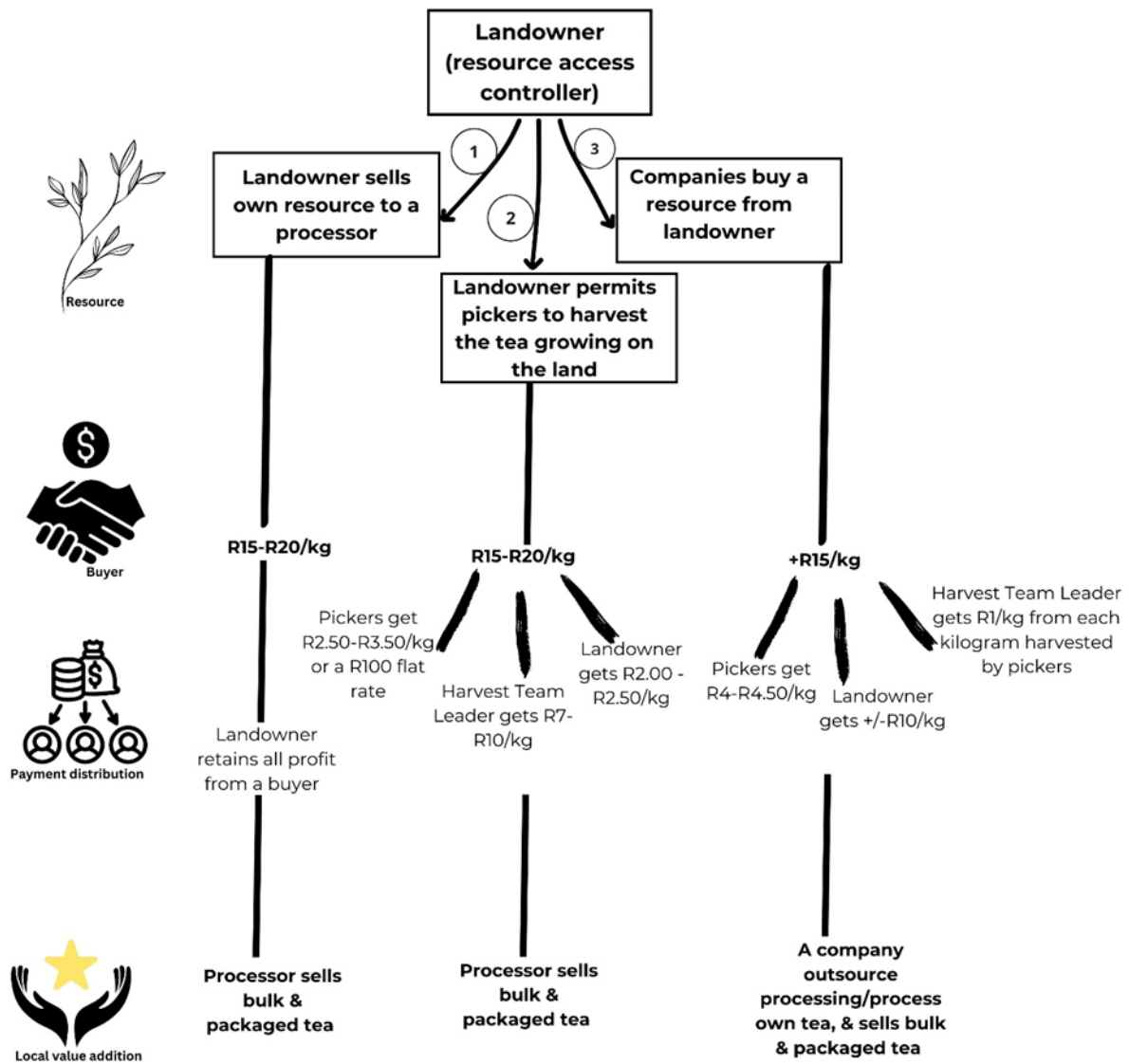
seeds were collected from the farm where the honeybush was planted, and the team afforested areas at the foot of the mountain where the veld had been severely burnt by wildfires. They planted *C. subternata*, which struggles to grow after fire. The idea of having an augmented plantation was to explore ways to secure more honeybush resources for the team in the next harvesting cycle.

The team also conducted other farm activities, including constructing firebreaks, monitoring “illegal” harvesters on behalf of the landowner, and clearing invasive species as part of the veld management duties inscribed in the partnership. The NGO brokered access to the wild resource by using their relationships with commercial farms. The arrangement centred around the veld management plans used by the NGO to assist farmers with resource assessments, invasive plant clearing, and honeybush harvesting. Harvesters in this arrangement were hired or partnered with the NGO to do all the work related to the veld management plans. Those same harvesters gained access or became a team that harvested wild honeybush for a farm that had work agreements with the NGO. Harvesters in this arrangement were paid a salary for veld management work and retained the income they received from wild honeybush. The harvest team that partnered with the NGO was already doing veld management work and other technical farm work like fixing fences where they harvest, and therefore, in this arrangement harvesters already had entry and a long relationship with the landowner. However, the team gained expertise from this partnership in veld management, honeybush resource assessment, wild seed collection for nurseries, and invasives clearing. This was advantageous because wild honeybush is only harvested in three-four-year cycles, and therefore, harvesters’ involvement in the management of the land they harvest meant they continued to have access to work in the mountains. The alternative would typically involve conventional farmwork in the fruit plantations, which is usually the only option harvesters have in off-seasons.

The landowner benefited from the partnership because they integrated two costly processes, clearing invasives and compiling a honeybush management plan. Honeybush management plans are required for the provincial government permitting system and are the responsibility of the landowner. Obtaining a

honeybush management plan usually entails hiring a consultant or ecologist to conduct a costly botanical assessment for which farmers have no time, since honeybush is rarely a priority in a predominantly large-scale commercial fruit farming landscape.

The harvest-landowner collaboration was supposed to give harvesters better pay compared to other harvesters who are not in the collaboration. However, these harvesters were the least paid in all arrangements. I categorised the arrangements into the three harvesting typologies that were identified in this study: (1) Landowners sell their own honeybush resources, (2) landowner permit harvesters to pick and sell honeybush, and (3) a company purchase honeybush from a landowner. The NGO approach use the third typology. Income distribution from harvesting honeybush is illustrated in Figure 8.6.



**Figure 8.6 Payment distribution at resource extraction level (Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe)**

The payment was unequally distributed among those selling the raw resource, and the harvesters who did the picking were never the most paid in any typology. When a harvest team leader received R1/kg, it meant R1/kg from each picker in their team. Therefore, depending on the number of pickers in a team, which is often a minimum of four, the harvest team leader received either a higher share or an equal share. Even though there is a higher income share in the NGO-honeybush typology (typology 3) compared to others, there were some disadvantages. Harvesters complained about being limited to one landowner, this sentiment was in comparison to the old way of harvesting or making tea where Coloured, Black, and

Indigenous people engaged with landowners and various other actors in the value chain. However, after the intervention of NGO-honeybush, their role became more restricted. The NGO took over key negotiations and reduced harvesters' participation to merely cutting the resource and performing farm labour. This shift minimised the meaningful relationships harvesters had with processing facilities, other harvest teams, and landowners, curtailing their broader engagement in the sector.

## **8.5 State and non-state landowners' approach**

Landowners include conservation agencies, the state, a forestry company, and private farmland owners, including those leased under land reform programmes outlined in Chapter 4. All land under conservation by the state and conservation agencies was completely closed to communities at the time of data collection, and they had been closed for years. For example, South African National Parks (SANParks) have been closed since the 1960s and others since the 1970s (see Chapter 7). This means that the permit system that was administered by the colonial government was discontinued. In the following subsections, I discuss interventions made by Cape Nature, a conservation agency; MTO, a forestry company; SANParks; and land reforms schemes.

### **8.5.1 Cape Nature**

Cape Nature's intervention has been to facilitate formal arrangements for communities and harvesters to access honeybush growing on commercial farms. At the time of data collection, the land under Cape Nature was completely closed to honeybush harvesting. However, they had one arrangement where they facilitated a lease agreement between the Zoar Khoi community and an absentee landowner. This was a private nature reserve managed by Cape Nature under the protected area expansion strategy and is reported to have 'good honeybush'. The community had had a user agreement with the landowner before, but that relationship ended because the community reportedly did not follow the rules (Conservation 1:

23/09/21). This type of arrangement illustrates how the conservation agency works with communities and landowners, meaning that communities can approach Cape Nature to broker access agreements in stewardship farms that are under their governance. Although communities have no rights by law to the land under stewardship, it was unclear whether they were aware of the possibility of options and informal rights that allow them to access honeybush through agreements brokered by Cape Nature.

### **8.5.2 Commercial forest land partnership with harvesters in Tsitsikamma**

MTO (see Table 8.1 for their role and Section 4.3.2 in Chapter 4 for their history) got involved in honeybush activities in 2011 as a landowner. They withdrew their involvement from the HTDP and conducted their own management plans, and in 2017, they partnered with Rhodes University to conduct honeybush resource assessments on their land. They also established a Honeybush Tea Association in Tsitsikamma that acted as a structure to engage with communities. There are four plantations under the management of MTO in the Garden Route area, namely the Witless and Lottering plantations in Tsitsikamma and Kruisfontein (Knysna) and Garcia in Riversdale. These comprise about 26 000 ha (Forestry official: 28/11/22). According to MTO, communities are allowed to harvest honeybush on their property, and their official explained this arrangement as follows:

MTO has a licence from EC DEDEAT [Eastern Cape, Department of Economic Development Environment and Tourism] and Cape Nature in the Western Cape. Local communities may obtain free permits to collect non-timber forest products for personal use/consumptive use. Vlei tea (*C. subternata*) occurs in MTO plantations, and the Berg tea (*C. intermedia*) occurs more commonly in the mountain areas towards Kareedouw, but not on land under our management. (Forestry official: 28/11/22)

Even though communities had rights to access honeybush on their land, they stated that there was a challenge monitoring harvesting as it requires the organisation to employ more forest guards to police the harvesters. In this arrangement, rights did

not lead to access as MTO continued to clash with communities that border the Tsitsikamma mountains (Local key informant 6: 14/07/21).

### **8.5.3 SANParks cultivation and wild honeybush access partnerships with MTO and communities**

The land under SANParks was completely closed to honeybush harvesting. They therefore worked with MTO to facilitate communities' access to wild honeybush through forest plantations. SANParks facilitated this access through the Honeybush Tea Association that already worked with MTO. In this arrangement SANParks and MTO used to allow communities to harvest at the edge of their plantations and in the river stream areas that are in between the plantations, but these contractual agreements with communities stopped. According to SANParks, the following happened:

What actually happened then over the time they [MTO] found it difficult to actually manage those contracts, and also, we had some conflict because some of those contractors used the tea they access through the MTO forest [land they were not permitted to harvest] to then add to their harvest on the other side of the fence. So, unfortunately that was misused. (Conservation 2: 26/10/21)

SANParks reported that they are not planning on allowing wild harvesting on their land, and therefore, instead adopted cultivation as an alternative. This involves a Total Petroleum funded honeybush propagation project for the Covie community in the Western Cape in the Tsitsikamma area. The project is inside the park and started in 2018. They did not use the land under conservation but allocated yards from unused housing lots for SANParks staff. This land was converted into a honeybush propagation and nursery field. Community members were trained by SANParks using ARC breeding methods. However, the project has struggled to take off, and SANParks has accused the community of not looking after it. For example, the community did not effectively weed the plantation, resulting in SANParks having to hire a contractor to do the weeding. The contractor then mowed everything, including honeybush seedlings, thinking the honeybush was part of the weeds. All original plants were lost, and at the time of the research, SANParks was engaging

community members to see how they could salvage the project (Conservation 2: 26/10/21).

At the time of the research, none of the interventions for access to protected areas had been successful, despite efforts dating from 2011. Those brokering access to wild honeybush on private farms are showing success, but other cases illuminate issues with the temporality of arrangements. NGO initiatives to integrate honeybush into landscape restoration and creating more secure access to the wild resource are yielding success. However, this model, despite including social return as part of restoration, fails to recognise the exclusions that are embedded in the landscape they are restoring. This contributed to a subordination that made harvesters feel like labour. A participant referred to this as “now when there is the tea and the money now, they captured it [...] now they want to become the boss and you are the boy,<sup>34</sup> you see” (Harvest team leader 10: 21/10/21). The restoration approach was therefore a type of environmentalism that reinforced racial hierarchies and was disinterested in political forms of structural violence.

#### **8.5.4 Land arrangements and state land reform schemes**

Various land tenure arrangements and state land reform programmes discussed in Chapter 4 were in place in the study areas. These included various schemes under the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE,<sup>35</sup> here forth, BEE), LRAD farms, Proactive Land Acquisition System farms, the CPAs and agreements with various landowners including municipal land. These arrangements come with varying degrees of rights to the resource and land. However, in some cases, formal property rights and resource rights have not guaranteed access to honeybush. In

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<sup>34</sup> The word ‘boy’ was used to indicate a racial hierarchy in production relations. In British colonies “every African male, regardless of age was called a ‘boy’-houseboy ... mine-boy” (Mamdani, 1996: 4).

<sup>35</sup> The BBBEE “means the viable economic empowerment of all black people [including], in particular women, workers, youth, people with disabilities and people living in rural areas, through diverse but integrated socio-economic strategies”(Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Amendment Act No. 46 of 2013, 2013).

Table 8.4, the disconnect observed between formal rights and access to resources is demonstrated.

**Table 8.4 Showing resource access in formal land arrangements and among land reform beneficiaries**

<b>Tenure arrangements</b>	<b>Honeybush resource growing on the land</b>	<b>Competing/other land uses</b>	<b>Access control</b>	<b>Resource rights</b>	<b>Resource access (at time of interview)</b>
<b>Emerging Farmer 4 (LRAD)</b>	Wild and cultivated resource	Commercial fruit farming	Farm managers/ committee	Farmworkers inheriting the farm	External wild harvesting team contracted by a processing facility
<b>Emerging Farmer 2 (LRAD)</b>	Wild resource	Commercial fruit farming	Farm managers/ committee	Farmworkers inheriting the farm	Not harvesting & not allowing harvesting because of conflicts among harvester teams
<b>Emerging Farmer 1 (PLAS)</b>	None	Commercial sheep & fruit farming	Individual farmer	Individual Farmer	N/A
<b>CPA1 (Municipal commonage schemes)</b>	None	Livestock grazing	Cooperative	Community members in the CPA	N/A
<b>CPA2 (PLAS)</b>	Wild resource	Livestock grazing and small-scale vegetable farming	Cooperative	Cooperative	One member of the cooperative
<b>CPA3 (community owned land)</b>	None	Commercial fruit farming	Farm managers/ committee	Community members in the CPA	N/A
<b>CPA4 (Land Restitution)</b>	Wild & cultivated	Communal (village) land with various commercial & residential uses	Association managers in consultation with the community	Community members in the CPA	Community members in the honeybush SMME structure
<b>Labour tenancy arrangement (Labour tenants)</b>	Cultivated	None	Landowner and workers	Workers	None/struggled since establishment in early 2000s
<b>Haarlem Mission Station</b>	Cultivated	Livestock grazing	Cooperative members, municipality	Cooperative	None

<b>Tenure arrangements</b>	<b>Honeybush resource growing on the land</b>	<b>Competing/other land uses</b>	<b>Access control</b>	<b>Resource rights</b>	<b>Resource access (at time of interview)</b>
<b>(Community land)</b>			's Cooperative Chairperson		
<b>Clarkson Mission Station (Private land)</b>	Cultivated	None	Landowner (community member)	Cooperative	None

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

There were many factors that undermined the ability of land beneficiaries to benefit from honeybush commercialisation. First, beneficiaries had to keep the farm they inherited profitable. For example, CPA3 shared that they were not planning to farm honeybush unless they were sure it would be profitable, and that their priority was to create jobs for the community (CPA3: 27/04/21). Emerging farmers shared similar sentiments with regards to job creation and the need to be productive. Some, however, because of their tea production heritage and passion for honeybush, planned on using a few hectares of land for honeybush cultivation (Emerging farmer 4: 24/10/19; Emerging farmer 1: 23/04/21). Another pertinent issue was that although some beneficiaries had formal rights to the land with a 30-year lease, government failed to timeously approve business plans. For instance, in 2021, one emerging farmer had waited 12 years with no success. A business plan is a requirement for a government loan application. Therefore, the delay in approval affected his ability to benefit from the land, while his mentor, a white commercial farmer, earned about R15 000 (\$969)<sup>36</sup> per month from government for providing mentorship (Emerging farmer 1: 23/04/21).

Other factors that undermined the ability of Coloured, Black and Indigenous people to benefit from honeybush commercialisation included a lack of access to water and to off-farm household income, unclear rights in communal land ownership, conflicts between management structures and beneficiaries, and racial tensions. The off-

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<sup>36</sup> Exchange rate as of January 2022

farm household income was reported as a necessity for land beneficiaries to feed their households. For example, CPA2 was comprised of six members who obtained the state land with wild honeybush, but only one member was harvesting, and five members had to seek employment elsewhere to sustain themselves and their households (CPA 2: 21/10/21). Racial tensions were largely communicated through stories of lack of access to water, which was perceived to be linked predominantly to white farmers obstruction of water flows to farms under land reform. An emerging farmer who inherited a farm without water shared the following:

This farm hasn't got any water. At this moment in time, we have to go and fetch water in Haarlem. Or everywhere where I'm going, I put a container on my bakkie [small truck/van], and I ask for water wherever I come. Because at this moment in time, the situation on this farm is as such that we haven't got drinking water. We've got just few water for the sheep and the cattle. So that's also due to the drought, due to government officials that don't want to listen to you, that's also a factor there. Because this farm for instance, you've got water that you can survive on, which has been stolen by my opposite neighbour [...] Because he went and built a dam where he's not supposed to build a dam, and he cut off the water that belongs to this farm. And we are in possession of the necessary documents [as proof]. There's a certain ruling on the carton transport that says that he cannot build a dam there, he cannot put up a pump or in any way interfere with the flow of the water, but he did exactly that. And he did that after the government bought the farm from the previous white owner. Because when the previous owner was here on the farm, he couldn't do that. But now here's a black farmer on here, you see. So, they did all this stuff [...] I asked for legal assistance, they can't even give me legal assistance to fight this issue. (Emerging Farmer 1: 23/04/21)

## **8.6 Conclusion: Are the interventions making commercialisation accessible?**

Overall, the interventions discussed in this chapter demonstrate that support to marginalised groups by state and non-state actors has been in the form of project-based arrangements that have tackled economic exclusion. However, averting economic exclusion has either failed due to project failure and the short-term nature

of benefits, such as job creation by national government, or because interventions have relied on using ahistorical approaches to access (that is, the ability to benefit from the honeybush sector). The ahistorical approach is evidenced by wild resource access interventions facilitated by NGOs. NGO interventions have benefited both landowners and harvesters, but over time, have reinforced racial hierarchies in terms of labour and how different races inhabit the landscape.

Although the interventions are being made during the BEOP phase of honeybush commercialisation, which seeks transformation and has social justice tools and policies such as ABS, all interventions have failed to address the exclusion of marginalised harvester communities from land under conservation and commercial forestry. Ambient and other land related exclusions thus continue to affect resource access. Failure to address land and resource rights issues may be due to socio-economic transformation being a key priority of the contemporary South African state and non-state actors. As such, interventions, such as a transition to cultivation as a form of access instead of allowing wild harvesting, is legitimised. Another legitimisation that is being established is the legitimising of access to the honeybush resource and commercialisation based on belonging and identity, making identity a key mechanism of access and a new way of maintaining benefits from natural resources for those who have been excluded from benefits.

This chapter discussed interventions adopted to facilitate community access to honeybush use. It discussed interventions by NGOs, conservation agencies, parastatals, government, and companies to facilitate community access to both the cultivated and wild-harvested honeybush value chains. The chapter also explained how the industry, communities, and the honeybush sector perceive and support ABS as a new mechanism in their natural resource use relations. The interventions by state and non-state actors to enable marginalised groups to benefit from commercialisation have attended to normative barriers to entry in NTFP value chains but have neglected to consider the power dynamics that keep reinforcing exclusions in the access and use of natural resources in the Garden Route and Langkloof landscapes. Patterns of environmental conflicts that have defined the

landscapes have been neglected. In the next chapter, I discuss the key findings from this thesis and relate them to the theoretical frameworks introduced in Chapter 2.

## **CHAPTER 9**

# **DISCUSSION: STRATEGIES OF EXCLUSION AND RECONCEPTUALISATION OF MARGINALITY IN NTFP COMMERCIALISATION**

### **9.1 Introduction**

In this chapter, I analyse and interrogate findings in the context of the literature presented in Chapter 2. The empirical findings presented in Chapters 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8 showed four broad strategies of exclusion in the honeybush sector namely the land, discourse, social, and institutional dimensions of exclusion, which have produced marginalising factors embedded both in the landscapes that grow honeybush and in the culture of the natural products sector. The chapters pointed to the evidence of structural violence and constrained agency in the Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people's lived experiences of honeybush trade, importantly centring marginalised groups' standpoints and voices to interpret what has happened to them and their landscapes. The chapters pointed to the core issue of hermeneutical marginalisation, which brings into view a typology of actors who are privileged and those who are not in making NTFPs economically valuable.

The chapter has four sections. I first discuss key threads that provide the texture and contextualise the embeddedness of exclusion in the landscape. In the second section I discuss hierarchies of control and maintenance in honeybush use. In the third section, I analyse key strategies of exclusion that affect marginalised groups' ability to benefit from NTFP commercialisation. In the fourth section, I conclude by synthesising exclusion in the context of NTFP value chains to (re)conceptualise marginality in NTFP commercialisation and the ways in which NTFPs are used to integrate transformative justice and emancipating transformation in biodiversity economies.

## 9.2 Hierarchies of control and maintenance

The point of departure for the access control and maintenance theoretical frame is that “some people and institutions control resource access while others must maintain their access through those who have control” (Ribot & Peluso, 2003: 154). Control “refers to checking and directing action, the function or power of directing and regulating free action” (Rangan, 1997: 72). Maintaining means gaining access through someone who controls access, which differs from direct access that refers to a condition “where one enjoys the benefits from things without immediate mediation” (Peluso & Ribot, 2020: 301). Those who control resources and/or have direct access to these resources maintain their control through relations with authority at higher levels or by excluding others (Milgroom & Ribot, 2020). Maintaining access control differs in that the maintenance is done for purposes of maintaining power to control others and protect direct access, whereas those without control do not have direct access and maintain access from a subordinated position to those with control. By applying a historical lens, it was clear that those who rely on structural and relational mechanisms of access without any claims to rights-based mechanisms to land and resources struggle to maintain benefits from honeybush trade because access is controlled primarily by those with land. For over a century, the tea producers who lost their local tea production and trade as the value chain transitioned into export-oriented markets, such as the case in Haarlem, had maintained resource access through those with control over land and the honeybush resource. Those who controlled resource access included the state and white farmers. Having property (the right to benefit) does not equate to having access (the ability to benefit) as correctly asserted by Ribot (1998) and Ribot and Peluso (2003). However, this study found that in contexts where there is distributional injustice, the neglect of property rights becomes a pre-existing condition that creates and reinforces structural violence when resources are lucrative beyond local markets. Structural violence is a hidden or subtle form of violence that is made visible by conditions such as hunger and death, and “shows up as unequal power and consequently as unequal life chances” (Galtung, 1969: 171; Lee, 2019). The structural violence literature draws attention to the violence

that takes shape because of unequal power over resource distribution, leading to unjust differences in privilege and power (Galtung, 1969; Farmer, 2004). Structural violence was reinforced by the state and non-state agents approaches for ensuring Coloured, Black, and Indigenous groups' participation in the new globally integrated honeybush market. The approaches for market access together with the BEOP initiatives reinstated subordinating landscape relations and created new forms of authority in the access hierarchy. Sikor and Lund's (2009) analysis of access control reveals how those controlling access to a resource gain or accumulate authority every time they mediate the access of others. Thus, mediating others' access is closely linked to the production of authority. The approach adopted by the NGO-honeybush is one example that depicts the production of authority by an actor, which they unintentionally achieved by mediating resource and market access between wild honeybush harvesters and farmers and creating secured market channels for those who harvest through the NGO. As demonstrated by Milgroom and Ribot (2020) in their study of resettlement in Mozambique, those who can only maintain access through others are subordinated in various ways, including a loss of authority. The loss of authority is a taken for granted in the way in which marginalised groups are violated. West (2016) points to non-material (invisible) forms of dispossession that are often ignored and uses sovereignty as an object of analysis to demonstrate how people are dispossessed of non-material aspects of their relationship with their environments. Focusing on conservation in Papua New Guinea, she problematises how environmental and conservation knowledge production by researchers could dispossess Guineas of discourse sovereignty over their territories. In this way, she begins to thicken the ways in which inequalities are produced and maintained in somewhat taken for granted factors that marginalises people from their territories, natural resource exploitation, and economies.

The findings also revealed how the state continues to service social elites and neglects less powerful actors. This indicates hegemony in the distribution of benefits from natural resources. Hegemony is a Gramscian concept that explains the "coercive power of the state in its service to the economic elite and the ability of the elite to achieve the spontaneous consent of the non-elite populace through the

control of culture, opinion, and ideology" (Robbins, 2012: 62). The findings of this research demonstrated some hegemonic relations at different points in history relating to exploitative relationships, coercion, and western science control of culture, opinion, and ideology related to honeybush commercialisation. Essentially, throughout history the economic and ruling elite in the study area have been white farmers, the state, scientists, and companies, while the non-elite populace has been Coloured, Black, Indigenous people, and/or labour. While literature suggests that hegemony is often met by everyday resistance from less powerful actors (Scott, 1985; Moore, 2005; Ekers et al., 2009), and the results show a prevalence of constrained agency more than resistance.

Constrained agency is a term used in structural violence literature to refer to the constraint in agency suffered by those who live in conditions where life choices are structured by exclusionary devices such as poverty, racism, political violence, and sexism (Farmer, 1996, 2004; Coe & Jordhus-Lier, 2011) that affect their human rights and individual life choices (Ho, 2007). Constrained agency in this study is shown in the persistence of economic marginalisation in the honeybush sector despite the involvement of marginalised groups in tea production throughout history. Constrained agency does not equate to an absence of agency from non-elites and oppressed groups. By way of example, some harvesters used theft and forged friendships with landowners to maintain access, especially prior to the introduction of formalised trade and harvest permit systems. Theft and illegal access are forms of a rights-based mechanism of access (Ribot & Peluso, 2003). Also, as observed in community meetings and informal conversations, there is embeddedness of honeybush issues in ongoing conversations about political struggles for land, jobs, and wages. Issues of land and wages were a norm considering that the study area landscape is designed for commercial extraction and plantations, which are coercive by design (Tsing, 2012). Li and Semedi (2021: 1) define a plantation as "a machine for assembling land, labour, and capital under centralised management for the purpose of making a profit; it is also a political technology that orders territories and populations, produces new subjects, and makes new worlds". The embeddedness of honeybush issues in the Coloured,

Black, and Indigenous people's struggle for land, jobs, and wages further indicates that long-term conflicts over benefits from natural resources between those subordinated and those privileged were ecologised. Conflicts become ecologised when they begin to shape responses to new developments (Robbins, 2012). Long-term conflicts over land and resources were used to lobby for better participation in the value chain. For example, the use of the phrase "the honeybush industry is bleeding" by the Honeybush Joint Action Group had more to do with the long histories of environmental conflict, exclusion, and violent biopolitics than with the new honeybush industry that did not create the politics in which it was entangled. Therefore, it was further apparent that rather than everyday acts of resistance to hegemonic relations in honeybush use, those who have had to maintain access through others used histories of environmental conflicts to challenge distributional injustices.

The final key theme pertaining hierarchies of control and maintenance is power relations. Ribot and Peluso (2003) also instructs that attention must be paid to underlying power relations behind benefits derived from things. In agreement with Ribot and Peluso (2003) powers and histories behind existing ways in which benefits are derived are critical and should not be taken for granted as they may be concealing injustices and violence. For example, minimum wage jobs as part of benefits for marginalised groups do not sit well with those who have been coerced into labour for centuries. In the case of honeybush, where most of economic benefits are derived from natural resources and agriculture, a 'job' becomes a form of structural violence born out of centuries of land inequalities that entrap the marginalised. The ABS agreement between the Khoi and the San, and the rooibos industry also promised jobs and other monetary and non-monetary benefits including "the creation of employment opportunities, bursaries, development schemes, mentoring and facilitation of livelihood creation" while ignoring more complex grievances (Wynberg et al., 2023: 599).

To discuss power relations, I draw on Lukes' (1974) and Gaventa's (2006) forms power and the powercube. I outline these in Table 9.1 to show power relations in the honeybush sector between those who control access and those who maintain

access through those with control. The first column uses Lukes' (1974) actor-oriented power framework to locate actors and institutions in the forms of power they operate in. These forms of power include visible, hidden, and invisible power. Visible power is observable in public participation platforms and helps illuminate who participates and dominates in decision-making (Gaventa, 2006, 2019). Whereas hidden power is exercised by powerful people and institutions to set the political agenda (Gaventa, 2006). Invisible forms of power, on the other hand, influence how individuals think about their place in the world through processes of socialisation, ideology, and culture that "perpetuate exclusion and inequality by defining what is normal, acceptable and safe" (Gaventa, 2006: 29). The powercube, a framework from which these forms of power are conceptualised, originally framed visible, hidden, and invisible power for an analysis of participation in decision-making arenas (Gaventa, 2006, 2019); however, others have extended the analysis to other political contexts where power is exercised (Crawford & Andreassen, 2015; Gaventa, 2019).

**Table 9.1 A summary of the interface between the forms of power and exclusions influencing the access control and access maintenance dynamics among actors and institutions in the honeybush sector**

<b>Form of power</b>	<b>Institutions exercising power and access control in the value chain</b>	<b>How power is exerted (historically &amp; current)</b>	<b>Exclusions used by those with access control to maintain their position</b>	<b>Actors/institutions maintaining access through those with control</b>
<b>Visible</b>	Provincial government Private landowners NGOs/NPCs Companies	Introducing a permit system to control harvesting. Mediating how harvesters and others gain access to the resources and value chain	Land Discourse	Harvester teams Cooperatives Landowners Processors Traders
	South African Honeybush Tea Association (SAHTA)	Epistemic authority in advancing honeybush commercial use.	Discourse Institutional	Producers Cooperatives NGOs/NPCs Researchers

<b>Form of power</b>	<b>Institutions exercising power and access control in the value chain</b>	<b>How power is exerted (historically &amp; current)</b>	<b>Exclusions used by those with access control to maintain their position</b>	<b>Actors/institutions maintaining access through those with control</b>
	South African Biodiversity Institute (SANBI) Agricultural Research Council (ARC)	Selective membership (producer association)		
	Mountain to Ocean (MTO) South African National Parks (SANParks) Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA) Cape Nature	Controlling access to the resource	Land Institutional	Harvester teams Cooperatives
	National Khoi and San Council (NKSC) SAHTA	Controlling discourse and decision-making related to ABS introduction Presence of legislation	Institutional	Private sector/companies Indigenous communities
<b>Invisible</b>	National government	Legitimation of the Khoi and San as traditional knowledge holders and rightful beneficiaries from honeybush commercialisation	Discourse Institutional	NKSC Private sector
	State and non-state actors running development projects	Coercion of communities to jobs and entrepreneurial identity (creation of neoliberal subjects in commercialisation)	Institutional	Excluded communities Harvesters Cooperatives

<b>Form of power</b>	<b>Institutions exercising power and access control in the value chain</b>	<b>How power is exerted (historically &amp; current)</b>	<b>Exclusions used by those with access control to maintain their position</b>	<b>Actors/institutions maintaining access through those with control</b>
<b>Hidden</b>	Private landowners	Private titled land grants them a state of permanency and powers to exclude others from arable and forest land	Land	Harvester teams Cooperatives Processors/Traders
	SANBI ARC	Strengthened SAHTA's power to consolidate itself as industry representative. Innovations to advance value chains and conservation of species	Discourse Institutional	SAHTA Cooperatives

Source: Sthembile Ndwandwe

The second and third columns outline institutions and how they apply their visible, invisible, and hidden power. The fourth and fifth columns specify the exclusions that those who control access to the resource, the value chain, and the sector at large use to mediate access of others and to also keep their control position. The table draws attention to the exclusion relations that structure access control and maintenance and hierarchies they produce. In all forms of power, the harvesters who are predominantly Coloured, Black, and Indigenous are in a maintenance end of access and therefore are subordinated. Much of the subordination is a result of historical strategies of exclusion that are provided in Chapter 4.

The power and exclusions that relate to NTFP commercialisation are discussed in Section 9.3 and in Section 9.4 to (re)conceptualise marginality in NTFPs global market integration.

## **9.3 Strategies of exclusion in NTFP commercialisation**

In Chapter 2, approaches to exclusion were introduced. One approach sees exclusion as a necessary condition for actors to benefit from things, and the other approach sees exclusion as a social problem characterised by unequal access to resources, capabilities, and rights. While leaning more towards exclusion as a social problem due to the theoretical frame of control and maintenance and the objectives of this study, a more open perspective on exclusion as an inevitable phenomenon is also considered as it may point to complexities in the ways that actors are prevented from deriving benefits from NTFP commercialisation. A framework for analysing strategies of exclusion was introduced in Chapter 2 and comprise several types of exclusions and dimensions of exclusion. Identified exclusions related to NTFPs were spread across dimensions, some more evident than the others. Those that were evident in the empirical chapters included land, discourse, social, and institutional dimensions of exclusion.

### **9.3.1 Land dimension of exclusion**

#### **9.3.1.1 *Ambient exclusion***

Ambient exclusion refers to exclusions that are legitimised by environmental concerns. Land zoning by the state for conservation, for example, is often an indicator of ambient exclusion (Hall et al., 2011). The zoning of land for conservation purposes introduces environmentalism, and therefore, a new language of understanding and engaging with land and natural resources that people living adjacent to the newly demarcated area must adopt (Bryant, 2002; Hall et al., 2011). Ambient exclusions in the honeybush case were instituted by the colonial government and was also adopted by the democratic government. As Chapter 4 reveals, exclusions based on environmental concerns have disproportionately affected those without land. Chapter 6 describes the gradual dispossession of Haarlem tea makers from state land and how their access to the resource changed over time based on changing state land demarcations. The state land that they previously harvested with a permit in the early to mid-1900s is now either the GRNP,

a provincial nature reserve, or private farms; and predominantly, the state land they used to harvest is now under conservation and completely closed to harvesting, leaving landless Coloured, Black, and Indigenous actors in the value chain without a resource.

Considering the racial histories in the study area, the GRNP and provincial nature reserves can be seen as a symbol of prohibition of Blackness from land. Borrowing from Foucault's systems of exclusion that he identified in the orders of discourse (Foucault, 1970) and in the punitive society (Foucault, 2015), two more exclusions are born through ambient exclusions: prohibition and assimilation. Prohibition is a system of exclusion that disciplines freedom of expression (Foucault, 1970), and in this context of land zoning for conservation, the freedom of expression may concern movement and various ways of seeing and using a forest. The term 'use' in this thesis refers to "enjoyment of some kind of benefit or benefit stream" (Ribot & Peluso, 2003). Assimilation is how society gets rid of the socially unwanted by neutralising what is considered dangerous or that which is not wanted (Foucault, 2015). In the conservation context, this exclusion by assimilation is evident in how people internalise state rules and environmentalism as normal (Bryant, 2002). For example, the permit system allows people to benefit from resources; however, as discussed in Chapters 6 and 7, in some contexts a permit revealed the presence of structural violence that was normalised by state and non-state actors operating in conservation. As Chapter 6 elaborates, what makes a permit (paper) and its system violent among communities who live with honeybush is that it has been a symbol that reminds the Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people of their place in the landscape. A permit indicates that such people can only access nature through an authority, be it the forestry official, head of the community, or a white farmer. Bruno (2023: 1547) in writing about Black ecological memory, cites Camp (2021) in proposing that we apply a Black gaze in the reading of ecological and environmental records and history. The gaze, they propose, "allows one to empathise, to be implicated, and to witness" and "allows one to understand the biophysical environment as a witness". I used and followed a shapeshifting permit system from the 1800s to 2020 to show that although this system has become

naturalised and accepted as a just intervention for access to lands that grow honeybush, it is foremost a tool for aiding processes of exclusion rather than a technical solution to access. Therefore, recognising the colonial genesis of the permit system in context may open pathways to repair that contribute to emancipatory transformation. Mushonga and Matose (2020), report on how structural violence emerged using a permit system to control firewood collection by rural households in Sikumi Forest in Zimbabwe. In this case, structural violence occurred in three ways: Firstly, it was embodied in the regulated permit system and in the way it controlled and disciplined the behaviour of firewood dependent people; secondly, it constrained the ability of households to meet fuel needs; and thirdly, it was scripted in colonial structures of spatial authority (Mushonga & Matose, 2020). Such findings concur with those I describe for the honeybush permitting system.

CBNRM approaches and related participation programmes that are proposed by civil society and the state to manage how communities gain access to natural resources can also be a form of ambient exclusion. As Hall et al. (2011) observe, the CBNRM and other devolution approaches recruit beneficiaries to participate to the exclusion of others that do not make the legitimate list. Such exclusions are demonstrated in Thanh and Sikor (2006) in forest devolution and community participation in the Central Highlands of Vietnam, where forest recipients who were granted legal rights gained power to exclude migrants and other villagers. However, in practice, the exclusion and control of 'outsiders' (those who do not make a list of beneficiaries) is often not enforceable in forest devolution programmes (Shackleton et al., 2001; Thanh & Sikor, 2006). A study conducted by Howson (2018) on various forms of violences of the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation programme (REDD+) projects in Central Kalimantan, pointed to violence steeped in the rhetorical limits of the conceptual framing of community participation programmes, such as 'sustainable alternative livelihoods and arrangements for access to forests for NTFPs collection. Howson (2018) asserts that the REDD+ programmes promoted 'sustainable alternative livelihoods' to divert efforts from forest access politics into the training of

cooperatives. Further, the rhetorical constraints on what constitute NTFPs allowed REDD+ to limit community use of forest to wild plants but not to the lucrative commercial resources available in the same forest, such as gold. Gold mining was excluded from the definition of a forest product (Howson, 2018). To tackle issues of ambient exclusion and hegemony in environmentalism, political ecologists have suggested a shift in discourse, starting by questioning how our accounts of environmental change and political ecological research are used as instruments for controlling local populations (Robbins, 2012).

### **9.3.1.2 Licenced exclusion**

Licensed exclusions are characterised by land titling with a title seen as a natural end point to land rights formalisation (Hall et al., 2011). Licensed land exclusions impact equity in resource access. The findings show that those who are marginalised in the honeybush sector are also those who were historically excluded from titled land. As discussed in Chapter 4, titled land was a dominant form of land allocation in the former Cape province, with land granted to white settlers in three titles of possession, namely quitrent property, freehold property, and loan places. These guaranteed rights of land and natural resources to whites facilitated their temporal or permanent access to land while allowing licensed exclusions of Black, Coloured, and Indigenous populations. The implication of racial hierarchy in licensed exclusions for honeybush is that for about two centuries, access has been controlled by white landowners and colonial mission stations. In contrast, those without titled land had to maintain access through relationships with those with land and control over resources. Therefore, the ability of the landless to benefit from natural resources depended, as one of the community members said, on the mercy of the private landowner.

Racial hierarchies in land and resource access have become naturalised in contemporary biodiversity economy initiatives. For example, honeybush project interventions have not sought to disturb private landownership, with communities grouped into cooperatives and harvest teams for controlled access by conservation authorities such as ECPTA, Cape Nature, and SANParks. The literature on structural

violence credits such patterns of inequality to the desocialisation of history through the erasure of memory, rendering unjust structural conditions to be 'normal' (Farmer, 2004). The violence in land titling lies in its establishment of a state of permanency as to who controls and who should maintain access to resources. As Chapters 6 and 8 revealed, marginalised groups, most of whom are landless and generational farmworkers, have maintained access to honeybush on commercial farms through means such as labour, NGO support, small companies, honeybush development projects, and other social relations, including friendships with private landowners. Although such mechanisms of access have been forged, land titling has created a playing field where there is permanent constrained agency affecting those without land rights. Therefore, those who must permanently access honeybush through others do so from the bottom of the racial hierarchy. Those who resisted opportunities to enter honeybush export markets through the normalised racialised structure of the commercial agricultural landscapes were, as shown in the case of the Haarlem Honeybush Project, cast as failures and perceived to lack commitment to the entrepreneurial opportunities afforded to them. Hernandez and Galletta (2015) used a structural violence lens to conduct a historical analysis of the accumulation of economic and social exclusion over time in Southern Sacramento in the United States. The dismissal of the Haarlem Honeybush Project members as lacking commitment concurs with Hernandez and Galletta's (2015) analysis of their case study that reveals how justice or equity-prone policies may replicate relations of privilege and exclusion and shift the analysis of injustice from structural conditions to a lack of individual agency.

### **9.3.1.3 *Intimate exclusion***

Intimate exclusion refers to everyday mundane exclusions. It does not involve the state but is rather facilitated by fragmented actors who may use state language to exclude kin (Smith, 2017). Land features critically in NTFP use in postcolonial contexts where tenure reforms and rights to land are being returned to the original inhabitants (Shackleton & Pandey, 2014). This was also the case in the Langkloof and Garden Route regions where there was ongoing implementation of land reform

programmes (see Chapter 4). Intimate exclusions were observed in cases where land reform beneficiaries were excluded from accessing honeybush by the land beneficiaries' management committee and the parastatal ARC, which gave support to small enterprises. Land reform is part of a spectrum of licenced exclusions (Hall et al., 2011), however, in a case of honeybush the exclusions reported and observed were intimate in that it was land beneficiaries who were excluded. Chairpersons who had a closer relationship with the parastatal would often rally ARC support to remove members who were deemed 'lazy'. Casting members of the cooperative who were less active as lazy or not wanting to work was also a common strategy that culminated into intimate exclusions among honeybush cooperatives who cultivated and harvested wild honeybush. Lastly, intimate exclusions were also reported among white and Black farmers; for example, some white farmers excluded emerging Black farmers from farmers associations. Cockburn (2018) made the same finding in the same study area, and emerging farmers reported that they were intentionally blocked by white farmers from accessing water, which affected their land productivity. These everyday processes of accumulation by dispossession are used by landowners/rights holders with more authority to exclude other rights holders (Hall et al., 2011).

### **9.3.2 Discourse dimension of exclusion: Epistemic exclusions**

The main forms of epistemic exclusion that cut across the history of honeybush 'mainstream' use are what Fricker (2015) refers to as structural prejudices (or asymmetrical abilities) and suppressed intellectual traditions. Structural prejudices occur because of hermeneutical marginalisation, which occurs when one "enjoys less than some reasonable level of participation in the generation of shared social meanings (concepts, interpretive tropes, and so on)" (Fricker, 2015: 10, brackets original). This results in unequal participation in practices that influence social experiences and the production of shared meanings (Fricker, 2007). Suppressed intellectual traditions occur because of sustained hermeneutical marginalisation that produces contributory injustice. Contributory injustice raises questions about the failure of privileged knowers (or the existing epistemological system) to

recognise knowledge tools that exist among marginalised knowers (Dotson, 2011). Understanding and revealing these types of hermeneutical marginalisation are important for equity in the commercialisation of indigenous plants as it reveals harmful and harmless exclusions that evolve into epistemic oppression over time.

Hermeneutical marginalisation was evident in the honeybush archive in various letters where there is an absence of 'communities' in the state search for honeybush-related knowledge to support the industry. It is also notable in community petitions that were filed in a re-written format to evade the active voice. Thus, the farmers who were landowners became the source of information for colonial merchants and government. This can be interpreted as structural prejudice, and it has continued in the contemporary honeybush rediscovery and the BEOP phases in the democratic regime where farmers and industry are engaged, and marginalised groups are the agenda on the table for 'inclusion' but are not there to represent themselves and contribute actively to the sector development at a discourse level. Those involved in product development become part of the evolving history of honeybush use, and therefore, the neglect of marginalised groups at a discourse level also means that their active voice continues to be compromised and erased from the contemporary honeybush history. The neglect of marginalised groups at discourse level in NTFP commercialisation is also revealed in Wynberg et al. (2023), where three small-scale rooibos cooperatives were excluded from ABS negotiations despite attempts they made to raise their concerns with the NKSC and the state. These cooperatives were also excluded despite being part of knowers who are victims of the contributory injustice that the ABS negotiations are addressing in the rooibos industry. Their case, coupled with the experiences in the honeybush sector where none of the *ou-teemakers* had an idea of what ABS was while national government was already engaging the industry, illuminates a continuing subordination of communities at discourse level on the basis of credibility deficit, and on the other hand, a continuing accumulation of epistemic power and authority by industry and state legitimated elites.

Chapter 5 drew attention to the exclusions that occurred from initial knowledge enclosure in the colonial period. Several botanists, missionaries, scientists, and

colonial merchants sought to classify the species and find its commercial value in relation to the market demand of the time, which was caffeinated drinks. These and other colonial knowledge expeditions had an impact on subordinating knowledges of the South and were an index of the role of science in advancing colonialism (Leff, 2015a; Bollig, 2020). Such enclosures also created a condition where science and commercial value became the dominant knowledge and values in shared epistemic resources. Dotson (2014) refers to this exclusion of knowers in shared (mainstream or dominant epistemological framework) knowledges as a compromise in epistemic agency, signalled by the presence of suppressed intellectual traditions. Suppressed intellectual traditions in the commercialisation of NTFPs are recognised by the democratic state that supports the promotion of traditional knowledge and rewards its holders through the ABS agreements. However, the suppressed intellectual traditions remain. As shown in Table 9.1 in Section 9.2, institutions such as ARC, SANBI, SAHTA, and national government hold visible, hidden, and invisible powers that maintain commercial science-based epistemic authority. The ARC and SANBI use both the visible and hidden power where their epistemic authority grants them exclusive power to advance honeybush commercial use, and support for industry structures in a manner that gives them access control in commercialisation. The national government participated in discourse dimension of exclusion by using invisible power to legitimise the Khoi and the San as knowledge holders robbed of contributory justice by scientists, researchers, merchants and colonial state in the history of honeybush use (see Chapter 5).

This epistemic exclusion literature is useful for dealing with stubborn hierarchies of knowledge in biodiversity commercialisation processes. These include patenting mechanisms where western-style epistemic structures become the standard, even though they may not exist in other knowledge systems (Shiva, 1987, 2007). The resulting intellectual enclosures are inappropriate because they create asymmetrical abilities in commercialisation and may lead to hermeneutical injustices with, as Fricker (2007) emphasises, harmful effects. As Chapter 5 showed, such intellectual enclosures are visible in multiple honeybush patents. For all patents described there is an absence of collaborations with communities or

traditional knowledge holders in the exploration of honeybush use in cosmetics, health, food, and alcohol industries.

A contemporary task in NTFP use, research, and commercialisation is in enabling equity and sustainability. Although such goals are a preoccupation of many global environmental governance forums, there are, in practice and within these forums, hierarchies of knowledge. That is, "science" is considered to hold more value, and other knowledges and knowers compete for legitimacy with and within so-called "western" science systems (Zurba & Papadopoulos, 2023). As Löfmarck and Lidskog (2016) report, global platforms such as the IPBES face difficulties dealing with contrasting rationalities and knowledge forms, collaborations grounded on the demands set by a scientific format, and the unresolved role of traditional knowledge holders in science. Applying the epistemic exclusion framework makes it comprehensible to see harm and identify whether the intervention is appropriate or to what extent the shift is being made towards equity rather than toward less targeted equity and social justice, which is a problem in NTFP social justice literature that has long been identified, since Neumann and Hirsch's (2000) landmark study on the review of NTFP commercialisation.

### **9.3.3 Social dimension of exclusion**

Social exclusion is the actual and symbolic exclusion of certain segments of the population from material and social resources. It is an exclusion that happens when a society exhibits a degree of integration from which certain groups of people may be systematically excluded (Room, 2000; Vranken, 2001). As the results of this study shows, structural inequalities resulting from history and the lived experiences of racial and economic exclusions have had considerable impact on marginalised groups' participation in the honeybush value chain and industry development activities in both the colonial and democratic regimes. There are many forms of social exclusion, but two were important for this study, namely territorial and economic exclusion. Territorial exclusion entails "spaces with limited opportunity for social involvement, lack of geographical mobility or control over one's

environment”, and economic exclusion means “lack of access to income or material resources required to meet basic needs” (Greiner & Guberman, 2009: 118). Territorial and economic exclusion are interlinked in their impact on marginalising Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people in the study area and affecting their participation in the value chain. Territorial and economic exclusion are linked to the land exclusions discussed above, drawing attention to the relationship between the landlessness and placelessness of marginalised groups in formalised markets and/or capital accumulation opportunities in the region that derives income from timber logging, NTFPs, and commercial agriculture.

Despite social exclusion and structural inequalities, harvesters, traders, and producers were able to navigate various barriers of entry to the value chain. The barriers of entry into NTFP value chains include lack of market access, land rights, and security of tenure, infrastructure, information, and access to credit and markets (Schreckenberget al., 2006; Cunningham, 2011). However, acquiring these structural/relational and rights-based mechanisms of access from a subordinated position may take time or may not materialise, leading to livelihoods and income being compromised during early stages of market integration. Such impacts were observed and reported by harvesters who were affected by the increasing integration of honeybush into export markets. Similar findings emerged from Cleaver (2005), who conclude in her ethnographic study in Tanzania that interlocking disadvantages made it unlikely for communities to productively draw from social capital with intervening local institutions. The relations with intervening local institutions reinforced exclusion. Similar impacts of NTFPs market integration have been observed elsewhere; for instance, with argan oil in Morocco where poorer traders and producers were excluded from the market because they could not afford the processing technology (Lybbert & Elabed, 2013). The literature on NTFPs has often questioned the policy propositions that export markets are for the benefit of the poor by arguing that when local value chains are replaced by global markets, the poor fail to participate because of a lack of specialised resources and elite capture (Wynberg et al., 2003, 2015; Shackleton et al., 2007).

### **9.3.4 Institutionalised dimension of exclusion**

According to Oleinik (2012: 154), institutional exclusion “means the alienation of ordinary people from government and their inability to rely on the law and official procedures when being engaged in everyday activities”. The government laws instead favour politicians, businessmen and bureaucrats in contrast ordinary people are excluded from favour. Two forms of institutional exclusion emerged, market exclusion, and regulatory exclusion.

#### **9.3.4.1 Market exclusion**

Market exclusion encompasses a range of mechanisms that deny certain individuals access to market opportunities and fair treatment within the market (Saatcioglu & Ozanne, 2013). It can also be a result of social exclusion and poor connectivity, which creates a distance between an individual and the given market (Zohir, 2014). In this study, I observed various forms of market exclusion, but they mainly were in the form of displacement of the traditional local market by gradual processes of value chain upgrading for international market integration. The displacement is consistent with the literature on NTFPs that points out that the introduction of export-oriented markets and commercialisation displaces local trade systems and livelihoods for poorer households (Shackleton & Shackleton, 2004; Shackleton et al., 2007; Shackleton et al., 2011), with small enterprises lacking the specialised innovations and product quality standards for global value chains (Cunningham, 2011; Nakanyete et al., 2023). The literature suggests a few factors that underly this displacement, including elite capture (Cavendish, 2000; Paumgarten & Shackleton, 2009) and a shift to cultivation requiring new skills and resources (Van Niekerk & Wynberg, 2012; Wynberg & van Niekerk, 2013). Others have linked displacement by NTFP commercialisation to coloniality, suggesting that communities have been long overlooked in the commercial benefits from natural resources because of loss of control over their territories, collection, and trade of forest produce. The loss of control has led to a takeover by the governing elite and private entrepreneurs as actors who direct and receive commercial benefits (Michon & de Foresta, 1996). In addition to elite capture and other factors, the loss of control over honeybush trade

because of the market upgrading processes displaced a wide group of people. Like the perspective taken by Michon and de Foresta (1996), the history of the honeybush growing regions suggest that the profitable use of natural resources has seldom benefited local communities, and honeybush is no exception. During the time of data collection, such impact was still crisp to Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people, and this study articulates this impact as a form of market resettlement by assimilation into state-inclusive export-oriented value chains.

#### **9.3.4.2 Regulatory exclusion: Laws, concessions, and policies**

Regulations play an important role in institutional exclusion in the context of natural resource use. Institutional exclusion is observed as a form of assimilative inclusions that legalise an illegality in institutions of conservation, landownership, and NTFP commercialisation that historically marginalised Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people. This included the legalisation of ambient exclusions by devolution and CBNRM access mechanisms. Another example is in the facilitation of epistemic justice by legalising 'traditional' knowledge exclusion from 'modernised' property rights systems, and by legitimising beneficiaries based on indigeneity or custom. As observed by West (2012: 22), while ABS is an internationally recognised tool for integrating local communities and Indigenous knowledge holders into property rights systems and benefits from the commercialised genetic material, it can also be a structure for "institutionalising the absence of property rights for traditional knowledge holders". Mamdani (1996) speaks of institutional segregation as one of the tools of colonialism to keep "uncivilised natives" from modern economic benefits. Talking in the context of the repressive South African regime and debates about the Indigenous majority versus the white minority, he postulates that "the way to stabilise racial domination (territorial segregation) is to ground it in a politically enforced system of ethnic pluralism (institutional segregation) so that everyone, victims no less than beneficiaries [of the modern economy], may appear as minorities", which is a system that Jan Smuts advised worked better if beneficiaries of the system "prevent as much as possible the detachment of the native from his tribal connexion, and to enforce from the very start the system of segregation with

its conservation of separate native institutions” (Mamdani, 1996: 6). This line of thinking persists in well-meaning solutions to questions related to the protection of customary rights, livelihoods, and cultures against capitalism, and its exploitative western systems such as Intellectual Property Rights and global NTFP value chains. West (2012) begins to complicate these well-meaning arguments by approaching them with an institutional exclusion lens.

This section discussed four dimensions of exclusion that inform strategies that actors use to control and maintain access to their benefit and the disadvantage of others. These strategies of exclusion are ambient, prohibition, assimilation, licenced, intimate, epistemic, spatial, economic, market, and regulatory exclusions. These strategies do not work in a vacuum but have specific powers and are contested and consented under certain power relations that actors exploit to secure control and benefit from resources and development opportunities.

#### **9.4 Conclusion: Re-conceptualising marginalisation in NTFP commercialisation for transformative biodiversity economies**

By using varied conceptualisations of exclusion, the study aimed to improve understandings of how disadvantage is experienced in the honeybush sector and to suggest approaches that may lead to more transformative biodiversity-based economies.

On the ground (local levels), access struggles are embedded in environmental conflict and exclusion. Marginalisation therefore predominantly occurs because of unequal distribution of property rights and various forms of structural inequalities, but predominantly in economic and spatial forms. This component is where access struggles are often framed, with social and land-based dimensions of exclusion being at the root causes of unequal control and maintenance relations between actors.

Accounting for strategies of exclusion beyond the local level is significant for highlighting non-material forms of subordination and dispossession in

commercialisation. Exclusions at the knowledge production, innovations, and product upgrading schema of the commercialisation process affect marginalised actors and create new marginalities during market integration but in an invisible way that resembles cultural violence in the NTFP commercialisation processes. Cultural violence is linked to structural violence because both form part of Galtung's (1990) three-legged conceptualisation of violence and peace. Cultural violence is any aspect of culture that legitimises violence. It is "the symbolic sphere of our existence, exemplified by religion and ideology, language and art, empirical science and formal science (logic, mathematics), that can be used to justify or legitimise direct or structural violence" (Galtung, 1990: 291). The cultural violence legitimises access hierarchies that perpetually exclude those who are at the margins of the natural products sector. The legitimised access hierarchies are sustained in commercialisation through institutional power (i.e., markets and resource use laws), epistemic power, and epistemic exclusion.

## CHAPTER 10

### CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I present the main contributions and recommendations of this thesis. I used the honeybush shrub (*Cyclopia* spp.), a NTFP endemic to South Africa, as a lens to examine how, if at all, marginalised groups benefit from honeybush commercialisation, and the extent to which historical strategies of exclusion configure access mechanisms for participation in the value chain. This was done by exploring strategies of exclusion in commercialisation to critique interventions that are implemented to integrate marginalised actors in biodiversity-based economies. I then analysed the extent to which the interventions addressed the exclusions. I used the access control and access maintenance analytical framework of the theory of access to study exclusion, and in doing so, I grounded the study in the environmental conflicts and exclusion thesis of political ecology. The case study of honeybush was used as a lens, and the data collection was conducted in the Garden Route and Langkloof regions of South Africa. In the following sections, I discuss the conclusions in relation to the research objectives outlined in Chapter 1, section 1.3.

#### **10.1 Objective 1: To identify key actors involved in the honeybush sector in the colonial, apartheid, and democratic regimes**

This objective was addressed within the theoretical frame of access control and access maintenance. The state, colonial botanists and merchants, and scientists were deeply involved in making honeybush a plant of value in South Africa's repressive regime, with white private landowners considered "locals" with knowledge of the resource. The state-controlled access to use and trade of honeybush beyond the local markets. Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people had a strong involvement in the honeybush sector during the repressive regime as they had control over the local market; however, they had to maintain their access to the resource through the state and private landowners and were excluded from making honeybush a plant of economic value.

In the democratic regime, the state, the private sector, and scientists have had a strong institutionalised involvement in honeybush commercialisation at both local and global levels and have intentionally included Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people in the honeybush sector as a form of redress. Importantly, the involvement of Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people has weakened in the democratic regime, and they have no control over trade, and almost no rights to the resource. Therefore, Coloured, Black, and Indigenous people's position in access maintenance has been strengthened.

## **10.2 Objective 2: To identify exclusions and determine exclusionary factors in honeybush use from the vantage point of marginalised actors**

The main exclusions in the history of honeybush commercialisation have linked to land, discourse, social, economic, and institutionalised dimensions of exclusion. These exclusions collude in structuring access control and maintenance hierarchies in NTFP commercialisation. Problematically, since the inception of the CBD in 1992 and related global treaties, there has been a focus on the inclusion of marginalised actors in the commercial exploitation of NTFPs without attending to the visible, invisible, and hidden forms of power that are embedded in the colonial economic system that they seek to rectify. This inclusion has instead assimilated marginalised actors into what is designed to dispossess, exclude, and appropriate without recompense, leading to equity and justice-seeking solutions that exclude by incorporation. This assimilation into colonial commercialisation has, ironically, empowered the systems and actors that were central to historical marginalisations in biodiversity-based economies, and has disempowered marginalised actors that are being incorporated. As Foucault (2015) suggests, assimilation is exclusion because assimilating entails neutralising unwanted characteristics of that which is being included. As demonstrated in this thesis, neo-exclusion inclusions in biodiversity-based economies have been assimilative and have therefore become a form of exclusion. For the CBD and related treaties to deal with such exclusions,

attention must be paid to the compromised ability of marginalised actors to benefit from equity and justice interventions.

### **10.3 Objective 3: To contribute to biodiversity policies by exploring the relationship between historic strategies of exclusion and frameworks designed to transform biodiversity-based economies**

The frameworks and/or approaches implemented by the state under the BEOP aim to address the skewed racial representation in the historically white-dominated biodiversity-based natural products sector. However, these approaches ignore other forms of dispossession that are contingent on histories of conservation, land distribution, and science hegemony. In this way, biodiversity-based economies are being transformed through a process of making economies of dispossession (Byrd et al., 2018) accessible to marginalised groups rather than transforming them in ways that can deliver redress and emancipation in the commercial use of biodiversity. The honeybush case presents a microcosm of the profound inequalities that are experienced in South Africa at large. Through the honeybush case study, I show that the radical and transformative intervention by the state to fast-track the inclusion of marginalised groups in the economic exploitation of NTFPs has been an incremental, technical, and ineffectual 'fix' to address inequalities that are a symptom of economies of dispossession that remain unchanged. Therefore, while addressing racial inequality and attending to the epidemic of joblessness in and through biodiversity enterprises, the continuing but shapeshifting role of colonialism and racial capitalism responsible for marginality continue to be ignored in policy and NTFP rural development projects.

#### **10.4 Objective 4: To analyse access control and maintenance hierarchies to reveal ways in which marginalised actors maintain access to honeybush benefits**

The findings of this study suggest that those who administer access to the honeybush value chain from resource to market and epistemic levels will always have the power to exclude others, and thus, maintain their benefits from commercialisation. The same exclusions that grant power to exclude keep marginalised actors in a subordinate state. Unless these power imbalances are addressed, some actors will always accumulate power from the exclusion of others by virtue of controlling and directing their ability to benefit. Where there are entrenched exclusions, marginalised actors are forced to rely more on precarious relational and structural mechanisms to maintain access to things.

#### **10.5 Objective 5 and Main contributions**

By taking a longitudinal view of exclusion and access through incorporating a wide historical perspective on honeybush commercialisation, I provided a situated explanation of how access, power relations, and exclusions have changed over time. The longitudinal view led me to use a political economy approach in the analysis of the data pertaining to benefits and their distribution among actors. The study contributes to the theory of access by adding a perspective on the precarity of structural and relational mechanisms of access in contexts where legal rights are denied over long periods. The study also contributes by adding epistemic power as a mechanism of access.

The fifth objective was to contribute knowledge to the access control and access maintenance analytical framework of Peluso and Ribot's theory of access (Ribot & Peluso, 2003; Peluso & Ribot, 2020) by incorporating exclusion and extending the role of exclusion as one of the powers actors use to control access to the benefits of NTFP commercialisation. This provided an analytic frame to identify and understand value chain relations that create subordinating hierarchies of benefits.

The study revealed how property and rights-based mechanisms of access are privileged over the structural and relational mechanisms if benefits are to be sustained over long periods. Property plays a significant role in determining who controls other actors' access to benefits and who maintains access through those with property rights, including land and traded resources. Relying on structural and relational access mechanisms over a longer period creates access hierarchies that are based on subordination. These hierarchies also generate authority for those who give access in contexts where those with property and those without remain the same over periods of time. The cases in this thesis revealed that actors can maintain access without property for centuries, proving that actors can benefit from things without having rights to them. On the other hand, without property, actors can lose access at any point with significant consequences to livelihoods. This finding contributes to access debates on 'rights' to benefit from things (legal/rights-based access) and the 'ability' or power to benefit from things (structural/relational).

Exclusion has an intrinsic relationship with power, which shapes the diverse ways people can be prevented from benefiting from NTFPs. Therefore, I identify epistemic power as one of the mechanisms of access that allows actors to control the discourse, and therefore, 'discipline' the behaviour that is acceptable for the value chain. Lastly, I conducted this research at an opportune time when the state was assembling different actors and corporate support to develop an emerging honeybush industry. Upon noticing and learning of the shortage of socially and politically oriented research amid studies that respond directly to the needs of the sector, I conducted research that captured the standpoint of the communities. Through this process, this study contributes a social history of honeybush and provides perspectives that are timely and imperative for the national biodiversity economy initiatives being implemented in the context of the redressive state of South Africa.

The study concludes that marginalised actors in postcolonial and infant democracies engage in NTFP trade and access natural resources within structurally violent conditions. I therefore conclude that socio-economic transformation of biodiversity-based economies must be preceded by emancipatory transformation.

Such an approach would both enable and burden the state and non-state actors to simultaneously address structural and systemic exclusions, thus facilitating change. I suggest the adoption of a complementary pathways framework that takes diverse knowledges, politics, and plural pathways seriously. Building on a layered concept of exclusion, the study showed how the unresolved colonial enclosures of land, natural resources, epistemologies, and economies in postcolonial and new democracies like South Africa prevent many biodiversity custodians from benefiting from the commercial use of NTFPs. Therefore, I argue for a discourse shift away from Eurocentric critical perspectives on inequalities that focus on class struggles and social welfare interventions as benefits for the 'poverty stricken Global South'. Typically, such processes evade non-welfare issues such as ethno-cultural-racial struggles. Going beyond a class and poverty narrative in the critique of resource and benefit distribution in NTFP value chains could open the field conceptually. The findings underscore the importance of a historical lens to unravel dynamics in access mechanisms. They also reveal the importance of land and epistemic justice if equity is to be achieved in the global trade of plants of value.

Benefit models that support the dual existence of profitable global markets while retaining a 'pro-poor and green' or less extractive stance risk being tone deaf and ahistorical to the tactics of economic subordination. Mamdani (1996) is concerned about how, in defending local systems and marginalised groups and looking for alternatives to capitalistic production, the focus may be on how native institutions were destroyed. In the process, it is forgotten that this was not a simple replacement because it involved a systemic subordination in property rights, economic freedom, and agency. Alternatives to capitalistic production in NTFP value chains may thus need to be interrogated against the risk of maintaining systemic subordination in property rights, economic freedom, and agency that replicate the development of the apartheid system.

## 10.6 Future Research

The theory of access is seldom, if at all, used in literature to study exclusion, yet its concept of access retains an empirical focus on 'who does' and 'who does not' get to benefit from things, with a focus on the former. Peluso and Ribot (2020) in their response to links between access and exclusion state that the power to exclude is one of the means that actors use to mediate access. With some exceptions (e.g. Hall et al., 2011), Meyers and Hansen (2020), in a systematic review of the application of access theory, note that few studies make explicit links between access theory and exclusion. Exclusion must be applied as an integral part of the analytical framework of the theory of access since the theory is essentially also a theory of exclusion. This can also benefit research and policy on exclusion beyond natural resources and conservation.

Empirical research on the socio-political aspects of NTFPs continues to be uncommon, particularly in Africa, with most research centring poverty, contemporary livelihoods, conservation and economic vulnerabilities. This gap has long been recognised as a gap in NTFP literature (Neuman & Hirsch, 2000; Peluso, 2009); however, there are some exceptions predominantly from Asia and Brazil that focus on longitudinal and socio-political aspects (Dove, 1993, 1995, 2011; Scoones, 1993; Peluso, 2009; Tsing, 2015; Ives, 2017). More studies are needed that are longitudinal, ethnographic, and historically grounded to enable context-specific NTFP commercialisation policies.

Approaching NTFP research with a postcolonial and intersectional theoretical lens may be beneficial in the analysis of benefit distribution and associated marginalisation.

The literature and policy on biodiversity-based economies may benefit from empirical case studies that analyse ways in which different pillars of justice such as recognition, distributive, retributive and procedural justice are recognised. This is critical for moving benefit sharing discourse beyond distributive fairness deliberations.

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# APPENDICES LIST

## APPENDIX 1: ETHICAL CLEARANCE: UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



**UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN**  
IYUNIVESITHI YASEKAPA • UNIVERSITEIT VAN KAAPSTAD

**Faculty of Science**  
University of Cape Town  
Rondebosch  
South Africa 7701

**Email:** [shari.day@uct.ac.za](mailto:shari.day@uct.ac.za)

28 February 2019

Sthembile Ndwandwe  
Department of Environmental and Geographical Sciences

**RE: How does scaling-up of commercial trade affect community participation in the natural products sector?**

Dear Sthembile Ndwandwe

I am pleased to inform you that the Faculty of Science Research Ethics Committee has approved the above-named application for research ethics clearance, subject to the conditions listed below.

- Implement the measures described in your application to ensure that the process of your research is ethically sound; and
- Uphold ethical principles throughout all stages of the research, responding appropriately to unanticipated issues: please contact me if you need advice on ethical issues that arise.

Your approval code is: **FSREC 17 - 2019**

I wish you success in your research.

Yours sincerely

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Shari Daya'.

**Dr Shari Daya**  
Deputy Chair: Faculty of Science Research Ethics Committee

Cc: A/Prof Rachel Wynberg (Supervisor)

## APPENDIX 2: LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

### 2A: HARVESTERS

AREA	CODE	YEAR
Joubertina	Resource Assessment/Day 1	26/06/19
Joubertina	Resource Assessment/Day 2	01/07/19
Joubertina (Misgund)	Harvest team leader 1	15/08/19
Joubertina (Krakeelrivier)	Harvest team leader 2	27/11/19
Haarlem	Harvest team leader 3	19/11/19
Haarlem	Harvest team leader 4	10/10/19
Haarlem	Harvest team leader 5	29/11/19
Uniondale (Harvests in Langkloof)	Harvest team leader 6	16/11/19
Joubertina (Ravinia)	Harvest team leader 7	22/10/19
Joubertina (Tweeriviere)	Harvest team leader 9	08/09/19
Joubertina (Tweeriviere)	NGO-honeybush harvesters	10/09/19
Joubertina (Heights)	Harvest team leader 10	21/10/2021

## 2B: OU-TEEMAKERS

<b>AREA</b>	<b>PARTICIPANT CODE</b>	<b>DATE</b>
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 1	28/05/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 2	29/03/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 3	30/03/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 4	08/04/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 5	13/04/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 6	13/04/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 7	16/04/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 8	12/05/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 9	25/05/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 10	26/05/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 11	04/06/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 12	07/06/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 13	23/06/21
Haarlem	Ou-teemaker 14	09/10/19
Tweeriviere	Ou-teemaker 15	12/09/19

## 2C: KEY INFORMANTS FROM VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS

<b>PARTICIPANT AFFILIATION/CLASSIFICATION</b>	<b>CODE</b>	<b>YEAR</b>
Small Medium Micro Enterprises (SMME)	Honeybush SMMEs Key informant 1	29/03/21
SMMEs	Honeybush SMMEs Key informant 2	23/04/21
Rastafarians	Rastafarians key informant	23/04/21
Local communities	Local key informant 2	26/05/21
Local communities	Local key informant 3	09/06/21
Women's group	Women's group key informant	29/06/21
Communities/Church land	Haarlem Farmers Association	08/09/21
SAHTA	SAHTA	29/11/21
Tsitsikamma & Traditional Authorities	Local key informant 6	14/7/21
Local communities	Local key informant 7	8/10/19
Local communities	Local key informant 1	10/10/19
Government	Government 2	16/04/19
Government	Government 3	02/03/20
Industry	Industry key informant 1	15/03/19
Government	Government 4	13/03/19
Honeybush projects	KOUNED key informant	11/09/19
Researcher	Key informant 9	19/08/19
Farmers	Key informant commercial farms	17/10/19
Communities	Local key informant 8	26/11/19
NGO	NGO-honeybush	05/12/19
Government	Government 1	02/12/19
ARC	Parastatal 1	24/04/19
SANBI	Parastatal 2	11/19

## 2D: COOPERATIVES, COMPANIES, TRADERS, PROCESSORS, SMMEs

	<b>INSTITUTION</b>	<b>CODE</b>	<b>YEAR</b>
1	ARC SMMEs	SMME 2	15/09/22
2	ARC SMMEs	SMME 1	26/10/21
3	ARC SMMEs	SMME member 1	29/03/21
4	ARC SMMEs	SMME member 2	04/06/21
5	ARC SMMEs	SMME member 3	26/05/21
6	ARC SMMEs	SMME member 4	11/05/21
7	ARC SMMEs	SMME member 5	11/05/21
8	ARC SMMEs	SMME member 6	25/05/21
9	ARC SMMEs	SMME member 7	21/07/21
10	Cooperatives	Cooperative 1	13/03/19
11	Cooperatives	Cooperative 2	12/08/19
12	Cooperatives	SMME 3 (change this to Cooperative 3)	07/08/19
13	Cooperatives	Cooperative member 1	19/11/19
14	Cooperatives	Cooperative member 2	21/11/19
15	Cooperatives	Cooperative	11/10/19
16	Companies/Traders	Company 1	28/11/19
17	Processing facility	Company 2	18/08/19
18	Processing facility	Company 3	11/09/19
19	Processing facility	Company 4	02/12/19
20	Processing facility	Company 5	13/03/19
21	ARC SMMEs	SMME 3	9/10/19

## 2E: STATE AND NON-STATE LANDOWNER

	<b>INSTITUTION</b>	<b>CODE</b>	<b>DATE</b>
1	Commercial Forestry	Forestry official	28/11/22
2	Commercial farm	Emerging Farmer 1	23/04/21
3	Commercial farm	Emerging Farmer 2	05/05/21
4	State communal land	CPA 2	21/10/21
5	Private communal land	CPA 3	27/04/21
6	Commercial farm	Farmer 6	05/11/21
7	Conservation Agencies	Conservation 1	23/09/21
8	National Park	Conservation 2	26/10/21
9	Commercial farm	Farmer 1	12/09/19
10	Commercial farm	Farmer 2	1/10/19
11	Commercial farm	Farmer 3	20/11/19
12	Commercial farm	Emerging Farmer 4	24/10/19
13	Commercial farm	Farmer 4	29/11/19
14	State communal land	CPA 1	13/09/19
15	Commercial farm	Farmer 5	17/10/19
16	Commercial farm	Emerging Farmer 3	25/09/19

## APPENDIX 3 GUIDING INTERVIEW QUESTIONS:

### APPENDIX 3A-3D

#### 3A: HARVESTERS GUIDING QUESTIONS.

	THEMATIC QUESTIONS	INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS
1	Please tell me more about yourself and harvest group	When was the group formed?
		When did different harvesters join the group?
		Are there harvesters who have changed groups and what causes a shift in between groups?
		How did members of the group become a harvester?
2	Please tell me more about how your honeybush trade is organized	Do you work with a specific company, or do you sell to more than one trader, and why?
		Do you transport the tea yourself as a group straight to the processing plant?
		How is the payment for your harvested material/work organized? if you are comfortable with sharing the actual/estimated amount paid to you as a harvester, please share.
3	What honeybush plants do you harvest and why?	
4	How did the team members come to know about honeybush?	Did you grow up knowing what honeybush is? if yes, how was that knowledge shared with you?
		Do you harvest other plants other than honeybush?
		Before you became a honeybush harvester, did you spend time in the bush or mountains or forest area where you now find honeybush, and why?
5	How do new team members join the group?	Is there a process that the members go through in order to join the team?
6	Please tell me more about your knowledge and/or involvement in sustainable harvesting guidelines	Were you involved in the development of sustainable harvesting guidelines?
		Would you say that you needed the guidelines to perform your role as a harvester?
		Do you use the guidelines and why?
		Is there a difference in the way you are harvesting now that you have the guidelines compared to how you harvested before?
7	Please tell me more about how you access the land that you harvest?	How do you access the land currently?
		How did you access the land before?
8	Please tell me more about your family origins	Were you born in this Township, if not, please elaborate?
9	Please tell me more about your other means of income	What other jobs/income-generating activities are you involved in?
		How significant is the income from your job as a harvester compared to other income streams?
10	Is there anything that I have missed that you would like to share?	

### 3B: FARMERS/LANDOWNERS GUIDING QUESTIONS.

	THEMATIC QUESTION	INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS
1	Please tell me more about yourself, and your day as a honeybush farmer/farmer in general	What do you do and how long have you been involved in your current role?
		How long have you been living in the Langkloof?
		What is your typical day to day activities?
2	Please tell me more about your involvement in honeybush cultivation	For how long you have been farming with honeybush, if possible, please specify a year(s)?
		What were your reasons for farming with honeybush?
		What other wild plants and/or types of farming are you involved in?
		How much of your land is under honeybush cultivation, and please take me through how you decided on using that land size?
		Which honeybush species are you farming with?
3	What inputs and equipment did you require for starting-up cultivation, and thereafter for maintaining your honeybush plot?	Do you apply fertilisers and are these organic or inorganic? please state how your use of fertilisers has changed over the years.
		Do you apply pesticides and are these organic or inorganic? please state how your use of pesticides has changed over the years.
		Do you apply herbicides and are these organic or inorganic? please state how your use of herbicides has changed over the years.
4		How do you source your seeds?
		Other than seeds, what other planting materials do you use, and has this changed over the years?
		Do you use any machinery or equipment in your honeybush plot, if yes, would you please list them?
		Is your plot irrigated or rainfed? if irrigated, how do you access irrigation water?
		Do you require labour other than yourself, if yes, how much labour is required?
5	Please give me an overview of your costs of production from starting-up to where your production is currently at	What were your startup costs? Please list them in the order of importance
		Are you able to give estimates of how much your inputs and equipment cost? if yes, please give costs for fertilisers, herbicides, pesticides, planting material/seeds, and equipment?
		Are you able to give estimates or the actual value of the amount of honeybush you have produced? if yes, please state how many times you have harvested your cultivated honeybush, and tonnes you have produced in each cycle of production.
		With all costs considered, would you say honeybush cultivation is profitable?
		How have you financed your costs of production over the years (if have been producing for more than once cycle)?
6	Please tell me more about how you access markets and/or kinds of markets you have access to	Do you sell your material straight to processing plants or through traders?
		Are your buyers local (i.e. from the landscape) or from outside the Langkloof (other provinces or overseas)?

		Are you targeting specific markets i.e. Organic, Fairtrade, etc.?
		How did you get access to your market(s)?
<b>7</b>	Do you also supply wild honeybush material?	What are the names of wild species that you supply?
		Is the wild material sourced from your field? if not, please state how it sourced?
		For how long you have been supplying wild honeybush, if possible, please specify a year(s)?
		Do you sell your wild material in the same markets as your cultivated material, if not, please tell me more about markets for your wild material?
		Do you source Harvesters/Harvester groups to harvest your material or do you use your farm labour?
		Did you take part in the development of wild harvesting guidelines, if yes, what are your perceptions of the guidelines or anything you would like to say regarding sustainable harvesting?
<b>8</b>	Please tell me more about your understanding of Access & Benefit Sharing (ABS)	Have you been involved in the conversations about ABS? if yes, please elaborate.
		Do you have the Access and Benefit Sharing Agreement permit, or are you considering applying for it?
		What is your perception of ABS, in your opinion, do you think it is feasible?
		Other than ABS, are there other legal frameworks that you have to abide with for honeybush trade?
<b>9</b>	What sorts of honeybush networks do you have access to or involved in?	Do you work with any NGOs, Researchers, Government, and Companies etc?
		Are you aware of the South African Honeybush Tea Association, if yes, are you a member?
		How have you sourced knowledge on honeybush cultivation, trade, harvesting, etc.?
		Is there anything that you would like to add regarding networks that I could have missed?
<b>10</b>	Please tell me about the many challenges and/or opportunities you have faced as a honeybush farmer and/or a supplier of wild material	
<b>11</b>	Is there anything I have missed that you would like to add in our conversation?	

### 3C: COMPANIES AND TRADERS GUIDING QUESTIONS

	THEMATIC QUESTION	INTERVIEW GUIDING QUESTIONS
1	Please tell me more about yourself and your role in honeybush trade	How did you get involved in this role?
		For how long you have been involved in this role?
		What are your responsibilities in this role?
2	Please tell me more about the company's involvement in the natural products sector	How was the company formed?
		What is the company's geographic scope of trade locally, and overseas if applicable?
		Other than honeybush, does the company trade other species, if yes, could you please list them, if not, why?
		What kind of support and/or resources did you require to get involved in the natural products sector?
3	Please give me an overview of how the company works with other companies, partners, government, NGOs, etc. in the honeybush trade	For how long the company has been involved in honeybush trade?
		Which Actors do you work within South Africa, and in what capacity do you work with them?
		Are there any local and national honeybush governance structures you participate in and/or your company has relations with, if yes, in what way?
		Which international Actors do you work with, and in what capacity do you work with them?
		In the years that your company has been operating, when did you start working with the Actors you have mentioned?
		Have you received any support from the government or any other institutions?
		Do you work with people from the Townships/Rural settlements, if yes, in what way?
		In what capacity are you involved in conversations and/or collective actions towards the development of honeybush trade?
4	Please give me an overview of how you source your honeybush material	Do you source wild material in the Eastern or Western Cape, or in both provinces?
		Which species do you source, and why?
		Where do you source these species in terms of locations?
		What kinds of regulations do you adhere to in sourcing your material?
		How you go about harvesting the material in the wild?
		Do you work with harvesters, if yes, how many and how are they organized?
		Do you use cultivated material, if yes, which species?
		Where do you source your cultivated material?
5	Please tell me more about how the company works with Townships/Rural areas where you source your material	What kinds of opportunities can people from Townships/Rural areas around you access from your company?

		How do people get to know or access these opportunities?
		How are wild resource suppliers i.e. harvesters remunerated?
		How are cultivated material suppliers remunerated?
<b>6</b>	If applicable, please tell me more about the differences you have observed between cultivated and wild material	What is the difference in terms of tea content quality?
		What is the difference in terms of ease of sourcing?
		How do you ensure sustainable sourcing of wild material?
		Do adhere to any sustainability standards for your cultivated resource?
		Are you part of or planning to be involved in Certification schemes, and why?
		Is there a trading price difference between wild and cultivated honeybush?
<b>7</b>	Please tell me more about the profitability of honeybush to your company	In which levels of the value chain is the company involved?
		Which parts of the value chain are profitable, and why?
		How is the price determined at different levels of the value chain?
		Do you do inhouse value-adding, please explain the process from receipt of raw material?
		Where do you distribute or sell your material?
<b>8</b>	Please tell me more about Access & Benefit Sharing, and legal frameworks	Do you have a BABS permit, if yes, how was the process of obtaining it?
		How does your company pay ABS fees?
		What is your perspective on ABS?
		Are there any other kinds of laws the company adheres to besides ABS, permits, and certifications?
<b>9</b>	Please tell me more about your understanding of how the landscape where your traded honeybush grows is governed	Have you witnessed any change in the land use, if yes, in what way?
		Have you noticed new companies, NGOs and other structures coming into the landscape, if so, when did you notice this?
		How are the Township/Rural dweller locals perceived or use the landscape in relation to other locals, and in what way does this affect your honeybush trade?

### 3D Generic guiding questions for government and key informants

	Questions	Guiding questions
1	Please tell me more about yourself	What do you do and how long have you been involved in your current role?
		What is your typical day to day activities?
2	Please tell me more about your institution's involvement in honeybush	How is your institution/organization involved in honeybush use?
3	How is your permit system set-up (if any)?	How long has the system been there, how does it work, why is it there
		What types of honeybush permit do you administer
		Is there a fee associated with a permit
4	How much land is under your administration in the Langkloof and Garden route area?	Please provide an estimate or exact value if possible or supplementary documents to the interview
5	Please tell me more about how you work with local communities	Are there systems in place to ensure access to honeybush
		What are challenges you have observed regarding local communities' access to honeybush
6	What policy framework or legislation does your institution have regarding community participation and access to natural resources?	Is there a specific policy or law that guide your work with communities?
7	Please tell me more about your understanding of Access & Benefit Sharing (ABS)	Have you been involved in the conversations about ABS? if yes, please elaborate.
8	What institutions and/or networks do you work with or have influence in your work	Do you work with any NGOs, Researchers, Government, and Companies etc.? if possible, please name them.
9	Please tell me about any other challenges and/or opportunities you have come across in regulating or conducting your role in honeybush regulation	
10	Is there anything I have missed that you would like to add into our conversation?	

## APPENDIX 4 ATTENDED STAKEHOLDER MEETINGS AND ENGAGED SCHOLARSHIP ENGAGEMENTS.

<b>MEETING</b>	<b>ROLE/SIGNIFICANCE</b>	<b>LOCATION</b>	<b>DATE</b>
Honeybush Community of Practice	Meeting actors in the biodiversity economy sector. Informal scoping conversations to design the study.	Eastern Cape province	8 May 2018
Honeybush Community of Practice	Trace	Western Cape province	7 August 2018
Honeybush Community of Practice	Present the PhD proposal and receive feedback from the community of practice and find gaps and needs for the sector.	Eastern Cape province	6 November 2018
Honeybush Community of Practice	Informal scoping conversations for data collection. Meeting with Living Lands to discuss research synergy.	Western Cape province	19 February 2019
Aloe Biodiversity Management Plan	Meeting actors in the biodiversity economy sector. Informal scoping conversations for data collection.	Western Cape province	19 June 2019
Honeybush Biodiversity Management Plan	Trace	Western Cape province	20 June 2019
Honeybush Community of Practice	Informal interviews, participation in the community of practice.	Western Cape province Eastern Cape province	Post June 2019 to December 2022
Living Lands workshop	Cuttings workshop with landowners and harvesters - general observations & meeting actors outside interview setting.	Eastern Cape province	24 September 2019
Honeybush Community of Practice	Research feedback and preliminary results presentation.	Zoom meeting	17 November 2020
Honeybush Task Team on Transformation	Participated in the framing of objectives for aligning the honeybush sector to the National Biodiversity Strategy transformation objectives.	Zoom meeting	7 May 2021
Honeybush Task Team on Transformation	Participated in aligning the objectives of the honeybush transformation objectives and the newly established Honeybush Joint Action Group.	Zoom meeting	12 July 2021

South African Honeybush Tea Association	I presented to the board of the South African Honeybush Tea Association. The presentation was part of honeybush industry preparations for ABS negotiations meeting with the National Khoi and San Council. The presentation focused on socio-political elements of the industry and was titled "Not just a small industry: the socio-political meaning & symbolism of honeybush to 'communities.'"	Zoom meeting	27 July 2023
Publications	Forthcoming publication with Living Lands titled "Cultivation of honeybush ( <i>Cyclopia</i> spp.) in neo-colonial and multispecies landscapes of South Africa".	Anthropology Southern Africa	2024

# APPENDIX 5: MFENGU LETTER (ORIGINAL AND REPRODUCED COPY FOR TEXT VISIBILITY)

5A: Original copy



The dispossession of the Fingo people of Humansdorp-Esitsikama which took place more than five years ago over Christmas of 1977, is deeply engraved in the minds of the people and deeply resented.

Insult has now been added to injury by the state-aided sale to wealthy white farmers of land set aside in perpetuity for the Fingo people to be held in trust for them by the State.

Among those who have benefitted are.....

Hardship and hunger prevail at Blukhanyweni, the "place of light" or "civilised place" to which 426 families were moved against their will (Figures supplied by Dr Koornhof, Hansard Friday 11th June 1982, pages 9491 and 1992)

Average payments for dwellings of R420.88 (ranging from R30 to R2,945 and paid by the Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure) evaporated long ago. No compensation was paid for land since this was supposed to be held in trust by the state for the Fingos and their descendants.

From allotments of at least 4½ morgen of high-rainfall, fertile land, each resettled family now occupies a plot of 36 metres by 18 metres (120 feet by 60 feet)

Migrant workers who built their lives on the dream of retirement to a small farm in the country, now see their hopes dashed. One such man I know of - a decent, God-fearing, hard-working family man - says he cannot face the prospect of spending his retirement in a location in Ciskei, for that is what the "closer settlement" of Blukhanyweni is - a "location".

No compensation was paid for lost crops, for the forced sale of cattle or those that died in transfer. ~~No compensation could ever~~ Nothing could ever recompense families of old people and children who "died like flies" during the long, hot and dry summer of that removal when people lived in tents and the water tasted like jik.

The Government initially claimed the Fingos had been settled in an area that was ~~larger~~ <sup>set aside for their sole use</sup> larger by 6400 hectares than that from which they had been evicted and ~~from~~ <sup>which they were prohibited</sup> by presidential decree ~~from~~ <sup>from</sup> returning. When it was pointed out that they were not the sole occupiers as had been claimed, Dr Koornhof pointed out lamely that: "The fact of the matter is that originally that land was intended for them."

The Government was not deterred by the discrepancy between intention and actuality. It was equally unconcerned by the animosity engendered by the relocation of Fingos among long-time residents who regarded the newcomers with mistrust and suspicion.

4000  
-  
9000

According to a local estate agent at Jeffrey's Bay, farm land in 1982 sold at about R1000 a hectare while small holdings fetched R2000 a hectare. Therefore the value of Fingo small holdings ranged in value between R5000 and R8000. It is quite sobering to realise that property which could be transferred as family heritage from father to son, valued at R8000, was simply taken away and the only compensation given was as low in one case as R20. The Fingo ~~families~~ <sup>or not</sup> suffered irreparable damage and deprivation. The only people now benefiting are the white farmers who have been handed valuable property at state-subsidised prices. Who is paying? The Fingos are paying, the taxpayers are paying and inevitably we and our children will pay for this act of repacity that is not an isolated event but part and parcel of the homeland consolidation process.

Land Exchange.

There was a "paper exchange" of 4373,1912 hectares in Namansorp district for 1727,3122 hectares of land in 1980 by the S.A. Development Trust and decided for incorporation in Transkei.

Even Dr Voornhof admitted, in Parliament, that the exchange was a "legalism"

As far as the Bingen were concerned, this was a cynical move which did not meet the legal requirement of exchange of land of equal pastoral and agricultural value.

It was a sleight of hand, a fact on paper, a mirage.

LAND  
USE  
AND  
GRAZING

In reply to a complaint about lack of grazing, Dr F. Hartzburg, then Deputy Minister of Development, advised through his Administrative Secretary on 04/08/1970:

"People who own or occupy property of 20 morgen or less are resettled in townships or closer settlements. In such cases provision is not made for pasturage for livestock."

## 5B: Re-written copy of 5A

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The dispossession of the Fingo people of Humnsdorp-Tsitsikamma which took place more than five years ago over Christmas of 1977, is deeply engraved in the minds of the people and deeply resented.

Insult has now been added to injury by the state aided sale to wealthy white farmers of land set aside in perpetuity for the Fingo people to be held in trust for them by the state.

Among those who benefited are.....

Hardship and hunger prevail at Ekukhanyweni, the "place of light" or "civilised place" to which 426 families were moved against their will (Figures submitted by Dr Hoornhof, Hensard Friday 11th June 1982, pages 9491 and 1992).

Average payments for dwellings of R429.33 (ranging from R30 to R2,945 and paid by the Department of Agricultural Credit and Land Tenure) evaporated long ago. No compensation was paid for land since this was supposed to be held in trust by the state for the Fingos and their descendants.

From allotments of at least 4 1/2 morgen of high-rainfall, fertile land each resettled family now occupies a plot of 36 metres by 18 metres (120 feet by 60 feet).

Migrant workers who built their lives on the dream of retirement to a small farm in the country, now see their hopes dashed. One such man I know of .. a decent, God-fearing, hard-working family man - says he cannot face the prospect of spending his retirement in a location in Ciskei, for that is what the "closer settlement" of Ekukhanyweni is - a "location".

No compensation was paid for lost crops, for the forced sale of cattle or those that died in transfer. ~~No compensation could ever~~

Nothing could ever recompense families of old people and children who "died like flies" during the long, wet and dry summer of that removal when people lived in tents and the water tasted like jik.

The Government initially claimed the Fingos had been settled in an area set aside for their sole use that was larger by 3400 hectares than that from which they had been evicted and /~~from~~/ from which they were ~~prevented~~ prevented by presidential decree from ever ~~to~~ returning. When it was pointed out that they were not the sole occupiers as had been claimed, Dr Koornhof pointed out lamely that: "The fact of the matter is that originally that land was intended for that."

The Government was not deterred by the discrepancy between intention and actuality. It was equally unconcerned by the animosity engendered by the relocation of Fingos among long-time residents who regarded the newcomers with mistrust and suspicion.

According to a local [oriate] agent at Jeffrey's Bay, farm land in 1932 sold at about R1000 a hectare while small holdings fetched R2000 a hectare. Therefore the value of Fingo small holdings ranged in value between R8000 and R9000. It is quite sobering to realise that -

property which should be transferred as family heritage from father to son, valued at R9000, was simply taken away and the only compensation given was as low in one or more cases as R20. The Fingo families suffered irreparable damage and deprivation. The only people now benefiting are the white farmers who have been handed valuable property at state-subsidised prices.

Who is paying? The Fingos are paying, the taxpayers are paying and inevitably we and our children will pay for this act of rapacity that is not an isolated event but part and parcel of the homeland consolidation process.

#### Land use change

There was a (paper) exchange of 4372, 7212 hectares in Humansdorp district for [value] hectares of land near Queenstown [word not clear] held by the S.A. Development Trust destined for incorporation in Transkei.

Even Dr Koornhof admitted, in Parliament, that the exchange was a "legalism".

As far as the Fingos are concerned, this was a cynical move which did not meet the legal requirement of exchange of land of equal pastoral and agricultural value.

It was [sentence not readable]

#### LACK OF GRAZING

In reply to a complaint about lack of grazing, Dr F. Hartzenburg, then Deputy minister of Development, advised through his Administrative Secretary on 04/06/1979:

"People who own or occupy property of 20 morgen or less are resettled in townships or closer settlements. In such cases provision is not made for pasturage for livestock."

**APPENDIX 6 CASPAREUTHUS'S LETTER DATED  
4 APRIL 1907**

Favy Villas

Rosebank

April 15th 1907

Sir,

Through your kind introduction I had the opportunity of an interview with Mr Hannon regarding "Cyclobia Tea" but owing to his engagements and in the absence of Mr Hartley we could not go into the matter as fully as might be desired.

I desire to submit to you the lines which I consider to be most workable and beneficial to all concerned they are as follows:-

Owing to the different kinds of "Cyclobia" Tea bush and the different districts in which they grow, has brought me to the definite conclusion, that, there is no other way than the blending of the Teas grown in the different districts, so that in the mode of preparation as all other modes like roasting, curing, dry and wet, have failed to yield results in quantities which after preparation be done according to my process-it will once for all set aside this question without any detriment to the herb for human consumption, in fact it has decided advantages in so far, that the users reap all the benefits that nature bestowed upon it, and at the same time not taking the Pallet of its users to any great extent, without the loss of any of its curative properties.

The question of quantity is a serious one at present, and, will have to be considered, therefore we must adhere to the point of using Teas grown in different districts and prepared uniformly all the year round, to satisfy the market, for the near future.

I have laid down a plant to deal with 2000 lbs (one Cape Ton) per day, this machine will ensure uniformity of the tea for always, so that it would be a great danger there being on the market any tea of which you cannot guarantee a quantity and uniformity; Many a good industry has been ruined through the want of regularity of both quality and quantity.

I might mention that this tea holds a bi-product which I have not yet brought out, but, information in my possession justifies me in saying that this bi-product is a most important factor for medicinal purposes, and, a profitable commercial factor which I will be prepared to supply to each and every firm which sells the tea, or as required.

I am at present engaged in experimenting on this  
bi-product/

(2)

bi-product and submitting same to tests, the results of which I will be able to produce shortly.

Having gone so far, I now venture to make mention my idea of the mode of Advertising in different parts of the globe. Being absolutely a new article as a substitute of China-tea as a beverage, with the opposite effect on the human system.

I propose that there should be one uniform name and Trade Mark throughout the globe, as I have already disposed of the sole rights of sale in the following Countries:-

Australasia, France and her dominions, Great Britain, America, and Germany, subject to their using the same Trade Mark. This will help each Country to Advertise as "Cyclobia" so that people travelling about the world will sooner become familiar with the name, than if each Country had a different Trade Mark and name.

For this reason I would be very pleased if the Government could see its way clear to introduce me to the firm of Messrs Jackson & Co London, in order to avoid conflict and competition, more so as I would be able to furnish them with a lot of useful information and testimonials, which I have been quietly gathering in this Country and abroad.

It is my aim not only to make this a Commercial success, but, at the same time to confer a benefit to suffering humanity, by giving them a herb which nature has provided for all.

I will also have the satisfaction of having created an honest and useful industry, which will not only be a blessing to the suffering and weak, but will undoubtedly bring a good and substantial revenue to the Colony, by providing work for many of the poorer white classes.

I would esteem it a great favour if you could arrange a Meeting for us, to have the matter discussed with the purpose of removing any possible existing misapprehension.

I remain

Sir,

Your Obedient Servant.

The Hon: Arthur Fuller  
Minster of Agriculture,  
Cape Town.

Mrs. Casparetto

## APPENDIX 7: DEPARTMENT OF FORESTRY, FISHERIES AND THE ENVIRONMENT SUPPLIER/CONSULTANTS FOR BIODIVERSITY ECONOMY OPERATION PHAKISA

Bid No.	Year	Description	Bid Awarded	Amount Paid*
E1261	2013	Appointment of a service provider/s to undertake the development of a National Biodiversity Economy Development Strategy (NBEDS) for the Department of Environmental Affairs	Sustento Development Services	3 856 966.00
E1258	2013	Appointment of independent Ethnobotanist(s)/Anthropologist(s) to assist the Department of Environmental Affairs in conducting a study on the traditional knowledge associated with the Rooibos and Honeybush species in South Africa	Siyanda Samahlubi Consulting (Pty) Ltd	497 280.00
E1252	2013	Appointment of a service provider/s to undertake situation analyses of four selected sub-sectors of the Biodiversity and Conservation sector in South Africa in preparation of development of a sector transformation framework	Siyanda Samahlubi Consulting (Pty) Ltd	4 856 772, 00
E1326	2015	Appointment of a service provider to provide advisory services and technical support for the development of detailed delivery plans for enhancing the biodiversity based economy of South Africa	Mckinsey and Company Africa (Pty) Ltd	14 400 000.00
E1388	2017	The appointment of a panel of experts to assist the department of environmental affairs in the implementation of the biodiversity economy	1 Adnol Game Breeders (Pty) Ltd; 2 Avante Advisory Services (Pty) Ltd; 3 Conservation Outcome; 4 Enterprises University of Pretoria (Pty) Ltd; 5 Hlahlindlela Management Strategies; 6 Mbusiswa and Company Inc.; 7 Mckinsey & Company Africa (Pty) Ltd; 8 Motswiri Development Agency (Pty) Ltd; 9 Prime Africa Consultants; 10 Transfrontier Parks Destinations Pty Ltd; 11 Utho Capital (Pty) Ltd; 12 Wildlands Conservation Trust (Applicable Rates)	No monetary value disclosed
E1391	2017	The appointment of a service provider to conduct skills audit, identify business opportunities and develop training programmes for selected communities surrounding protected areas	Real Abundance Innovations Group (Pty) Ltd	R1 489 373.60
E1389	2017	The appointment of the service provider to conduct feasibility studies to determine the optimal economic benefits that communities can derive from their communal areas and development of associated business plans, for the 6 independent clustered sites	1. Ezonsundu Trading 4 cc (Isimangalido KZN) [R1 890 500.00 (VAT excl.)]; 2. Nightsky Ideas (Pty) Ltd t/a Kyle Business Projects (Mazelfointein NC) [R435 777.72 (VAT Incl.)]; 3. Nightsky Ideas (Pty) Ltd t/a Kyle Business Projects (Richtersveld NP) [R480 528.65 (VAT Incl.)]; 4. Urban-Econ Development Economists (Pty) Ltd (Makuya&Letaba LP) [R1 108 088.00 (VAT Incl.)]; 5. Urban-Econ Development Economists (Pty) Ltd (Andover MP [R559 516.00 (VAT Incl.)]	4474410.37

E1451	2018	The appointment of service providers to conduct feasibility studies to determine the optimal economic benefits that communities can derive from communal conservation areas and development of associated business plans, for the 5 independent sites.	Umhlaba Consulting Group (Pty) Ltd (R 499 330.00), Stella Helwick Communications cc (R 575 822.17), Landbreeze 647 (R 850 000.00)	1925152.17
Q-128-19-20	2019	The appointment of service providers to conduct assessment on the implementation of signed co-management agreements and alignment of agreements with national co-management framework, ascertain why co-management framework is not being implemented at accelerated pace, identify gaps, propose models recommendations, highlight key enablers and further develop a framework to facilitate partnership between communities with land /private party and state for biodiversity economy programme.	Jaymat Enviro Solutions	395 830.00
E1529	2019	The appointment of the service provider(s) to conduct feasibility studies to determine the optimal economic benefits that communities can derive from the three (3) identified biodiversity economy nodes, and the development of associated business plans.	Bikologix Trading Enterprise (R 850 550.00), Colgene Group Holdings (R 880 765.00), Umhlaba Consulting Group (Pty) Ltd (R 642 447.50)	2373762.5
E1388b	2019	The appointment of a service provider to conduct a market intelligence and economic baseline study for the Bioprospecting / Biotrade economic sector in South Africa	Prime Africa Consultants	720 590.00
E1568	2020	The appointment of the service provider(s) to conduct feasibility studies to determine the optimal economic benefits that communities can derive from kruger national park biodiversity economy node in mpumalanga and limpopo province and subsequently develop project-based bankable business plans for a period of seven months. Branch: biodiversity and conservation.	Letsema Consulting And Advisory (Pty) Ltd	1 000 000.00
E1570	2020	The appointment of the service provider(s) to conduct feasibility studies to determine the optimal economic benefits that communities can derive from Augrabies biodiversity economy node in Northern Cape province and subsequently develop project-based bankable business plans for a period of seven months.	Sustento Development Services CC	1 396 295.00
* All amounts paid include VAT and disbursement				