THE INTERACTION BETWEEN ENVIRONMENTAL CONSERVATION, TOURISM AND RURAL COASTAL LIVELIHOODS

A CASE STUDY OF THE COASTAL REGION OF MAPUTALAND, SOUTH AFRICA.

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Abstract

This research project is interested in interrogating the complexities that are a

consequence of the interactions between tourism initiatives, the natural environment

and human communities that reside along the coast. Specifically, the research is

concerned with the impact of tourism and environmental conservation efforts on the

traditional livelihoods of rural coastal communities.

To investigate these phenomena, I have chosen the province of KwaZulu Natal located in

the South Eastern part of South Africa. My research locale is the coastal area broadly

known as Maputaland, a region which stretches for approximately 600km along the

Indian Ocean from Lake Saint Lucia up to Kosi Bay which is located near the geographical

boarder of South Africa and Mozambique and Swaziland.

[April 15, 2012]

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List of Acronyms

ANC:	African National Congress
B&B:	Bed and Breakfast
BRICS:	Brazil, Russia, India, China & South Africa *(Economic Bloc)*
CAMPFIRE:	Communal Areas Management Programmes for Indigenous Resources
COSATU:	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CBNRM:	Community Based Natural Resource Management
DEAT:	Department of Environment and Tourism
DFID:	British Department of International Development
GEAR:	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
ENGOs:	Environmental Non-Governmental Organisations
IFIs:	International Finance Institutions
KZN:	KwaZulu Natal
PAs:	Protected Environmental Areas
PLAAS:	The Institute for Poverty Land and Agrarian Studies
PPT:	Pro-Poor Tourism
PRA:	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RDP:	Reconstruction and Development Program
NGOs:	Non-Governmental Organisations
WSSD:	World Summit of Sustainable Development
WWC:	World Wilderness Congress

Introduction

Globally, coastal areas have an important role in terms of maintaining the ecological balance of the world's animal, plant and marine species, ensuring diversity and maintaining a healthy ecological balance. Existing in the same locale as these biodiverse entities are human populations. Since the dawn of mankind, human populations have settled along coastal regions and become dependent on the vast natural land and sea resources that these regions offer. Human populations settled along coastal regions have harvested resources that are essential for their basic needs such as food and shelter. Indeed, the intricacies between the human and natural world has become so intertwined that in many regions of the world, coastal areas also provide cultural and spiritual enclaves that give meaning and purpose to the human communities that reside in these regions (Hauck and Sowman, 2003).

Besides their settlement value, the spaces where land and sea meet have historically held aesthetic value to human populations as people periodically take time out of their routine existence to travel and marvel at the pristine beauty of the coast and all the flora and fauna that is part of that natural environment. In modern times, tourism has become more than just a luxury and benefit of communities living in close proximity to the coast, but with the relative ease of travel and communications that comes with modernity, tourism has taken on a global phenomenon and people are now able to

travel vast distances in relatively short periods to visit and interact with the people and places of these pristine natural areas (Hall, 2001).

To cater for this growth in local and international tourism, private businesses in partnership with local and national governments have set up formal tourism operations and systems. The reality today is that for many countries that are endowed with coastlines, the coast offers rich and diverse economic opportunities, in areas such as minerals extraction, forestry, harvesting of marine resources, ports and tourism (ibid).

This research project is interested in interrogating the complexities that are a consequence of the interactions between tourism initiatives, the natural environment and human communities that reside along the coast. Specifically, the research is concerned with the impact of tourism and environmental conservation efforts on the traditional livelihoods of rural coastal communities.

To investigate these phenomena, I have chosen the province of KwaZulu Natal located in the South Eastern part of South Africa. My research locale is the coastal area broadly known as Maputaland, a region which stretches for approximately 600km along the Indian Ocean from Lake Saint Lucia up to Kosi Bay which is located near the geographical boarder of South Africa, Mozambique and Swaziland.

Fig 1.1 Map of Maputaland

Importance of the Study

This research is situated in the Sub Saharan African context, the issue of natural

resource dependency in Africa is critically important; as a global region that currently

has the least economic development, the vast majority of Africa's population (both

coastal and Inland) largely depend of nature's provisions for fuel, food, shelter and

other life essentials (World Bank, 1996). Maintaining the livelihood options of these

rural coastal populations with sustainable environmental practices is critical both in terms of the environment continuing to have regenerative capacity to sustain itself and in terms of the environment as the provider of natural resources to these human populations.

Overdependence on natural resources in Africa can be connected to the poverty dynamics of the region and lack of viable livelihood options. In Sub Saharan Africa the poverty challenge comes with a host of other socio- economic developmental challenges such as inadequate health, education and general entitlement options that are able to uplift Africa's citizenry (ibid). Connected to these lack of entitlements that the continent's population faces, are the vulnerabilities that Africa's population faces to deal with the policies and practices of broader power structures, be they national or global. This research also explores issues of political ecology and the impact that global power structures have had on rural coastal communities.

South Africa is a fascinating case to study and observe these socio-economic development challenges. The colonial history of South Africa under separate development strategies (apartheid) for the majority black African population and minority white population, effectively created a two tier state whose structures have outlived colonial independence and continue to exist in the country today (Desai, 2000). One face of modern South Africa is white, relatively wealthy and with institutional capabilities to advance itself socially and economically. The other face of South Africa is predominantly, black, poor and generally lacking the social and economic capabilities to

extricate itself from the poverty dynamic and without significant institutional support from national government and or with other external actors (ibid).

The research locale chosen, the province of KwaZulu Natal is important in the context of this colonial history. The Zulu people of South Africa make up the majority of South Africa`s population and are native to the province of KwaZulu Natal (Statistics South Africa, 2010). When the apartheid government sought to disenfranchise black people economically, they established tribal homelands to firstly capture the land base of the majority of the population and secondly to create areas of weak economic value in terms of land productivity and other social amenities. As the Zulu people formed the majority of the population, tribal homelands were most prolific along the South Eastern coast of South Africa. Hence this research has been intentionally situated in one of the regions that faced the harshest impact of colonial systems in South Africa and possibly in Sub Saharan Africa.

The majority of black peoples residing in the province of KwaZulu Natal live along or in close proximity to the coast and engage in subsistence economic activities using land and marine resources as the basis of their livelihood support. This dynamic has important significance not only locally but also within the context of Sub Saharan Africa, which has a majority rural population of about 60% (United Nations Department of Social and Economic Affairs (UNDESA, 2004). From a development lens, this dynamic forces us to critically delve into issues of rural poverty in Africa and development options available to these social groups. Demographically this dynamic is also important

in that we are not just observing the developmental challenges of a few random communities but indeed the *livelihoods of the majority* populations in South Africa and the African continent.

Along with the social challenges of coastal KwaZulu Natal, lie significant ecological concerns. Particular areas in the region of Maputaland are designated world heritage sites. These areas are of immense ecological value due to the rich local diversity of animal, plant and marine species they hold. Connected to this, world heritage sites are globally recognised and interconnected ecological corridors which are essential in ensuring the planet's environmental balance and sustainability (EKZNW, 2011). The establishment of particular areas of Maputaland as world heritage sites has ushered in many external environmental actors as well as international environmental regimes to protect the ecological integrity of the region (Glavovic, 2006). How these environmental regimes and practices impact and interact with tourism enterprises and human communities is of particular interest in this research project.

Furthermore, South Africa has been chosen as an ideal research locale due to the geo-political position of South Africa within the African continent as well as for its global significance. Post-colonial South Africa has emerged with both the opportunities and constraints of a well-managed colonial economy. South Africa currently boasts the most vibrant and developed economy on the African continent (Buttershy & Lu, 2011). This reality has propelled South Africa to emerge as a political and economic hub of Africa. Furthermore South Africa's position has consequently leveraged the country as the

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developmental conduit between Africa and the rest of the developed world. This linking

role has in itself shaped the nature of South Africa`s development policies to align with

continental developmental goals (Ibid).

Beyond its role as a developmental catalyst in Africa, South Africa has forged an

important role with global economic powers that has also shaped the type and nature of

its developmental policies and priorities at home. Recently, South Africa was granted

membership into the influential group of countries that are fast emerging as strong

economic global giants, (BRICS).[1]

The variance between international expectations and local realities in South Africa

presents a series of developmental dilemmas for the country as it strives to play the

dual role of a developmental state attempting to uplift and provide a socio-economic

developmental ladder and safety net for its 45 million mainly impoverished population,

while at the same time fitting into a neoliberal framework of development that is

advocated by its influential global partners and local business elites at home (Freud &

Witt, 2010).

These developmental dilemmas are evident and play out in the policies and outcomes

within rural coastal KwaZulu Natal. Thus an almost incidental part of this research is to

observe how the post-colonial African state of South Africa has dealt with the

development realities of its peoples.

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[1] BRICS: The acronym comes from the countries that make up this economic membership bloc; Brazil, Russia, China, India and now South Africa. Their combined populations make up 48% of the world's total population and represent 18% of the world's GPD. The countries have been chosen as hubs for global economic growth in the next few decades and will witness huge financing for their industrial and manufacturing sectors from international finance institutions (Buttershy & Lu, 2011).

Research Question

Has the establishment of tourism enterprises along South Africa`s Coast of Maputaland

in addition to the simultaneous emergence of environmental conservation areas

benefitted rural coastal communities? This research further questions if these

development initiatives have together resulted in rural coastal peoples maintaining

access to their traditional natural resources which are essential for their livelihoods and

which would serve as the basis for future local community development.

Analytical Focus:

Three principal analytical frameworks will be used in this research.

Rights Approach:[2]

The region of Maputaland is a contested region in terms of the rights of multiple local

and external actors, to harvest, operate, legislate and develop the natural resources of

the area. A rights approach will enable us to critically observe the rights of each

respective actor/s to natural resources. It is apparent at this stage that the diversity of

stakeholders is likely to produce a diversity of interests and realities from the key

players. This research will analyse the rights to resources held within and in close

proximity to local communities in Maputaland. At the same time the rights of local and

national government in partnership with the international environmental movement to

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[2] The rights approach being used in the analysis of this research, simply looks at the rights of different stakeholders in Maputaland to natural resources. It is different and not to be confused with the "Rights Based Approach" which is used mainly by NGOs and focuses on empowering rights bearers; mainly national and local governments and institutions to ensure human rights to the rural communities they work with.

pass legal regimes that impact other stakeholders will also be analysed. Finally, this research will look at the rights of tourism and ecotourism enterprises to operate in Maputaland and the implications of these operations to local community and environmental development.

Access Theory:[3]

The defacto ability of local communities to access local resources that are essential for their livelihoods is a central concern in this research. By using this analytical framework we will be able to look at how communities are accessing resources and the opportunities and constraints to access. More importantly, through using an access analytical framework, we move away from merely observing the community as a homogenous entity but the framework allows us to look more deeply into some of the local social and political arrangements within communities that might benefit some community groups more while simultaneously disenfranchising other members.

Ecological Integrity

This research is concerned with environmental long term sustainability; for true meaningful local development to occur in coastal KwaZulu Natal, the environment needs to be able to continue to thrive and have the regenerative ability to provide resources for the multiple dependants that it caters for. Hence, although the primary focus of this research is concerned with social and economic realities and outcomes; it

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[3] Jesse Ribot and Nancy Peluso developed "A Theory of Access" in which they move beyond the mere rights of community groups to natural resources; but advocate looking at the ability of communities to benefit from things; this view looks at access as a "bundle of power" which relates to a range of social relationships that constrain or enable benefits from natural resources (Ribot & Peluso, 2003).

has to be acknowledged that the environment and its long term sustainability form the very base of these socio-economic outcomes. The use of an ecological framework allows us to evaluate the practices of both local communities and tourism enterprises and their impact on the environment. Ultimately, practices that do not ensure the perpetuity of this resource base will lead to a regression and under-development of the region. In Maputaland, the management model that is being used to meet ecological, social and economic needs is the Community Based Natural Resource Management model (CBNRM). This model will be used both as an analytic tool and to evaluate the success of this triple balance.

Political Ecology

The environmental management and policies developed in KwaZulu Natal have been influenced by global debates, trends and policies (Hauck and Sowman 2003). Political Ecology is a framework that helps us to view how international and global forces have impacted local proximate issues (Robbins, 2004). This is a framework that leads to broader international development analysis on the issues we are researching. As a political framework it also takes a power dimension and helps to zone in on issues of power and politics both local and beyond, in shaping local development.

Data Acquisition

The information and data for this research work was gathered using a broad range of qualitative sources. Some quantitative statistics and data were sourced from secondary

sources as support for some of the findings, analysis and recommendations of the research.

Literature Review:

Extensive literature from South Africa and beyond was reviewed that looks at the main issues being researched. Specifically, I reviewed literature that focuses on local development of rural coastal communities, with reference to tourism and sustainable development and avenues for successful rural coastal development. This review focuses on specific case studies in developing countries as well as other regions of Sub Saharan Africa and finally, localised regions within South Africa. This information was meant to serve as background into the issues being researched and function as a reference point for Maputaland regarding experiences in other regions of Africa and South Africa. The literature review was further meant to provide the researcher with the current debates and central issues of the research problem. Finally a review of literature serves to inform the researcher about the main authors, policy documents, journals, researchers and research institutions working on various topics related to ecotourism and local development.

In country Interviews with researchers from key research institutions in South Africa.

To gather information on the national and provincial frameworks and practices in South Africa. The researcher met with prominent researchers working in South Africa. Semi-structured interviews were used to conduct discussions with researchers from the Institute for Poverty, Land and Agrarian Studies (PLAAS), the University of Cape Town's

Institute for Environmental Studies' Evaluation Unit and the University of Kwa Zulu Natal`s Environmental Centre.

The researcher spent three months living in the province of KwaZulu Natal, this period was meant to conduct, interviews with key informants, such as officials from the provincial departments of Tourism and Development, environmental extension officers, Environmental Assessment Units and local municipalities. This data provided information on local development policies and outcomes from the point of view of government planners and implementation agencies.

With assistance of the research partner Ezemvelo Kwa Zulu Natal Wildlife (EKZNW), the researcher attended stakeholder consultative meetings between different government agencies and local stakeholders such as tourism developers, rural community elders, researchers, local government representative and other partners. Furthermore, the researcher had the opportunity to attend meetings and trainings of the EKZNW's Community Based Natural Resource Based Management program with rural community members, environmental conservation officials and policy makers.

The research period in KwaZulu Natal was also used to travel in the coastal regions of the province and observe various social phenomenon as it applies to rural communities.

Finally, with the help of the partner organisation, the researcher travelled to three selected communities in Maputaland to conduct interviews with rural community members. This information source provided the researcher with first voice experience

in terms of the perspectives of those that are most affected by the socio- economic issues being researched.

Research Protocol

My Methodology was designed to gather data from different groups, ranging from policy makers, government, tourism and conservation officials, NGOs, researchers and local communities. I used a combination of qualitative techniques such as observation, face to face interviews and focus group interviews to gather information. The specific groups I interviewed are listed below.

- Face to face interviews were conducted with researchers working with local research institutions on sustainability issues related to coastal communities; these data sources gave researcher information on the different dynamics of the research problem as observed by fellow researchers who have been connected with the research area and communities for longer periods and thus have a more long term understanding of the history behind local development dynamics.

- Face to face interviews with staff of local and international Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) working with the target communities on connected sustainability themes such as wildlife and fisheries protection and agricultural practices. This data provided the researcher with an in-depth understanding of the different aspects that come together in dealing with the challenges of sustainability in a coastal region.

- Face to face and focus group interviews with members of the community (*broke down the community into different groups that might be impacted differently or might have different perspectives; I talked to women, local leaders, local fishermen, farmers and youth groups*). The community members are the people directly impacted by the development issue being researched, the researcher gathered first voice perspectives from the people who are most intimately connected with the development problem.

- Face to face interviews with existing ecotourism business managers in the area; to get a better idea of how their operations interact with rural communities and the natural environment and what they might see as problems and opportunities to existing tensions with communities and environmental conservation efforts.

- Face to face interviews with conservation officials. This data is important to try and better understand how the environment is impacted by both the commercial and subsistence activities in the area. Conservation experts might also have some ideas around how communities and businesses could work together to mitigate environmental degradation, sustainable development strategies and regeneration of local natural resources.

For the purposes of this research, I interviewed 10 local community members representing the following demographic groups; 2 young men between the ages of 18 - 24 years, 3 young women between the ages of 18 - 24 years, 3 adult men 25 years and above and 2 adult women 25 years and older. In addition to the community members, I

also conducted face to face interviews with 3 researchers from PLAAS and the University of Cape Town's Institute for Environmental Studies' Evaluation Unit.

I further interviewed 3 officials from the South African government department of Tourism and Environmental Issues and Rural and Economic Development. In addition to conducting face to face interview with 3 conservation officials based in Maputaland, as well as 3 employees working in the tourism industry in the same region. Finally, I also interviewed about 5 key informers representing community and municipality leaders, environmental monitors and regional policy makers. In total I interviewed about 25 people for this research project.

Chapter 2 Context:

Argument:

Using the case study of Maputaland, a coastal region in the province of KwaZulu Natal in South Africa, I will be tracing the development path taken by the African National Congress (ANC) government which has led to the establishment of tourism enterprises along South Africa's Coast. In addition, I will be looking at the simultaneous emergence of environmental conservation areas in rural coastal communities in Maputaland. This research seeks to investigate whether rural Maputaland coastal communities are benefiting from the tourism and conservation sectors. The research further explores if these development initiatives have together resulted in rural coastal peoples maintaining access to their traditional natural resources which are essential for their livelihoods and which would serve as the basis for future local community development

History

Rural coastal communities in South Africa have a unique place in the development story of the country. The apartheid South African government established tribal homelands in 1958, where black people would live divided into their respective ethnic backgrounds. Tribal homelands epitomised the apartheid regime's ability to coerce and enforce policies that would organise resources and services towards white minority needs at the expense of the black majority population (Freund & Witt, 2010). Tribal homelands were thus a way in which the apartheid state could dispossess black peoples of their land and access to natural resources while simultaneously abandoning socio-economic responsibilities towards black people whose labour force could not be absorbed into South Africa's economic systems; particularly in the mining, manufacturing, commercial, agricultural and domestic sectors.

The areas targeted for homelands were usually agriculturally unproductive; hence many coastal areas that had little agricultural value fell into these homeland settlement zones (Umhlaba Wethu Issue 6, 2008). One such area, coastal Maputaland, is the locale of my research.

Context

The rural region of Maputaland located in the province of KwaZulu Natal is known for its natural features and scenic beauty. It is also characterized by extreme poverty and a range of socio-economic developmental challenges that are a remnant of the apartheid era; such as low literacy levels, high levels of unemployment, lack of infrastructure and widespread health problems within the black communities. The rural economy is based on subsistence activities, namely small scale artisanal fishing, hunting and agriculture (Jones, 2006).

The region of Maputaland has emerged as a region is contestation between conservation authorities and rural communities. These tensions are partly due to forced removals of communities from their residences and underlie deep-rooted conflicts between communities and conservation authorities (EKZNW, 2011). Currently, commercial interests in tourism are growing and there are plans to develop these even further (ibid); a development which has the likelihood of further dispossessing rural communities of access to natural resources which are essential for their survival.

The Development Problematic

South Africa became a democratic country in 1994. The immediate challenge in South Africa was for the new black led African National Congress (ANC) government to address the unequal systems of the apartheid era and redistribute resources and opportunities to the tens of millions of black people living in poverty, both in urban shanty towns and the native homelands (Freund

& Witt, 2010). These efforts were articulated into the Reconstruction and Development

Program (RDP), a national development policy that was focused on solving the poverty issues

and socio-economic inequalities of the black population. In relation to rural communities the

RDP concentrated on ensuring that black communities regain access to natural resources and

land (Government Gazette, 1994).

Only two years into power however, the ANC government under pressure from domestic and

international finance institutions (IFIs) began to shift national policy priorities and follow a neo-

liberal path to national development. The new economic policy that replaced RDP, the Growth,

Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), was aimed at increasing South Africa's rate of

economic growth by empowering the private sector through a series of market reforms (Heintz,

2003). Under this new policy, most of the development goals of the RDP policy were abandoned

in their initial phases.

ANC's Land Policies

Historical disposition and forced removals of African peoples during the apartheid era resulted

not only in the physical alienation of peoples from their land, but also instituted a new

phenomenon of land shortages which today has manifested into serious challenges in terms of

rural communities access to natural land and sea resources (Lahiff, 2003). Under the RDP policy

the ANC had committed to redistributing 30% of rural land back to communities by the end of

2009. By 2009 the ANC had only managed to redistribute 6.8% of rural land to black

communities (Umhlaba Wethu, 2009). The land represented more than just the social and

cultural space that connected peoples to their traditional way of life, but the land also continues

to have significant implications in terms of socio-economic transformations and the upliftment

of the rural poor in South Africa (ibid). Further complicating the land issue is the population

dynamics of South Africa. The province of KwaZulu Natal is home to the Zulu peoples who make up 65% percent (Statistics South Africa, 2010) of the ethnic groups of South Africa, hence the ANC land polices impact on the livelihood options of the majority of South Africa in terms of their access to land and sea natural resources.

Who's land, Whose benefits?

It is critical to begin an analysis of socio-economic issues in South with a discussion about land and property rights. As a resource based nation, the land is tied in with important historical issues of access and benefits to national resources in South Africa. Beginning with the 1913 Native Lands Act, the disposition and forced removals of black indigenous peoples from their land during South Africa's colonial period resulted in more than the physical separation of black peoples from their lands, but was a systematic way of alienating black indigenous South Africans from the right to access and benefit from the land (Lahiff, 2003). Essentially this transition represented a transition in land tenureship into the hands of a minority white population who had dominance over national political economy. By the time of the democratic transition in 1994, approximately 60,000 white farmers owned over 80% of agricultural land while 11 million non-whites lived in rural poverty (Government Gazette, 1994).

Land property rights are connected to a stream of benefits that are derived from the utilisation of the land (Hara, 2003); hence the dispossession of land during the colonial era consequently denied the majority of South Africans, particularly rural coastal South African dwellers of the livelihood benefits that had historically streamed from land access and utilisation. According to Hara, property rights grant entitlements regarding resource use and define the rules under which entitlements are exercised (ibid). Thus the colonial land grabs of South Africa were basically a shift from common property ownership of land to a state owned type of property

rights regime. Key in this analysis is that the colonial project in South Africa and the rest of Sub

Saharan Africa was symbolised by a radical state capture by a racial minority that allocated

disproportional resources to themselves in comparison to the rest of indigenous peoples.

This brief historical introduction is important because it fundamentally shaped the land and

natural resources policies that the new democratic South Africa would pursue in 1994 under the

leadership of the ANC government. The emergence of democracy in South Africa came with

high expectations for freedom in the country; freedom from political and economic oppression

as well as freedom from restrictions to entitlements and opportunities for the majority of the

black population.

With regards to rural communities, expectations were that the new ANC government would

institute policies that would redress the land and resource injustices of the past, and begin to

establish a solid foundation for the social and economic upliftment of the millions of rural poor

South Africans. To many policy makers and society at large, the land was and remains a primary

basis for this socio-economic upliftment.

These aspirations were translated into the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), a

national policy whose major objectives were to undo the socio-economic injustices of the

apartheid era. With regards to the land, RDP had three broad goals. The first was the

strengthening of tenure rights for the rural poor. Second, land restitution was to be made to

those who could prove that their family's land had been appropriated under apartheid and

finally, the government was to redistribute 30% of agricultural land to the rural poor (Goforth,

1998). Key in the RDP land reform program was the identification that the land was the driving

force of a national programme for rural development in South Africa (Lahiff, 2003). Under this

ambitious program, the ANC would redistribute 30% of agricultural land within the first 5 years

of coming to power (Government Gazette, 1994).

In addition to the RDP, the ANC has instituted progressive land tenure legislation such as the

Communal Property Association Act 28 of 1996, which allows groups of peoples to acquire and

hold land in common with all the rights of full private ownership, in addition the Interim

Protection of Informal Land Rights Act 31 of 1996; intended as a temporary measure to secure

the rights of people occupying land without formal documentary rights (PLAAS, 2009). However

despite these progressive legislative reforms, the ANC government has largely failed to deal with

issues of rural land tenureship in South Africa. By 2008, only 5% of rural agricultural land had

been redistributed to black communal people (ibid). In the province of KwaZulu Natal which has

the highest number of rural land claims in South Africa (ibid), most of the lands in the former

homelands is still owned and controlled by the state (Lahiff, 2003).

While a discussion regarding the reasons for the failure of land reform is tempting to delve into,

it is outside the scope of this dissertation. However researchers have pointed to the lack of

political will, reliance on neo-liberal market mechanisms, weak institutional capacity and

historical structures as some of the reasons for unsuccessful land tenure reform in South Africa

(Lahiff, 2003., PLAAS, 2009., Goforth, 2008). At-issue, are the challenges that land reform failure

implies in terms of rural economic development for South Africa's rural communities. The

failures of land reform in South Africa are closely tied to the general failure to redress issues of

rural poverty and livelihood opportunities for the majority.

Under the ANC`s new economic framework; in relation to rural coastal communities, the

neoliberalization of the ANC's domestic development policy established private sector initiatives

in the form of tourism business enterprises along the coast of South Africa. These tourism

enterprises are supposed to deliver social and economic gains for black rural coastal communities through the creation of local jobs, development of infrastructure such as roads, health, sanitation and official administrative services (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 2009).

The ANC government now focused on the economic potential of coastal areas given the rich natural resources and enormous potential for tourism that these regions possess. The promotion of tourism has been identified by the government of South Africa as a key strategy that can lead to economic growth, community development and poverty relief in rural coastal communities. Thus, under the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) tourism has emerged as a significant development option in post–apartheid South Africa, particularly along the coast (ibid).

In addition to the promotion of tourism, the creation of Protected Environmental Areas (PAs) also coincided with the rapid commercialization of coastal areas in South-Africa. South Africa hosted the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg in 2002, and played a leading role in the acceptance of the target that a "... representative network of PAs be established by 2012" (EKZNW, 2011). Using the language of sustainability and the attempt to balance conservation and development; the establishment of PAs has led to legal regulations of local community's access to natural resources particularly in relation to subsistence fishing, hunting, grazing and agricultural activities in and around coastal forestry areas.

I make here a definitional connection between the emergence of protected areas and the growth of coastal-tourism in South Africa. Defined as a tourism strategy that ``... purports to meet people's needs while also protecting nature, delivering a sustainable future replete with intact ecosystems, strong local traditions and robust economies`` (West & Carrier, 2004). PAs

appear to have a symbiotic relationship that aligns well with the tourism industry in that natural

corridors are protected in their pristine form for the benefit of tourists. This convergence of

conservation and tourism goals has led to the emergence of concept of eco-tourism in South

Africa. This research project will attempt to dissect the tourism and conservation sectors, to

interrogate how the two sectors have interacted and impacted the livelihoods of rural coastal

communities.

The national policy on Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa identifies that "We the

people of South Africa ... strive for sustainable coastal development – involving a balance

between material prosperity, social development, cultural values, spiritual fulfillment and

ecological integrity of all South Africans " (Department of Environmental Affairs & Tourism

1998). This concept of sustainable development, ecological integrity and ecotourism, has been

influential in encouraging rural communities to go along with the government's development

paradigm.

In recent years conflict and contestation over coastal areas has begun to emerge between local

communities and eco-tourism enterprises. At issue is the general failure of the eco- tourism

ventures to transform the socio- economic situation of rural communities. In fact research from

Maputaland appears to indicate that most rural communities are losing their power, control and

access to natural resources that allow them to sustain themselves (Jones, 2007).

Land Ownership in Protected Areas

In the province of KwaZulu Natal the vast majority of land claims lie along or in close proximity

to coastal areas. Because of the ecological importance of these biodiversity corridors, these

areas have been designated as protected areas. The National Environmental Management

Protected Areas (NEMA) Act 57 of 2003 extends protected areas to include nature reserves such

as national parks and wilderness areas, World Heritage areas, forest reserves and mountain catchment areas. According to Kepe, by 2007 there were at least 26 confirmed land claims in South Africa that are on 21 national parks, stark examples of these are the Kruger National Parks and the Greater St Lucia (Simangaliso) Wetland Park in Northern KwaZulu Natal (Kepe, 2008).

According to scholars such as Cock, the dominant understanding of environmental issues in South Africa has been an authoritarian conservation perspective which is concerned with the preservation of wilderness areas, particularly plant and animal species at the expense of human beings (Cock, 1991). These issues raise conflicting interests in terms of land claims for rural coastal communities and preserving the natural environment in protected areas. The view of the environment as existing outside of human society imposes a hierarchy of ecological issues over societal human development issues. It is a view that affects the power dynamics of the state and the people in regards to local governance of rural communities and the rights or lack of rights which rural coastal dwellers have to access, use and manage natural resources within their locales.

Within this context, who then owns the land? This is an important question as land ownership is ultimately connected to the rights of land use. The relationship between rural land ownership and protected areas in South Africa appears to be creating a two tier ownership/use land regime, where rural coastal communities have the legal dejure ownership of land that is however limited in terms of real defacto land rights and use which normally comes with land ownership. "Land restitution without restoration of ownership (which is possible in terms of the Restitutions of the Land Rights Act) is an inferior sort of restitution" (Walker, Bohin, Hall & Kepe, 2010).

This imbalanced approach to land issues in South Africa is firstly, unable to redress the serious issues of land disposition that were imposed by the apartheid government. Secondly, this nature of land tenureship perpetuates a kind of apartheid, a kind of separation of land ownership and land rights/use, which maintain poverty, underdevelopment and lack of entitlements and livelihoods for rural coastal dwellers. It constitutes a warped form of masked development, that in reality is regressive, a "Development for under-development" that Rodney argues is symptomatic of Africa's socio- economic trajectory (Rodney, 1982).

The Rural Community Dwellers of Maputaland: The people

The region known as Maputaland stretches for about 600km along the Eastern shore of South Africa's Indian Ocean coast. The region is home to the Thonga and Zulu people, with historical evidence suggesting that these groups of peoples first occupied regions of Maputaland such as Sokhulu (currently located in what is now the Simangaliso Wetland Park) as early as the Early Stone Age (Gumede, 2009).

Fig 2.0 Map of Maputaland

Maputaland is governed by a combination of modern and traditional structures. The post-apartheid South African government established regional municipalities throughout rural parts of South Africa, which are made up of elected counsellors working alongside professional administrators. The second level of governance in Maputaland is traditional, a remnant of the apartheid era; the colonial government set up a series of traditional authorities to manage the semi-independent Kwa Zulu Bantustan (black homelands) of the apartheid era. The tribal authorities are governed by a system of hereditary partriachical *Inkosi* (chiefs). The Inkosi

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administers traditional laws and customs and is the cultural leader of a given region. The dual

governance structures of modern versus traditional, democratic versus hereditary, represent

epistemological contradictions in the governance of rural areas of Maputaland and continues to

affect local development in the region (Jones, 2006).

Further complicating developmental structures in the province is that KwaZulu Natal is a quilt

province, stitched together from the pre-independence provinces of Zululand and Natal. The

historical make up of Zululand and Natal were fundamentally different. The apartheid Zululand

homeland was managed by the Department of Native Affairs wherein traditional communal

lifestyle and communal land ownership where the structures of existence. In contrast, the

province of Natal, which had more white occupancy and modern in its outlook, exhibited a more

western structure of land tenure such as ownership of private land and land titles. Researcher

Jenifer Jones claims that today, the amalgamated KwaZulu-Natal is a patchwork of private

government and communal land, reflecting a disparity of epistemologies regarding land tenure,

resource access, and conservation efforts (ibid).

The negative historical development trajectory of Maputaland has continued into the present.

Infrastructural and socio-economic developments in Maputaland were deliberately neglected by

the apartheid regime, today the region is characterised by extreme poverty levels and extremely

low levels of economic development. The lack of infrastructure such as roads and running water

has heightened the lack of social services delivery in the region. In Sokhulu, for example, recent

research has revealed that none of the homes in the area have running water and only 22%

have electricity supply. A similar situation was observed in Mbonambi in regards to running

water though only 42% of households in Mbonambi have electricity supply (Mbatha, 2011).

Health issues also plague the region as result of lack of adequate sanitation. In addition the Human Immunodeficiency Virus and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) prevalence is a major challenge leading to socio-economic developmental constraints in the region. In 2005 HIV prevalence estimates for South Africa ranged between 18.5% and 37%, while in Maputaland data indicates that 38% of the entire population was HIV infected (Statistics South Africa, 2005)

These social limitations on the people have led to reduced entitlements and livelihood options resulting in high levels of natural resource dependency in the region. Traditionally local communities have used natural material such as wood and grass to construct homes and are heavily dependent on local resources of wood for energy production.

Landscape of the Debate

Protected Area Management will lead to local development

A major ongoing debate within academic and policy circles relates to the issue of protected areas and their potential to provide the triple balance of environmental integrity, economic prosperity and social development to local communities.

Global environmental groups such as the World Wilderness Congress (WWC) claim that the establishment of protected areas will contribute in sustainable ways to the economic welfare of rural and indigenous communities without detracting from the natural values for which they were established (Furze, De Lacy & Birckhead, 1996).

The link between conservation and local development through protected areas has come under severe criticism in recent years; scholars have challenged that the proposed dual role of

protected areas as both conservers of biodiversity and catalysts of local development is contradictory and in fact defines and denies local communities access to natural resources (ibid).

The 2002 World Summit on Sustainable Development held in South Africa's economic capital Johannesburg and attended by thousands of heads of states, leaders of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and business sectors focused on "meeting difficult challenges, including improving people's lives and conserving our natural resources..." (Johannesburg Summit, 2002). It appears that South Africa's environmental policies have been heavily influenced by the mandate of the global environmental movement. One of the major outcomes of the Johannesburg Summit has been the establishment of coastal protected areas; focusing on the concept of Sustainable Development, described at the summit as "...development where all sectors of society have a role to play in building a future in which global resources are protected, and prosperity and health are within reach for all the world's citizens" (ibid).

This notion of all-encompassing prosperity through the establishment of protected areas has been challenged by researchers focussing on community development and environmental issues. The Centre for Environmental studies in South Africa claims that protected area management in Southern Africa is being influenced by a globalization of conservation as the Western-driven conservation movement seeks to enlarge protected areas across international boundaries (Jones, 2009). Researchers further claim that protected areas negatively impact local access to natural, social and economic resources by threatening livelihoods and the sustainability of conservation areas dependent on local practices (ibid).

Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

CBNRM falls into the broader development discussion on the role of the state, particularly in the context of development in Africa (Madudzo, HaBarad & Matose, 2006.) Given some of the

limitations by governments and Environmental Non- Governmental Organisations (ENGOs) to deliver meaningful community development in Africa and the conflict of interest that has arisen between environmental conservation and social economic development; the model of CBNRM has been developed to cater for some of the earlier shortcomings to sustainable development (ibid). CBNRM is an approach to natural resource management that aims to incorporate the participation of community members in the decision making process (Gruber, 2010). It is a model that has been advanced in many developing countries by ENGOs. What is key in the principal of the CBNRM model is the attempt to advance both environmental protection and the socio-economic status of rural communities (Armitage, 2005). The model further attempts to undo the power structures that previous models propelled. CBNRM aims to devolve power to the community level and in so doing increase equity and improve resource access (ibid).

CBNRM is an approach to natural resource management which incorporates the idea of environmental capital. The notion of environmental capital, sometimes referred to as natural capital assumes that "...the environment or components of the environment can be used to enhance society's welfare (Gibbes & Key, 2010). This principle is particularly important in regions of Sub-Saharan Africa where ecological limitations such as unreliable rainfall patterns and declining soil quality pose a big risk to traditional activities of rural communities such as livestock and field agriculture (ibid). The ecological limitations to rural livelihoods have spurred many African governments and ENGOs to incorporate CBNRM into their development plans and in many instances, policies have tended to focus on the rich potential that natural capital such as wildlife can offer in order to generate economic activities.

Within South Africa the Non-Governmental Organisation (NGO), Communal Areas Management Programmes for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE), was one of the earliest conservation groups

to incorporate the CBNRM model. CAMPFIRES' programmes are based on the idea that wildlife

utilization is a highly competitive form of land use in the semi-arid regions of Southern Africa,

thus programmes link wildlife protection and economic gain for rural constituents (Taylor,

2009).

In practicing the CBNRM model within Southern Africa, communities are given wildlife quotas

which they then decide how to use. In many cases local community members sell their quotas

to tour operators for hunting purposes. In addition communities may also engage in other

tourism related relationships with tour operators to generate income. These may range from

providing locally made crafts and curios, performing traditional dances and art performances

and in some cases selling photography rights to tour operators that allow tourists to take images

of the community (ibid). Some of these CBNRM managed by CAMPFIRE have met with some

success, in Botswana for instance income from CBNRM rose between 1993 and 2002 from US$

3612 to US$1,271,725 in 2002 (Gibbs & Key, 2010).

In the province of KwaZulu Natal, Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife (EKZNW) is a government

funded organisation that has the provincial mandate ``To ensure effective conservation and

sustainable use of KwaZulu Natal`s biodiversity in collaboration with stakeholders for the benefit

of present and future generations`` (EKZNW, 2010). Created as a result of the sweeping changes

of the new democratic South Africa, EKZNW has instituted the CBNRM model in the 11

demarcated districts of KwaZulu Natal in which it operates. EKZNW manages 110 protected

areas and is recognised as the regional leader in the field of sustainable biodiversity

conservation (ibid). In order to meet its CBNRM outcomes the organisation has also broadened

its focus to become more relevant to communities living adjacent to protected areas and

national parks under its stewardship. The EKZNW five year strategic and performance plan 2009

– 2014, outlines that the organisation has also invested in repositioning ecotourism in order to contribute in a more substantial way to provincial growth and development (ibid). To accomplish this mandate the organisation has developed CBNRM partnerships and interactions with many rural coastal communities and stakeholders in the province.

As a developmental model CBNRM aims to deliver the triple balance of regional economic prosperity, ecological integrity and social advancement of local communities (Hara, 2003). In respect to socio-economic development, the CBNRM model further aims to empower local communities such that rural coastal peoples may be masters of their own fates through creating equity of decision making, participatory democratic social structures and improved and broader long term livelihood options for communities (ibid).

Co-Management: Co-opting or Co-prosperity?

Co-management is an integrated organizational, institutional and partnership arrangement between national and provincial government, resource users and key stakeholders in the management of natural resources. The concept of co-management has gained international acknowledgment in recent years and is closely aligned to concepts of democratic, participatory governance and management systems of natural resources (Hara, 2003).

McCay and Acheson claim that the central idea of co-management is embedded in the idea of power and authority, they claim that co-management in its essence assumes a co-sharing of power and authority between the state and local communities in regards to the management and decision making of proximate natural resources. (McCay and Acheson, 1987).

Kuperan and Abdullah, extend this concept of power by suggesting that the concept of co-management can be considered as an extension of power into property rights (Kuperan and

Abdullah, 1994). This concept is important in the analysis of this research as it related directly

into the idea of access and control of natural resources by communities in partnership with the

state, regardless of the type of property regimes that may exist.

Finally, co-management has gained global acceptance as an alternative management strategy

for natural resources because it challenges the dominant theory and practice of management of

the commons as put for by Hardin (1968) in her famous work, Tragedy *of The Commons*.

Researchers and scholars have refuted Hardin's idea in the Tragedy of The Commons, arguing

that the concept is not universally applicable to all types of community arrangements;

particularly to regions of the world that have practiced communal type of lifestyles and common

property arrangements. Within the context of Maputaland co-management hence is an attempt

to neutralise the power and authority of the state and private enterprises in dictating

management and use of natural resources. After attempting numerous natural resources

management types, the application of co-management according to Hara is a ``... recognition

among managers, researchers and politicians that no management scheme will work unless it

enjoys the support of those whose behavior it is intended to influence`` (Hara 2003) . Within the

province of Kwa Zulu Natal, as indeed in most regions of the world, the specific management

model that has emerged from co- management is CBNRM.

Tourism as an engine for rural community economic and social development

The development of tourism activities has accelerated in rural areas not only in the global South

but rural communities in Europe, North America, Australia and Scandinavian countries have

similarly witnessed an acceleration of tourism enterprises within their locales (Bramwell & Lane,

1993). With the prominence of private sector led development models, tourism is now

considered to be an engine of rural development (Bramwell & Lane, 1998). Proponents of this

development model argue that tourism provides an important source of employment and income to rural communities. They put forward that the nature of the tourism industry requires a wide range of goods and services that mutually benefit rural communities. Goods and services such as public works, transportation infrastructure, medical services and local administration forge a whole chain of activities that are beneficial to rural development. Further, this model of local development maintains that tourism ignites and promotes local entrepreneurship in crafts work and other local products and services that are required by tourists (ibid).

Drawing from examples in the Mediterranean and Caribbean rural communities; researchers such as Briguglio and Briguglio have concluded that rapid tourism development has led to a substantial increase in per capita income and betterment in overall living standards (Briguglio & Briguglio, 1996).

Development scholars from sociological and environmental disciplines paint a different picture regarding the role and impact of tourism on local development. Writers like Dennis Gayle, suggest that tourism's rapid development generates adverse effects on environmental, economic and social development, ranging from resource exclusion, threating the natural environment and the demise of functional social arrangements (Apostolopoulos & Gayle, 1999).

Pro-Poor Tourism

. The British Department of International Development (DFID) was the first development agency to develop and promote the concept of Pro-Poor tourism (PPT). The concept gained immediate popularity and quickly made its way into the report of the Commission on Sustainable Development in April 1994 (Goodwin and Maynard, 2000). Consequent to its release the PPT approach further received greater popularity through the World Tourism Organisation's (WTO)

report on *Poverty Alleviation and Tourism*; a report which was presented at the World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg, 2002.

PPT is defined as tourism that generates net benefits for the poor, these benefits maybe economic, social or environmental. As long as poor people reap net benefits, tourism can be classified as 'pro-poor' (even if richer people benefit more than poorer people). The PPT approach focuses on strategies that enhance benefits to the poor and aims to unlock opportunities for the poor rather than expanding the overall size of the sector (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin, 2001).

The concept of PPT has been embraced in South Africa and aligns with the broader vision of South Africa's White Paper on Tourism and Development; which aims to enhance the significance of the tourism sector in national economic development, while simultaneously ensuring community and environmental prosperity (DEAT, 2002). It is important to highlight that the PPT model in South Africa is a sector led initiative, with tourism enterprises maintaining the responsibility of implementing the program. Within South Africa and the region of Maputaland particularly, many private and national tourism enterprises have subscribed to this program under the Departments of Environment and Tourism's Responsible Tourism Guidelines. The successes and shortcomings of this approach will be reviewed in the analysis and findings chapter.

Partnership Between Tourism Industry and Conservation Authorities

This research borrows and feeds into the two debates regarding the role of tourism and conservation in rural development. While hypothesizing that both the emergence of protected areas and the tourism industry have undermined the livelihoods of local communities; my argument takes the debate further in stating that the two sectors (conservation and tourism)

have actually collaborated and present a dual threat to the livelihoods of local communities in Maputaland. I further hypothesize that the two sectors have a mutually supportive dynamic, in that as the conservation corridor lays more claim to increasing tracts of land for the purposes of protecting bio-diversity, it paves the way for the growth of new economic tourism ventures (Jones, 2009).

This research focus is concerned with the outcomes of the partnership that is occurring between conservation bodies and the tourism industry. It appears that in Maputaland, a conservation corridor is being created through the establishment of protected areas. This pristine natural corridor is being created in the name of ecological integrity, it is however also highly beneficial to the tourism industry. Tourists travel to Maputaland and are offered this image of an untouched landscape that is preserved in its natural beauty.

Tragedy or Blessings of the Commons?

This research area falls into an ongoing academic and policy debate about management and access to the world's common resources. This debate was sparked by Garret Hardin in the late 1960s with the publication of his article the *Tragedy of the Commons* in which he argues that unless natural resources and the global commons are placed under the management of the state and private property, communities, specifically poor communities will mismanage and decimate the commons for individual gain (Hardin 1968).

Hardin's argument has come under intense attack from scholars from both the North and South. Writers like Elinor Ostom, Ashwin Chhatre, Arun Agrawal and John Kurien argue that community stewardship and management of natural resources is and has been proved as the best way to ensure ecological balance of the environment and community livelihoods (Kurien, 2007). The current researcher views the debate of the commons as essentially an epistemological dispute,

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arguing for both modern or traditional values and their perspectives in the treatment of public property and the global commons.

Neoliberal Development Model as Agency for National Development

Definitions of development have an important outcome on the nature of development strategies undertaken by governments in the South. While the debate regarding contested definitions of development is outside the scope of this research project, in the aftermath of the Cold War, the neoliberal model of development has taken primacy. Broadly defined as a model of development that is market oriented; neoliberal economic and social policies emphasise the agency of private enterprises. The model seeks to expand and increase the role of the private sector in determining political and economic priorities of the developmental state (McCann & McCloskey. 2009). There is a growing body of development focused literature that refutes this model of development; arguing that it advocates for material advancement and economic growth as the panacea to development. Scholars such as Damien Kingsbury argue that material advancement may not be achieved without other dynamics of development which include ensuring adequate distribution of the means of production and the benefits of economic growth in addition to maintaining ecological balance (Kingsbury, 2007)

Policy Regimes Taken by ANC as a Vehicle to Local Community Development

Policy positions adopted by the ANC government have repercussions in terms of the distribution and control of wealth within the state. In transitioning from state managed socio-economic developmental policies to a market centred policy approach, the South African government effectively withdrew or diminished the role of the state in redistributing access to the means of production and wealth (Heintz, 2003). In South Africa this policy shift effectively re-entrenched

ownership and control of core capital industries such as mining, industry, farming and tourism into the hands of the private sector (ibid).

In relation to rural coastal communities, ANC's domestic development policy established private sector initiatives in the form of tourism business enterprises along the Coast of South Africa. Some researchers believe little economic benefit will accrue to local communities due to the high amount of 'leakage' in the tourism industry with a large percentage of earnings, wages and profits remitted or retained away from the area of operation (Duffy, 2001) When no significant revenue is generated, as has been seen in other ecotourism ventures, local residents may incur compounded costs due to loss of pre-existing livelihoods disrupted by new land-uses (ibid).

The economic policy of South Africa, the Growth Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR), is aimed at increasing South Africa's rate of economic growth through empowering the private sector by instituting a series of liberal market reforms such as reducing corporate taxes, increasing foreign investment and reducing spending on social programs. Within the province of KwaZulu Natal wherein lies our research locale, the fission of the government departments of Rural Economic Development and Tourism into one government department of Economic Development and Tourism, has led to policy transformations that align tourism growth with rural development.

The argument of the South African government and this neoliberal position is clearly articulated in the mandate of this new hybrid department of Economic Development and Tourism which states that the tourism sector in South Africa will bring about "... tangible socio-economic transformation in different communities across the province." (Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 2009).

This argument has been countered both by policy and academic groups in South Africa and beyond. Within South Africa, one of growing voices of opposition to these policy regimes has emanated from the powerful National Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU), which in 2001 issued its harshest critique to the ANC neoliberal policy claiming...

"In socio-economic terms the legacy of apartheid remains entrenched and, with the massive loss of jobs in the past decade, even appears to be worsening. Wealth is still concentrated in a white minority. The nature of capital remains largely the same - concentrated in the mining-finance complex, which continue to dominate the commanding heights of the South African economy. Serious inequalities persist, with signs of worsening particularly among the formerly oppressed. The complex nature of the transition emerged in deeply contradictory government policies" (COSATU, 2001).

Within academic circles, a growing body of literature has surfaced that is criticising the neoliberal approach to social economic development. Notable scholars such as Ashwin Desia in his aptly titled work *We Are the Poors,* exposes the failures of neoliberal policies and practice in South Africa's marginalised coastal communities in Durban

Chapter 3 Methodology:

Introduction:

Any research methods and the techniques that a researcher chooses have philosophical concepts that come to bear on the outcomes of the research. Connected to this, the data collection methods used to gather information on any social phenomenon, impacts on the validity and accurateness of the information gathered by the researcher. This research spanned over eleven months of information and data gathering from both literature and local sources. Vast external information regarding the relationship between environmental conservation, tourism and rural community livelihoods in South Africa generally and Maputaland specifically was gathered through firstly, reviewing existing literature regarding the research topic.

An extensive literature review was conducted on the theoretical frameworks relating to the research issues, furthermore publications of researchers and scholars working in South Africa and beyond were reviewed to provide the researcher with intimate knowledge and information on the research topic. The review also covered official published documents from relevant South African Government departments, municipalities, research institutions, environmental conservation organisations and Non-Governmental Organisations.

Secondly, to test the theories, information and initial hypothesis developed from the literature. The researcher spend 3 months (May – July 2011) living in the province of KwaZulu Natal in South Africa and using a variety of qualitative information gathering techniques such as personal interviews, key informant interviews and observation of the areas and rural communities chosen as case study sites. For the duration of this field research period, the researcher was hosted by the research and social evaluation unit of the Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife (EKZNW). EKZNW is the implementing agency with the provincial mandate to implement Community

Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes, including conservation, tourism and community development priorities. With the assistance of this local partner the researcher was able to attend strategic stakeholder forums relating to conservation, tourism and rural coastal livelihood issues in South Africa.

Additionally, the research partner EKZNW provided the researcher with networks and access to key informants, both within the organisation as well as with partner organisations and stakeholders. Finally, with the help of EKZNW, the researcher was able to gain access to communities of Richards Bay, Kosi Bay and Sodwana Bay areas in Maputaland to observe social phenomenon and interview community members, conservation officials and researchers in those specific areas.

By combining a broad range of qualitative information gathering techniques, both local and external, the researcher was able to cultivate a broad range of information that would enhance accuracy and validity of the research.

The Case Study of Maputaland

The region of Maputaland was chosen as a specific case study to interrogate the complex dynamics of ecotourism and rural livelihoods. Thus, in order to successfully undertake this research, the case study approach was used to gather empirical data and information regarding this social phenomenon. A case study approach to social science research allows the researcher to gather information on a complex social phenomenon by analysing the dynamics of a single entity that makes up part of a broader collective (Baxter, and Jack, 2008).

The case study approach sought to observe the interactions and relationships between participants in rural Maputaland and other social aspects within the existing realities of the

research locale. The single case study analysis which observes the dynamics of issues within a region was chosen for the purposes of this research project. It is important to highlight at this point that due to the geographical size of the research local (approximately 600km) it was necessary to conduct community interviews in just three specific locations that fall within the targeted research area, specifically I focused my research on the rural communities in the Richards Bay, Kosi Bay and Sodwana Bay areas to understand the unique localised issues that occur within each of these specific locations. The case study approach that was used was exploratory in nature, where no clear outcomes were preconceived or expected, but that the data and information obtained from the research is used to surface the internal issues occurring in the region.

The Case Study Technique

The case study selection technique used to choose the three site locations within Maputaland employed the extreme case method, meaning the researcher intentionally chose a region and research sites where more variables and complexities than the average situation tended to occur. As mentioned in the introduction to this thesis, the region of Maputaland is a region in contestation over natural resources between rural communities, tourism enterprises and conservation officials. The case sites chosen for this research are sites where this conflict and contestation are most heightened.

Additionally, triangulation is a common element in the case study approach, it gives the approach validity and accuracy through using multiple data sources such as observation, interviews and primary data evidence, the researcher is then able to consolidate information on a single aspect using these multiple data sources. This research technique ensures that a specific social phenomenon is not just viewed from merely one lens but that different lenses are

used to explore the same phenomenon thereby allowing the researcher to better understand the context of the case.

The case study approach does not have embedded theories but makes use of pre-existing theories and frameworks as lenses for analysis. I specifically chose to use the case study approach for this research in order to test my pre-existing hypothesis as well as alter and generate new hypothesis by observing the local dynamics of what might be occurring on the ground in Maputaland. Additionally, this approach allows the researcher to test pre-existing hypothesis by matching the assumptions of the hypothesis with local occurrences (Burg, 2009).

The case study approach that was employed for this research falls under the interpretive research approach, which is really an identity of opposite from conventional positivist research approaches that focus solely on empirical evidence, experiments and the traditional role of the observer/researcher as detached and objective (Mcnab, 2004). The interpretive approach is concerned with detailed observation of people in their natural settings and interpretation about how people create and maintain their world. This philosophical approach to research has far reaching implications for the purposes of this particular research not only in terms of how the researcher worked through the methodology but also in terms of the attitudes we hold as researchers, the role of participants and the social systems under observation. Four specific philosophical underpinnings that relate both to the case study approach and to my research work for this project are outlined below.

Theoretical Underpinnings of Research Techniques Used for the Research:

1) **Constructivism:** This is a concept built on the idea of a social construction of reality (Baxter and Jack, 2008). Within the context of this research, this assumption creates a unique relationship between researcher and participants in that to truly understand and

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learn the nuanced lives and stories of participants; the researcher develops a close relationship with participants, stakeholders and their realities.

2) **Power Dynamics:** By virtue of this embedded type of research, the case study approach deliberately complicates the traditional role of the researcher as the expert and the bearer of knowledge of power; a role which positions participants as the other, the non-powerful and the non-expert to be observed from an objective distance. For this research work, participant's everyday realities and experiences are highly valuable. This methodological approach hence shifts the power balance away from the researcher and towards informants, participants and communities. The research occurs in the natural environment of the participants (particularly important given that this particular research sought in part to investigate the outcomes of activities and events that are occurring on the physical natural environment within the research area).

3) **The Role of the Individual in Development:**

The case study approach chosen for the research work, has broader implications in terms of where we position the individual in the context of development. The history of community and international development is a history of hierarchical social interventions and research into the lives of the poor and the vulnerable.
The approach used in this research attempts to redress this imposition, not only for the purposes of ethical research developmental work but also for research outcome purposes. The philosophical idea behind conducting research in this manner is that the individual is the expert regarding his/her life's' realities, and that somewhere in the individuals' stories are ideas around how to overcome the challenges and constraints to

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one's existence! Thus, inherent in this approach is the idea that the individual is not a one dimensional caricature whose strings and actions can and should be controlled by powerful external factors in the development arena, but that indeed the individual residing in rural coastal Maputaland is a complex and rational actor, able to mitigate external situations through the local opportunities available to her/him.

4) **Knowledge**:

Historically, social science has depended on and valued knowledge which is usually about different social phenomena but developed in isolation of these social contexts. The case study method used for the research work, challenges this method of knowledge creation and aims to connect theoretical knowledge on an equal platform with practical context – dependent knowledge (Flyvbjerk, 2006). Data and knowledge generation used in the case study of this research is both theoretical, characterised by external ideas of local dynamics, as well as local; dependent on the real life experiences of peoples and communities that interact with the realities of ecotourism and how it impacts access to natural resources.

Literature Review

Extensive literature from South Africa and beyond that focuses on the research topic was reviewed for this dissertation. Specifically, I reviewed literature that focuses of local development of rural coastal communities, with reference to tourism and sustainable development and the avenues for successful rural coastal development.

The literature review included looking at specific case studies in developed countries as well as other regions of Sub Saharan Africa and finally, localised coastal regions in South Africa. This information is meant to serve as a background into the issues being

researched as well as function as a reference point for Maputaland regarding experiences in other regions of Africa and South Africa. The literature review is further meant to provide the researcher with the current debates, theoretical frameworks and central issues of the research problem in addition to developing initial hypothesis on the research work.

To support the literature review process, the researcher was able to travel to Johannesburg and Pretoria in December 2010, to gather documentary sources from the South African government departments of Environment and Tourism, Rural Development and Economic planning. Primary government sources have been important in providing in-depth understanding of policy frameworks in South Africa as they pertain to rural coastal ecological and socio-economic development.

Key Informant Interviews:

In order to gather dynamic perspectives of the research topic, research work in South Africa began (May 2011) by interviewing key informants that were able to speak to the triple lenses of ecological, social and tourism development issues in South Africa and Maputaland. This process involved travelling to Cape Town to meet with researchers from the institute for People Land and Studies PLAAS. Additionally the researcher interviewed leading researchers from the Environmental Assessment Unit at the University of Cape Town. Other key informants interviewed in the province of Kwa Zulu Natal included national and provincial government representatives from the departments of Environment and Tourism, Rural Planning and Development. The researcher also had the opportunity to interview traditional authorities, municipal

counsellors, conservation officials and local researchers working in the Maputaland. In total, 15 key informant interviews were conducted.

With the assistance of the local research partner (EKZNW) the researcher was able to attend stakeholder consultative meetings between different government agencies and local stakeholders such as tourism developers, rural community elders, researchers, local government representative and other partners. The researcher also had the opportunity to attend meetings and trainings of EKZNW's CNRBM with rural community members, environmental conservation officials and policy makers.

Table 3.0   Key Informant Interview Schedule

Date	Key Informant	Code	Organisation
May 26th / 2011	Researcher/ Lecturer	MT0526	University of KwaZulu Natal
May 31st/ 2011	Researcher	SM0531	Environmental Evaluation Unit, University of Cape Town
May 31st / 2011	Researcher	MB0531	Environmental Evaluation Unit, University of Cape Town
May 31st / 2011	Traditional Elder	QF0531	Sokhulu Tribal Authority
May 31st/ 2011	Councillor	MR0531	Mbonambi Council
July 23rd / 2011	Manager: Development Planning	BT0723	Mnonambi Council
May 31st / 2011	Professor	UB0531	University of KwaZulu Natal
July 8thé2011	Fisheries Department	GJ0708	Department of Environment and Tourism
July 12th /2011		JP0712	Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife
Friday July 8th/ 2011	Social Research unit	KR0708	Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife
July 5th / 2011	Integrated Environmental Management	LJ0507	Department of Environment and Tourism
July 11th / 2011	Conservation Planner	EF0711	Department of Environment and Tourism
	Ecological Researcher	SC0607	Department of

July 6th / 2011			Environment and Tourism
July 1st / 2011	Tourism Department	DT0707	Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife
July 6th/ 2011	Tourism and Business Development	BG0607	Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife
July 8th / 2011	Social Planning	PJ0807	Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife
July 8th/ 2011	Biodiversity Unit	HG0807	Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife

Personal Interviews

With support from the local partner organisation, the researcher was able to access three selected communities in Maputaland to conduct face to face personal interviews with rural community members. In order to gather data that speaks to the different experiences as they are variously faced by different community members, the researcher sought to interview community members that represented the diversity of their demographic make-up. In total, 10 community members were interviewed, including subsistence fisherman, hunters, traditional elders, women and youth. Attempts were made to balance the number of elder people and young people from the communities. Interviews were also conducted with community members who have been employed as local community conservation and monitoring officials. These local sources are meant to provide the research with first voice experience in terms of the perspectives of those that are most affected the socio- economic and ecological issues being researched.

Table 3.1 Personal Interview Schedule

Date	Key Informant	Code	Community
June 28th/2011	Fisherman	SS2806	Kosi Bay
June 28th/2011	Fisherwoman	PN2806	Kosi Bay
June 28th/2011	Community Elder (male)	JS2806	Kosi Bay
June 28th/2011	Community Elder (female)	BJ2806	Kosi Bay
June 29th/2011	Seasonal Worker (Hotel & Scuba Diving Instructor)	LK2906	Sodwana Bay
June 29th/2011	Fisherwoman & forest farmer	DM2906	Sodwana Bay
June 29th/2011	Community Elder and member of Local Conservation Committee (LSCC)	JH2906	Sodwana Bay
June 29th/2011	Seasonal Worker (B&B) and Fisherwoman	SJ2906	Sodwana Bay
June 01th/2011	Mussel Harvester (Female)	FD0106	Sokhulu
June 01th/2011	Community member & Environmental Monitor for EKZNW	SK0206	Kosi Bay

Observation

The three months research period living and working in the province of KwaZulu Natal, enabled the researcher to observe some of the social phenomena that impacts issues of ecotourism development and rural coastal community development in Maputaland. Although the actual time spent in the rural communities was too brief to develop a nuanced understanding of all the local community dynamics, during the field research period, the researcher was able to mainly observe broader processes of interaction between rural livelihoods and ecotourism developments.

Additionally, working with a research partner enabled the researcher to observe some of the attitudes and perceptions of different actors such as government officials, policy makers and traditional elders. These insights were useful in developing a deeper understanding of the conflicts and congruence of different stakeholders as they apply to the research topic and locale.

Limitations of the research

Some of the limitations of this research are associated with the general limitations associated with the case study approach. The case study approach to research produces context specific knowledge, which some researchers find less reliable to theoretical knowledge developed outside of the real life contexts (Flyvbjerg, 2006). Another major criticism of the case study approach has been that the researcher cannot generalise on the bases of a single case. To mitigate these limitations, the researcher employed the use of the extreme case, where variables of the issues being investigated exist in their most complex forms, this case selection technique, is meant to deal with issues of generalizability of the research to be comparable to other locations.

Like most research work, during the period of conducting the research in South Africa, It became evident that had more resources and time been available for the work, the outcomes of the research would have been deeper and broader. One of the major constraints to the research has been that; not much social research work has been conducted that focuses on rural coastal communities in Maputaland to date. Most of the research that has been carried out in this region has been primarily focused on issues of ecological sustainability. The fact that many places in and around Maputaland are designated world heritage and protected sites, has spurred growing interest in ecological integrity, perhaps at the expense of human populations that co-exist within the same nexus. In addition to ecological research, a lot of research work

has also been conducted on tourism development due to the region's high potential for tourism as a commercial industry.

While carrying out the research, the researcher was faced with limitations in terms of language. KwaZulu Natal is home to the Zulu peoples of South Africa, whose common language is IsiZulu. While some rural community members do speak passable English, the researcher had to depend on the use of an interpreter to communicate with some of the elder members of communities who did not speak English. Part of this problem was overcome with the aid of the research partner, that provided an interpreter who was both fluent in English and IsiZulu, the interpreter also had a background in social research.

Some of the people that were interviewed, namely, community conservation officials, are in fact employed by the provincial government conservation department. Due to this connection, these respondents were reluctant to openly discuss issues of power dynamics between government and communities, as they possibly feared for reprisals that might jeopardise the security of their jobs.

Chapter 4 Analysis and Findings:

Research Question

Has the establishment of tourism enterprises along South Africa's South East coast of Maputaland and the simultaneous emergence of environmental conservation areas in rural coastal communities benefitted rural Maputaland coastal communities? This research further questions if these development initiatives have together resulted in rural coastal peoples maintaining access to their traditional natural resources which are essential for their livelihoods and which would serve as the basis for future local community development.

The Impact of Social Activities on the Environment:

Currently, resource pressures in Maputaland have increased as rural coastal communities are now over-dependent on marine and inter-tidal resources, such as fish, mussels and seaweed for food sources. The surrounding coastal forest also provides food supplements in the form of wild game meat, mushrooms and wild fruits and berries (Jones, 2006). One 30 year old single mother interviewed for this research confirmed that "We depend on the ocean to give us fish and mussels for food, we also gather firewood from the forest, hunt Reed Buck as well as farm *Madumbe* (sweet potatoes) and vegetables along the rivers that are in the natural forests because they have good soil" (Field Research DM2906, 2011).

Traditionally, the coastal areas have provided special places that are important as cultural and spiritual places for the Zulu peoples in terms of traditional rituals, burial grounds and ancestral ceremonies. Furthermore, traditional medicines that are acquired from the forest play a key role in the traditional health care provisions of community members (Hauck& Sowman, 2003).

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The additional pressures that have been placed on the environment by rural coastal dwellers are not all a result of traditional lifestyles and cultural practices, but are also a result of the shift in lifestyles, from the traditional to the modern. One of the ecological researchers interviewed for this research reveals

"There has been a societal transition from the traditional to the modern, from the subsistence to the monetary. The introduction of a cash economy has meant that communities are no longer just harvesting resources for their household needs, but are now selling off natural resources to acquire money to buy things in the cash economy. Unfortunately the problem with this type of economy is that it is a bottomless pit, at first people want the basics that we all need for survival, food, clothes, shelter and so on, but as people encounter modernism, they begin to covet other luxury commodities that they see in the cities, cell phones, cars etc. And all of these things are to be acquired from money made by selling Mother Nature's resources" (Field Research SC0607, 2011).

Population explosion has added further resource pressures in Maputaland; with just over 20% of the national population of South Africa's 50million; the province KwaZulu Natal is experiencing some of the highest population growth rates of about 4% annually compared to an annual average of 1.8% for the rest of South Africa. These pressures are unlikely to ease off as over 50% of KwaZulu Natal's population is under the age of 15 (Statistics South Africa, 2010).

In terms of biodiversity, the region of Maputaland has enormous ecological significance for Southern Africa and global conservation corridors. The region contains numerous protected areas, which creates a diversity of land use paradigms between environmental conservation and subsistence resource use activities.

Impact of Conservation on Rural Livelihoods, (Benefits and Losses)

History of Conservation in Maputaland

This section analyses the impact that environmental conservation policies have had on the

livelihoods and entitlements of rural coastal communities in Maputaland. It is important to

highlight however that environmental conservation is not necessarily a modern phenomenon, in

South Africa historical evidence suggests that harvesting of marine resources was occurring as

far back as 100 000 years ago (Thackery, 1988). Archeological evidence also indicates that these

early subsistence gatherers and hunters practiced conservation. Evidence suggests that

traditionally, collectors used rotational harvesting systems of marine vertebrates such as

mussels, moving from one site to another until each site became depleted. Each site would then

be given a fallow period to regenerate until gathering would once again commence (Horwitz,

Maggs & Ward, 1991).

In the past traditional communities used seasonal indicators for open seasons when it was

optimal to harvest marine resources, such as when the local *Msinti* tree was in bloom, this

would coincide with the time when mussels where at full maturity for harvest. Non harvesting

periods were also observed giving species time to spawn and regenerate (Harris, Branch & Sibiya

2003).

Some of the community members interviewed for this research recall from oral tradition that

culturally, hunting of big game was coordinated by the local chief or king. It was illegal according

to customary law for individuals to hunt big game such as elephants, buffalo, giraffe and

rhinoceros. Additionally, species that were deemed to be rare and endangered such as the

leopard were usually protected through totemisation; that is the monarch would claim the totem of endangered species thus making them sacred and protected from hunting or trapping. The same principle applied to rare flora species such as the double thorned tree, which has spiritual value with the Zulu people (Field Research JS2806, 2011).

The New Form of Environmental Conservation

This brief history of conservation is provided to understand the difference between traditional conservation practices and the new type of modern environmental conservation which is being analysed in this research. The new form of environmental conservation is unique in that, firstly it is legislated; created through a series of environmental legal regimes that govern communities' access to natural resources. Parallel to the legal aspect of the modern type of environmentalism, is a system of monitoring and enforcement of natural resource use by government and conservation authorities. Finally the current form of environmental policies has a broader global outlook and influence. Whereas in the past traditional conservation was localised, characterised by local peoples protecting and conserving proximate resources, the new form connects with global environment statutes and views natural resources as part of a complex network of ecological system and environmental corridors.

In areas such as Sokhulu, the history of enforced environmental conservation began in the early colonial periods in 1933, with militant vigilante white fishers and foresters forcibly restricting rural subsistence community's access to the coastline and coastal forests, incidentally Harris et al, claim that this protectionist conservation ushered a period of illegal unsustainable harvesting practices by rural coastal communities who would go into the restricted areas at night and quickly gather all the resources that they could, usually using crude methods that would decimate species and nesting habitats (Harris, Branch, Sibiya, 2003). The correlation between

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unsustainable community harvesting practices and restrictive livelihood policies is an important transition of conservation in Maputaland. The focus of these early conservation restrictions as they were imposed by power politics were purely economic as minority white groups sought to harness and restrict rural coastal people's access to natural resources.

The second wave on conservation restrictions had a more environmental dimension; the establishment of protected areas and world heritage sites along the Maputaland coast in the 1980s caused a lot of conflict and hostility between conservation authorities of the apartheid era and local communities. For instance, the Kosi Bay Lake area was proclaimed a nature reserve in 1988 and later in 1992 part of a world heritage site (ibid). The position taken by national and global conservation agencies was that these areas were of prime national and biodiversity importance and needed to be protected from human interference and destruction. Protected areas in coastal regions were established with very little or no consultation with local communities, policies were imposed overnight; effectively cutting access and nature's resources from millions of people who were dependent on those resources (ibid). Secondly, the perspective of nature as devoid of human beings, created a hierarchy of conservation priorities over human concerns.

The independence of South Africa in 1994 was synonymous with the establishment of conservation legislation and policies that would attempt to reverse the restrictive policies of the apartheid era and establish harmony between environmental conservation needs and the needs of rural coastal communities. The principle of equity; including equitable access to natural resources for rural communities are principles that were enshrined in South Africa's 1996 constitution (Constitution of South Africa, 1996), and filtering from this document was a series of legislative policies such as the White Paper on Marine Fisheries Policy for South Africa (1997),

the White Paper for the Conservation and Sustainable use of South Africa's Biodiversity (1997), the Marine Living Resources Act (1998) and the White Paper for Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa (2000). All of these policies stress the importance of equitable access to natural resources by local communities, as well as the democratic participation of rural coastal communities in the co-management of natural resources.

More importantly the current conservation legal regime promised the "upliftment of impoverished coastal communities through improved access to marine resources" (Government Gazette, 1996) and the development of a system of allocating access rights to those who were stripped and denied these rights in the previous political regime. In the conclusion of this chapter we will assess and discuss how successful these policies have been in transforming the lives of rural coastal communities and ensuring the rights and access to coastal resources in a way which supports their livelihoods.

In an attempt to unite the two concepts of environmental sustainability and rural development, the principle of co-management of natural resources has been promoted in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. Within the province the organization that has been given the mandate of ensuring ecological and rural development is Ezemvelo KwaKuzu Natal Wildlife (EKZNW).

Livelihoods and Entitlements Benefits of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM)

The introduction of CBNRM in Maputaland has met with some success in terms of the livelihood options and social structures for the dwellers of the region. Firstly, the model represents a dramatic shift from top-bottom governance structures to more participatory models of local governance pertaining to natural resources management. In each community where CBNRM has been established, an influential Local Support Community Committee (LSCC) comprising

local community members and conservation officials has been established. The purpose of the LSCC is to discuss conservation policies and practices within the context of each particular community and make recommendations to the provincial administering agency, EKZNW. This local governance system according to a senior EKZNW social researcher,

> "... has greatly empowered local communities to take charge of their own lives, the outcomes of the LSCC have gone beyond the intended purposes of simply meeting to make decisions regarding natural resources, but have in-fact created empowering participatory governance structures within local communities, that are essential for future meaningful local development."(Field Research PJ0807, 2011).

Rural Livelihoods

There are many perceptions and complexities regarding the issue of whether or not environmental conservation has improved the livelihoods of rural coastal communities regarding their access to natural resources. To discuss this complexity I have chosen an old African tale, the fable of the sinking boat; which refers to the challenges faced by a young sea captain, who was tasked with managing a sinking ship. Firstly there was no doubt in anyone's mind regarding the dire situation of the ship, and that it was gradually filling up with water and sinking, however after the ship had sunk, there was great controversy regarding the competencies of the young sea captain. While one camp argued that ultimately the captain had failed in his duties because the boat had indeed sunk, the other camp argued that, the young captain had been incredibly successful in delaying the inevitable outcome, and had in the meantime organised a well-managed rescue plan that had saved many lives and goods that might otherwise have perished along with the ill-fated boat.

I use this short fable as a discussion into the complexities and challenges that come with the attempt to manage a situation or resources that are already in depletion. From the community members interviewed in this research work, almost all respondents agreed that natural resources, such as fish, mussels, wildlife and indigenous forest resources were in decline. A young man in his mid-twenties residing in Sodwana Bay explains. ``Yes, things are very different now from when I remember as a young boy. I remember that our grandmother used to collect mussels, red-birds and different types of fish from the ocean. We no longer see these animals now, they are gone and very few are left`` (Field Research SK0206, 2011). Thus there appears to be a universal understanding from all stakeholders that natural resources are in decline. It is from this position that conservation officers in Maputaland assert that indeed they have improved the livelihoods of rural people's access to natural resources by averting rural communities from entirely decimating resources and helping them to manage the resources in a way that would ensure perpetual harvesting of natural resources using ecologically sustainable modes.

Examples of this kind of interventions have been in the Kosi Bay and Sokhulu coastal communities where a CBNRM mussel harvesting project has been in effect since 1995. After declining mussel populations throughout the 1980s the introduction of CBNRM has improved mussel populations and consequently mussel use and consumption back to mid-1990's levels (Harris, Branch & Sibiya, 2003). One government conservation researcher contrasts this success story to Kosi Bay where ``Mussels and Red Birds have almost been wiped out in the area. In 1988 communities refused CBNRM and were harvesting about 60 tonnes of mussels annually. Now communities are harvesting 1 tonne of mussels, the resource is depleted and communities have lost their livelihood`` (Field research SC0607, 2011).

Less complicated are some of the more tangible benefits of CBNRM; as a participatory based management type, co-management and CBNRM employs many local community members in the management of natural resources. These include, conservation officers, LSCC coordinators, environmental monitors and local people are sometimes employed on a part-time basis to assist in the many Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) type evaluation and information gathering sessions that are associated with this management type.

Livelihood and Entitlements Losses of CBNRM

While interviewing rural community dwellers along the coast of Maputaland, it became apparent that while community members understand the importance of ecological conservation, the current conservation policies and practices have in effect limited or denied rural coastal communities of livelihood and socio-economic entitlements and this has manifested in many forms.

One of the major ways in which conservation policies, particularly the establishment of protected areas has negatively impacted local communities, has been through altering of land use practices. Environmental legal regimes are essentially, land use change regimes that restrict traditional livelihood practices such as subsistence agriculture, hunting and gathering forest and ocean food resources in the Maputaland. Local community members claim that ``... the amount of fish that people are required to fish daily are just not enough to feed our families, also things like, gathering food, firewood, hunting and farming are not allowed by environmental monitors in the forest`` (Field Research DM2906, 2011). This fact is heightened by the reality of land restitution practices in KwaZulu Natal which dictate that even if land ownership is resituated to a rural constituency; if the land is a designated protected area, rural communities cannot freely use the land as they wish but the land remains under the control and mandate of provincial

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conservation authorities (Restitution of Land Act, 1994). The reality of this policy is that rural communities have been denied the ability to engage in multiple land use practices that they have traditionally relied on for livelihood options.

These policy directives also strip rural communities of their de-facto land rights. Enshrined in one's right to land, is the ability to choose how to use that land in a manner which benefits the individual or groups that own the land. The two-tier contradictory land ownership versus land conservation practices in Maputaland appears to be a co-opting of rural communities to go along with conservation modes that deny them the rights and legal mandate to use the land for their socio-economic upliftment.

Conservation and Access

Conservation regimes have in some areas of Maputaland physically denied rural communities of access to certain areas that might be important either economically or might have cultural or spiritual significance. For instance in areas around protected areas that are aligned to rural coastal communities, there are specific instances where people are denied access to resources which are not protected, but because of location they have to pass through a protected area to access the non-protected resources.

Such a situation occurs in the forest areas of the Ndumo Game Reserve; physical access into the Ndumo forest has recently been denied to community members due to the introduction of endangered rhinoceros species in the park. This ban has restricted the ability of coastal communities to access the beach that aligns Ndumo Game Reserve where they have their traditional fishing kraals. Furthermore the introduction of endangered rhino has restricted forest access. One local ecological researcher reveals.

`Where community groups had previous access to forest resources, in addition we promised them continued access to use forest resources. We brought in rhino into the area before we negotiated with communities. Now because of the rhinos we are restricting local community's' access into the forest. Communities are frustrated with these restrictions. This year alone there have been 11 rhino killings in the Ndumo game reserve and managers do not even want to hear about resource use, there has been a lot of conflict in the area`` (Field Research SC0607, 2011).

Community Conflicts:

The creation of CBNRM initiatives has sometimes resulted in creating internal tensions and conflicts within rural communities in Maputaland as traditional forms of power become undermined by more modern systems such as the creation of democratically elected committees (LSCCs) responsible for implementing management decisions. A local community leader from the Sokhulu Tribal Authority area maintains ``We are the authority in this area, historically responsible for protecting forests and fishes and to make sure our people benefit from these things. Now the councils and Ezemvelo say we are corrupt so that they can have control over these things, this will not happen`` (Field Research QF0531, 2011). This re-distribution of power has challenged the understanding of power and cultural norms within rural constituents in places such as the *Makuleke* peoples in the Kruger National Park of South Africa (Giampicoli & Kalis, 2012).

The model has further been faced with many limitations and challenges. Gibbs and Keys state that the problems with CBNRM largely stem from misunderstandings and false assumptions that the rural community is a well-defined unit. Instead they put forward that rural communities are highly complex and pluralistic entities, wherein power and authority are influenced by both internal socio-political forces as well as external factors (Gibbs & Keys, 2010). These false

assumptions lead to conflict and unequal distribution of benefits within rural communities as dominant groups based on power, wealth, origin and gender benefit more from the CBNRM structures (Mbatha, 2011).

Eco-feminism: Disenfranchisement of Women

Ecofeminism is a theoretical and political framework that makes synergies between environmentalism and feminism. One of the central concerns of this framework is that there exists deep oppression and exploitation both in nature and in women (Karen, 1997). This section extends the concept of ecofeminism to apply it into the African environmental justice framework. As the region of the world where men/women and nature interact most directly, the marginalisation of women in ecological concerns ultimately becomes more real and acute. In the region of Maputaland, the rural female respondents to this research highlighted that there are a lot of partriachical arrangements both cultural and institutionally that greatly impact women's access and benefits to natural resource (Field Research, PN2806, BJ2806). One of the female environmental monitors explains ``There are very few of us women employed or monitors or sitting on LCSS, we also have problems getting fishing licences. The chiefs say this work is for men only and we have to cook for our husbands and children`` (Field Research, JH2906).

Research undertaken by EKZNW to evaluate the efficacy of the co-management models confirms that, most of the local members represented on the LSCC rural committees that make decisions on natural resource use and access are male. (EZKZNW, 2010 Sokhulu Research). What is greatly concerning is that the same report also indicates that the great majority of subsistence fishers are women in the middle to old ages, who opt to fish illegally because they do not get formal licences (ibid).

The disconnect between women as resource users and women as decision makers, points to serous gender inequalities. These inequalities have a direct bearing on woman's access to resources. In a research undertaken by the fisheries department of EZKZW the same year, shocking statistics revealed that the same gender disparities influence the issuing of subsistence fishing licences for community members, In the years (2008-2009) only 5% of fishing license were issued to women (EKZNW, 2010 Sokhuku Research). The issuing of licences is controlled by the LSCC, which are usually comprised of the male traditional leadership.

Inequality in power and participation often leads to inequality of benefits sharing and livelihoods. The issue of equality is important because ultimately it influences meaningful local development. If CBNRM increases equity, it should have the transformative potential to develop and influence the lives of the most vulnerable households and individuals in rural communities in Maputaland. Viewed from a livelihood perspective, these groups that are marginalised by the CBNRM model sometimes face the harshest impacts to their livelihood survival strategies.

The need to consider income and material loss from shifting land use practices and consequent changes in reduced access to natural resources is important! Thus marginalised groups not only receive the least benefits from this new socio-economic pattern but are also subject to the greatest losses often due to relocations, reduced acreage of agricultural land and increased crop damage due to increased wildlife zones (Shackleton et al, 2008). A female responded in her mid-thirties, supporting a household of ten members laments "The soil is now tired, so we have to farm along the river in the forest because the soil there is good, but EKZNW says, the forest is a protected area and we cannot farm there too. I don't know what they want us to eat" (Field Research DM2906, 2011).

Given the vulnerabilities faced by the peoples of Maputaland, these marginalised groups

represent one of the greatest developmental challenges in terms of their lack of access to social

and environmental resources and cannot be ignored in the developmental outcomes of

development models such as CBNRM.

Tourism

In the past decade, marine and coastal tourism has emerged as one of the fastest growing

commercial sectors in the world. While traditionally, the beach has been at the centre of the

tourism industry for many decades, now the ocean and marine adventure has opened up as a

new frontier in the tourism industry (Hall, 2001). Coastal tourism encompasses a wide range of

tourism leisure and recreational focused activities that take place in and around the coastal zone

and within the coastal waters. These include coastal tourism developments such as

accommodation, restaurants, food industry and second homes, and the infrastructure that

supports coastal development such as retail businesses, marinas, and activity suppliers (ibid).

Marine tourism is closely related to the concept of coastal tourism but also includes ocean-

based tourism such as deep-sea fishing and yacht cruising. Orams defines marine tourism as

including ``those recreational activities that involve travel away from one`s place of residence

and which have as their host or focus the marine environment (where the marine environment

is defined as those waters which are saline and tide-affected`` (Orams, 1999).

When South Africa gained its independence in 1994, the tourism sector appears to have been

over-looked and was not initially included in the Reconstruction and Development Program

(RDP) national development policy. However this oversight was rectified in 1996 where the

national White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism recognised the potential

of the tourism industry in South Africa to provide livelihoods for millions of rural and urban poor

black South Africans while simultaneously supporting the growth and development of the national economy. The 1996 White Paper on *The Development and Promotion of Tourism* identifies the importance of tourism to the poor...

> "Yet tourism, perhaps more than any other sector, has the potential to achieve the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) of the new government. Tourism creates opportunities for the small entrepreneur; promotes awareness and understanding among different cultures; breeds a unique informal sector; helps to save the environment; creates economic linkages with agriculture, light manufacturing and curios (art, craft, souvenirs); creates linkages with the services sector (health and beauty, entertainment, banking and insurance); and provides dignified employment opportunities. Tourism can also play a strategic role in dynamising other sectors of the economy - the agriculture sector that benefits from the tourism industry..." (DEAT, 1996).

Thus from the very inception of the tourism sector in the new democratic South Africa, the sector was viewed as an overarching sector that would deliver human, economic and environmental capital gains for South Africa. Fundamentally, the tourism sector was seen as one that would be able to provide new and alternative livelihoods to rural communities through attracting a host of national and international investors in industry and services which benefit the locals in which tourism would take place.

Tourism and The Growth Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) Development Strategy

With the introduction of GEAR, a neoliberal driven economic strategy for South Africa's development, Tourism was championed as one of the economic drivers that would provide the nation with "... an engine of growth, capable of dynamising and rejuvenating other sectors of the

economy`` (DEAT, 1997). However GEAR signifies a radical shift in the way in which this development model would play out. The new economic paradigm articulated that private sector growth along with government would champion tourism development. In regards to input from local stakeholders, the policy states that tourism development would be "conscious" of labour and community based involvement (DEAT, 1997).

By 2003 the tourism sector had emerged as the fourth largest foreign exchange generating industry in South Africa behind the mining, manufacturing and the quarry industry. The tourism sector is now the fourth largest generator of foreign exchange in South. In terms of its contribution to the GDP of the economy the sector was at about 7% and in the early 2000s represented the economic sector with the greatest potential for growth and development. During 2001 South Africa received 5.8 million visitors, of which 1.48 million were from overseas contributing R16 billion ($US2.2 billion) of the R24 billion ($US 3.5 billion) generated from the combined domestic and foreign tourism. (Goodwin, Spencely & Maynard 2003).

Tourism Development in Maputaland:

Theoretically the framework of tourism and community development is an ideal fit for the province of KwaZulu Natal and more specifically for the region of Maputaland. Given the combination of rich scenic biodiversity endowments and the level of socio-economic underdevelopment in the region, tourism was quickly adopted by the national and provincial governments of Kwa Zulu Natal as a driver of local development. The provincial government of KwaZulu Natal recognises tourism as a key driver of employment creation and economic growth ``... particularly in the poor rural areas where many protected areas are situated`` (EKZNW, 2009).

Since 1994 Maputaland has been growing as a tourism destination. The diversity of coastal, marine and forest sites has resulted in the growth and development of many coastal tourist related activities, including hotels and lodges, tourism fishing, scubber diving and snorkelling along the coastal waters as well as game viewing, commercial photography and ecotourism ventures with local communities in the region. (Poultney and Spencely, 2001). EKZNW has a mandate of promoting tourism development in the province and administers the sale of wildlife products, the provision of accommodation, resale trading, the hire-lease of conferencing facilities, hunting, trails, rides and tours as a way of generating income in the protected conservation areas that it is responsible for" (EKZNW, 2009). The proclamation of the greater St Lucia Wetland Park as a world heritage site has added to the publicity and consequent growth in the tourism development of Maputaland.

Tourism and Ecotourism in Maputaland: The Key Players.

There is a lot of diversity and complexities in the nature of coastal and marine tourism in Maputaland, as a result different stakeholders and actors have been responsible for tourism development in the area. Similar to the conservation sector, the province of KwaZulu natal has been handed the mandate of developing its tourism resources in South Africa. This mandate is articulated in the 1997 act of parliament that assigns conservation, tourism and community participation to EKZNW. EKZNW currently operates over 100 overnight accommodation commercial properties in around the protected areas where it has a conservation mandate. In addition to managing its own properties, EKZNW also manages commercial and rural tourism developments in the province of KwaZulu Natal and can be identified as one of the key actors in the tourism industry within the province.

There however exists contestation in the St Lucia (Isimangaliso) Wetland Park; after the designation of St Lucia Wetland Park as a world heritage site, a private run NGO was given the authority to manage conservation priorities in the site. Isimangaliso appears to have extended the conservation mandate to incorporate management of any commercial and social activities that take place within the park hence, there is a power conflict with EKZNW, which also operates commercial tourism activities within the park.

As an industry, tourism is dependent on private sector financing and operators, within Maputaland these can be divided into two distinct groups. Firstly there are large scale commercial operators which manage large-scale lodges and operate complimentary marine tourism activities such as scuba diving, recreational fishing and snorkeling along the coast.

The second group of tourism developers are smaller scale private operators that have established second home or bed and breakfast (B&B) type of operations. These operations tend to be a bit more inland, they are however within close proximity of the coastline. Some of the smaller operators are located within rural communities and tend to partner with local communities in cultural tourism type of ventures such as traditional dances and ceremonies, community hikes and selling of locally made handcrafts and artifacts. In reference to this dynamic a community member pointed out that ``They are with us (lodges and Bed & Breakfast establishments) in the community, sometimes they are good for us and provide different work for us... `` (Field Research SK0206, 2011).

Finally local communities have also emerged as actors in the tourism industry, these type of locally co-owned tourism initiatives have emerged in Maputaland and many regions of South Africa due to the legislative policies regarding land ownership and use. The land restitution laws in South Africa dictate that communities that have had their ancestral land resituated to them

indeed own the land but cannot change designated land use patterns on a particular parcel of land. The outcome of these laws on lands that has been designed as commercial or tourism has been a partnership and co-ownership of tourism projects, usually between big external investors and local communities.

Livelihoods and Benefits of Tourism in Maputaland

The Tourism industry in Maputaland was an industry of hope in terms of the livelihoods and entitlements benefits to rural coastal communities. A senior government official interviewed for this research calls it a gain industry, according to him "To get communities to agree with conservation we (provincial government of KwaZulu Natal) sold tourism as a plus, a gain industry from which they would prosper" (Field Research DT0707, 2011).

The concept of Pro Poor Tourism (PPT) has been implemented in Maputaland with an aim for private and government sector tourism enterprises to address issues of poverty and development within communities that are within close proximity of these enterprises. PPT was adopted in South Africa to align with the responsible tourism guidelines in relation to the triple balance of economic, social and environmental impact of the sector.

With a central aim to recruit and employ locals, buy locally made goods and procure local services as well as develop partnerships and joint ventures with communities; the PPT program seeks to establish fair trade practices with local communities and through the tourism enterprise programme, provide US$7,6 million every four years to facilitate development of small to medium size tourism (DEAT, 2002).

One of the most significant gains emanating from the tourism industry has been the tourism community levy. EKZNW collects and remits 10% of all the income generated from tourism

activities in the province to local communities that reside in and around protected areas where these tourism activities occur. Some rural coastal communities in Maputaland have been incredibly successful in managing community levies, for instance the *Mfolozi* community decided that the community levy it received would be reinvested into their own ecotourism initiatives which they would then be able to generate long term income. The outcome of this particular initiative has been a successful lodge and conferencing tourism facility called the *Tseleni* project.

In addition to providing sustainable income for the communities, the project has also provided full time and part-time employment to local community members. In some cases such as in Sodwana Bay, rural communities have worked with local municipalities to use the tourism community levy to develop local infrastructure that helps to uplift the social conditions of communities. In Sodwana Bay clinics, schools and community centres have been developed through the use of this fund (Field Research GB0607, 2011).

The diversity of tourism activities in Maputaland has also provided a diversity of employment opportunities particularly for young people living in and around tourist facilities. Young people's knowledge of the local area is essential in providing wildlife tours to visitors. Furthermore, many young man and women are employed in the entertainment and recreational lodges as waitresses, cashiers and landscapers. Elderly women's skills have been useful in the industry too in making local handmade crafts which tourists take back home as sovieniers. One resident of Kosi Bay acknowledges that "Different people benefit from the tourism businesses, the older women have markets and can sell their products to visitors, young men and women are employed to work as cleaners and garden boys in the hotels" (Field Research DM2906, 2011).

Negative Impacts of Tourism, Loss of Livelihoods, Benefits and Access

Land Use Shift:

Perhaps the greatest immeasurable loss that the tourism industry has had on the livelihoods of rural coastal communities in Maputaland is associated with shifting land use practices. The shift in land use to tourism type activities has laid claim to vast tracts of land either for practical use or in some cases simply to maintain the pristine untouched aesthetic image of a place. In places such as Kosi Bay, this land use shift has in many places diminished traditional land use practices such as agriculture, subsistence fishing and hunting that traditional communities have been dependant on. The full impact of this shift has been significant because in many cases tourism activities and policies now hinder other type of land use practices that would provide alternative livelihood options to rural coastal dwellers other than the employment opportunities created through tourism and ecotourism.

Tourism and The Employment Myth:

The most prominent gain that the tourism industry is supposed to deliver is employment. In the region of Maputaland the tourism sector and the PPT approach has largely failed to deliver the amount of jobs and employment opportunities that are commensurate to the livelihood losses that coastal rural communities gave up (willingly or by coercion) for the sector to develop. One government official working in the Kosi Bay area spoke frankly about the employment situation and says that... "We have failed to deliver jobs! 25 years ago EKZNW employed over 100 community people in the Kosi Bay area, now we employ about 50" (Field Research BG0607, 2011).

Secondly, in terms of employment creation, the tourism sector has failed qualitatively in that the seasonal nature of tourism has meant that most people employed in the sector tend to be seasonal or part-time workers. Furthermore, the majority of local people employed in the sector, are employed as general hands or for very low skilled, low paying type of work, while the higher skilled positions tend to be externalised to a highly educated and usually external workforce. One interviewee reveals that ``I don`t think that this tourism is good for our communities in the future, the jobs we get are on and off jobs. In the past there were many jobs available to us, but now only very few lucky people can get jobs in tourism, we need something else`` (Field Research SJ2906, 2011). Two PPT projects in Maputaland, the Coral Divers and Phinda Game Reserve for instance only generated 59 and 248 full and part time jobs respectively. Both of these tourism enterprises lie in areas that have a combined population of about 25 000 rural dwellers (Spencely & Sief, 2003).

Valli Moosa, the South African Minister of Environment states that ``Responsible tourism is about enabling local communities to enjoy a better quality of life through socio-economic benefits and an improved environment`` (DEAT 2002). However, the limitations of the tourism sector to create decent employment and employment figures that are sufficient to uplift the socio-economic status of populations are firstly systemic; in that the nature of local employment within the tourist industry is largely low skilled, manual and exploitative labour.

Secondly, within the context of Maputaland and KwaZulu Natal, the reality is that the sector failed to take off as was initially anticipated. As government funding for social development projects declined in KZN, it was assumed that tourism would bolster the region (EKZNW, 2010). However tourism has failed as an engine of local development in the area due to the decline in the global economy and unstructured guidance from government (as will be discussed later).

Data from this research suggests that there is under-development in terms of tourism in the Maputaland region specifically and coastal areas of KZN. Instead of structured tourism development there exists instead uncoordinated ad-hoc tourism and ecotourism private initiatives that mushroom without the proper authorisation from provincial or national government. At issue here is the fact that uncoordinated tourism development is less likely to deliver a stream of livelihood benefits to rural communities as outlined in the principles of the PPT approach. For instance in the Kosi Bay area alone, occupancy of tourist facilities has dropped to about 50% thereby limiting the number of employment opportunities available for locals (ibid).

Finally the concept of PPT has largely failed because local communities are not empowered to make important decisions regarding the nature and intensity of tourism development. As a private sector type initiative, impactful decisions on tourism are usually made in foreign countries, or by high ranking government officials and powerful local elites. Local participation and decision making in the sector remains largely distant and opportunistic at best. A senior EKZNW official in the tourism department acknowledges, ``... yes, in terms of policy and practice, as a province, we have had less control of the tourism sector compared to conservation. The sectors is of immense importance to national government and they have a big say, also the big tourism companies lobby directly to national government for policies that favour them...``

The future of the tourism industry does not look promising for Maputaland, field research for this project was conducted in mid-2011, several months after South Africa hosted the 2010 FIFA soccer world cup. The South African government and tourism industry at large had high hopes of this global event as stimulus for the tourism in the country. In Maputaland it was expected that that the 2010 world cup would bring funding from government for tourism development,

however this did not happen, as the region is more than 100km away from any of the sites where the world cup matches were held (ibid).

"Waiters and Whores": Social Impacts of Tourism:

Researchers such as Braisolius have referred to the idea of community benefits of tourism as a conceptual oxymoron (Braisolius, 2002). The growth and development of the tourism industry in Maputaland has had many social repercussions on proximate rural communities in Maputaland. This transformation is both value and ideological based and has been witnessed in many tourism locales in the South where the values and traditional lifestyles of local peoples are fundamentally different from those of the tourism industry and Western visitors.

An older female community member in Sodwana Bay commented that she had noticed that the way of life was changing as a result of tourism in the area, she noticed that community members who work in tourism facilities become westernised and crave modern things; they take these cultures back into local communities who also internalise these Western values. (Field Research JH2906, 2011). The westernisation of rural coastal communities denotes many societal shifts that clash with the local realities and practices. The nature of tourism encourages monetary exchange for goods and services rendered. These values are ideologically opposed to the traditional values of surrounding communities where volunteerism, equity and communal existence are the norm.

Furthermore, most African societies have traditionally been gerientric, where one`s social standing is usually determined by age, wisdom and service to the community, however with cash based society one's status is based on the amount of money or income that one possesses.

The same elderly interviewee also talked about the many broken homes and relationships in her area. The connections between tourism and the sex trade have been well highlighted in tourism and community development literature. The hospitality industry prefers to employ young good looking employees for its front line staff. As with most other tourism activities, commercial sex, formal and informal is a reality in Maputaland too. Young people working in tourism enterprises or living in close proximity to these facilities often entertain and provide sexual favours to tourists in search of exotic sexual experiences and offering much needed foreign currency in exchange.

Combined Impacts of Tourism and Conservation on Rural livelihoods

The Dynamics between Tourism and Conservation, Convergence and Divergence

The combination of tourism and conservation has created an assumed synergy in the potential of both sectors to deliver dual social development to rural coastal communities in South Africa and coastal regions such as Maputaland. The merging of the national and KwaZulu Natal provincial departments of Environment and Tourism into one over-arching government department is testimony to this assumed synergy. Furthermore the establishment of EKZNW as the provincial body that has the mandate to deliver conservation, tourism and community development priorities assumes the ability of the tourism and conservation sectors to act as agency for community development in Maputaland.

Mr. Buthelezi EKZNW`s head of commercial (tourism) operations, claims that this synergy has logic and makes sense as the spaces where conservation takes place are also the same spaces that have huge tourism potential, hence combining the sectors ``... creates the possibility of conserving the natural environment while capitalising on the ability of visitors to enjoy that

same space, in terms of local communities, the income generated from tourism as well as the conservation mandate provides a double benefit for them`` (Field Research Buthelezi, 2011).

In the past few past few decades, there has been numerous research that points to the negative impacts of the tourism sector on natural resources and the environment (Krippendory, 1975; Matheson & Wall, 1982; Butler, 1980). Researchers, Stefan Gossling and Michael Hall working in various locations across the world have exposed that tourism as a sector is largely dependent on natural resources, and in their research work depict ``Tourism related consumption of the environment`` (Gossling & Hall, 2006).

Evidence from this research appears to suggest that this synergy is not quite as perfect as government policy-makers would want us to believe. The reality on the ground, points to a situation where synergies such as those described by Mr. Buthelezi occur alongside complex divergences of the two sectors.

Both ideologically and practically, the conservation and tourism sectors are also sectors in contestation. In specific places of Maputaland such as Kosi bay and Sodwana Bay, tourism development threatens and sometimes undermines ecological sustainability. One community environmental monitor, reporting on this issue point out, ``Sodwana is a marine protect area, there is so many resources on the beach... when tourists see all these things, they think they will never end and use them as they like`` (Field Research LJ0507, 2011).

Regional development planners interviewed for this research illuminate this complexity through realising,

``In an ideal world conservation and commercial tourism enterprises should work, however in South Africa, governments pockets are running dry to the high spending on other essential social

issues, in this case pressure is put on tourism to generate profits that would sustain both conservation and communities, ironically this kind of pressure leads to tourism growth that is not environmentally sustainable`` (Field Research LJ0507, 2011).

The interviewee provided an example of a development plan that had been proposed in a coastal area for a camp site, the plans included developing a tarred road and electricity for lighting. This project caused a lot of conflict between the tourism development and ecological environmental assessment unit that claimed the road would run across an essential ecological corridor and lighting this particular area, would threaten nocturnal species such as owls that nested close to the proposed site, the interviewee concludes that ``in the end we were torn in two there trying to balance the commercial aspect of the project and conservation priorities`` (ibid).

Some of the community environmental monitors working close to tourism facilities provided further examples of large scale beach tourism facilities that are threatening sand dunes' ecological support for land and marine species such as sea turtles and coastal birds that lay eggs and mate on dunes. The monitors report, `` some of the tourists have little respect for ecological balance, tourists pick up rocks, eggs, and other things to take back home to their countries. In addition, camp sites and nature trails, disturb the animal and plant life in the region`` (Field Research SK0206, 2011)

One of the starkest examples of the contestation between the tourism and environmental sectors in KwaZulu Natal and South Africa is the recent ban by Minister of Water and Environmental Affairs to operate recreational vehicles and bikes along the coastline, as these disturb and pollute natural habitats and breading grounds of marine species, the ban stipulates. ``The Regulations for the Control of Use of Vehicles in the Coastal Zone ("the Regulations")

provide for a general prohibition on the public recreational use of vehicles in the South African coastal zone as a whole" (Environmental Affairs, March 2011). Currently the tourism business operators are lobbying government to reverse this ban.

Developmental Dilemmas: Impact of Tourism and Conservation on Rural Coastal Dwellers

The combination of the tourism and environmental conservation sector has resulted in a range of developmental dilemmas in terms of how the two sectors impact the livelihoods and entitlements of rural coastal communities. Environmental conservation and tourism present significant opportunities and risks for the livelihoods of rural coastal communities in Maputaland. On the one hand, the importance of preservation and managing natural resource capital in Maputaland is real and necessary. As outlined earlier, in interviewing rural communities members and various stakeholders, all are in agreement to the urgent need to protect natural resources as they were seen as an important source of livelihood for communities and an important assert for any meaningful long term community development in the region. However, the introduction of a sector (tourism) whose development process and activities are largely dependent on the very same natural resources that the conservation sector is trying to protect signifies contradictory policies and realities. The tourism sector then appears as a competing sector, both to the livelihoods of rural coastal communities and indeed to the conservation sector.

Tourism & Alternative Livelihoods

The theory of alternative livelihoods, proposes that incorporating a wide range of activities in coastal areas carries the potential of providing and creating dynamic forms of incomes and resources that would provide a broad range of alternative livelihoods to coastal communities.

Researchers from the University of KZN, warn that we have to be careful about looking at the idea of alternative livelihoods as a development indicator, when in Maputaland it might in fact be an indicator of failure to cope by rural communities (Field Research UB0531, 2011).

I make the argument in this dissertation that in their quest for space, land and labour, the combination of the conservation and tourism sectors have encouraged rural coastal communities to scale down on livelihood practices such as agriculture, hunting, harvesting of forest and marine resources for the promise of alternative livelihood forms (namely jobs) which in fact they have been partially successful in providing. The outcomes of this failure to deliver decent employment, has the result of squeezing and actually eroding the entitlements and livelihoods on coastal communities.

Social Impact: Community Development or Community Degradation.

One of the most tangible community development gains of the conservation-tourism complex has been the remittance of the 10% community levy generated from tourism activities that operate in protected areas or around rural communities. There is significant evidence to show that in communities that have responsible local governance and traditional leadership working together, these financial resources have been used to either develop social support structures such as schools, medical facilities and community centres or in some cases reinvested in commercial operations that regenerate capital, employment and livelihoods for the community.

In the places where it has been successfully implemented, this model of community development, allows coordination of different local governance structures, is usually participatory and forms the basis of socio-economic empowerment that leads to meaningful community development.

Sadly, this model of community development is not structured and is far from being the norm among rural communities in Maputaland. Recent research conducted by the Environmental Assessment Unit of the University of Cape Town reveals that the problem of dual governance structures in the province of KwaZulu Natal (local councils and tribal authorities) as well and weak government structures, has resulted in unequal access to benefits from the coast (Wynberg, Hauck, Mbatha & Raemaekers, 2011).

With specific regards to the community levies it appears that in many communities of Maputaland these weak institutional arrangements have resulted in deep tensions and conflicts within communities, as traditional leaders often lack accountability of the levy funds and develop a sense of entitlement to the money. It appears that traditional patronage systems are used and only community members that are close to the traditional leadership actually gain access and benefit from the community levy funds (ibid). Thus it appears that community levies have presented a double edged sword for rural coastal communities in Maputaland, on the one hand they have the potential to transform and uplift communities but in most cases they act as a source of deep division and internal marginalisation of communities (Mbatha, 2011).

New land Use and Access Realities, A new Apartheid?

The Conservation-tourism complex has ushered in a dual affront to issues of land use and access as it relates to coastal communities. This research has established that in spaces where protected areas and tourism activities occur simultaneously, the land use regimes that inhibit traditional land use practices are in fact reinforced by both the conservation and tourism land use delegations. In the Ndumo game reserve and area of Kosi Bay, where such a scenario occurs for example, traditional land use practices are inhibited by both environmental and tourism operations.

Connected to the new land use regimes is the issue of access; similarly in areas where tourism activities and conservation operate in the same space, access into those areas becomes even more challenging for community members. In places such as Mhulume, the establishment of tourist activities in protected areas has resulted in the fencing off of these coastal sites to protect tourists and wildlife from external threats.

In many of these areas, arrangements have been made to allow local communities to access these areas only for tourism purposes, the socio-economic realities of community members make wildlife tourism and recreation the least of their life priorities; being too concerned with basic challenges of providing shelter, food and life's basics for their families.

The deliberate or incidental prohibition of native peoples to access and use their lands freely and to meet their local realities, has led researchers and social scientists asking the question, is this a new form of separation, a new type of apartheid? Guha and Martinez in *The Environmentalism of the Poor* explores how environmental degradation leads to intense conflict between the rich and the poor/the powerful and the weak. Guha and Martinez present the environment as a new form of class conflict, it is an interesting perspective on social class relations and how they are governed by resources conflict (Guha and Martinez, 2003).

Since 1913, the Native People's Act of the colonial regime in South Africa had been masterly at instituting legal regimes that displaced and denied indigenous black peoples access and free use of the lands and surrounding natural resources. The issues of land use and access in Maputaland as they demarcate according to race and economic status, are reminiscent of the apartheid set-up! A local resident of KwaMbila, a coastal village in Sodwana Bay laments ``These areas (tourism & protected areas) are not for us, they are for the rich white people to enjoy and benefit...`` (Field Research FD0106, 2011).

The final sections of this chapter will pursue a national and global political-economy analysis, and attempt to delve into some of the national and global institutional arrangements as they pertain to tourism and environmental conservation looking at how these impact on the livelihood rural peoples in the coast of Maputaland.

Local, Regional and National Institutional Arrangement and Policy Frameworks

This research has established that one of the major issues that need to be addressed among communities in Maputaland in order to ensure livelihoods benefits from the conservation and tourism sector is to demystify the complexity and multiplicity of institutional arrangements and policy arrangement that impact livelihood opportunity and distribution of benefits from coastal resources.

One of the major setbacks to livelihoods benefits in Maputaland is the ambiguous nature of power relations between traditionally elected chiefs and local elected municipalities. In the Richards Bay area for instance, there exists a clear conflict in terms of power relations, resulting in a two tier governance structure; one traditional and authoritarian and generally lacking in transparency and accountability, and the other modern, legislated and democratically elected (Mbatha, 2011).

These institutional confusions have led to lack of clarity in terms of establishing connections between the conservation and tourism sectors with local communities to ensure equitable livelihood distribution and benefits. Clear examples of this are the local co-management committees that have been established with rural coastal communities in Maputaland. Research undertaken by EKZNW has shown that local elites and those close to them have the most representation in these committees, while broader resources users such as fisherman are marginalised from these decision making bodies. What has also been established is that local

committees have tended to marginalise important demographic groups such as women and youth both in representation and accessing benefits from the sectors such as employment, fishing licences, forest resources such as game and firewood and funds collected through the community levy programs.

The Role of EKZNW in Ensuring Ecological, Economic and Social Prosperity

Within the province of KZN another institutional challenge is connected to the role of the provincial implementing agency. EKZNW has been mandated with ensuring the success of environmental conservation, tourism and rural community development. The current model of EKZNW in meeting these three priorities does not appear to be a triple balance approach which ensures parallel success of these three development pillars. Instead the agency appears to have a hierarchical structure, with conservation as its main focus, tourism as the economic driver of the three deliverables and community development and livelihood benefits as an incidental or outcome benefit emanating from the other two pillars.

Interviews with EKZNW managers of the three sectors indicate ideological conflicts within the organisation in terms of achieving these three mandates. In terms of policy frameworks the three pillars are meant to be symbiotic and mutually beneficial. The reality on the ground, as this research has outlined is that the sectors interact in a manner that creates both synergies and convergence in that the rural livelihoods and benefits often compete with conservation and tourism activities, similarly the tourism and conservation pillars are sometimes not mutually beneficial and there are losses that occur as a result of the collision of these two pillars (Mbatha, 2011).

On a national level, the post 1994 South African government has enacted a series of progressive legislation that ensures equitable rights and access to marine resources users, prominent among these policies is the 1998 National Environmental Management Act, which aims to...

- Reinforce the constitutional environmental rights to all citizens

- Improve decision making through application and incorporation of a set of principles by all state organs

- Inclusion of civil society in environmental governance (NEMA, 1998)

Researchers in South Africa, have however pointed out that implementation of the legislative and policy regimes have been weak in South Africa due to lack of human institutional capacity within government and budget constraints within the appropriate government departments (Hara, 2003). In addition to weak institutional capacity of the national government to ensure adequate access to resources for rural coastal communities, has been the reality of sometimes contradictory legislative imperatives in relation to coastal regions as a whole.

South Africa`s current rural land policies in the province of KwaZulu Natal, contradict some of the assurances made in the environmental acts such as NEMA. While NEMA seeks to ensure a set a principles including `` equitable access to environmental resources, with special measures for previously disadvantaged persons, participation of all interested and affected parties in environmental governance, with appropriate capacity building that ensures equitable participation...`` (ibid) the reality is that the rural coastal land reclamation policies, actively deny rural coastal communities the freedom to choose land use patterns and access of the lands and marine areas they inhabit.

The combination of contradictory legal frameworks, competing power and jurisdiction as well as weak institutional capacity has severely impacted rural coastal communities' ability to develop

adequate livelihoods from their proximate natural resources. And in cases where livelihoods

and benefits do accrue, these weaknesses serve as blocks to equitable distribution and access in

terms of benefits sharing (Ribot & Peluso, 2003., Mbatha, 2010).

Political Ecology

Within the global South and Sub Saharan Africa in particular, there is a dominant narrative

which blames the environmental crises on proximate and local forces. The World Bank

identifies heavy reliance on natural capital by local communities, extreme poverty and very fast

population growth as some of the major obstacles to sustainable development in Sub-Saharan

Africa (World Bank, 1996). This narrative and perspective of ecological degradation in Sub

Saharan Africa denies an analysis of the broader political and economic systems that create

these local realties.

Researchers such as Paul Barron and Wolfgang Sachs have refuted this narrative and argue

instead that the ecological crises in Africa should be analysed in a more global context, which

interrogates the power and economic dynamics influencing the region. (Paul Barron, 2005).

Similarly, in evaluating the ecological crises in Maputaland and the rest of the South African

coast, very little research has attempted to establish connections between local ecological

issues and the impacts of global capitalist enterprises such as the mining, forestry and tourism

industries which are prolific in Maputaland. Furthermore very little attention has been paid to

issues of large scale fishing by local and international commercial fisheries industries along

South Africa`s coast.

Issues of the impact of Western Industrialisation on climate change, global warming and

pollution of the global commons such as the oceans and atmosphere are also surprisingly

missing from the World Bank's analysis of the ecological crises in Sub Saharan Africa. This is a perspective that Robins terms, "apolitical ecology" the idea that ecological issues, occur outside broader geo-political interests (ibid).

In Maputaland the dominant narrative is that local community's interactions with nature have led to loss of species, natural habitats and bio-diversity loss in these natural parts of the world. (DEAT, 2002; EKZNW, 2011) This perspective of apolitical ecology ignores one of the core problem of power relations and the dominance of global forces. It is an idea that reinforces existing social and economic inequalities.

The political ecology critique is one that seeks to cut away from the dominant narratives and methods of research. In turn political ecology seeks to interrogate the power interests that come to bear on local issues. It is an analysis that seeks to provide political, ecological and social equity as a way of solving environmental challenges.

The geopolitical positioning of South Africa has greatly shaped the nature of the country's economic policies, which inadvertently also frame social and environmental policy directions. South Africa's emerged from colonial rule with a complex mix of curses and blessings. Throughout this work, we have traced some of the impacts of these historical curses on the place and people of Maputaland. One of the blessings of South Africa in 1994, was to inherit, the strongest and most diverse economies in Africa, more importantly, the finance infrastructure was well developed with pre-existing links to the global international finance system (Moore, 2007.)

South Africa's connection in into the global system was effectively accomplished through a series of international policy frameworks, most of which had a neoliberal outlook.

Consequently, South Africa also ratified a lot of global protocols and legal instruments that has been put in place by the international community (Buttershy & Yingnu 2011).

South Africa is currently signatory to many global environmental statutes that have greatly shaped its own environmental regimes to align with international standards and practices. Key in this union was South Africa hosting the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCEDs) World Sustainability forum in 2002 and adopting the Johannesburg Plan of Implementation (JPOI) which sets out 37 targets for achieving sustainable development (DEAT, 2002).

According to critics such as Sachs, the problem with this approach is that it locks the dialogue around environmental issues in the development discourse which is deeply intertwined with the Western world's notions about economic growth and market consumption; hence the ecological predicament of the world now falls under the mandate of the very same social actors that were responsible for creating the world's ecological problems in the first place; namely governments, agencies and corporations as some of those actors that have hijacked this new sustainable development agenda.

The alienation of local communities in Maputaland from accessing natural resources is more than just a localised phenomenon, but is also connected to issues of international power relations.

The scene in resource abundant places of Sub Saharan Africa is reminiscent of film director, James Cameron's world of Avatar, where a powerful political and capitalist elite seeks to control the ecological commons that is essential in sustaining the livelihood of local humanoid, fauna and flora communities. This a class of people that has moved beyond their basic consumption needs to enriching themselves through harvesting resources in other locals in foreign places.

The places they seek to control are however inhabited by different groups of people whose existence is intricately connected to their surrounding natural world; *"ecosystem people"* (Guha and Martinez, 2009).

Discussion, analysis and policies into the livelihoods of the ecosystem peoples of Sub Saharan Africa need to move beyond the single one sided dimension of simply looking at local forces. Without doubt and as has been outlined in this work, local practices do impose pressure on the local environment that leads to ecological dereliction. Ecological destruction is however a bigger international development issue that is connected to the insecurities of the poor and the excesses of the wealthy. Embedded in this global dichotomy of rich and poor, are the power relations that the wealthy, who also have the power to establish global agendas and drive legal processes.

Research and policies that affect the natural resource livelihoods of the majority on the African sub-continent need to incorporate policies relating to global power interests that have a stake in the extraction and use of the same natural resources.

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Recommendations

Limitations of the research

This field work for this research period was conducted over a three month period. While the researcher did make good use of the time and resources afforded to him, it is important to note that had more time and financial resources been available, the outcomes and findings of the research would have been deeper and broader. In addition to resource challenges, the researcher also faced language constraints, particularly in conducting interviews with older rural community members who do not speak English. To mitigate this challenge an interpreter was used to translate IsiZulu (the local language in KwaZulu Natal) into English. It is possible that in the translation process, nuanced meaning and context may have been comprised. Finally, some of the interviewees who provided data and information for the research are government workers or employees of Ezemvelo Kwazulu Natal Wildlife (EKZNW), it is possible that these individual might have held back some information in fear of divulging information that might threaten their jobs. Similarly it is possible that rural community members might have held back information fearing reprisals from local authorities that might arise should their identities and information become public.

Generalizability of This Research to Other Case Sites

An important question for this research is whether the research outcomes and findings can be generalised to include other coastal regions or even inland regions of South Africa and beyond. The benefit of the extreme case selection technique used for this research is that the social variables being investigated; such as local resource dependency, tourism development, environmental conservation and shifting land use paradigms similarly occur in other regions of Sub-Saharan Africa. The argument can thus be made that if these social occurrences exist in

extreme coastal regions such as Maputaland it can be generalised to understand social phenomenon in other coastal and inland regions can. Ultimately extreme cases can be subject to falsification if some of the variables in the case can be disproved (Flyvbjerk, 2006).

Conclusions

Development Dilemmas in Maputaland

This research has established that the development challenges in Maputaland are multi-faceted. The coastal region of Maputaland is a region experiencing social, economic and environmental crises. Almost all of the people interviewed for this research, acknowledged that natural resources in Maputaland are in decline. Compounding this ecological crisis is the socio-economic situation of the people of Maputaland which has resulted in resource dependency and overuse. There is a cruel irony to the lives of Maputaland rural coastal dwellers, on the one hand and to the external eye, they live in a geographical space whose aesthetic beauty is almost indescribable; the mighty roar of the Indian ocean as it reaches the African continent ferrying millions of marine visitors, is a spectacle they witness everyday as they carry out the dramas of their everyday lives. The other side of this story is more desperate. It is a story of the struggles of communities to cope with meeting life's everyday challenges. Struggles to provide adequate food, clothing and sometimes shelter, struggles with health issues, both personal and community and the struggle to control and freely choose the path to their existence.

Fundamentally, it is these mixed blessings and curses that ushered the sectors of modern environmental conservation and tourism into the Maputaland region. Each of the sectors has a primary goal, a central mission to accomplish. Although the missions of the two sectors are essentially different, both sectors claim they will produce the same outcomes for rural communities.

Complex Relationship Between the Tourism and Environmental Conservation Sectors

The central aim of environmental conservation is ecological, while that of the tourism sector is to make profit. The first synergy between the sectors emerges out of the theory that both conservation and tourism activities will enhance the livelihoods of rural coastal community dwellers. The second synergy is one of practicality and perhaps necessity. The two sectors need and support each other in a mutually beneficial way. The tourism sector needs the environmental conservation sector to access environmental areas where their visitors can enjoy nature's beauty. This research has revealed that due to dwindling government funding, the environmental conservation sector is becoming increasingly dependent on the tourism and the private sector to finance its operations.

One of the major outcomes of this research project has been that the synergies between the conservation and tourism sectors is neither as healthy nor functional as was initially hypothesised in this research project. The reality is that, the sectors interact in more complex ways that create synergies and constraints for each other. While supporting each other's existence, an interesting dynamic that emerged from this research is that these two sectors are also sectors in competition, the development of either sector, actually impedes the full success of the other!

The Combined Impact of the Tourism Sector and Environmental Conservation on Rural Livelihoods

In terms of their connected outcomes; to improve the livelihoods of rural coastal communities, the merging of tourism and conservation sectors has created a whole host of developmental dilemmas for rural coastal communities. Not only do the sectors provide benefits to rural

communities but both conservation and tourism, compete with rural coastal communities for space and natural capital.

This research has established that it is almost impossible to provide a sweeping assessment of the overall impact of the tourism and conservation sectors on the livelihoods of rural dwellers. Within the region of Maputaland there exist particular enclaves, localities and groups of individuals whose livelihoods have been greatly enhanced through tourism and conservation interventions. Examples of these successes have been highlighted throughout this dissertation, in places such as Sokhulu, where the CBNRM mussel harvesting project has improved mussel populations and ultimately community consumption levels back to mid-1990 levels.

Within the tourism sector, examples have been provided of communities that have been highly successful in their use of the 10% tourism remittances provided to communities. For instance communities in the Mfolozi area have reinvested the remittance fund into their own ecotourism business, the Tseleni project; which currently employs many local people in addition to providing additional capital resources for the community`s needs. Furthermore in Sodwana bay, local councils and traditional elders have channeled the tourism remittance towards the development of social infrastructure such as schools, clinics and community centres; which are likely to enhance local community development in these areas.

In addition both the conservation and tourism sectors have provided income and employment benefits to rural community dwellers through creating opportunities for locals to provide traditional arts and crafts to tourists as well as work in local Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) structures and tourism businesses within the region of Maputaland.

The Employment Myth

The combination of the conservation and tourism sectors have part encouraged, part pressured rural coastal communities to limit traditional livelihood practices such as agriculture, hunting, harvesting of forest and marine resources, promising employment as an alternative income and livelihood source. This research has recognized that for the most part, the two sectors have had limited success in providing decent employment which is commensurate with the losses of traditional livelihood sources by rural coastal community dwellers. Government officials, senior staff with EKZNW and local community members all agree that the quality and quantity of jobs are not sufficient to provide meaningful socio-economic entitlements to communities (Field Research BG0607, 2011; Field Research SJ2906, 2011).

The Connection Between Shifting Land Use Paradigms and Rural Livelihoods

Evidence from this research has further established that in spaces such as Ndumo game reserve and Kosi Bay where protected areas and tourism activities occur simultaneously, land use regimes that limit traditional land use practices are in fact reinforced by both conservation and tourism land use delegations.

This research has not only been concerned with the outcomes of conservation and tourism on the livelihoods of rural communities, but has gone further in trying to understand the processes and systems that impact the way in which rural communities access natural resources. The answers to these questions were sought by observing both proximate and international political economy issues.

Issues of land tenureship and rights remain the most salient way in which rural coastal communities have been marginalised from accessing and using natural resources that are

essential for their livelihoods. The land represents more than just a physical space where livelihood practices takes place, the land is essentially the vehicle through which communities are able to establish lifestyle patterns and choices. The relationship between rural land ownership and protected areas in South Africa is creating a two tier, ownership versus use land regime; where rural coastal communities have the legal ownership of land, but are however limited in terms of real land rights and use which normally comes with land ownership.

A situation where rural coastal communities own land, but other powerful actors such as the conservation and tourism sectors maintain the rights to determine land use patterns is problematic. This research has revealed that one of the major negative impacts of the tourism-conservation complex on the livelihoods of rural dwellers has been through a shift in land use patterns. This nature of land tenureship perpetuates a kind of separation of land ownership and land rights/use, which maintain poverty, underdevelopment and lack of entitlements and livelihoods for rural coastal dwellers.

The Impact of Community Based Natural Resource management and Pro-Poor Tourism On Rural Livelihoods

The concepts of CBNRM and Pro Poor Tourism (PPT) have been used as analytical tools in this research work to assess the efficacy of community focused development models of the conservation and tourism sectors respectively. In theory both models aim to provide community focused development, not only in terms of ensuring equitable benefits and distribution from the gains of conservation and tourism but further aim to empower rural communities as equal developmental partners in managing natural resources in Maputaland.

The successes of these models have been well outlined in this paper; particular in advancing entrepreneurial tourism ventures, distributing financial remittances from the conservation-

tourism complex towards rural coastal communities and in the creation of local resource management community groups. The two models have also been successful in empowering local communities to establish participatory governance structures that deal with issues of local resource use (Field research PJ0807, 2011).

Ultimately however, both CBNRM and PPT appear have weaknesses both their structures and implementation, these weaknesses have prevented both models to institute broad based positive change regarding the livelihoods of rural communities (EKZNW, 2010, Field Research DM2906). CBNRM models in Maputaland appear to be less of a co-management model and more a co-opting of communities to buy into management models that continue to be imposed by powerful government systems and environmental groups. Under this model, for the most part communities still lack the ability to make governance decisions regarding the management of proximate natural resources. Furthermore, the model seems to perpetuate existing power dynamics within local communities, effectively marginalising groups such as women, youth and the elderly; that are distant from local power structures (ibid).

Similarly, the gains of PPT are subject to opportunity and resource capture by powerful local elites. Most of the local population merely serves as under skilled seasonal labourers in tourism businesses. The PPT model falls in with the structural weaknesses of the tourism sector in terms of its inability to deliver social gains to local communities; examples of these failures to provide meaningful employment in Maputaland have been highlighted in the case of the Coral Divers and Phinda Game Reserve (Spencely & Sief, 2003). Furthermore, it appears that under the PPT model, important decisions in the sector continue to be made by foreign investors and powerful government bureaucrats, while communities are disempowered to make meaningful decisions regarding how tourism operations impact their lifestyles.

Secondly, within the context of Maputaland and KwaZulu Natal, the reality is that the tourism sector failed to take off as was initially anticipated; as government funding for social development projects declined in KZN, it was assumed that tourism would bolster the region. However tourism has failed as an engine of local development in the area due to the decline in the global economy and unstructured guidance from government.

Complex Institution Arrangement and Their Impact on Rural Livelihoods

This research has further established that one of the major issues that needs to be addressed among communities in Maputaland in order to ensure livelihoods benefits from conservation and tourism is to demystify the complexity and multiplicity of institutional arrangements and policy arrangement that impact livelihood opportunities and the distribution of benefits from coastal resources. These institutional confusions have led to lack of clarity in terms of establishing connections between the conservation and tourism sectors with local communities to ensure equitable livelihood distribution and benefits.

The dual governance structures of modern versus traditional, democratic versus authoritarian, represent epistemological contradictions in the governance of rural areas of Maputaland which continue to affect local development in the region (Jones, 2006). Local elites and those close to them have the most representation in local committees, while broader resources users such as fisherman are marginalised from these decision making bodies (Wynberg, Hauck, Mbatha & Raemaekers2011; Mbatha, 2011). What has also been established is that local committees have tended to marginalise important demographic groups such as women and youth both in representation and accessing benefits such as employment, fishing licences and the distribution of forest resources such as game, firewood and funds collected through the community levy programs (EKZNW, 2010; Mbatha 2011;).

Within the province of KZN another institutional challenge is the role of the provincial implementing agency. Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife (EKZNW) has been mandated with ensuring the success of environmental conservation, tourism and rural community development. The current model of EKZNW in meeting these three priorities does not appear to be a triple balance approach which ensures parallel success of these three developmental pillars. Instead the agency appears to have a hierarchical structure, with conservation as its main focus, tourism as the economic driver and community development and livelihood benefits as an incidental or outcome benefit emanating from the success of the other two pillars (EKZNW, 2011).

Implementation of the legislative and policy regimes have been weak in South Africa due to lack of human institutional capacity within government and budget constraints within the appropriate government departments (Hara, 2003). In addition to weak institutional capacity of the national government to ensure adequate access to resources for rural coastal communities, there has been the reality of sometimes contradictory legislative imperatives in relation to coastal regions as a whole.

South Africa's current rural land policies in the province of KwaZulu Natal, contradict some of the assurances made in the environmental acts such as NEMA. While NEMA seeks to ensure a set a principles including "equitable access to environmental resources, with special measures for previously disadvantaged persons, participation of all interested and affected parties in environmental governance, with appropriate capacity building that ensures equitable participation..." (ibid) the reality is that rural coastal land policies such as the Interim Protection of Informal Land rights Act 28 of 1996, actively deny rural coastal communities the freedom to choose land use patterns and access of the lands and marine areas they inhabit (PLAAS, 2001).

The combination of contradictory legal frameworks, competing power and jurisdiction as well as weak institutional capacity has severely impacted rural coastal communities' ability to develop adequate livelihoods from their proximate natural resources. In cases were livelihoods and benefits do accrue, these weaknesses serve as blocks to equitable distribution and access in terms of benefits sharing (Ribot & Peluso, 2003; Mbatha, 2010).

Within the global South and Sub Saharan Africa in particular, there is a dominant narrative which blames the environmental crises on proximate and local forces (EKZNW, 2010; DEAT, 2002; Joubert, 2008; World Bank 1996). This narrative and perspective of ecological degradation in Sub Saharan Africa denies an analysis of the broader political and economic systems that create these local realities. The ecological crises in Africa should be analysed in a more global context, which interrogates the power and economic dynamics influencing the region.

Recommendations

- Developing countries such as South Africa need to firstly, continue pushing for more equitable representation and voice in international socio-economic forums. Secondly, and perhaps connected to the first point, is the ability of developing countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa to maintain some autonomy in setting national socio-economic policy priorities. The nature of international relations today has become of labyrinth of trade, investment, social and environmental priorities; given the vulnerabilities faced by the populations of Sub Saharan Africa, it is critical that Africa's policy makers balance their nations' ambitions on the world stage with protecting the vulnerabilities variously faces by the inhabitants of the continent.

- For post-apartheid South Africa, the process of nation building has included establishing a series of national legal and policy frameworks that would maintain economic

development of the country while guaranteeing social protection of its citizens. The institutional process of policy making within South Africa has however met with many challenges as different government departments draft policy's that sometimes undo or contradict the policies of other departments. This research has recognized that contradictory land and environmental policies have had negative impacts on the livelihoods of rural coastal communities in Maputaland. The national policy-making process in South Africa needs to be a cohesive process that incorporates federal, provincial, municipality and traditional jurisdictions.

Connected to the above issue, is the need to critically understand the different institutions and institutional arrangements between different government departments and stakeholders in the tourism, conservation and rural development arenas. This kind of stakeholder analysis would enable policy makers to engage all partners in a participatory discussion that would lead to meaningful community development which is genuinely supported by tourism and conservation initiatives.

- The government of South Africa is faced with many developmental challenges that place huge strains on national resources. The neoliberal approach to development that the Thabo Mbeki government embraced has seen the dominance of the private sector as a national actor and a gradual receding of the federal government in intervening in the the lives of the poor. This process is most obvious in the environmental and community development programs wherein the government has handed over the responsibility of financing social programs to the private sector (EKZNW, 2011) In Maputaland, due the coastal nature of the region, the private sector that is most prolific is the tourism sector, there are however other sectors such a mining and forestry that also operate in the province (Mbatha, 2011).

This paper has critiqued the neoliberal path to national development in South Africa; the desperate social and economic status of the majority of the former oppressed black citizens of the country requires a national policy framework that is more people centred and intentional in uplifting the lives of the poor, both rural and urban. There needs to be increased government funding for social and environmental protection. This kind of support would significantly reduce the influence of the private sector in local development, a scenario which is most likely to lead to stronger community owned development.

- Functional community development in Maputaland can only occur if there is sincerity on the part of the government and private sector to truly engage rural communities as developmental partners. The current CBNRM and PPT models appear to have bought into the current international development discourse of participatory development. In essence however, this research has established that the CBNRM and PPT models in Maputaland are not really participatory development models. They have the guise and language of participation; however the reality is that the opinions and ideas of locals do not make it up into policy and practices. The conservation and tourism sectors, working with provincial and national governments need to re-evaluate the community models that currently exist and ensure that equitable systems of community participation are adopted.
- Finally, in cases where positive livelihoods benefits do emanate from tourism and environmental conservation, there needs to be a deliberate process of ensuring equitable distribution of benefits into the community. To assume that benefits will accrue equally to community members is naive, negligent and assumes that a community is a homogenous entity. The reality of any community is obviously different,

replete with power struggles, internal tensions and different levels of access to benefits. Local municipalities in Maputaland need to work closely with community structures to ensure that weak and marginalised groups do receive benefits streaming from the conservation and tourism sector. This goal will most likely be achieved through establishing equal representation in the local community structures that make decisions regarding benefit sharing.

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