

An analysis of the development model for ex-farmworkers and adjacent communities in the Indalo association of private game reserves in the Eastern Cape.

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## **ABSTRACT**

Over the past fifteen years there has been an extensive conversion of land use from traditional farming practices to conservation and private game reserves. It has been suggested by Langholz and Kerley (2006:2) that privately owned preserved areas can engage in ecotourism initiatives by protecting biodiversity, succeeding financially and contributing to social upliftment. However, ecotourism has to operate within the context of historical land dispossession of the majority black population and current land reform initiatives to address this problem.

In view of the economic, social and environmental importance of ecotourism based private game reserves (PGRs) in South Africa, particularly the Eastern Cape, the main goal of this research is to examine the Indalo association of private game reserves in the Eastern Cape Province's development model for ex-farmworkers and adjacent communities. This was done through a literature survey and analysis of existing studies and by interviewing the managers of the Indalo PGRs and a few farmworkers to get their opinions of the tension between what they are doing and the imperatives of land reform. This involved an exploration of their community development work, particularly around issues of job creation, participation in decision-making, capacity building and sustainability.

The thesis comes to the following conclusions. The first is that the establishment of PGRs have a significant positive impact on the local areas in which they are established. As a land-use, ecotourism based game reserves are an economically and ecologically desirable alternative to other land uses. Therefore the ecotourism based private game reserve industry with its extensive community development focus for farmworkers and local communities is a viable and sustainable alternative to conventional land reform. The second is that the Indalo PGRs development work has built capacity in the communities it has served. However, community participation, particularly in decision-making is limited and needs more attention if productive and sustainable development is to be achieved. Lastly, communities rely heavily on external support for their development and upliftment. However, the majority of the PGRs have/or are putting measures in place to ensure the continuation of community development projects to ensure the long-term sustainability of projects.

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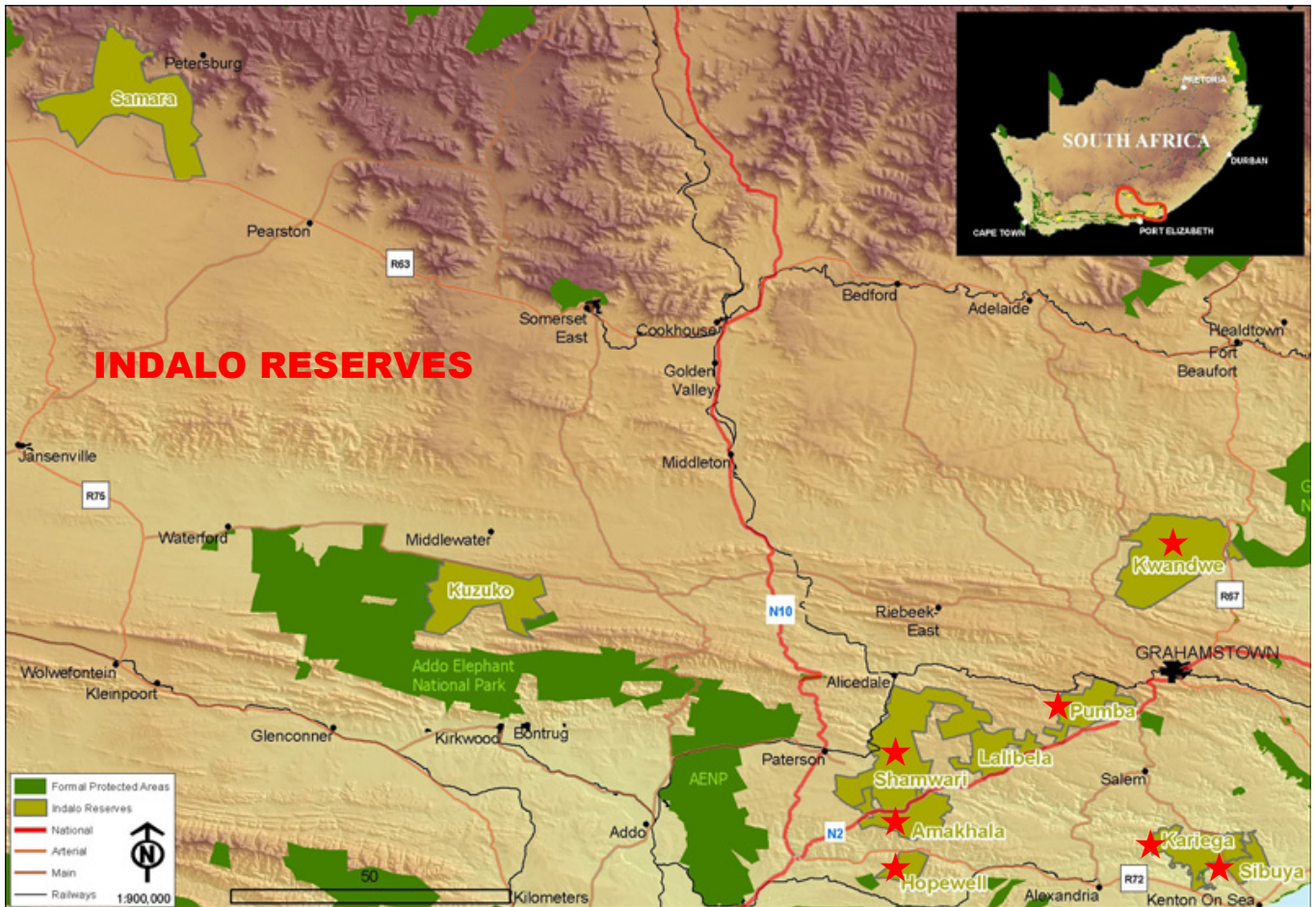
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[http://www.wildernessfoundation.co.za/index.php?option=com\\_projects&view=map&id=17%3Aindalo&Itemid=3](http://www.wildernessfoundation.co.za/index.php?option=com_projects&view=map&id=17%3Aindalo&Itemid=3)

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Map 1: Map showing the Indalo Private Game Reserves in the Eastern Cape

## INTRODUCTION

Based on the latest statistical information it is clear that tourism is an increasing phenomenon in South Africa. The increase in South Africa's tourism sector could be attributed to the country's diversity - not only in fauna and flora but also heritage and culture (SAInfo, 2014). A growing branch of the tourism industry, and one that is becoming increasingly popular, is ecotourism. Ecotourism has been defined as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" (The International Ecotourism Society (TIES), 2010:1). Three key elements appear to be generally part of ecotourism, that it is focused on environmental conservation, significant community participation and it is both profitable and self-sustaining (Mader, 2009:1). A further important development in ecotourism aims at improving the livelihoods of the rural poor (Turner, 2001:368).

Foreign arrivals in South Africa reached their highest level ever in 2013 as the country reached a record high of 9.6 million international tourist arrivals (SAInfo, 2014). South Africa's international tourist arrivals increased at an annual average growth rate of 7.4% between 2011 and 2013, considerably above the global average of 4.5% during this time (SAInfo, 2014). For a large proportion of international foreign tourists visiting South Africa each year, scenery and wildlife is the main attraction, with 45% of them visiting a wildlife or nature reserve during their stay (Hall, 2007).

It is claimed by government websites that South Africa is home to well-known national parks and various ecotourism based private game reserves (PGRs) all providing spectacular wildlife and scenery as well as community participation, whilst aiming to conserve biological diversity (SAInfo, 2014). More particularly ecotourism based PGRs are privately owned natural areas where tourism acts as the main business activity instead of hunting or some other land use (Sims-Castley et al, 2005:6). However, ecotourism has to operate within the context of historical land dispossession of the majority black population and current land reform initiative to address this problem.

Given this reality, South Africa's future depends on developing land use options that are socially objective, economically viable, and ecologically relevant. The mandate for novel and realistic approaches to sustainable development is especially vital in the Eastern Cape

due to its high poverty levels and threatened natural resources (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2).

Land ownership and occupancy is an increasingly high profile and controversial issue in South Africa. In the Eastern Cape, large areas of farmland have been transformed to game farms or privately-owned protected areas, many of which are currently subject to land-claims from local communities (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008). Nevertheless, problems of equitable distribution of land are politically charged and failure to take some kind of action may endanger the productive and growing private game reserve industry. One way to address the issue is to focus on both the economic benefits of PGRs as well as their ability to develop poor rural communities through local development projects and programmes (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:6).

The ecotourism based PGRs contribute considerably to the Eastern Cape economy with the reserves contributing more than \$11.3 million to the local economy each year (Sims-Castely et al, 2005:6). Game reserves, as a whole, are acknowledged as one of the most important and fastest growing economic activities in the Eastern Cape (Motala, 2006). Considering the rising importance of game reserves and ecotourism based PGRs in the Eastern Cape, from economic and tourism perspectives, long term sustainability has become a crucial concern, and private protected areas have “recently emerged as innovative powerful engines for sustainable development” (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2).

Sustainable development has been defined as development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the opportunities for future generations (Pigram and Wahab, 1997:3). Sustainable development is often associated with ecotourism. Ecotourism is a form of tourism which minimises negative impacts, contributes to conservation, directs economic benefits to local people and offers opportunities for local people to appreciate natural areas (Fennell, 2001; Pigram and Wahab, 1997). Sustainable development cannot be effectively implemented without the support and involvement of those to whom it affects (Pigram and Wahab, 1997:9). Of great importance is the emphasis that the tourism industry can only be sustainable if local communities obtain revenue through tourism. Against this framework ecotourism has been accepted as a crucial development strategy for South Africa because it is widely recognised as a main generator of foreign exchange and employment (Chiutsi et al, 2011).

It has been proposed that privately owned preserved areas can engage in ecotourism initiatives by protecting biodiversity, succeeding financially and contributing to social upliftment (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2). The claim is that ecotourism based PGRs in the Eastern Cape have both the resources and the skills to play a crucial role in social upliftment by engaging in community development projects. Regardless of the high unemployment rate of 30.8% in the Eastern Cape (StatsSA, 2013:I2), the province remained as a top five beneficiary of domestic tourism (SAtourism, 2013). Consequently, the ecotourism industry in the Eastern Cape has the potential of contributing towards reducing the province's high unemployment rate. The importance of this research is further demonstrated by Langholz and Kerley (2006:2) who assert that information concerning the contribution that private protected areas, in particular ecotourism based PGRs, make through ecotourism developmental initiatives in the Eastern Cape is critical.

This research is focused on the ecotourism based PGRs in the Eastern Cape, namely the Indalo group which consists of 7 member reserves forming the association of Eastern Cape private game reserves. Indalo PGRs assert that they are making a considerable contribution to rural development in the Eastern Cape through employment generation, multiplier effects and focus on community engagements (Helliker, 2008:18). The Indalo PGRs have established a development division that deals with community involvement and development. They make claims of focusing on the inclusion of rural communities and displaced workers; community programmes and projects established to enhance social sustainability and community involvement and development. PGRs have established this development arm to stimulate development and the improvement of livelihoods in rural communities. The real question of interest is to what extent these assertions are true; whether their development work has built capacity in these communities and whether their development work is sustainable.

## **RESEARCH PURPOSE AND OBJECTIVES**

In view of the economic, social and environmental importance of ecotourism based PGRs in South Africa, particularly the Eastern Cape, the main goal of this research is to analyse the Indalo association of private game reserves in the Eastern Cape Province's development model for ex-farmworkers and adjacent communities. The sub-goals for the study are:

- to assess whether ecotourism is a viable alternative to conventional land reform;
- to analyse whether the work has built capacity: whether it encourages participation and self-reliance;
- to assess whether it is sustainable: the structures and training that are in place to ensure the projects are going to be successful when the “experts” leave.

## **CHAPTER OUTLINE**

Chapter One provides an overview of land reform in South Africa. The Chapter provides a historical background of land dispossession in South Africa, how land dispossession has played an important role historically, in both, restructuring the agrarian order and shaping the political economy of the country. Therefore, reviewing of the post apartheid land reform programme entails a reflection on the overall historical developments the programme attempts to address. Further, the restructuring of the agricultural sector is discussed and lastly, critical issues in South Africa’s land reform programme are addressed.

Chapter Two focuses on tourism in South Africa. More specifically it looks at the shift in the tourism policy towards adopting a development role given that tourism is recognised as having important potential to function as a means for socio-economic upliftment, together with the fundamental principles of community participation and the sustainable management of resources. The Chapter further discusses responsible tourism, sustainable tourism in addition to pro-poor tourism.

Chapter Three offers an overview of ecotourism and its place within sustainable development and sustainable tourism. The Chapter looks at linking tourism, the environment and rural development. More specifically the Chapter examines local community participation in ecotourism and the benefits that local communities receive from ecotourism. Criteria for examining development projects are also analysed. Finally, the conceptual constraints and problems of ecotourism are mentioned.

Chapter Four looks more closely into ecotourism and development in the country. A history of the creation of apartheid’s game parks is documented. Significant research has

been carried out on tourism development and its impacts on the empowerment of rural communities. In this Chapter an examination of various ecotourism case studies is presented, in order to assess the influence of ecotourism to conservation and communities' development. The case studies presented examine the extent to which numerous tourism projects in South Africa have improved the livelihoods of rural communities and contributed to rural economic development.

Chapter Five provides an assessment of the Indalo association of PGRs. A brief description of each reserve is given. Their focus on the inclusion of rural communities and displaced workers; community programmes and projects set up to improve social sustainability and community involvement and development is discussed.

Chapter Six includes an overview of the research methodology adopted for the research. In this Chapter the research paradigm, research methodology, data collection methods and methods of analysis most appropriate to this research are explained. Ethical considerations relevant to this research are remarked on and the limitations of the research methodology are presented.

Chapter Seven focuses on the findings and discussion of the research findings. The data received from the interviews is analysed and discussed in relation to the major issues raised in the literature in the previous chapters.

Chapter Eight draws out the conclusions of the research. In this Chapter the thesis is summarised with key areas of concern and positive steps forward.

## **CHAPTER ONE: LAND REFORM**

### **1.1 INTRODUCTION**

South Africa has a complicated history of inequality shaped by the racial laws of both colonial and apartheid governments (Tom, 2006:18), which has created a highly unequal pattern of land ownership and extensive rural poverty (Crane, 2006:1035). The post-apartheid government is faced with numerous disputes to address inequity in land holding through its land reform programme. Racial land laws forced a large number of South Africans off productive land and severely limited their access to resources therefore forming the necessary conditions for extensive rural poverty (Tom, 2006:18). By way of such racially centered involvements, dualism arose in South Africa's rural countryside between smallholders largely producing for but not restricted to subsistence, and commercial agriculture (Tom, 2006:18). Farm dwellers that live and work in acute poverty and under insecure land tenure agreements on South Africa's 'white-owned' farms are a main target group of land reform (Crane, 2006:1036). However recent research suggests that regardless of government policy and objectives (Hall, 2004) land reform thus far has produced hardly any benefit to this marginalised group (Crane, 2006:1036). In South Africa land ownership is an increasingly sensitive and controversial issue. Vast areas of farmland have been converted to game reserves or privately-owned protected areas, several of which are subject to land-claims from local surrounding communities (Hayes, 2009:7). According to Worden (1994) in Allen and Brennan (2004:38), conservation of those protected areas likely to attract ecotourists has, previously, consisted of the forced removal of African farmers from their land. Ecotourism is now considered as a way for empowering and uplifting local people who have suffered under apartheid (Allen and Brennan, 2004: 38).

According to Greenberg (2003) in Tom (2006:18), land dispossession has played an important role historically, in both, restructuring the agrarian order and in determining the political economy of the country altogether. As a result, reviewing of the post apartheid land reform programme entails a reflection on the all-inclusive historical developments the programme attempts to rectify (Tom, 2006:18).



## **1.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF LAND DISPOSSESSION IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The degree of land dispossession of the native population in South Africa, by Dutch and British settlers, was more than any other African country, and continued for an extremely long period of time (Lahiff, 2007:1). Colonisation and apartheid have left lasting effects on current South African society. Nowhere are these more strongly evident than in the extremely unequal distribution of land between whites and blacks (Hendricks, 2001:290). Colonisation forcibly removed away substantial areas of African land and limited African access to land to the reserve areas (Hendricks, 2001:290). By the twentieth century, the majority of the country was reserved for the minority white settler population (87% of the country's agricultural land), with the African majority limited to only 13% of the land, the 'native reserves', commonly referred to as African homelands or bantustans (Lahiff, 2007:2). These, according to Hendricks (2001:290), are "areas proclaimed by colonial and apartheid legislation for the exclusive occupation of Africans as part of the overall policy of territorial segregation". Having made a decision that Africans should live in reserves only, their existence beyond these had to be thoroughly controlled (Hendricks, 2001: 290). The pass rules, influx control and removals to the reserves were part of this apartheid plan. The dividends of this plan are vigorously felt today (Hendricks, 2001:292).

Africans opposed moving to the reserves and inhabited land, in many cases illegally, in the built-up areas and "black spots" ('small parcels of African owned land during the apartheid era that did not neatly fit within Bantustan boundaries and had been designated for incorporation or simply population removal') (Hendricks, 2001:293). Cross (1991: 64) in Hendricks (2001:293) argues:

The state's successes under apartheid in limiting black land-ownership and land access, and in forcing the urbanised black population back into conspicuously barren stretches of veld and mountains is well-known. What is less often seen is how far the state actually failed to control land practice itself in relation to its African population. Black South Africans have often successfully evaded planning efforts to force them to conform to state restrictions.

Requests for racial equality were brutally opposed by the white-minority government up to 1990; with the outcome that South Africa made the change to democratic, non-racial government only in 1994 (Lahiff, 2007:2).

During apartheid, around 3.5 million people lost their rights through forced removals (Allen and Brennan, 2004:38). A large-scale land reform programme is being implemented to improve the struggles of the previously disadvantaged. However, there are uncountable problems hindering the progression of land redistribution. For nature-based tourism, socially responsible tourism development in South Africa, the concern of land rights has a remarkably strong significance among rural people (Allen and Brennan, 2004:38).

Towards the end of apartheid, roughly 82 million hectares of profitable farmland (86% of total agricultural land) was owned by the white minority (10.9% of the population), and collected in the hands of approximately 60,000 owners (Lahiff, 2007:2). An excess of thirteen million black people, most of them impoverished, were overcrowded into the former reserves, where rights to land were largely unclear or disputed and the system of land management was disorganised (Lahiff, 2007:2). On white privately-owned farms, millions of workers and their families encountered tenure insecurity and lack of basic services (Lahiff, 2007:2). Currently, South Africa has one of the most unequal income distributions worldwide, and revenue and quality of life are strongly associated with race, locality as well as gender (Lahiff, 2007:2).

The move to democracy in South Africa (1990-1994) came about through a negotiated settlement (Lahiff, 2007:2). The new Constitution formed the basis for a liberal democracy, although with a focus on socio-economic rights and a clear order to the state to restore the inequalities of the past (Lahiff, 2007:3).

According to Lahiff (2007:3), South African agriculture is extremely dualistic in nature, where an advanced and mostly large-scale commercial sector, managed mainly by whites, on privately owned land, is co-existent with substantial numbers of small-scale and primarily subsistence-oriented black farms on communally held property. The white-run business sector produces considerable employment and export earnings, nonetheless contributes comparatively little to Gross Domestic Product in today's extremely

developed and industrialised economy (Lahiff, 2007:3). While a vast majority of the black African population continues to live in rural areas, nearly all are involved in agriculture on a very small scale, and rely to a great extent on non-agricultural activities, comprising migration to urban areas in search of jobs, local wage employment and welfare grants for their means of support (Lahiff, 2007:3).

Since 1652 the history of South Africa has to a great extent been a history of dispossession of indigenous people (Budlender, 1998:17). The 1994 election of South Africa's first democratic government indicated a significant turn in the country's history. In 1994, with the end of apartheid, 5.52 per cent of South Africa's total land area was exposed to state-run wildlife protection. This comprised 16 national parks and over 100 provincial or nature conservation areas (Honey, 1999:340-341). A marginally larger amount was protected in 9,000 privately owned game farms and nature reserves that provided upmarket hunting safaris and lodges (Honey, 1999:341). However the wide stretch of these parks and reserves disguise the reality that many of these were created by evicting thousands of people from their homes and lands (Honey, 1999: 341). A central programme of the new government was a programme of land reform; an attempt to deal in an inclusive and logical manner with the effects of many years of despair (Budlender, 1998:17).

### **1.3 POST-APARTHEID LAND REFORMS**

Following the end of apartheid, the South African government began numerous policy-driven programmes intending to minimise social inequality and improve the quality of life of those marginalised by apartheid (Kepe et al, 2003:2). Land inequalities, which was a dominant theme of the struggle, were attended to through the land reform programme, and were also included in the Bill of Rights. South Africa's Constitution provides for a right to land reform and equitable compensation, and also to environmental protection (Kepe et al, 2003:2). As stated by the Bill of Rights, everyone has the right to have the environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through sensible legislative and other measures (Kepe et al, 2003:2).

According to Warriner cited in Tom (2006:23), land reform can be identified as "redistribution of property or rights in land for the benefit of landless, tenants and farm

labourers". The land reform programme is fueled by the dual goals of restoring and improving land rights, and minimising poverty by encouraging rural development (Crane, 2006:1037). The post-apartheid government's attempts to attend to the land and agrarian question are wedged between two opposing positions concerning the way wherein land reform is to transpire. One is the progressive position, which was most well-known under former Minister of Land Affairs Derek Hanekom who states that land reform ought to involve the restitution or redistribution of land to those removed from it during state repression (Luck, 2003:18). The second approach, supported by the World Bank, has a developmental focus; it gives precedence to the market and the development of small through medium to large-scale agriculture (Lahiff, 2001).

This developmental focus is demonstrated in the government's land redistribution programme; Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development (LRAD). Of the policy, which presents grants to rural recipients, it has been proposed, "that whilst paying lip service to 'food safety nets' and the encouragement of a broad spectrum of producers, the new policy and the publicity surrounding it has been unambiguously aimed at promoting a class of full-time black commercial farmers" (Lahiff, 2001:5).

According to Tom (2006: 23) in South Africa, land reform by the colonial and apartheid governments were fundamental to the production of racial inequality in the country. Consequently, this section looks at the role of post-apartheid land reform in development of non-racial South Africa.

Following the 1994 national elections, the new democratic government started on a land reform programme with the goal of redressing racially based inequities in access and rights to land (Tom, 2006:23). Since land struggle was always an essential part of the struggle against white domination, the unbanning of the political movements lifted beliefs among rural people that land would be given back to them (Tom, 2006:24).

The advent of majority rule in South Africa in 1994 saw a series of policies designed to correct the racial imbalances that had afflicted the space economy and were in large part responsible for the poverty in South Africa (Chimhowu, 2006:29 cited in Tom, 2006:24).

According to the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) policy framework, land is the most essential need for rural dwellers; thus, access to it is vital to rural development (Tom, 2006:24). The Green Paper on South African land policy quotes the RDP which sets out the relationship between land reform and development very clearly:

A national land reform programme is the central and driving force of a programme of rural development. Such a programme aims to address effectively the injustices of forced removals and the historical denial of access to land. It aims to ensure security of tenure for rural dwellers. And in implementing the national land reform programme, and through the provision of support services, the democratic government will build the economy by generating large-scale employment, increasing rural incomes and eliminating overcrowding (1996:2 cited in Roodt, 2004:167).

and

Economic viability and environmental sustainability – Planning of land reform projects developed at a local level must ensure that these are economically viable and environmentally sustainable (1996:6 cited in Roodt, 2004:168).

The RDP was launched by the ANC as part of its election strategy, and was later taken up by the new government after 1994 (Hendricks, 2001:295). At the beginning, it clearly mentions that market-based measures alone cannot restore the imbalances in land distribution, and that state interferences by way of a land reform programme is the “central and driving force of a programme of rural development” (ANC, 1994:19-22 cited in Hendricks, 2001:295). There are two facets to this land reform programme: land restitution, for those who lost land as a consequence of apartheid legislation, and land redistribution, for those who need land but cannot afford it (Hendricks, 2001:295). The intentions of land reform as imagined in the RDP were to transfer 30% of commercial farming land to the previously disadvantaged within five years (Tom, 2006:24).

Devised in the context of the past-apartheid government’s RDP geared towards eradicating the legacies of unfair governance, the *White Paper* (1996) recognised tourism as having important potential to function as a means for socio-economic upliftment, together with the fundamental principles of community participation and the sustainable

management of resources (Spenceley and Seif, 2003). Being the first example in South Africa, the Pilanesberg study has acted as a model for integrated conservation and participatory community development in other projects and experiments around the country (Allen and Brennan, 2004:41).

Ecotourism is viewed as a means for social change, and its principles fit the objectives of the RDP (Honey, 1999:382). Nowadays, a broad band of South African society, comprising government and park officials, the national tourism agency, several NGOs, academics, advisers, environmentalists, journalists, community organisers, rural activists, and private tour operators, developers, and investors, are engaged in ecotourism initiatives and experiments (Honey, 1999:382). According to Allen and Brennan (2004:41), an adequate settlement of land claims is imperative if local people surrounding the reserves and protected areas are to feel secure in their commitment to ecotourism partnerships.

The land reform programme obtains its authority from the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996 (RSA, 1996), the RDP (ANC, 1994) and the Freedom Charter (Tom, 2006:24). According to Tom (2006:24), the most evident reason for land reform is the unsustainability from a political, social, economic and equity viewpoint of the current distribution of the possession of agricultural land. Land reform in South Africa includes both political and economic necessities for example reconciliation and poverty reduction through increased incomes (Tom, 2006:24).

The main objective of land reform in South Africa is to provide compensation for the racially-based land dispossessions during apartheid, as well as to reduce the highly inequitable distribution of land ownership that followed (Kepe et al, 2003:2). Furthermore, it aims to create security of land tenure for all, and therefore to provide a foundation for land-based economic development (Kepe et al, 2003:2). The three main components of land reform are restitution, redistribution and tenure reform.

### **1.3.1 Restitution**

According to Roodt (2001:306), restitution includes the reinstatement of rights, goods, property and/or monetary compensation for the injustices of one people against another. It is generally part of a settlement process and is also intended for stimulating economic

growth, land reform or development at large (Roodt, 2001:306).

The restitution programme intends to return land or compensate those forcibly removed through discriminatory laws after 1913 as a result of apartheid policies (Tom, 2006:24). Section 25 (7) of the Constitution asserts that, “a person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress” (RSA, 1996). The programme benefits rural and urban inhabitants and needed claimants to submit their claims with the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights (CRLR) before the 31<sup>st</sup> December 1998.

There is a notion that restitution settlement involving cash compensation disregards the economic importance of what people have lost as the outcome of forced removals (Tom, 2006:25). In the protected areas, for example Mkhambati in the Eastern Cape and Makuleke in the Limpopo province, both transfer of land rights and cash compensation were employed to settle community claims. Communities became associated with the joint management of land and resource usage with the business partners.

According to Roodt (2001:312) the conflict between a rights-based restitution programme as a legal procedure for the reinstatement of rights and property, and its position as part of the land reform programme adding to reconstruction and development, is briefly portrayed by Brown et al:

There is an argument that the central states duty in restitution is simply to restore land rights; it should not be its right to intervene in internal development or land use issues, which should be left to local solutions. Restitution itself is thus a legal mechanism while the process of return and resettlement is a separate development issue (1998:109 cited in Roodt, 2001).

The alternative approach to the above is one that attempts to actively incorporate restitution and development. This approach has often been explained by the Restitution Commission in the practical execution of development (Roodt, 2001:312). The real obstacle is to ensure that the claimants returned to their initial or substituted land are equipped with basic services and additional development opportunities (Roodt, 2001:312).

This does not suggest that the Restitution Commission is accountable for service and developmental execution.

### **1.3.2 Redistribution**

According to Section 25 (5) of the Constitution, “the state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis” (RSA, 1996). Regarding the land redistribution programme, the government intends to reallocate land to the dispossessed poor for both residential and productive purposes (Kepe et al, 2003:6). The government is dedicated to presenting settlement and land acquisition grants to worthy persons and groups with the intention of purchasing land from willing sellers and the state (Kepe et al, 2003:6).

The redistribution programme started in 1995, and was centered on a flat grant of R16 000 per family for the acquisition of land and start-up capital (Tom, 2006:26). This grant was widely known as a Settlement/Land Acquisition Grant (SLAG). To make sure that the programme extended to the poor, an income ceiling of R1 500 per family was used as a suitability criterion (Tom, 2006:26). The purpose of this sub-programme was to supply the poor with land for both residential and productive uses so as to improve their earnings and quality of life (DLA, 1997). In the new Land Redistribution for Agricultural Development programme (LRAD) established in 2000, the grants increased from R20 000 up to R100 000 to aid the poor and a division of black commercial farmers to gain access to land (Tom, 2006:27). The new LRAD programme was criticised for barring the poor and encouraging the appearance of the black middle class. Since the Minister of 1999 took control of the land portfolio in, there has been a policy review on redistribution. Precedence is now being given to the demands of ‘emerging’ profitable farmers, debatably at the detriment of the dispossessed and poor (Kepe et al, 2003:6).

### **1.3.3 Tenure reform**

As stated by the RDP framework, the land policy must ensure security of tenure for all South Africans (ANC, 1994 cited in Tom, 2006:25). According to the Constitution Section 25 (6), “a person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result



of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress” (RSA, 1996 cited in Tom, 2006:25). Numerous laws have been passed to enable tenure reform. Those pertinent to the former homelands include the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act, Act 31 of 1996, which protects people with insecure tenure from losing their rights, awaiting future reforms (Kepe et al, 2003:7). The Communal Property Association Act, Act 28 of 1996, allows groups to obtain, hold and manage land through a legal organisation (Kepe et al, 2003:7).

As stated by Ntsebeza (1999) functions of ownership (such as, sale and lease of land) and those of governance (administration and management of land) have remained unclear since the apartheid (Kepe et al, 2003:7). In an effort to deal with these and several other grey areas, the Department of Land Affairs started drafting a Land Rights Bill in 1997 (Kepe et al, 2003:7). After many years of postponement, the draft Bill was published for public comment in 2002. However, many groups, ranging from dwellers and traditional authorities, through to academics, have reasoned that the Bill, as it stands, fails to resolve land tenure issues in the former homelands (Kepe et al, 2003:7).

In the rural setting, tenure reform is recognised as being the protection and reinforcing of the rights of inhabitants of privately owned farms and state land, in addition to the reform of the communal tenure system existing in the former homelands (Lahiff, 2001). It is aimed at analysing and improving the current system to resolve the provisional and insecure arrangements currently experienced by many of the country's occupants (Roodt, 2001:312). The present government has tried to improve the condition of farm workers and dwellers through the implementation of a sequence of tenure related Acts (Roodt, 2001:312).

Land reform has the ability to have positive influence towards improving livelihoods especially if it strengthens tenure security. The majority of the rural population lives under different tenure arrangements, ranging from communal lands to the inhabitants living on land owned by others (Tom, 2006:26). Farm workers or ‘dwellers’ seem to be the least protected group of the rural population regardless of the plans to secure their tenure. When their employment agreement is over, farm workers can lose not only their jobs but also their homes (Tom, 2006:26). Thus, the land reform programme is in place to benefit farm

workers by securing their tenure on farms on which they reside and work through the Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA).

As stated by Section 26 (3) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, “no one may be evicted from their home, or have their home demolished, without an order of court made after considering all the relevant circumstances. No legislation may permit arbitrary evictions” (RSA, 1996 cited in Tom, 2006:26). Regardless of the legislation, farm evictions continue to occur at large-scale without the court orders (Hall et al, 2001; Lahiff, 2001). Furthermore, Lahiff (2001) states that a large amount of the approved objectives have stayed largely unsettled as farm workers and their families continue facing forms of vulnerabilities in spite of state interventions (Tom, 2006:26). Hall et al (2002:3) discovered that:

...so far there has not been a single conviction for legal eviction despite evidence of continued illegal evictions. Where eviction orders are sought through the correct channels, courts regularly grant such orders.

Very little is known concerning how many farm dwellers have been evicted through either legal or illegal evictions. The number of evictions settled by courts under ESTA has increased each year since the Act was passed, but it is unknown how many people it has affected (Hall et al, 2003:11). Consequently, there is no set of sufficient information on the level of legal and illegal evictions from farms, which could act as a foundation to assess the effect of ESTA (Hall, 2003b:5). Regardless of the establishment of ESTA, illegal evictions from farms have persisted (Hall et al, 2003:11).

The Extension of Security of Tenure Act (ESTA) 62 of 1997 was authorised to secure farm dwellers’ tenure rights and to stop arbitrary evictions (Crane, 2006:1038). ESTA pertains to all people living on farms, irrespective of whether they are employed on the farm or not (Hall et al, 2001:2). It does not stop evictions but controls when and how they can take place (Crane, 2006:1038). ESTA includes strict courses of action for when a property-owner or the person in control of the land plans to evict inhabitants (Luck, 2003:55). ESTA generates opportunities for inhabitants to reinforce their rights to land, as well as the chance to become landowners (Hall et al, 2001:2). This ‘developmental’ aspect of ESTA allows occupiers to make a claim for settlement grants from the Department of

Land Affairs (DLA) whereby they can acquire land, individually or collectively (Hall et al, 2001:3). ESTA has numerous functions; the most significant being the securing of improved tenure for farm workers. It was aimed to control the relationship between property-owners and farm workers, prevent illegal evictions, and provide means for obtaining long-term tenure security (Luck, 2003:55). In addition, the Act offers extra protection to those who have lived on the land for a period of 10 years and have reached 60 years of age (Luck, 2003:55).

According to Helliker (2008:21), no thorough study has been carried out of retrenchments and eviction in the Eastern Cape as a result of setting up of game reserves and/or expansion into the wildlife industry. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence that illustrates convincingly the existence of a substantial number of retrenchments and evictions to cause concern (Helliker, 2008:21). Indeed, repeatedly, the ESTA rights of farm workers and dwellers (including long-term residents) have been extremely violated. However, as stated by Helliker (2008:21), there is no reason to believe that there is an essential connection between agriculture-game conversions on the one hand and retrenchment-eviction on the other.

Solutions for farmworkers' livelihoods to begin with need to be governed by developing laws and policies that can provide for reasonable and economically sustainable livelihoods in the business-related agricultural sector (Du Toit et al, 2011:8). Within this, secure tenure rights that prevent unfair evictions must carry on playing a main role. Nonetheless, policy regarding farm dwellers cannot hinge merely on the prevention of eviction (Du Toit et al, 2011:8). It needs to be directed by positive organisations that support lasting solutions for farm workers' tenure needs. In the former homelands, these land access rights need to be adaptable and locally suitable (Du Toit et al, 2011:8). They must take into account the consistency of farm workers' family lives; for the rights of freedom of association and movement of farm workers and dwellers; for tenure security for retired workers and pensioners; for access to land for production by farm workers and for the acknowledgement of the economic experiences of profitable farming (Du Toit et al, 2011:8).

It was thought that democracy would bring an end to most of these injustices, provide an improvement in living conditions and secure housing status. Unfortunately, the post-

apartheid government has not forcefully got involved in the welfares of workers (Helliker, 2011: 26). On-farm and off-farm settlement solutions are required. Government needs to make resources available to farm workers, dwellers and owners in favour of sustainable settlement solutions for rural people on commercially farmed land (Du Toit et al, 2011:8).

Involvement in South Africa's land reform thus far has revealed that, while new rights have been established and new forms of tenure produced, tenure reform has not been supported by reforms to the justice system or institutional support for new forms of landholding (Hall et al, 2003:28). It continues to be seen whether sufficient resources will be made accessible to support and implement tenure rights on public as well as private land (Hall et al, 2003:28; Hall, 2003b:11).

In recognising ESTA's faults a new farm tenure law is under construction, however the state realises an important predicament in the degree to which farm dwellers' tenure can be secured without dispossessing land owners of their property rights (Hall, 2004; Crane, 2006:1038).

Historically, farm workers have been a marginalised underclass. The common theme surfacing through literature on farm workers is variable living and working conditions. In the past people suffered long working hours, low salaries, poor housing arrangements and poor education. This created a situation of critical dependence on the farmer (Luck, 2003:62). Given this reality, the ecotourism game-reserve alternative with its wide-ranging community development focus for ex-farmworkers and neighbouring communities is proving to be a viable strategy for rural development. Sims-Castley et al (2005:6) make the grand claim that private game reserves are in high demand in comparison to other land usages and that they have had 'positive benefits for employment creation, ecotourism and biodiversity'. Documented benefits of wildlife ecotourism endeavors include; employment creation, wealth distribution, community upliftment and sustainable land practices (Sims-Castely et al, 2005:6).

#### **1.4 RESTRUCTURING AGRICULTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

In South Africa agricultural land is becoming increasingly concentrated. In 1996, there were 60,938 white commercial farmers, in 2002 this figure had dropped to 45, 818

(Department of Agriculture 2007) and by 2007 the number of farming units was down to 39,982 (Statistics South Africa 2009 cited in Naidoo, 2011:74). An increasing system of inequality in land ownership is apparent from this depletion as farmland is combined into bigger units of production (Naidoo, 2011:74). Inequalities in land ownership systems have furthermore been aggravated by the transformation in production systems to game farms and ecotourism, which is especially widespread in the Eastern Cape (Naidoo, 2011:74). In this development, numerous neighbouring farms are amalgamated to form a single game farm that is privately owned (Naidoo, 2011:74).

Agriculture has for a long time been dominant in the Eastern Cape, but has proven to be unreliable and on the decline (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:12). Private game reserves (PGRs) act as economic engines in areas that are undergoing constant economic decline, presenting alternatives to agriculture that are economically and ecologically appealing (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:13). PGRs are particularly valuable in that they exist in rural areas – places where government services seldom reach, where economic opportunities are the scarcest, and where the need is highest (Sims-Castley et al., 2005: 10). The majority of the PGRs in the Eastern Cape were established when their traditional farming activities became economically less viable and joining the ecotourism industry by starting a game reserve was therefore seen as a more profitable alternative (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008: 10).

Associations between the decrease in traditional farming subdivisions and the increase in game farms are strong (Naidoo, 2011:74). Naidoo (2011:74) provides an example of mohair farming and wool production, which were once large sub-sectors in the Makana municipality in the Eastern Cape, which dropped by roughly nineteen percent between 1995 and 1999. As traditional agriculture continued to drop, game farming began to increase rapidly. As stated by the Agricultural Research Council's Animal Improvement Institute, "more and more cattle farms are either giving way to game or are at least combining cattle with game farming" (Naidoo, 2011:74). In the Makana and Ndlambe municipalities, both the game farming and hunting industry increased largely unhindered by about 50 to 60% in the 1990s (Naidoo, 2011:74). This caused a major separation between both the supply of and demand for land. Farm workers and dwellers often voiced strong discontent regarding the shift to game farms (Naidoo, 2011:74).

## **1.5 CRITICAL ISSUES IN SOUTH AFRICA'S LAND REFORM PROGRAMME**

The state's land reform programme concentrates on past unfairness and on current issues of poverty, inequality and underdevelopment (Hall et al, 2003:1). Knowledge with implementation across programmes and in different parts of the country has been inconsistent. There have been developments in the pace of the programme, however all three elements of the land reform programme have, on the whole, failed to meet their targets (Hall et al, 2003:3).

The Department of Land Affairs (DLA) is in charge of the plan and implementation of the land reform programme (Hall et al, 2003:2). The DLA is accountable for not only policy making, but also for organising and monitoring the execution of its policies through its provincial and district offices. It is contingent on productive affiliations with civil society arrangements and the private sector for support with implementation (Hall et al, 2003:2).

Even though the state has dedicated itself to a programme of land reform, the connections between land reform and large-scale processes of rural development continue to be vulnerable and inadequately defined (Hall et al, 2003:2). This as a result applies to the lack of a comprehensive policy for the development of the rural economy. The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme (ISRDP) centers closely on delivery of services and infrastructure by the state and makes minor reference to both land reform and agricultural development (Hall et al, 2003:2). This absence of combination between land reform and large-scale processes of rural development and poverty alleviation is present throughout national, provincial and local areas of government, significantly reducing the possible impact of government programmes on livelihoods as well as local economic development (Hall et al, 2003:2).

In Lahiff (2007), Seekings and Natrass make a clear link between changes in the agricultural economy and rising poverty, and link this further to failures in the land reform programme. They argue that, instead of increasing employment in agriculture, government's economic policies have produced agricultural employment to fall severely, increasing the ranks of the unskilled unemployed:

Overall ... government policy has not succeeded in being pro-poor. Farm workers have experienced continued retrenchments and dispossession, despite supposedly protective legislation. Land reform has not benefited the poor significantly. The

reforms that have been implemented have generally been to the benefit of a constituency that was already relatively advantaged. In this crucial sector, the post-apartheid distributional regime has not resulted in improved livelihoods for the poor (Seekings and Natrass 2005:357 cited in Lahiff, 2007:33).

### ***1.5.1 Land acquisition***

Land reform in South Africa has been theorised on the protection of current property rights. None of the land reform programmes have involved the state forcefully acquiring land to transfer to recipients. Rather, a willing buyer-willing seller policy has been implemented, wherein the state will help recipients to purchase land or improve their rights to land (Jacobs et al, 2003:3; Hall et al, 2003:24). A limited explanation of 'demand-led' reform has discouraged the state from actively engaging in market opportunities through a proactive land acquisition approach, or from utilising its constitutional influences to expropriate land (Hall et al, 2003:24).

Even though South Africa has a reasonably active land market, with numerous farms being bought and sold yearly, opportunities to redistribute such land have not been reached, for many reasons (Hall et al, 2003:24). Subdivision is needed to make available suitable tracts of land for land reform (Jacobs et al, 2003:15). Failure to subdivide is possibly the biggest contributor to the overall underperformance of land reform projects, because it not only imposes unsuitable sizes of farms on people but furthermore forces them to work in groups, and to continually negotiate their land rights and farming activities within group arrangements (Lahiff, 2007:26). Regardless of the removal of legal obstructions to subdivision, landowners have not proactively subdivided their land for sale to land reform recipients, as anticipated by policy makers, and the state has not interfered by subdividing land (Hall et al, 2003:24).

### ***1.5.2 Profile of beneficiaries***

Land reform was considered as a positive action to overturn the racially skewed forms of land ownership, but furthermore as an intervention to endorse social justice and socio-economic justice (Hall et al, 2003:25).

In reality, land reform policy pays extremely little attention to wealth, gender and age differences among proposed beneficiaries (Hall et al, 2003: 25). Even where policy makes

referral to specific subgroups, hardly any practical measures have been established to make sure that the interests of these subgroups are helped. Monitoring is hindered by an absence of detail in data documented during the process of project approval (Hall et al, 2003:25).

Within the restitution programme, which constitutes 40% of all households benefiting from land reform, the majority of resources were given out to urban beneficiaries, mostly in the form of cash compensation. This is not likely to allow urban claimants, many of whom are unemployed and poor, to enhance their livelihoods in sustainable ways (Hall, 2003a:11; Hall et al, 2003:26). Monitoring and evaluating of the distinctive class and gender impacts remain non-existent from the restitution process (Hall, 2003a:33).

Globally, land redistribution is regarded as an important strategy to improve the livelihoods of the rural poor (Jacobs et al, 2003:25). In South Africa, the land redistribution programme, which comprises 60% of families gaining from land reform thus far, has deserted its pro-poor approach. The withdrawal of an income maximum of R1 500 for households requesting grants and the strong importance on commercial production have formed barriers to the participation of the poor in the programme (Hall et al, 2003:26). Although a percentage of funding is intended on being kept for poor and middle-income families under LRAD, regional project records indicate that this is not taking place in reality (Jacobs et al, 2003:10).

### ***1.5.3 Livelihoods***

The lack of an effective livelihoods component in many land reform projects is a cause for concern. "It is to the livelihoods arena that land tenure reform may need to shift if land rights are to obtain a real meaning in South Africa" (Cocks and Kingwill, 1997: 69).

There is substantial indication that land-based livelihoods have been considerably undervalued (Andrew et al, 2003:1). This is not to state that there is no opportunity for development. The task for South Africa's land and agrarian reform programme is to reduce the restraints to production and, thus, to improve land-based livelihoods amongst the poor majority past the survivalist mode as well as to enable commercial production for the market amongst the privileged class (Andrew et al, 2003:1).

An important intention of the land reform programme is the improvement of the



livelihoods of the rural poor, by means of direct access to land for production purposes and by way of development of the rural economy (Hall et al, 2003:26). Therefore, critical questions for land reform are the degree to which land reform actively encourages sustainable livelihoods, and whether it makes an effort to build on, or exchange, the current livelihoods of beneficiaries (Hall et al, 2003:26; Hall, 2003a:11).

An overall weakness of numerous land reform projects, under redistribution and restitution, has been the lack of awareness to connections between pre- and post-transfer livelihood activities (Hall et al, 2003:27). Numerous land reform beneficiaries along with a large majority of the rural population combine numerous on-farm and off-farm activities to secure a source of income (Andrew et al, 2003:7). These may comprise participation in the formal sector, for example wage employment, together with informal trading, production of goods for household use, and collecting of plants, foods, and firewood. This variety of activities is, then again almost completely non-existent from land reform planning processes (Hall et al, 2003:27).

On the whole, land reform has been inclined to give precedence to land transfer and commercially intended land use practices, instead of the formation of sustainable livelihoods (Hall et al, 2003:27). Land reform projects outcomes imply that insufficient attention has been paid to livelihood features throughout the planning stage as well as after beneficiaries move onto their land (Kepe and Cousins, 2002:3). An important development in ecotourism aims at improving the livelihoods of the rural poor (Turner, 2001: 368). Acknowledging the extreme poverty of people living in or close to protected areas, a rising number of ecotourism initiatives in South Africa try to benefit from the growing international and regional interest in this kind of industry (Turner, 2001:369). If land reform is to have a positive influence on the livelihoods of the rural poor, it needs to develop the present abilities of beneficiaries, reducing instead of increasing vulnerability, and enhancing instead of replacing existing livelihood strategies (Hall et al, 2003:27; Andrew et al, 2003:27).

#### ***1.5.4 Support for agricultural development***

Since the start of the land reform programme, there have been conflicts between the purposes of supplying land and providing basic support services for the productive use of that land (Hall et al, 2003:13). According to Hall et al (2003:13) and Jacobs et al

(2003:19), post-settlement support to beneficiaries has been one of the weakest areas of land reform, and completely absent in numerous projects. The causes for this lie somewhat in a restricted conceptualisation of land reform as land transfer, which assigns a low priority to post-transfer outcomes, but furthermore in a lack of co-ordination between the DLA and other organisations, remarkably the provincial departments of agriculture (Hall et al, 2003:13; Hall, 2003a:18, Jacobs et al, 2003:25).

Within DLA there is an acceptance of the need to supply support after the land transfer phase, and above all to play a part in coordinating post-transfer development (Hall et al, 2003:13). It is, however often beyond the ability of project officials to carry out this function. Provincial departments of agriculture usually do not have sufficient budgets or additional resources to play the dominant role imagined for them under policies for example LRAD and insisted by beneficiaries of other programmes. Local government, which ought to be the most reachable department of government for beneficiaries, is not actively engaged in land reform projects (Hall et al, 2003:13; Hall, 2003a:33).

Conflicts occur in most land reform projects between the need for subsidy for production and for secure capital investment (Hall et al, 2003:14). Redistribution beneficiaries typically spend the whole grant subsidy on land acquisition with hardly any capital left to cover production costs. Restitution beneficiaries rely on the restitution discretionary grants for farming after land transfer has occurred (Hall et al, 2003:14). Finances from other parastatal agencies, several financial institutes and donors are often inadequate to sustain agricultural development. The Land Bank is the leading financial institution to which land reform beneficiaries can look for financial standing, but many are not gaining access to this facility because of a combination of factors, these are, being ignorant of opportunities to retrieve credit, not meeting loaning criteria, and reluctance to the risks of becoming in debt (Hall et al, 2003:14).

The lack of post-settlement support has resulted in serious problems of the new landowners being unable to utilise the land as a basis for their livelihoods (Hall, 2003:18). Three main areas of post- settlement support have been recognised as significant. Firstly, there is a requirement for institutional support to legal organisations for example CPAs or trusts. Secondly, there is a need for support for agricultural production, together with training, extension guidance and market access. Thirdly, there is a need for help with improving access to infrastructure and services (Hall, 2003:18).

The land reform programme is not sustainable if production support after land transfer is absent (Hall et al, 2003:15). An inclusive post-transfer support policy is essential to make sure that land and agrarian reform play a part in improved rural livelihoods (Hall et al, 2003:15).

### ***1.5.5 Budgets***

The accomplishments of the DLA in fast-tracking land transfers has caused some provinces depleting their budgets, endorsing projects where funds are not available, and being unable to go on with new projects (Hall et al, 2003:28; Jacobs et al, 2003:26). This tendency regarding over-commitment suggests that, in certain situations, landowners, land reform claimants and design agents are ready to execute projects but are unable to continue due to lack of funds (Hall et al, 2003:28).

### ***1.5.6 Monitoring and evaluation***

The need for continuous monitoring and evaluation of a crucial national programme has been widely acknowledged from the start (Hall et al, 2003:29; Lahiff, 2007:32). As the level and complication of the land reform programme has advanced, the official monitoring and evaluation functions within government have not kept up, resulting in huge information gaps throughout all aspects of the programme. The problems around monitoring and evaluation activities are aggravated by a lack of methodical study or analysis from external government, even though a variety of academics, NGOs and private-sector organisations have played a part in the field (Hall et al, 2003:29). This gives rise to important concerns around the capability of DLA to successfully control its programmes, the reliability of statistical information entering the public field, and the forecasts for deciding the impact of reforms on envisioned beneficiaries (Hall et al, 2003:29; Lahiff, 2007:32) or the outcome of projects once they have been transferred (Jacobs et al, 2003:26).

On the whole, the land reform programme has been applied to date without a reliable monitoring and evaluation function working within the programme (Lahiff, 2007:35; Hall et al, 2003:31). There have been limited external endeavors to provide this, however their range has been restricted. The quantity and the quality of information on all facets of the land reform programme obtainable to decision makers, beneficiaries and the general population is extremely questionable, and is not helpful to a well-organised and successful

programme (Hall et al, 2003:31).

Involvement in land reform in South Africa shows the fundamentally difficult and contentious nature of such a process of transformation. The expectations of numerous poor and landless people at the time of political liberation that land reform would considerably change the racial pattern of landholding have not been achieved, and are unexpected to be achieved in the near future (Hall et al, 2003:33).

All the evidence proposes that “existing land reform policies have failed to bring about the expected transformation of landholding...to date and are most unlikely to do so in future...This demands a new vision of land reform and a major public debate around how this can be brought about” (Lahiff, 2001 cited in Kepe and Cousins, 2002:3). Nevertheless sustainable rural development in 21<sup>st</sup> century South Africa will never be attained without a fundamental strike on the structural foundations of the poverty and inequality received from three centuries of persecution and exploitation (Kepe and Cousins, 2002:4). Therefore a significant redistribution of land and resources, along with securing tenure rights, in practice and in law, is needed for long-term sustainability (Kepe and Cousins, 2002:4).

Land ownership is an increasingly sensitive and controversial issue in South Africa. In the Eastern Cape, vast areas of farmland have been converted to game farms or privately-owned protected areas, many of which are currently subject to land-claims from local communities (Hayes, 2009:7). Therefore, the game-farming alternative with its comprehensive community development focus for ex-farmworkers is an option that needs to be evaluated.

## **1.6 CONCLUSION**

A major accomplishment of the South African state and society during the beginning of democracy has been the construction of a land reform programme, which is constitutionally protected (Hall et al, 2003:31). This establishes a way of addressing past historical injustices, together with promoting social justice, fair play and broad-based development through the redistribution of productive resources and economic opportunities to the impoverished and disadvantaged. Along these lines, land and agrarian reform can make a significant contribution to the continuous struggle to overcome the

entrenched consequences of the past: racism, poverty and inequality (Hall et al, 2003:31).

The development of land and agrarian reform to date has, for most, been unsatisfactory; nonetheless important improvements have been made (Hall et al, 2003:31).

Serious problems continue across various areas of land reform. General areas for concern include the failure to meet targets with regard to land transfer, the unsuccessful protection of tenure rights on commercial farms and in communal areas, the lack of attention to livelihoods concerns, and the continual disregard of poor and marginalised groups (Hall et al, 2003:32).

The land reform programme in South Africa has been ambitious in its objectives and has been slow to produce tangible benefits. A crucial step at the level of legislation has been securing the tenure rights of farm workers but this has not reached its targets of transforming the relations between land owners and residents, which remain fundamentally authoritarian and rooted in dependency (Hall et al, 2001:9; Kepe and Cousins, 2002:2). Furthermore, it has failed to maintain the status quo of farm workers' tenancy on farms as evictions, legal and illegal, persist in many parts of the country (Hall et al, 2001:9; Lahiff, 2007:37). Economic pressures related with deregulation of agriculture have led to unemployment and increased poverty, which in the long term weakens tenure security (Hall et al, 2001:9). The majorities of farm workers have insufficient information on their rights and have inadequate support from the state or others to request these rights. Extensive support mechanisms are required to make these rights tangible (Hall et al, 2001:9).

The rate with which new laws invented to protect farm workers are being applied may in effect bring about numerous unintentional negative consequences. It has persuaded many traditional farmers to downsize or leave farming all together. Farm worker retrenchment is widespread as farmers try to come to grips with increasing debt and declining profits. All of the above restrictions make game farming an appealing possibility to many farmers and landowners who wish to free themselves of debt and labour issues (Luck, 2003:33). Thus, the ecotourism game-farming alternative with its wide-ranging community development focus for ex-farmworkers is an option that needs to be assessed.

## CHAPTER TWO: TOURISM

### 2.1 INTRODUCTION

Tourism is one of the world's biggest industries, producing an approximated 11% of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and employing around 200 million people (Roe and Khanya, 2001:1). The tourism industry creates significant contributions to the economies of developing countries, specifically to foreign exchange earnings, employment and GDP (Roe and Khanya, 2001:1). According to the Department of Tourism, foreign arrivals in South Africa reached their highest level ever in 2013 as the country reached 9.6 million international tourist arrivals (SAInfo, 2014). The country's international tourist arrivals increased at an annual average growth rate of 7.4% between 2011 and 2013, considerably above the global average of 4.5% during this time (SAInfo, 2014). According to the outgoing Tourism Minister Marthinus van Schalkwyk, "overall, South Africa recorded 428 596 more tourists in 2013 than we did in 2012" (SAInfo 2014). Furthermore, "the world travel and tourism council estimated South Africa's travel and tourism sector contributed approximately R102 billion to the country's economy, directly supporting an estimated 620,000 jobs in 2012" (Department of Tourism, 2013/4:8).

Based on the above statistical information it is clear that tourism is an increasing phenomenon in South Africa. The increase in South Africa's tourism industry could be ascribed to the diversity of the country in terms of its spectacular wildlife, awe-inspiring adventure in addition to the unique heritage and culture (SAInfo, 2014).

In 1996, the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) published the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism*. The *White Paper* argues that tourism is one of the greatest opportunities obtainable to South Africa in generating employment and income for the urban and largely rural poor (Goodwin et al, 2002:4). It helps improve infrastructure and create sustainable employment (Goodwin et al, 2002:4; Spenceley, 2003:6; Rogerson, 2006:46).

Tourism is extensively recognised as an important economic sector that has the potential to contribute to national and local development and, more precisely, function as a means to promote poverty alleviation and pro-poor development within a specific area (Hill et al,

2006:163). Commitments have been made that South African Tourism, by developing partnerships with the private sector, will try to make sure that 40% of all tourism expenses in South Africa is for the benefit of previously marginalised groups, especially women (Rogerson, 2006:49). Nature-based tourism initiatives in developing countries in the South can make a significant impact on the livelihoods of the poor; particularly the subsistence based rural poor (Hill et al, 2006:163).

## **2.2 TOURISM POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICA**

In the international tourism context, a distinctive facet of South Africa is the powerful commitments made towards the tourism sector adopting a development role (Ashley and Roe, 2002). The role of tourism in the economy and of tourism policy has changed profoundly throughout the post-apartheid period (Spenceley and Seif, 2003: 8-9). With the international authorisations forced upon the apartheid economy the tourism industry was weakened and adopted only a small economic role in the 1970s and 1980s (Rogerson, 2006:45). Ever since 1994 the tourism industry has been acknowledged as “a potential engine for growth, capable of energising and rejuvenating other economic sectors” (DEAT 2003 cited in Rogerson, 2006:46). In democratic South Africa, tourism is regarded as a fundamental sector for national reconstruction and development (Rogerson 2006:45) and one that presents ‘enormous potential as a catalyst for economic and social development across the whole of the country’ (DEAT, 2003:6 cited in Rogerson, 2006:46).

The vision for tourism defined in the 1996 *White Paper on Development and Promotion of Tourism* in South Africa outlined the government’s intention “to develop the tourism sector as a national priority in a sustainable manner, so that it would contribute significantly to the improvement of the quality of life of every South African” (Hayes, 2009:5). During the period when the *White Paper* was published, the world was witnessing the emergence of the new South Africa “and the concept of sustainability in tourism had come into vogue as an alternative to mainstream tourism” (Hayes, 2009:5). Tourism, and ecotourism especially, were being preached as the solution to South Africa’s distinctive social and economic development problems. It was visualised that tourism in South Africa would flourish, increasing the weakening economy and bringing with it an abundance of benefits to the country. The most often mentioned being job creation;

improved infrastructure and facilities; increased foreign exchange; expanding of the local skills base and support for the informal sector (Hayes, 2009:5).

The basis for a fundamental shift towards tourism adopting a developmental role were established with the 1996 *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism* (South Africa, 1996). It stated that tourism had mainly been an overlooked opportunity for South Africa, nonetheless believed that tourism could provide the nation with an ‘engine of growth, capable of dynamising and rejuvenating other sectors of the economy’ (Spenceley, 2003:6). It identified the potential economic importance of tourism owing to its ability to create jobs, labour intensive nature, requirement of an array of skills, and its ability to bring development to rural areas (Spenceley, 2003:6). The *White Paper* encourages the development of responsible and sustainable tourism, and significantly emphasises that communities should be engaged in and benefit from tourism (Rogerson, 2006:46). More particularly, a strong importance in tourism planning is on both job creation and enterprise development in aid of the country’s previously neglected rural communities (Rogerson, 2006:46). In addition, the *White Paper* places great emphasis on tourism development being driven by the private sector, with government’s responsibility restricted to providing a facilitating contextual structure for its development (Binns and Nel, 2002:238).

As part of this shift, South African officials have changed their role to form an enabling environment in which the private sector can function efficiently, and which can promote sustainable economic growth (Spenceley, 2003:2). With regard to natural resources and conservation areas, this entails that rather than the state managing commercial tourism enterprises itself; it encourages tourism development that is government-led, private sector-driven, community-based, and labour-conscious (Spenceley, 2003:2).

Although internationally highly developed in its promotion of responsible tourism, the *White Paper* has not been executed as fully as had originally been expected. Following this, the 1997 report *Tourism in GEAR* (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) proposed a combined strategy and framework to implement the 1996 *White Paper* (Spenceley and Seif, 2003:9). It highlights that tourism should be ‘government led, private sector driven, community based, and labour conscious’, and that entrepreneurship and community shareholding in tourism ought to be forcefully promoted (Spenceley and Seif,



2003:9). The report also encourages the sustainable management of natural and cultural resources concerning socio-economic impacts of tourism. The publication of *Tourism in GEAR* was affiliated to a more widespread shift towards global neo-liberal economic policy within South Africa (Spenceley and Seif, 2003:9).

The latest addition to government's policy collection has been the publication in March 2002 of the *South African Responsible Tourism Guidelines* (DEAT, 2002), which has subsequently been redrafted into the *Responsible Tourism Handbook: A Guide to Good Practice for Tourism Operators* (Spenceley and Seif, 2003:9). These important guidelines consist of a series of calculated targets for the tourism industry to work towards, as a way of focusing on the goals set by the 1996 *White Paper* regarding the triple bottom line of sustainable development (i.e. economic, environmental and social sustainability) (Spenceley and Seif, 2003:9).

### **2.3 RESPONSIBLE TOURISM IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Responsible Tourism is making headway as a recently emerging and expanding global trend worldwide. It proposes opportunities to create products that can add to national socio-economic objectives by providing livelihoods for local economies and adding value to the conservation of local heritage, culture and traditions (Department of Tourism, 2012).

It is argued by DEAT that responsible tourism can protect the environment, establish connections with agriculture as well as other sectors, and supply employment for unskilled members of the population (DEAT, 1996 in Allen and Brennan, 2004:26). Of most importance here, it could provide employment opportunities in poor rural areas, for example those previously neglected by apartheid (Allen and Brennan, 2004:26).

Tourism in South Africa has a poor record of involving local communities and formerly neglected groups in tourism activities (Naguran, 1999:39). The nature of South Africa's conservation policies under the apartheid government was mainly a programme to choose interesting biological developments and grant them a clear legal status (Naguran, 1999:39). Even though conservation in South Africa was made out to be successful, there was a large degree of failure since rural communities had been neglected and alienated

from the conservation policy (Naguran, 1999:39). Individuals had been forcibly removed from their land in order to create conservation areas, which lead to much hostility and a feeling that animals were of more importance than people (Naguran,1999:39). Communities had, formerly, considered themselves as not being involved in tourism and regarded themselves simply as objects for tourists to observe (Naguran, 1999:39-40).

The apartheid government made it extremely difficult for communities to become engaged in the tourism sector, and the many years of racial segregation have left Africans unaware of the potential benefits of the industry (Allen and Brennan, 2004:26).

With the arrival of democracy in 1994, the challenge confronting South Africa was to develop policies to correct the inequalities of the past and unfold the tourism sector for involvement of the previously disadvantaged members of the country (Naguran, 1999:40). South Africa's change to democracy led to a philosophical shift concerning a more participatory approach to conservation and tourism development intended for dealing with a number of the main constraints of past conservation practices. This approach places more importance on the necessity for greater participation by local communities in the development of tourism (Naguran, 1999:40). Local communities are located at the focal point of conservation decision-making and emphasis is put on the role of local institutions in the management of natural resources (Naguran, 1999:40).

In the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism* (1996) DEAT addresses the need to meet the requirements of the Reconstruction and Development Programme by encouraging responsible tourism that involves the previously neglected, as the leading principle for the development of the industry (Allen and Brennan, 2004:26-27). Responsible tourism involves protection of the environment through the promotion of sustainable tourism pursuits (for example game-viewing). Furthermore, it requires the significant participation of those communities living in the surrounding areas of the tourist attractions. In addition, responsible tourism respects the cultures that have been overlooked in the past (Allen and Brennan, 2004:27).

The *White Paper* is committed to asserting that responsible tourism is the means to develop the sector in South Africa since it recognises the responsibility of the government and the private sector to involve the disadvantaged, because environmentally sensitive

tourism is an increasing tendency in the industry, and since it provides the country with the chance to act as a frontrunner in this field of tourism (Allen and Brennan, 2004:27). It encompasses all agencies, including government, NGOs and the private sector in inclusive development. The government must take on important roles in tourism development through a devoted tourism development fund and through the provision of investment incentives to support the involvement of the private sector (DEAT, 1996 in Allen and Brennan, 2004:27).

Tourism development programmes in South Africa have progressively focused on urging the private sector to manage tourism enterprises responsibly (Spenceley, 2003:2). The private sector is being asked to address national empowerment and poverty alleviation intentions by way of sustainable economic growth. One case of where this has been tried is the favoured distribution of wildlife concessions to operators with convincing economic empowerment proposals that concentrate on strengthening marginalised and historically disadvantaged people (Spenceley, 2003:2).

## **2.4 SUSTAINABLE TOURISM**

Tourism's international significance as a driver for economic growth, together with its ability for growth, makes it especially pertinent to sustainable development (Fennell, 1999:14). The idea of sustainable tourism has its origins in the notion of sustainable development, defined by the Brundtland Commission as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs' (Pigram and Wahab, 1997:3).

The connection between tourism and sustainability was promoted by numerous advocates in the 1980s. They proposed that the environment and tourism should be combined to maintain environmental unity and successful tourism development (Dowling and Fennell, 2003: 4). Sustainable tourism is frequently associated with ecotourism, however sustainable tourism comprises all divisions of the industry, including ecotourism, with policies and standards that attempt to decrease environmental impacts, maintain the well-being of local people and to enhance tourism's contribution to sustainable development and environmental conservation (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:4).

Carbone (2005) argues that sustainable tourism is a multidimensional concept including several aspects: (1) ecological, to reduce possible damage to the natural environment; (2) cultural, to reduce the harmful impact of external influences on the host community; (3) social, to reduce prospective conflicts resulting from economic inequalities as a result of tourism development; (4) economic, to enhance the benefits to local people with regard to multinational corporations; (5) ethical, to improve the relationships between tourists and host communities; and (6) planning, to improve the incorporation of local communities in all stages of the development process (Carbone, 2005:564).

The fundamental idea of sustainable tourism development is the associating of tourism development with ecological and social responsibility (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:4). Its goal is to meet the needs of current tourists and host communities while protecting and improving environmental, social and economic ideas for the future (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:4-5). Sustainable tourism development is seen as “leading to the management of all resources in such a way that it can fulfill economic, social and aesthetic needs while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems” (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:5).

Assessing a community’s approach to tourism development is the initial step in planning towards sustainability (Pigram and Wahab, 1997:9). Sustainable tourism cannot be effectively implemented without the support and involvement of those to whom it affects. Planning successful ways for enabling citizens’ involvement in the planning process and urging people to actively participate in the process is of utmost importance for sustainable tourism development (Pigram and Wahab, 1997:9).

## **2.5 PRO-POOR TOURISM**

The concept of “pro-poor” tourism (PPT) has also recently surfaced, placing an emphasis on the inclusion of formerly neglected rural communities in the development of sustainable tourism projects and the potential benefits established by tourism (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:5).

### **2.5.1 Pro-poor tourism and sustainability**

The World Tourism Organisation explained sustainable tourism as “leading to the management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity and life support systems” (Roe and Khanya, 2001:2). However thus far, a great deal of this discussion has concentrated around environmental sustainability or improving community involvement in tourism. Even though numerous initiatives embody pro-poor elements, this approach to ‘sustainable tourism’ does not take into consideration the connections between poverty, environment and development (Roe and Khanya, 2001:2). Addressing poverty is a crucial element of sustainable development. Notably however, the 1999 summit of the UN Commission on Sustainable Development advised governments to, “maximise the potential of tourism for eradicating poverty by developing appropriate strategies in co-operation with all major groups, indigenous and local communities” (Roe and Khanya, 2001:2). Pro-poor tourism strives to do this, placing poor people and poverty in the centre of the sustainability debate (Roe and Khanya, 2001:2).

Pro-poor tourism is defined as tourism that generates net benefits for the poor, benefits may be economic, or they may be social, environmental or cultural (Roe and Khanya, 2001:2). Pro-poor tourism does not refer to a specific product or niche sector but to an approach to tourism development and management which intends to improve the relations between tourism businesses and poverty reduction (Hill et al, 2006:164). It varies from conventional tourism in that it clearly prioritises poverty matters and is geared at increasing the total contribution of tourism to improving the lives of poor rural communities (Hayes, 2009:6). Plans for making tourism pro-poor focus explicitly on unlocking opportunities for the poor in tourism, instead of increasing the general size of the sector (Chock et al, 2008:147; Roe and Khanya, 2001:2). According to Roe and Khanya (2001), three essential activities are required: increasing access of the poor to economic benefits (by developing business and employment opportunities for the poor, giving training so they are in a position to engage in these opportunities and spreading income to the larger area affiliated with tourism (for example lost access to land and exploitation); and policy reform (by encouraging participation of the poor in planning and decision-making processes regarding tourism, and by urging partnerships between the private sector and poor people in creating tourism products (Roe and Khanya, 2001:2).

Improving the participation of the poor by way of capacity building and skills transfer, in addition to restructuring decision-making processes so that their needs are prioritised are seen as fundamental (Chok et al, 2008:148).

### **2.5.2 Effectiveness of pro-poor tourism in reducing poverty**

Pro-poor tourism can play a very important role in livelihood security and poverty reduction at the local level (Ashley et al, 2001:41). Promising indications of the impacts of the existing PPT initiatives propose that for the poor, where it occurs, PPT interventions are crucial. Employment can be a way out of poverty, and small incomes are a means for survival (Ashley and Roe, 2002:78). There is an extensive variety of additional impacts on livelihoods that cannot be quantified but which lower the vulnerability of the poor, for example enhanced access to information and infrastructure, pride and cultural emphasis (Ashley et al, 2001:41; Ashley and Roe, 2002:78).

Benefits are unevenly but widely spread across poor households: incomes accumulate directly to a minority, and are used to support several relatives or are re-spent locally, creating multipliers (Ashley et al, 2001:27). Collective earnings and additional livelihood benefits usually affect many more in the community. In some cases, entire communities can be said to have 'escaped' poverty through the effect of PPT (Ashley et al, 2001:27). All six of the PPT case studies mentioned by Ashley and Roe (2002) stated that benefits had been accumulated in the areas of skills, education and health through training, funding for schools and investment in health care. Further benefits comprised improved access to information, increased communications and interaction with the 'outside world' (Ashley and Roe, 2002:73). They conclude that regardless of a concern against overt dependence on the unpredictable tourism market, 'although those involved remain poor, they are better off than before' (Ashley and Roe, 2002:73).

Although greatly in favour of a PPT approach to rural economic upliftment, Ashley and Roe (2002:62) do identify certain fundamental difficulties. These include: excessive expectations of the private partner and the state by communities; huge training needs; slow progress of land tenure reform; overt dependency on outside expertise; and benefits are slow and small relative to the crowded population.

Bennet et al (1999:6&60) state “experience to date demonstrates that the structure of tourism growth can be ‘tilted’ in the favour of the poor, particularly in Southern Africa, where tourism is growing and there is an expressed commitment from government and business to harness tourism for development” (Hayes, 2009:7). Certainly, South Africa indicates all the essential conditions for pro-poor tourism to be suitable and viable: There is an existing and improving tourism product. There is governmental commitment to pro-poor growth, or precisely to pro-poor tourism. There are considerable numbers of poor people living in areas with tourism assets. Finally, and perhaps more importantly, there are opportunities for pro-poor intervention (Hayes, 2009:7).

In South Africa, private game reserves are often criticised as being the worst guilty party regarding pro-poor tourism practice. Nationally, conservation land use is a strongly disputed and highly controversial issue. In the Eastern Cape particularly, large areas of farmland have been converted to game farms or privately-owned protected areas, several of which are now susceptible to land-claims from local communities (Hayes, 2009:7).

What is important to take from this approach is that tourism initiatives for rural communities should enhance existing forms of income diversity. Tourism projects have the ability to provide both financial and non-financial benefits. These will certainly contribute to both the tourism project as well as other established income sources. Income diversification creates a safeguard which will allow for survival given the fact that tourism is largely seasonal and direct financial income may be low and slow to progress (Luck, 2003: 22).

## **2.6 CONCLUSION**

Formulated in the context of the past-apartheid government’s Reconstruction and Development Programme geared towards eradicating the legacies of unfair governance, the *White Paper* recognised tourism as having important potential to function as a means for socio-economic upliftment, together with the fundamental principles of community participation and the sustainable management of resources – principles that are also embedded in the concept of nature-based tourism (Spenceley and Seif, 2003).

An important objective of the *White Paper* (DEAT 1996) is to establish an environment wherein the private sector can help in the development of ecotourism, namely, to take control of some of the management and conservation of both natural and wildlife resources (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:5). It is hoped that tourism can be used as a driver of development in disadvantaged rural communities, through improving infrastructure and creating employment (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:5; Hall, 2007; Binns and Nel, 2002:235). The notion of “pro-poor” tourism has also emerged, with an importance on the inclusion of impoverished rural communities in the development of sustainable tourism projects and the possible benefits created by tourism (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:5). These matters appear particularly important in the context of pro-poor tourism development in South Africa, where under apartheid a large majority of the poor were marginalised, frequently deprived of basic education and skills training and suffered from empowerment (Binns and Nel, 2002:245).



## **CHAPTER THREE: AN OVERVIEW OF ECOTOURISM**

### **3.1 INTRODUCTION**

Ecotourism is currently considered as the most popular tourist attraction (Motala, 2010) and has been described as "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and improves the well-being of local people" (The International Ecotourism Society (TIES), 2014). Ecotourism has been developed as a form of sustainable tourism that is envisaged to increase conservation and development in the rural communities of South Africa (Chiutsi et al, 2011:14). According to Motala (2010:1), three key elements appear to be generally part of ecotourism, that it is focused on environmental conservation, significant community participation and it is both profitable and self-sustaining. Furthermore, Chiutsi et al, (2011:6) indicates that ecotourism organisations should minimise negative impacts, contribute to conservation, direct economic benefits to local people and also offer opportunities for local people to appreciate natural areas.

### **3.2 LINKING TOURISM, THE ENVIRONMENT, AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

Ecotourism has become the focus of numerous attempts to incorporate nature conservation with rural development (Turner, 2001:368). According to Smith and Wilson (2002:17) ecotourism is perhaps "the area of the economy in which environmental sustainability and job creation could be combined most effectively". An important development in ecotourism aims at improving the livelihoods of the rural poor (Turner, 2001:368). Realising the extreme poverty of people living in or close to protected areas, a rising number of small ecotourism initiatives in South Africa try to benefit from the growing international and regional interest in this type of industry (Turner, 2001:369). These initiatives are set up by rural development programmes or are funded by nature conservation authorities. They attempt to help rural communities to generate small ecotourism initiatives for example nature trails, cultural villages and guided tours (Turner, 2001:369).

According to government websites, South Africa is home to well-known national parks and several ecotourism based private game reserves (PGRs) all providing outstanding wildlife and scenery, in addition to community participation, whilst planning to conserve

biological diversity (SAInfo, 2014). More particularly ecotourism based PGRs are privately owned natural areas where tourism acts as the main business activity, instead of hunting or some other land use (Sims-Castley et al, 2005:6).

Sims-Castley et al (2005:6) make the all-inclusive statement that private game reserves are highly sought after in comparison to other land usages and that they have had ‘positive benefits for employment creation, ecotourism and biodiversity’. Recognised benefits of wildlife ecotourism projects include; employment creation, wealth distribution, community upliftment and sustainable land practices (Sims-Castley et al, 2005:6). This has now become the standard broad package on offer by promoters of the wildlife industry in the province. There are, however, critics who disagree with this grand notion, and, who argue for example that it does not promote equitable redistribution of land in South Africa, or believe that there are considerable amounts of negative local feelings regarding the establishment of the proliferation of private game reserves (PGRs), particularly in the Eastern Cape (Hamer and Snowball, 2008:9). Much of this hostility is based on the insight that farm workers have been evicted from the land to make way for the reserves. This is also combined with the prolonged nature of the land redistribution and reclamation process and the challenges faced by dispossessed people (Hamer and Snowball, 2008:9).

### **3.3 ECOTOURISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE**

The view to be developed in this Chapter is that ecotourism is a form of tourism which minimises negative impacts, contributes to conservation, directs economic benefits to local people and also offers opportunities for local people to appreciate natural areas (Chiutsi et al, 2011:15). The idea of ecotourism as approving of local community livelihood goals is further repeated by Weaver (2008: 7) in Chiutsi et al, (2011:15) who defines it as “low-impact nature tourism which contributes to the maintenance of species and habitats either directly through a contribution to conservation or indirectly by providing revenue to the local community sufficient for local people to value and therefore protect their wildlife heritage as a source of income” (Chiutsi et al, 2011:15).

The ideas in this model which have a tendency to impact a wider understanding of ecotourism is that the tourism industry is mainly environment dependent and resource based, making it capable of disturbing ecosystems and having considerable impacts on the tourist destinations (Chiutsi et al, 2011:15-16). In awareness of this potential tension

between tourism and the environment, concepts of sustainability have been implanted in ecotourism. It is against this setting that the notions of ecotourism and sustainable tourism have been gaining importance since the 1980s as a universal cure for the damaging impacts of conventional mass tourism (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16).

The notion of sustainability first emerged in the report issued by the World Commission on Environment and Development (Brundtland Commission) in 1987. The commission report puts forward the idea of sustainable development by stating that economic growth and environmental conservation are not only well suited but they are essential partners (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16).

### **3.3.1 Components of ecotourism and its place within sustainable development and sustainable tourism**

Literature studies have recognised that the sustainability criterion of ecotourism includes economic and socio-cultural aspects over and above the ecological dimension (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16). Of importance is the emphasis that the tourism industry can only be sustainable if local communities obtain revenue through tourism (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16). Against this framework ecotourism has been accepted as a crucial development strategy for developing countries because it is widely acknowledged as a main generator of foreign exchange and employment. Countries such as South Africa and Zimbabwe acquire ecotourism prime destinations due to its abundant wildlife (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16).

An essential part of ecotourism that promotes and includes the sustainable development paradigm is interpretation and community involvement (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16). Interpretation is an educational activity directed at uncovering values and relationships to people about the places they visit and what they see and do there (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16). Out of interpretation of the natural and cultural heritage of the destinations for visitors, it is debated that ecotourism offers itself more in developing sustainability and environmentalism (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16). This comes against the general view in ecotourism literature that with regard to demographics, the consumers of ecotourism products are described as educated and wealthy individuals mostly from highly developed societies (Chiutsi et al, 2011: 6).

An additional important aspect of ecotourism is local community involvement. According to the Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism, “ecotourism is tourism which includes local

and indigenous communities in its planning, development and operation and contributes to their well-being” (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16). The concept of significant community involvement is mainly understood as an essential part of sustaining the tourism industry by way of nature conservation and generating economic benefits to the local people (Chiutsi et al, 2011:17). Chiutsi et al (2011: 17) state that people with local knowledge that have a love for the place in which they have grown up, training them as guides and interpreters symbolise an important sustainable development strategy. It is mentioned that for the local residents working in the ecotourism industry, the economic worth of protecting their livelihoods is captivating as the locals become significant partners in the protection of the natural and cultural environments that form the foundation to the wildlife industry (Chiutsi et al, 2011:17).

One of the main characteristics of ecotourism that is seen throughout the literature is that it is managed in keeping with industry best practice to achieve environmentally and socio-culturally sustainable ecotourism results in addition to financial viability (Chiutsi et al, 2011:16). The importance of an ecotourism business's financial sustainability cannot be underestimated in assisting sustainable tourism and development (Chiutsi et al, 2011:17). For financial viability to be ensured, it is crucial for the destination to have attractions equipped for sustaining the ecotourism industry. Being close to a game park could be a huge advantage for wildlife based ecotourism initiatives (Chiutsi et al, 2011:17). This is the case with the South African settlement of Mavhulani which owes its ranking as one of the few examples of successful ecotourism mainly to its close proximity to the Kruger National Park (Chiutsi et al, 2011:17).

Furthermore, the success and viability of ecotourism lies in right-sizing the processes and in producing direct financial benefits to the local communities (Chiutsi et al, 2011:17). It is further noticed that regardless of how environmentally and socio-culturally sustainable its impact, ecotourism will continue only if it is also sustainable as a business initiative. Therefore, the viability of ecotourism mainly depends on financial sustainability and high levels of tourist satisfaction (Chiutsi et al, 2011:17).

### **3.3.2 Local community participation in ecotourism**

At the center of development lies the role of people (Korten, 1990:67). People are the primary goal of development; their welfare is the reason for development. Additionally,

people's skills and participation are fundamental to the development process (Korten, 1990:67-68; Jeppe, 1985:59). A further important requirement for development is that it should be engaging to the participants to inspire them to endure changes in their lives brought about in the development process (Jeppe, 1985:59). The main motivation, making development appealing to the people, is enhanced physical welfare, to make decisions, and participate in, the improvement of themselves as individuals and communities (Jeppe, 1985:59; Burkey, 1993:50). The current status of participatory development is reflected in a 'people-centred development' paradigm (Korten, 1990:67). PCD stresses the participation of the majority of the population in the process of development. This involvement is considered the bottom-line for the successful implementation of any project or programme (Roodt, 2001:317).

Participation entails "people involving themselves, to a greater or lesser degree, in organisations, indirectly or directly concerned with the decision-making about, and implementation of, development" (Roodt, 2001:312). People must participate in decision-making if their livelihood priorities are to be reflected in the way tourism is developed (Chok et al, 2007:147). The World Bank analysts have come to the conclusion that: 'the long-term "sustainability" of projects is closely linked to active, informed participation by the poor' (Rahnema, 1992:119).

There have been numerous attempts worldwide to encourage more active participation by a wide range of the population/community in local level governance as one of the elements needed to encourage sustained development (Roodt, 2001:312; Shapiro, 1996:24). To attain sustained development entails more than people participating in the development process. Just as important is a clear and logical integrated state policy at national, regional and local level, the participation of the private sector and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), sufficient service delivery and management in addition to finance (Roodt, 2001:312).

However, fundamental to an understanding of community participation is the awareness of the range of meanings and interpretations that people ascribe to the concept. Cernea (1991) in Naguran (1999:42) portrays community participation as "giving people more opportunities to participate effectively in development activities". These include empowering people to generate their own abilities, be social actors instead of passive

subjects, control the resources, make decisions and manage the activities, which affect their livelihoods (Naguran, 1999:42). The local community's participation in a project should form an essential part of ecotourism development and planning.

Advocates of ecotourism, as a sustainable and viable alternative to more oppressive uses of the natural resource base, have identified that active involvement in the decision-making process by those most affected is a significant element of successful and sustainable tourism development (Reid, 1999:35).

Sustainable tourism cannot be successfully executed without the direct support and involvement of those affected by it (Wahab and Pigram, 1997:9). Additionally, it is similarly acknowledged that benefits from this development must accrue to the affected community and to the other actors in the system. No longer can people living at or close to the development be completely ignored, regardless of how important the project may seem to be from the national or private outlook (Reid, 1999:35).

Integration of ecotourism into the main culture of the community must be developed using a grass roots method instead of being imposed from the outside. If we require people to alter their lifestyle to take in new enterprise, their active involvement in the plan and management of that project alteration is vital (Reid, 1999:35). Furthermore, an important principle of ecotourism development must be to direct a good percentage of the benefits originating from the project to the local community and to keep leakage of those benefits to a minimum (Reid, 1999:35).

Extensive discussion of development and ecotourism oratory has caused ample support for community-based tourism ventures. As mentioned in Mametja (2006:19) the involvement of local people is without a doubt one of the missing elements weakening the success of several tourist destinations.

Ecotourism can offer the opportunity to hand over a region's natural areas, advancing an identity that is distinctive (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:14). It can generate new and stimulating tourism experiences, promote high quality in tourism, present and preserve natural areas, benefit local communities and support commercially successful and environmentally sound tourism enterprises (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:14). The idea for

regional ecotourism development is for a lively and ecologically, commercially and socially sustainable ecotourism sector that guides the way in tourism development (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:14).

Participation is a crucial part of human growth, namely the development of self-confidence, initiative, responsibility, and cooperation (Burkey, 1993:56). Without such a development in the people themselves all attempts to ease their poverty will be extremely more difficult. This process, whereby people learn to take control of their own lives and solve their own problems, is the real meaning of development (Burkey, 1993:56).

It is becoming increasingly clear that the first step in attaining genuine participation is a process wherein the rural poor themselves become more conscious of their own condition, of the socio-economic existence around them, of their actual problems, the sources of these problems, and what actions they can take to start changing their situation (Burkey, 1993:57). This process of awareness, increasing of levels of consciousness, comprises a process of self-transformation through which people grow and fully develop (Burkey, 1993:57).

### **3.3.3 Benefits to local communities from ecotourism**

Alternative ecotourism initiatives are required to empower local people with the intention of maximising their benefits and implementing some influence over ecotourism in their area (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:13). Perhaps the most important benefits of ecotourism strategies and planning is to promote developments that provide benefits for local communities and their environments (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:13). These comprise new occupations, businesses and added income; markets for local products; improved infrastructure, community facilities; innovative skills and technologies; increased cultural and environmental awareness, conservation and protection; as well as enhanced land-use patterns (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:13).

The means to “capitalising on the possible benefits obtainable through ecotourism development is to maximise the opportunities and minimise the opposing impacts by way of environmentally suitable strategies and planning” (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:14). If this is conducted then a complete foundation will have been set up for ecotourism to

develop and succeed together with the natural environments and cultural settings on which it relies (Dowling and Fennell, 2003:14).

Previous debates have demonstrated that active local community participation in the organisation of ecotourism could supply the local community with opportunities making it possible for them to conserve and protect their natural environment and resources (Mametja, 2010:23). In exchange for their participation, several benefits are obtained. It must become clear that the benefits under discussion are those that can be linked to the six points outlined below.

### ***3.3.3.1 Maintenance of biological diversity***

According to Koch (1997:219), the local communities could make use of the income created by ecotourism to preserve biological diversity in the particular region. The revenue could be used to conserve and protect nature reserves, historic towns, protected areas and wildlife environments (Mametja, 2010:23). Through making local communities central in decision-making, environmental protection will become a main concern for people as they, and their communities, encounter benefits through tourism related initiatives (Reid, 1999:iii).

### ***3.3.3.2 Economic benefits to the local community***

Ecotourism may create substantial income. Not only could this income be used for the preservation of biological diversity but also the remainder of it could be invested back into the community that is living in or bordering conservation areas (Koch, 1997:219). Economic benefits do not only come in the form of income; ecotourism destinations could also bring about increased employment and business opportunities that generate greatly needed hard currency (Mametja, 2006).

Nowadays in South Africa, local communities are involved in ecotourism in several ways. These range from entitlement to empowerment models and from passive to more active employment (Honey, 1999:384). They include rent or bed night payments made by the lodge or reserve to the local communities; employment; education and training programmes; co-management agreements between communities and private businesses; supplying of social services and infrastructure; and the buying of local produce and crafts (Honey, 1999:384).



### ***3.3.3.3 Participation in the management of enterprises***

Ecotourism should urge local communities to participate in its initiatives for the intention of sustainable development (Koch, 1997:219). Participation is considered the local people's active involvement in controlling a protected area and there is growing recognition that without this involvement conservation attempts have minimal chance of success (Naguran, 1999:42).

### ***3.3.3.4 Empowerment of the local community***

As a result of ecotourism, communities are given the opportunity of appropriate organisations and skills to enable empowerment (Koch, 1997:219). To help communities become committed partners in the management of ecotourism ventures, external organisations should provide the local people with opportunities to participate actively in development activities and decision-making procedures (Mametja, 2010:24). This could result in the empowerment of local communities to such a degree that they would be allowed to organise their own roles, manage resources, make decisions and control the actions affecting their lives (Reid 1999:36).

### ***3.3.3.5 Appreciation and understanding of local knowledge and culture***

An important benefit of ecotourism is that it often results in building an appreciation for the local culture among outsiders, tourists and conservationists (Koch, 1997: 219). This development of appreciation of encourages communities to advance their cultural assets, namely arts and crafts, theatre and dance (Addison, 2000 cited in Mametja, 2010:25).

### ***3.3.3.6 Creating conservation awareness***

More recently it has been realised by environmentalists that conservation goals can be attained only with the support from and the direct involvement of local communities. What's more, concern for environmental protection has emphasised the need to meet communities' basic needs as well as provide actual alternatives to illegal land invasions and poaching (Allen and Brennan, 2004:37).

Communities who have experienced the benefits of ecotourism, are becoming progressively conscious of the need for environmental conservation and sustainable development of natural resources (Koch, 1997:219). Therefore, by developing an

understanding and awareness of conservation, local communities are in a position to experience the benefits discussed so far (Koch, 1997:219). However, regardless of the fact that ecotourism can be beneficial to local communities; ecotourism may also negatively impact them (Mametja, 2010:26).

### **3.4 CRITERIA FOR EVALUATING DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

There are particular criteria that exist for evaluating development projects. According to Shapiro (1996:5-6), there are three main series of questions that must be answered in evaluating development work; these are questions of effectiveness, questions of efficiency and questions of impact. An evaluator of development work: measures the successes of a programme, project or organisation; systematically and objectively; with regard to effectiveness, efficiency and impact; within the outline of the basic values of assisting and empowering the disadvantaged, generating sustainable transformation for individuals and for the community as a whole, and utilising resources efficiently (Shapiro, 1996:8).

The basic values that motivate evaluation include; the impact the work has on the natural environment; whether the work has built capacity in the communities it has helped; and whether it is sustainable (Shapiro, 1996:12). Capacity building and sustainability are important matters in all development work. Capacity building is the process of increasing the capability of individuals and communities to control and direct all the important aspects of their lives. Sustainability is the ability for development work to carry on functioning effectively without on-going outside support (Shapiro, 1996:12). This is closely related to the degree to which those who benefited from the support given by the donors will be capable of carrying on the work that has been started once the donors leave (Shapiro, 1996:17).

### **3.5 CONCEPTUAL CONSTRAINTS AND PROBLEMS OF ECOTOURISM**

Studies of tourism usually view ecotourism as a form of sustainable tourism envisaged to increase conservation and development in rural communities (Chiutsi et al, 2011:14). The success of such tourism is mainly reliant on the distribution of economic benefits from ecotourism in addition to the actual amount of benefits a community may receive (Chiutsi et al, 2011; Reid, 1999). Advocates of ecotourism, as a sustainable and viable alternative

to more exploitive uses of the natural resource base, have been fast to acknowledge that active involvement in the decision-making process by those people most affected is a crucial part of successful and sustainable tourism development (Reid, 1999:35). Whether or not ecotourism is successful in South Africa will affect the health, education and happiness of many excluded and vulnerable members of South African society (Allen and Brennan, 2004:5).

Ecotourism is thought of by many governments and institutions involved in development throughout the world (Reid, 1999:iii). Unfortunately, its execution has not always produced the expected results. When carried out correctly, ecotourism has provided revenue to local people while minimising the impact on the natural and social environment (Reid, 1999:iii). However, when the focus of tourism is influenced by governments' need to earn huge sums of foreign currency and create employment, ecotourism has turned out to be as destructive as the alternative uses of the natural resource base it was intended to replace (Reid, 1999:iii). Several more of the complexities of the implementation of ecotourism need to be understood if the first outcome is to succeed over the latter (Reid, 1999:iii).

Even though some writers highlight the ability for ecotourism to advance the well being of both local people and their environments, (Schuyvens, 1999:245) others advise us from uncritically receiving ecotourism as a collective good (Schuyvens, 1999:245). As Cater (1993:85) notes, '...there is a very real danger of viewing ecotourism as the universal panacea, and the ecotourist as some magic breed, mitigating all tourism's ills' (Schuyvens, 1999:245). Yet idealistic notions about the assets of ecotourism do still appear to direct most of the interest in this sector (Schuyvens, 1999:245).

Possibly the most incisive criticism of the concept of socially responsible tourism comes from Brian Wheeler, who draws attention to what he perceives as the overwhelming flow from small-scale to mass tourism, that can only have overwhelming consequences for the environment and for the rural disadvantaged poor (Allen and Brennan, 2004:4). Wheeler argues in Allen and Brennan (2004:4), that the costs and benefits of tourism can never be equally dispersed, and that the literature on responsible tourism is simply a diversion and proposes a short-term small-scale solution to the problems caused all over by mass tourism. As Wheeler (1992) asserts, the major contradiction is clearly stated: "for tourism

to be sustainable, it has to be economically viable” (Allen and Brennan, 2004:4). Small-scale local trade cannot put forward the same level and distribution of economic benefits as mass tourism. For Wheeler, ecotourism is, a middle-class fixation, that offers no authentic alternative to mass tourism, and that only function as the front for the latter. For Duffy (2002) in (Allen and Brennan, 2004:4), it is a ‘trip too far’, who argues that ecotourism is just a new sub-sector of global capitalism, in all likelihood (as in opposition to the fundamental claims made by ecotourism’s advocates) positioning individual consumer choices at the centre of the cause of unjust income and wealth disparities (Allen and Brennan, 2004:4). A far more realistic and practical approach is that of Grossman and Koch (1995).

In a more analytical report, Grossman and Koch (1995) in Allen and Brennan (2004:25), evaluate the aims and achievements of ecotourism initiatives in South Africa, focusing on the context-specific constraints and limitations on its development. Grossman and Koch (1995) propose that the commercial reason to capitalise on the anticipated trend of new tourism is causing novel partnerships between the private sector, state agencies, NGOs and local communities. Combined conservation development initiatives, even though still few in number, have been carried out during the period of political transition in the country, and have assisted local people in their economic struggle as well as in the re-evaluation of their natural environment (Allen and Brennan, 2004:25).

Furthermore, what is frequently disregarded in ecotourism development is the involvement of the local community and its culture. In addition, local culture, especially in developing countries, is often part of the ecotourism product but not automatically considered when benefits from that product are being distributed (Reid, 1999:34-35). Nevertheless, it is quickly becoming known that to overlook rural communities, which are part of the natural environment, is to neglect a huge part of the ecotourism structure itself (Reid, 1999:35). If not entirely left out of tourism development, rural communities are asked to be involved at the implementation stage, but seldom at the starting stage of the planning process (Reid, 1999:35).

Advocates of ecotourism are discovering that active engagement of local people in the planning process proves it is a complicated issue and not just a way of selling communities on external intentions (Reid, 1999:35). At its most basic level, it involves

joint learning and partnership development between local people and external agents. Frequently, what gets misrepresented, as participatory planning is sheer manipulation of the local people by the external agents (Reid, 1999:35). While this may not be the initial intention of the planning process, it often takes place on account of the planners' lack of skills in community development practice or due to the historic relationship between the planning organisation and the local community (Reid, 1999:36).

Of paramount interest is the degree of community participation in decision-making, and the degree to which that participation is based on patterns of land ownership (Allen and Brennan, 2004:72). With additional research, it may well be possible to develop typologies of ecotourism projects that expose the dynamic forces of sustainable rural development and on the procedures required for a more even distribution of benefits to the most excluded members of society (Allen and Brennan, 2004: 72).

The question of land tenure and land restitution currently is at the centre of development discussions (Mazibuko, 2007:159). There seems to be a 'new dawn' that many are awakening to. The awareness that land ownership is a basic element in reducing inequality is gaining impetus. Ferguson (1994) in Mazibuko (2007:159) clarifies that the system of land tenure in rural areas is a problem to the transformation of society. Ferguson also challenges the idea that the system is traditional because it has been used to secure labour supply to the cities and mines; indicating that the 'traditional' system is part of the 'cash economy' (Mazibuko, 2007:159). However, in the South African context, the land matter is addressed differently. According to Mazibuko (2007:159) the rural people are citizens of a 'neo-feudal' system by which a head chief is in charge of the land. Whilst elsewhere others have the constitutional right to private ownership of property, in South Africa, the rural poor do not have that right (Mazibuko, 2007:159). They may only inhabit the land and have the right to utilise the land.

As a development policy, tourism has been often criticised for the extent of leakages from the local economy (Allen and Brennan, 2004:5). A leakage is a situation whereby a tourist's money leaves the local economy rather than being re-invested within the area (Mazibuko, 2007:152). An important principle of ecotourism development must be to direct a large share of the benefits originating from the project to the local region and to keep leakage of those benefits to a minimum (Reid, 1999:35). Minimising such leakages

is said to be dependent upon the strength of linkages with the wider tourism industry and with other sectors of the host economy (Allen and Brennan, 2004:5). The improvement of such linkages is a significant foundation for increasing tourism multipliers and the spread of effects within local communities (Rogerson et al, 2013:4). On the whole, it is clear that tourism's potential contribution to the welfare of rural communities depends on the development of economic linkages (Rogerson et al, 2013:4).

The matter of developing local linkages is especially pertinent for game reserves as these high-cost tourism establishments function in remote outlying rural areas close to relegated and mainly poor farming communities (Rogerson et al, 2013:5) More generally, the development of local linkages can be seen as a vital platform for responsible tourism, and a crucial foundation for South African tourism policy (Rogerson et al, 2013:5).

To sum up, there is a concern that examples of ecotourism development are being implemented uncritically, and with inadequate discussion with neighbouring communities (Allen and Brennan, 2004:63). The basic assumptions upon which such plans are found remain untried, and African communities, severely poor already, have the most to lose if ecotourism fails to succeed (Allen and Brennan, 2004: 63). There remains profound mistrust of conservation authorities, which are thought of promoting tourism as an excuse for following their fixation with conservation at all costs. The continuation of the protected areas decreases the land available for diversification to alleviate risks in times of privation, placing added pressure on those less educated, and least likely to achieve employment in the ecotourism industry (Allen and Brennan, 2004:63-64).

Aside from the challenges outlined in this section, ecotourism to South Africa has been acclaimed as a promising approach for providing sustainable development (Chiutsi et al, 2011:20). One of the main benefits of ecotourism is its potential for providing desired wealth for local and national economies without surpassing ecological and cultural carrying capacities. However, to succeed, an ecotourism venture must be economically feasible as a business, conserve the natural environment as well as provide tangible benefits to local people (Chiutsi et al, 2011:20).

### **3.6 CONCLUSION**

The above discussion has indicated that the way in which ecotourism is approached is

significant to its success with regard to promoting the well-being of local people and their environments (Schuyvens, 1999:246). In deciding the success and sustainability of an ecotourism initiative, the distribution of economic benefits from ecotourism is equally as important as the real amount of benefits a community may receive (Schuyvens, 1999:248).

Ecotourism has been progressed as a form of sustainable tourism that is expected to uplift conservation and development in the rural communities of Southern Africa. Considerable research has been carried out on tourism development and its effects on the empowerment of rural communities. In order to assess the influence of ecotourism to conservation and communities' development, an examination of various ecotourism case studies is presented in the following Chapter.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: ECOTOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA**

### **4.1 INTRODUCTION**

Following the publication of the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism* (DEAT 1996), there has been significant concern in expanding and boosting the tourism sector in South Africa, mainly nature-based tourism (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:5). In South Africa, nature-based tourism and the conservation of nature are closely connected sectors. They provide important possibilities for economic growth. A large amount of this growth can be anticipated to occur in rural areas, where the attractions of nature are situated (Turner, 2001:365). President Jacob Zuma reported on Statistics South Africa figures for the period ending December 2011 which indicate that tourism's contribution to the country's gross domestic product (GDP) increased by 5% to R84.3-billion in 2011, whilst its contribution to employment increased by 31 000 direct jobs to 598 432 direct jobs altogether (SAInfo, 2013). For many foreign tourists who visit South Africa each year, scenery and wildlife is the main attraction, with 45% of them visiting wildlife or nature reserves during their stay (Spenceley, 2003; Hall, 2007).

It was mentioned; in the early 1990s that eco-tourism on game farms had huge potential for expansion (Benson, 1991:498). The total land area occupied by private game farms in South Africa is unavailable. However, it is projected that 5 million hectares of land (8.5%) of the country are utilised for wildlife production (Child, 2004:46). By the year 1990, it was claimed that wildlife conservation on private lands (tallying 8.6 million hectares) surpassed that on government land (5.4 million hectares), and that game farms and state conservation agencies were 'active partners' in wildlife management (Benson, 1991:498). Since then, it appears that, there has been an 'unprecedented boom in game based operations' (Smith and Wilson, 2002:11).

### **4.2 THE CREATION OF APARTHEID'S PARKS**

With the end of apartheid in 1994, 5.52 per cent of South Africa's total land area was subject to state-run wildlife protection. This comprised 16 national parks and over 100 provincial or homeland nature conservation areas (Honey, 1999:340-341). A slightly larger amount was protected in 9,000 privately owned game farms and nature reserves that



provided upmarket hunting safaris and lodges (Honey, 1999:341). However the wide stretch and peacefulness of these parks and reserves disguise the reality that many of these were created by evicting tens of thousands of people from their homes and lands (Honey, 1999: 341). “Built through forced relocations, protected with military techniques, financed through heavy government subsidies, and run with political and social blinders, South Africa’s parks became some of the most luxurious and racially exclusive playgrounds in the world” (Honey, 1999:341).

The establishment of Kruger National Park, South Africa’s first wildlife park began in the 1890s, when Boer farmers walked into what they called the Transvaal (today the Northern and Mpumalanga Provinces), forcibly removing around 3,000 Tsonga people from land between the Sabie and Crocodile Rivers (Honey, 1999:341).

South Africa’s parks and reserves were formed as an urgent reaction to the decimation and rapid decline of wildlife that began as European settlers cleared and enclosed land for, agriculture, mines and towns (Honey, 1999:341). Up until the late nineteenth century, whites hunted wild game randomly, either for food, or for trade, and increasingly for gratification and trophies (Honey, 1999:341).

It was only with the arrival of colonial game reserves that native Africans began to view wildlife with antagonism (Honey, 1999:341). Indigenous Africans were not only forcibly relocated to overcrowded and negligible agricultural lands on the border of these new reserves; but colonial laws also refused them hunting and fishing licenses as well as the right to use guns or hunting dogs (Honey, 1999:342). Furthermore they were forbidden to kill wild animals that roamed outside the reserves killing their crops and livestock, and they were barred from gathering wood or grasses inside the reserves. Invariably, the colonial state chose to protect wildlife rather than the locals (Honey, 1999:342).

Involving local communities with development projects will not only be achieved by benevolence alone. For several black South Africans, the notion of security required to participate in developmental initiatives will only become apparent when the fundamental issue of land redistribution is settled (Allen and Brennan, 2004:38). Throughout apartheid, around 3.5 million people lost their rights through forced removals (Allen and Brennan, 2004:38). An extensive land reform programme is currently being implemented to

improve the difficulties of the historically disadvantaged. However, there are countless problems hindering the progression of land redistribution. Land reform programmes in other parts of Africa have also had limited success in achieving either of their twin goals of a more equitable distribution of land and an invigorating of the rural economy (Allen and Brennan, 2004:38). For nature-based tourism, socially responsible tourist development in South Africa, the concern of land rights has an exceptionally strong significance among rural people. Ecotourism is now considered as a means for empowering local people who have suffered under apartheid (Allen and Brennan, 2004:38). However, according to Allen and Brennan (2004:38) the restoration of land rights, and the inventive formation of new forms of land tenure will not be well accepted all over.

#### **4.3 GAME RESERVES AS AN ALTERNATIVE TO LAND REFORM**

It was in the impoverished homelands of Bophuthatswana, a fragmented collection of seven disadvantaged Tswana territories near the border with Botswana, and KaNgwane, on the southern edge of Kruger - that ecotourism involving new relationships between communities and conservation authorities found its origins (Allen and Brennan, 2004:39; Honey, 1999: 52). In 1979, the leader of the apartheid created Bantustan Bophuthatswana, Chief Lucas Mangope, broadcast his idea to promote conservation together with tourism in the recently formed Pilanesberg National Park, where the browsing of livestock had had serious effects for local biodiversity (Allen and Brennan, 2004:39).

Even though the Park is located close to the mining areas of Gauteng, the local communities are mostly poor and reliant on subsistence farming. Originally, the formation of the Pilanesberg Park followed the accepted model of South Africa's repressive formula for park formation (Honey, 1999:352; Allen and Brennan, 2004:39). Villages were destroyed, water and tourism infrastructure were introduced in camps, picnic sites, roads, and an educational centre was built; and the periphery was fenced (Honey, 1999:352; Allen and Brennan, 2004:39). With finance from wildlife societies and private investors the Park was stocked with wildlife (Allen and Brennan, 2004:39).

In spite of these unpromising beginnings, the Park has become known for its innovative partnerships with the people who had been forcibly relocated (Honey, 1999:353). It

symbolises the first endeavor in South Africa to combine conservation with the developmental needs of the local communities (Allen and Brennan, 2004:39). Widespread environmental education programmes have been made freely available for local people, and livestock are provided for communal areas (Allen and Brennan, 2004:39). Improved salaries paid by the Park have drawn in skilled staff. Furthermore attracted to the Park were members of the white conservation movement who were concerned by the apartheid-based principles of the National Park system (Allen and Brennan, 2004:40).

Throughout the 1980s, the Park contracted anthropological research among its African neighbours to find out their views of the protected area (Allen and Brennan, 2004:40). The research showed that local people held negative feelings towards how the Park was managed, and were angry about the evictions performed to create the park (Allen and Brennan, 2004:40). Having examined the findings of the research, the Park introduced numerous plans to improve relationships with the communities living in the area. Local people were allowed to gather firewood and plants, and to visit their ancestors' graves in the Park (Honey, 1999:353). Hundreds of local Tswana people now work there, some of them in senior positions. Construction work in the Park is often distributed into smaller contracts in order for local builders to get contracts, however is overseen by professional engineers (Allen and Brennan, 2004:40).

Possibly most innovative of all, was the Park's attitude to resolving the most significant complaint of the local people; that they had never been properly recompensed for the removals during the Park's establishment (Allen and Brennan, 2004:40). In 1992, the Park and the local BaKgatla people established a Community Development Organisation; a chosen body to supervise the operations of the protected area. The Park decided to invest 10 per cent of gate incomes, and a percentage of profits from other tourism enterprises into the funds of the organisation (Allen and Brennan, 2004:40). Certain funds have been invested in upgraded facilities in the villages, but the main investment has been in a community-owned game park and cultural village. The Park stocked the game reserve with wildlife, and the communities paid to have it fenced (Allen and Brennan, 2004:40).

Local opinions of the Pilanesberg Park have made headway, partly because of the number of jobs it has created for its neighbours. Like all National Parks in South Africa, Pilanesberg is greatly reliant upon government subsidies to subsidise its operations and for

infrastructural maintenance (Allen and Brennan, 2004:40-41). While there is some complaining that the community should be more involved in managing it, Pilanesberg National Park is currently firmly supported by those who live in its vicinity. Numerous surveys of the local communities and scientific studies in the 1990s came to the conclusion that conservation, parks, and ecotourism are the most lucrative use for this land (Honey, 1999:355).

Being the first example in South Africa, the Pilanesberg study has acted as a model for integrated conservation and participatory community development in other projects around the country. Of great importance is the acknowledgment by stakeholders in the undertaking that conservation has little future without the support of neighbouring communities (Allen and Brennan, 2004:41).

The process of change in Kruger National Park was spurred by investigative journalist Eddie Koch of the Johannesburg-based *Weekly Mail & Guardian*, and members of a small, active NGO called GEM (Group for Environmental Monitoring), who had been interviewing the local people in the townships surrounding the park. These investigators met with Kruger's top management to relay to them what people in the neighbouring communities were saying about the park (Honey, 1999:348).

In the months that followed, facilitators were brought in, workshops and meetings were held, and staff members were reorganised (Honey, 1999:348). Park officials who remained started to see that they could no longer focus only on nature conservation without taking into account the requirements of the people living on the park's border (Honey, 1999:348). As internal reports stated, management "accepted the fact that higher fences and bigger guns would not ensure a future for the KNP (Kruger National Park)" (Honey, 1999:349). Under instructions from SANParks chief executive Dr. G. A. ("Robbie") Robinson, a new management philosophy, named "an open systems approach", was proclaimed. Briefly, this new approach maintained that a successful national park can exist only in a sustainable society and that sustainability can be achieved only if the local communities control access to the financial and human resources (Honey, 1999:349).

Even though the results have been varied, local communities' requirements are similar, inclusive of the three most persistent problems: (1) the communities' lack of basic resources, including water, wood and food; (2) the killing of livestock by wild animals; and (3) land claims within the park (Honey, 1999:349).

Kruger officials have made some progress in managing these complex and costly issues: a number of farmers have been compensated for livestock killed by wild game, and some electric fencing is being installed between the park and the communities (Honey, 1999:349). Measures include giving communities access to ancestral graves inside the parks as well as starting a number of "partnership" economic projects, for example buying staff uniforms, handicrafts, and vegetables from the local communities; training park guides; and developing community nurseries. These actions aim, for the first time, to give the local communities a small share in the benefits of tourism (Honey, 1999:349).

Significant research has been carried out on tourism development and its impacts on the empowerment of rural communities. The following sections examine the extent to which numerous tourism projects in South Africa, namely the Makuleke ecotourism initiative, Madikwe Game Reserve, Mavhulani Bush Camp, Rocktail Bay Lodge and Ndumo Wilderness Camp ecotourism initiatives, Umngazi River Bungalows and the Matatiele Mehloping Hiking and Adventure Trail, have improved the livelihoods of rural communities and contributed to rural economic development (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:83).

#### **4.3.1 The Makuleke ecotourism initiative**

Makuleke is situated in the Northern Province of South Africa in the furthest northern portion of the Kruger National Park. The community-based ecotourism initiative acts as a significant case study to test and steer cooperation between communities, the government and the private sector in furthering conservation and tourism development in South Africa (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:86).

The Makuleke ecotourism initiative began as a result of the land restitution process, wherein the Makuleke won back full ownership of their land. A prerequisite of the restitution process was that the Makuleke community would continue to use their land for

conservation purposes (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:86). Giving back the land to the Makuleke, together with a commitment on their behalf to maintain the conservation status of the land, has laid the foundations for an integration of a poor rural community into the mainstream of the tourism economy (Massyn, n.d.20). The region comprises approximately 24,000 hectares bordered by the Luvuvhu, Limpopo and Pafuri rivers. It is co-managed by the Makuleke Communal Property Association (CPA) and South African National Parks (SANParks), the parastatal that manages and controls all national protected areas (Turner, 2006). The CPA is the legal agent that represents the recipients of the land claim, namely, the descendants of people who were removed from the Makuleke region in 1969 (Massyn, n.d.20). As a result of the fact that the CPA does not have adequate conservation expertise or manpower to run the ecotourism projects without help, SANParks is accountable for daily conservation management (Chiutsi et al, 2011:19). The joint agreement between Makuleke and SANParks demands that the Makuleke region is to remain a conservation area forever and all commercial ventures must be compatible with conservation. The CPA therefore submits all commercial plans to the Makuleke-SANParks management board, compare proposals with conservation management plans and manage environmental impact assessments for each proposal (Chiutsi et al, 2011:19).

The community has gained significantly by re-claiming its land rights and has thereafter engaged in economic development through conservation (Chiutsi et al, 2011:19). However, the majority of community benefits arise from government, private sector projects and income from both consumptive and non-consumptive tourism enterprises. The Makuleke CPA has been given grants from government agencies to reinforce conservation and rural development programmes. The external grants to the communities contributing in the conservation initiatives are normally regarded as short-term and unsustainable (Chiutsi et al, 2011:19).

Members of the Makuleke community have been employed to work in the lodges or as local tour guides in and around Kruger Park. Matswani Wilderness Safaris, a private sector partner for the Makuleke Community provided occupational training programmes in order for the Makuleke to work as guides, hospitality staff and managers. Continuous capacity-building initiatives comprise an essential part of the Makuleke initiative, thereby slowly placing the community in a position to acquire full control over its land (Mahony and van Zyl, 2002:91).

An all-inclusive tourism programme was foreseen at Makuleke, with the beginning phase placing emphasis on the concessioning of campsites to the private sector, limited trophy hunting and the establishment of a community tented camp, cultural and village-based opportunities as well as a living museum (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:86). Due to in-depth processes of community interaction, in addition to the capacity building needed to create effective participation in the tourism programme, the Makuleke initiative has taken time to come about (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:86).

The Makuleke region illustrates that the formalisation of power division allegedly incorporated by joint management gives reason for optimism with regards to the region becoming economically, ecologically, and socially sustainable (Reid, 2001:151). However, sources of potential future problems still remain. Of these, the capacity of community members on both the Joint Management Board (JMB) and the CPA is perhaps the most important, and both SANParks and community JMB members concur that it is currently very low (Reid, 2001:151). Capacity building is required to make sure that the community can participate successfully in decision-making processes in addition to conservation practices in the area. However the contract is ambiguous regarding the levels and degree to which skills need to be transferred to the community (Reid, 2001:152). The Makuleke community is positive about the benefits that will materialise from the Makuleke region. Future job numbers are uncertain and it remains to be seen whether or not the Makuleke region will become viable. Careful monitoring is required to determine what problems are being faced in the area, in addition to what knowledge can be learnt for the future (Reid, 2001:153).

Even though the struggle may not yet be completely settled, it does indicate that in the new South Africa ecotourism is at the negotiating table as a considerable, although as yet mainly unproven, alternative (Honey, 1999:351). Irrespective of the outcome, ecotourism has already helped to change the conditions of the debate to include discussion of local people's land rights, the environmental impact of mining and other destructive industries, the long-term economic sustainability of the numerous alternatives, and the involvement of local people in the economic initiatives (Honey, 1999:351).

A similar example to the Makuleke initiative is that of Madikwe. In both cases poor rural communities have acquired formal land rights in key protected areas and used these rights to attain high levels of participation in the tourism industry (Massyn, n.d.3). Where the Makuleke community acquired ownership of a part of the Kruger National Park through post-apartheid land restitution, the Balete community obtained lease rights to a major tourism concession in the Madikwe Game Reserve (Massyn, n.d.3).

#### **4.3.2 Madikwe Game Reserve initiative**

The developments happening around Madikwe Game Reserve in South Africa's North West Province, bordering upon Botswana, provide a suitable rural example of pro-poor tourism and of expanding linkages to local economic development (Rogerson, 2006:53).

Madikwe Game Reserve is one of the largest state-owned reserves; it has largely been established in the post-apartheid period, on land that comprised deteriorated cattle farms (Rogerson, 2006:53). Notably, Rogerson (2006:53) highlights that Madikwe was started as a socio-economic development with its main intention being economic rather than custodian. Different to many state-owned game reserves in the country, the outlook towards conservation at Madikwe puts the needs of people before those of wildlife and of conservation (Rogerson, 2006:53).

Like at Makuleke, the community-level process at Madikwe is extremely complex. From the start, the Madikwe initiative realised that the idea of 'community' was indeed unsuitable when explaining the various contrasting groupings that prevailed within the villages (Massyn, n.d. 15). Massyn and Koch (2003:24) describe the "fragmentation and fissure" that distinguished the politics and institutional circumstances at the local level: "complex and unstable local governance was one of the key problems encountered in the early stages of trying to create some real integration between the game reserve and the socio-economic needs of the village residents" (Massyn, n.d.15).



However, the development philosophy is that if conservation is to prosper in developing countries, local communities and individuals must benefit considerably from wildlife conservation and associated activities (Rogerson, 2006:53). Furthermore, if local communities and the neighbouring area in general benefit through the creation of jobs and business related opportunities, then strong support for protected areas will be attained and significant conservation objectives met as a spin-off effect (Rogerson, 2006:53).

Madikwe is managed as a three-way partnership between the provincial North West Parks Board (NWPB), local communities and the private sector with the private sector developing and running a variety of tourism developments in the park (Rogerson, 2006:53). A share of the income is paid to the NWPB and used to preserve the conservation infrastructure and game stocks. Additional funds are assigned to local communities to help finance community-based projects (Rogerson, 2006:53). Considerable benefits were designed to assist communities with jobs and enterprise opportunities created within the Park and in the surrounding areas (Rogerson, 2006:53). Generally, it is emphasised that Madikwe “should not be viewed solely as a protected area or tourism destination, in reality the park acts as a major social and economic core and engine around which the development of the entire region can be based” (Rogerson, 2006:53). Certainly, the vision of the Madikwe initiative was that of building up “local communities so that they can optimise returns to them from Madikwe Game Reserve and surrounding economic activities” (Koch and Massyn, 2003:23 cited in Rogerson, 2006:53).

At the beginning of the Madikwe initiative, there were two sets of property interests: the land and its service infrastructure, which were state-owned and managed whereas the commercial lodges were established and run by the private sector (Massyn, n.d.8). Different from some examples in South Africa, members of the neighbouring communities did not hold any formal land or resource rights in Madikwe (Massyn and Koch, 2003:23). An important innovation of the NWPTB was an agreement to allow local residents commercial rights in protected areas. This created a third property interest in Madikwe, neighbouring ‘communities’ arranged as legally constituted collectives acquired long-term leases. This enabled neighbouring community members to take part in the mainstream of the ecotourism industry as if they were private investors (Massyn, n.d.8).

The first of these developments is Buffalo Ridge Safari Lodge and is owned by the Balete community who live in the village Lekgophung, located just west of Madikwe. A second lodge, operating as Thakadu River Camp, owned by the Batlokwa community of Molatedi, became operational in August 2006 (Massyn, n.d.8).

In line with the Buffalo Ridge and Thakadu business plans, the main purpose of the lodge ventures was “to optimise the flow of benefits to the community without compromising the commercial viability and long-term sustainability of the lodge as a high value tourism enterprise” (Balete Ba Lekgophung Development Trust cited in Massyn, n.d.8).

The projects were therefore conceptualised from the beginning as an experiment where the emphasis on wildlife tourism as a crucial industry is merged into a community-owned enterprise that increases jobs, wages, and additional tangible benefits to rural people (Massyn, n.d.8). Notably, the approach concentrates on improving the contribution of a group of rural poor in the mainstream tourism market (Massyn, n.d.8).

During the building stage of the Balete project, completed in November 2005, residents of Lekgophung were given an estimated R1.3 million in the form of compensation for labour and numerous small construction contracts (Massyn, n.d.12). At full growth, it is projected that the lodge will turn over more than R2.2 million per annum in sustainable income to rural households in the severely impoverished Lekgophung village (Massyn, n.d.12).

This will be comprised of employment benefits of approximately R950,000; operating fees of approximately R1,000,000 and small business contracts of approximately R250,000 per year (Massyn, n.d.12). Residents of Molatedi received benefits of approximately R1.55 million during the building stage. Thakadu River Camp is estimated to turn over approximately 25% more benefit than Buffalo Ridge to its local owners over the lifetime of the project (Massyn, n.d.12).

As part of broader structural reform, several of South Africa’s conservation agencies are currently taking on programmes to commercialise the wildlife estate under their control in a similar to the approach developed at Madikwe (Massyn, n.d.17). Extensive market-led reform of the region’s state-owned conservation estate creates considerable opportunities

for an application of the Balete/Batlokwa model at large across the country (Massyn, n.d.17).

The Madikwe and Makuleke cases have featured highly as experimental projects. Each case was clearly planned to show how impoverished rural communities can make use of formal land rights in protected areas to attain high levels of participation in the tourism business (Massyn, n.d.28). However, regarding real impact the involvement in the two cases is different (Massyn, n.d.28). This results in a concluding thought on the positive impact of the two. In both cases, the permitting of land rights and the subsequent agreements with external agents have drawn the community partners into the formal economy (Massyn, n.d.28).

Regardless of the many problems in the way of nature-based tourism development in the former homelands, some isolated joint ventures are fairly successful. One of these is the Mavhulani Bush Camp which is located on trust land in the former Venda homeland. Through experimenting, a private investor introduced the venture on land 'owned' by the Mutale Bend village with the approval and involvement of the community (Viljoen and Naicker, 2000:136).

#### **4.3.3 Mavhulani Bush Camp initiative**

Mavhulani Bush Camp is a small-scale nature-based ecotourism venture located north of the Soutpansberg mountain range in the eastern part of the Limpopo Valley (Viljoen and Naicker, 2000). It is situated on the communal land of the Mutale Bend community and falls within the region of the Mutele tribal authority of the former Venda homeland. Mavhulani comprises ten bungalows around a central structure (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:244).

While the Kruger National Park is located a few kilometers to the east of Mavhulani, providing close access to the major tourist attraction of Kruger, the lease-holder demanded that the Mavhulani camp be positioned as close as possible to the local Makhuya Park nature reserve, with the aim that this small establishment could also benefit (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:244). As this arrangement functioned outside of any SDI, meeting the infrastructural requirements were hard to organise but were eventually provided (Palmer

and Viljoen, 2002:244).

Communal land tenure in former homelands presents problems for tourism development since private sector developers normally place a high value on secure land tenure arrangements (Viljoen and Naicker, 2000:140). This condition was also a problem for the Mavhulani investor. The site is not in a Communal Property Association (CPA). Two years into his operation, his PTO ('Permission to Occupy') contract had still not been confirmed by the Department of Land Affairs (Viljoen and Naicker, 2000:140). The entrepreneur did, nevertheless, get an initial PTO from the council of chiefs that allowed him to continue with the Mavhulani development (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:244).

Mavhulani employs 15 local members from Mutale Bend – they are 23 per cent of the 65 families living in the village (Viljoen and Naicker, 2000:143). The owner gives priority to the local Mutale Bend community members. Employing only members of the Mutale Bend community had the disadvantage that all new employees had to be trained before being employed, this placed a hold on their entrance into full employment and the growth of the business (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:244). A profit-sharing scheme was contemplated, but soon rejected because it could not make a considerable profit return to the community within the following five to ten years (Viljoen and Naicker, 2000:142). As soon as Mavhulani's PTO is made official the community will also receive rent from the lease of their land. In the meantime, tourist multipliers have already started to encourage the local economy, leading to the creation of more informal trades for example spaza shops (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:244).

Tourist requests for nature-based activities at Mavhulani resulted in the leaseholder's enquiring into the viability of hiking and canoe trails, which may also benefit neighbouring communities (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:244). Further supportive projects foreseen by Mavhulani include a loofah project that will involve the Mutale Bend community (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:244). The plan is that loofah seeds be planted and grown in the village gardens. Loofah is a creeper vine that produces fibrous seedpods. Once grown and dried, Mavhulani proposed to buy the loofah pods for the villagers to sell at the craft market (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:245).

There are furthermore good possibilities for opening a cottage industry. Numerous tourists have already shown an interest in the rustic furniture at Mavhulani. The idea is for village

craftsmen to make furniture in a do-it-yourself kit to be assembled by the tourists. The Mavhulani investor does not have the time to put the plan into action, however he is urging the Mutale Bend community to introduce such an industry following training by the more skilled staff members of Mavhulani (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:245).

Not all aspects of the Mavhulani development have been positive, but the disadvantages have been few and small. Mavhulani's cattle farmers lost some grazing land to the development, which was an initial cause of hostility until the positive outcomes of the initiative began to be felt. Members employed at Mavhulani implemented western building styles in their village after learning 'modern' building and woodwork skills (Viljoen and Naicker, 2000:139). This trend may be counter-productive as it reduces the interest of their settlements to foreigners. The foreseeable problem of negative environmental impact does not seem to have transpired at Mavhulani due to the small scale and nature of the development. The structures erected were all of a temporary nature. Thorough planning made sure that very little of the immediate environment and landscape was transformed (Viljoen and Naicker, 2000:139; Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:245).

In addition to the creation of business opportunities corresponding to tourism that have already been stated, the Mavhulani development initiative produced byproducts of a less tangible nature – staff members at Mavhulani obtained more confidence in themselves and in their own abilities (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:245). Their interaction with people of different cultures provided them with knowledge and the skills required in dealing with tourists. The development also had a distinct impact on the opinions of local people regarding conservation at Mutale Bend (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:245). This was clearly revealed in their actions towards outsiders attempting to rob 'their' environment and natural resource base. Mavhulani Bush Camp demonstrates what can be achieved on a very small scale through a private-sector community partnership, which employs both ecotourism and cultural tourism opportunities to attract tourists (Palmer and Viljoen, 2002:245).

#### **4.3.4 Rocktail Bay Lodge and Ndumo Wilderness Camp ecotourism initiatives**

A trust company, Isivuno, was recognised through which finances would be directed towards projects that would directly benefit local people (Allen and Brennan, 2004:70). As influential examples of such ventures, Roberts (1997) describes Rocktail Bay Lodge,

and Ndumo Wilderness Camp in the far north of KwaZulu-Natal, where Isivuno, the local communities, Wilderness Safaris, and the KwaZulu Finance and Investment Corporation have joined forces in successful ecotourism initiatives (Allen and Brennan, 2004:70). At Rocktail Bay, ten wood and thatch A-frame chalets on stilts under the forest-cover have been constructed in the Maputaland Coastal Forest Reserve (Allen and Brennan, 2004: 71). A wooden pathway runs from the solar-powered lodge and over the tree-covered dunes to a private beach (Allen and Brennan, 2004:71).

Originally founded in 1924, and obtained by the Natal Parks Board (NPB) in 1954, the location of the Ndumo Wilderness Camp, the Ndumo Game Reserve, was loathed by the neighbouring Thonga people, who were evicted when it was fenced (Allen and Brennan, 2004:71). Throughout the prolonged war in Mozambique, the Ndumo Reserve and the bordering Tembe Game Reserve were on occasion invaded by poachers, immigrants, and rebels from the Resistencia Nacional Mocambicana (RENAMO). In 1989, Ndumo and other reserves in the area were assumed control of by the KDNC (KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation) (Allen and Brennan, 2004:71). The Department instantly wanted to combine the Ndumo Reserve with the Tembe Reserve so that the elephant population of Tembe would have access to river water in Ndumo. However there were people living in the strip between the reserves, and they were already provoked by their earlier eviction from Ndumo, together with the denial of access to the water supply there (Allen and Brennan, 2004:71). Finally, in the mid-90s, a settlement was reached by which the communities agreed to move further south in exchange for guaranteed access to water supply at Ndumo (Allen and Brennan, 2004: 71).

When the war in Mozambique ended in 1990, Ndumo and the other reserves on the border seemed more appealing to ecotourists determined to see the abundant bird population, the huge supply of rhinos, and other wildlife (Allen and Brennan, 2004:71). Due to this interest, in early 1995, Wilderness Safaris opened Ndumo Wilderness Camp as a joint venture with the KDNC and the local Thonga communities (Honey, 1999). Eight upmarket and solar-powered tents on elevated wooden decks were constructed in a secluded and picturesque spot surrounded by water and wildlife (Allen and Brennan, 2004:71).

Ndumo Wilderness Camp is owned by Isivuno and Wilderness Safaris, but Rocktail is owned completely by Isivuno. In both cases Wilderness pays Isivuno a small rent, and Isivuno and Wilderness are co-managers (Allen and Brennan, 2004:71). The local community receives 25 percent of Isivuno's earnings. Since the tribal leaders do not actually reside in the area, Wilderness was afraid that there was a possibility of funds not reaching the community members themselves, and as a result, decided to form trusts, into which all proceeds are paid and which are managed by chosen representatives of the communities (Allen and Brennan, 2004:71).

Regardless of the well-intentioned organising of the projects at Ndumo and Rocktail, the participatory opportunities felt by the communities and the economic benefits received by them, have been small. A few local people have found employment at Rocktail Bay Lodge. Nevertheless while the lease payments have provided the communities with fairly small payments, by 1999 no management revenue payments had been obtained by the trust fund put in place (Honey, 1999). Wilderness Safaris, has kept positive about the initiatives and in asserting that, in due course, accumulated profits can be made use of by the communities to buy out Isivuno, thus increasing their possession of the initiative projects to 50 percent (Allen and Brennan, 2004:72). The conservation authority (now KZN-Wildlife) also continues to have confidence in its three-way model as it is not excessive to community participation, it takes advantage of the business insight of the private sector, reduces leakage of revenue, creates work and a sense of possession for the local Thonga members, and may become the answer to the dispute between the local need for economic opportunities and the fundamental goal of conservation (Allen and Brennan, 2004:72).

#### **4.3.5 Umngazi River Bungalows**

Umngazi River Bungalows is a private sector initiative situated on the Transkei Wild Coast, about 20 kilometers south of Port St Johns (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:87). The Wild Coast is considered one of the most underdeveloped areas of South Africa, with high rates of unemployment and poverty. A community of approximately 2000 people is located directly adjacent to Umngazi (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:87).

Umngazi is situated on 8.5 hectares of privately owned land, owned and managed by a private company (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:88). All land surrounding it is communal land, owned by the South African government for the benefit of the tribal community (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:88). Umngazi was initially established in 1925, and was obtained by its current owners, Goss & Co, in 1993. Umngazi River Bungalows consists of 138 beds and is a typical beach destination concentrating on the local and family holiday market (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:87).

Umngazi currently employs 112 permanent and semi-permanent staff members in numerous positions. Staff members from the local community are now being selected to middle management positions (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:91). As far as possible, all of the staff are employed from the local communities. This has led to conflict between the local community and those situated further away, who are mostly excluded from obtaining employment at the hotel (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:92).

Important local business relations have been built between Umngazi and the neighbouring communities (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:92). Hotel management is dedicated to supporting the local community and local entrepreneurs in many ways. Successful economic linkages have been created with locals in the supplying of fruit, vegetables, fresh fish, and the production of crafts (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:92). The hotel also offers a market for services, for example child-minders and 'gillies' who provide assistance for fishing activities. Child-minders and gillies are paid directly by visitors, with a minimum wage being recommended by the hotel (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:92).

As part of the corporate social responsibility programme of the hotel, three schools have been established with partial funding from Umngazi (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:92). The hotel has also made clean water obtainable to the local community. Numerous water pipes have been provided in the local community for both domestic and agricultural purposes (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:92).

Numerous community members have benefited from capacity building and training programmes that have been carried out. For example, during a recent restoration of the hotel, local community members were brought on site to learn building, plumbing and thatching skills under the observation of a well-known contractor. These community



members are now used for everyday upgrading and maintenance work (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:92).

The hotel has created a number of positive social and cultural benefits for the local community. Culturally, the hotel has given them a market for locally produced arts and crafts, giving rise to the maintenance of certain customary skills (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:93). Socially, the hotel serves as a source of local employment, taking into account the maintenance of unified family units. The hotel further serves as an important resource centre for the local community, who depend on it for social support and admission to various outside role-players (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:93).

Regardless of the community benefiting both directly and indirectly from the venture, limited formal transformation of the tourism industry has taken place (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:98). Umngazi, shows very strongly the level of cooperation and positive teamwork that can be encouraged between an investor and a neighbouring community (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:98). The model is, nevertheless, flawed in that the community has no legal, financial or managerial option to significantly influence the general direction of the investment, and is largely reliant on the continued benevolence of the hotel owner (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:98).

The Makuleke and Umngazi case studies indicate how different tourism models have been established under different land tenure regimes. The Makuleke initiative symbolises an empowering model, where the community has recovered title to its land and, based on tenure security, is allowed to negotiate with the land on a commercial basis (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:96). At the other end of the land reform continuum, land ownership at Umngazi remains with the private sector (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:96). The neighbouring community has no land rights and, with no access to capital, it has limited established rights in the Umngazi model (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:96).

There are numerous examples in South Africa where recognised private sector tourism operators, in realising the significance of advancing the socio-economic development of neighbouring communities, have executed programmes to guarantee economic and social benefits to local communities (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:97). The corporate social responsibility approach is found on the proposition that it makes commercial sense to have

effective relationships with one's neighboring communities (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:97). This is especially the case with tourism projects in isolated rural areas, where tourism development is one of the only modes of local economic activity, and there is a high level of dependence of the local community on these projects (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:97). Even though the impacts in these cases have often been notable, the community is effectively subject to the impulses of the private sector (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:97).

#### **4.3.6 Matatiele: The Mehlosing Hiking and Adventure Trail**

Matatiele is the service centre for a largely rural township of around 16 000 people living in approximately 23 villages in the foothills of the Natal-Drakensberg mountain range (Hill et al, 2006:168). An unemployment rate of beyond 30 per cent and partial dependence upon subsistence farming had brought about economic dependence on state social security, creating the crucial need for income supplementation (Hill et al, 2006:168). Located near to the border with Lesotho and an unspoiled mountain, the main tourism project places Matatiele as the opportunity to a hiking trail through terrain with a high level of biodiversity (Hill et al, 2006:168). The important stakeholders include the local NGO Environment and Development Agency (EDA) and a private consultancy firm, Environmental and Rural Solutions (ERS), which recognised the nature-based tourism future of the area as a method for tackling poverty, by creating employment and by improving the use of the natural resources in addition to skills levels (Hill et al, 2006:168).

Along with the community-backed tourism association (CTO) dealing with ecotourism, EDA and ERS successfully submitted an application to the National Poverty Relief Fund and received R850 000 for 2001–2002 (Hill et al, 2006: 168). This was used to develop the Mehlosing Hiking and Adventure Trail and to construct a chain of guesthouses located in local villages along the route. EDA supplied leadership and strategic support, ERS loaned support in management and marketing and the CTO, consisting of democratically selected village members, made sure of the involvement and participation of local communities. Encouraging achievement through such a process will form the foundation for developing confidence, self-esteem and a motivation to be more dedicated to the project in the long term, particularly as the project is intended to be more exclusively community-owned and run in future (Hill et al, 2006:168).

The Mehlooding initiative also received help from the KwaZulu Natal provincial tourism board in planning and marketing, and in training tour guides, the CTO and small village-based enterprises (Hill et al, 2006:169). On the whole, the Mehlooding trail project has brought forth a high level of participation and decision-making by the beneficiaries that has the ability to bring about responsible ownership and management of the project (Hill et al, 2006:169). According to Scheyvens (2002) in Hill et al (2006:169), there is “a strong emphasis on pro-poor planning which seeks explicitly to maximise the benefits that flow from tourism development to local communities”.

Despite the fact that 23 villages are involved in the Mehlooding project, the direct beneficiaries have been people in the four villages along the trail who received income through providing services such as catering, maintenance and cleaning of the guesthouses, and through selling craftwork and supplying fresh produce to visitors (Hill et al, 2006:169). The income from tourists using the trail is spent on salaries and maintenance in keeping with the discretion of the Mehlooding Hiking and Adventure Trail Trust (Hill et al, 2006:169). In addition there is potential for a levy to be raised that will fund community facilities. Therefore, the welfare of local rural communities is made a fundamental and essential part of the nature-based tourism development process (Hill et al, 2006:169). The creation of jobs and skills development as a result of tourism is also expected to urge the growth of wholesale and retail sectors in the town that depend on trade from the rural communities. Due to the reason that tourists have to pass through the town to get to the trail, local businesses have enjoyed the spin-off of economic benefits (Hill et al, 2006:169).

The most apparent outcome of the trail project resulted from employment: the construction stage created approximately 800 temporary jobs. A maximum of 160 permanent jobs are predicted when it becomes fully operational (Hill et al, 2006:169). Currently, direct returns go to five households within each of the four contributing villages along the trail, providing accommodation and food, guiding and maintenance services. As expected, many have already conveyed feelings of exclusion, as the initial employment opportunities have been limited. Unquestionably, the local pro-poor impact of tourism development initiatives may expand beyond that of job creation with regard to business opportunities arising for local entrepreneurs (Hill et al, 2006:169). The expansion of local linkages in providing supplies is vital in improving the economic impacts of tourism

development (Hill et al, 2006:169).

It is imperative to note that although the Mehlooding Hiking and Adventure Trail is presently reliant on the administrative and financial expertise of EDA and ERS as facilitators, the trail initiative originated from and is operated completely by the rural village communities (Hill et al, 2006:170). This state of affairs has its strengths and weaknesses; while it calls on the advantages and combination of skills caused by partnerships, it also means that the community is not completely in charge or self-reliant (Hill et al, 2006:170).

An additional major concern is that issues of land access and tenure that have yet to be given proper consideration by the project may be a hindrance to important livelihood improvements among poor communities (Hill et al, 2006:171). Taking into account the Matatiele experience, it can be argued that small-scale tourism development can only have limited consequences for poverty-relief, economic renewal, employment and livelihoods, and may thus become grant dependent. It is also evident that there is a limit to the number of jobs and benefits such nature-based projects may provide before saturation is reached (Hill et al, 2006:171).

All six case study initiatives demonstrate how different stakeholders – the state, the local community and the private sector – can influence the extent to which tourism investment adds to rural economic development, and can create new opportunities and benefits for the poor (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:99). Even though the benefits may be reasonably small in absolute terms (in relation to the degree of poverty in these areas), and in relative terms (in relation to the benefits accumulating to the non-poor), all the initiatives reveal that the communities are, or have, the ability to be considerably better-off than they would have been had the initiative not taken place. All initiatives led to further infrastructure investment and improved service delivery (by the government, private sector and parastatals), improved income levels, created an array of SMME opportunities, and frequently brought about new private sector investment based on the achievement of the initial investment (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002:99).

#### **4.4 CONCLUSION**

Ecotourism has a double role in the new South Africa, that is, helping to revive South

Africa into the world economy and helping to rectify injustices and redistribute wealth to the country's rural poor (Honey, 1999:382). During apartheid, South Africa was an international outcast, shunned by both foreign tourists and investors. The majority of tourism within South Africa was domestic, mainly managed by the white minority. South Africa was a net exporter of tourists, and nearly all investment in tourism was with national capital (Honey, 1999:382). The dedication to authentic ecotourism is one of the outcomes of apartheid. Where elsewhere, ecotourism developed out of environmental movements, in South Africa it has deep origins in the struggle against white minority rule and for a broad-based democracy dedicated to economic and racial equality and social justice (Honey, 1999:382). Ecotourism is viewed as a means for social change, and its principles fit the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (Honey, 1999:382). Today, a broad band of South African society, comprising government and park officials, the national tourism agency, several NGOs, academics, advisers, environmentalists, journalists, community organisers, rural activists, and private tour operators, developers, and investors, are engaged in ecotourism initiatives and experiments (Honey, 1999:382).

According to Allen and Brennan (2004:41), an adequate settlement of land claims is vital if local people living in the vicinity of reserves and protected areas are to feel secure in their commitment to ecotourism partnerships. Due to Africans suffering at the mercy of conservationists, they will be looking for evidence that past injustices are being corrected and consequently that the conservation authorities can be trusted (Allen and Brennan, 2004:41).

Despite the challenges outlined in this Chapter, ecotourism to Southern Africa has been acknowledged as a favorable strategy for providing sustainable development (Chiutsi et al, 2011:20) The main benefit of ecotourism as indicated in the case studies being its ability for providing needed capital for local and national economies without exceeding ecological and cultural carrying capacities (Chiutsi et al, 2011: 20). Nevertheless, in order to be successful an ecotourism operation must be economically feasible as a business, conserve the natural environment and provide benefits to the local people (Chiutsi et al, 2011:20).

## **CHAPTER FIVE: AN ASSESSMENT OF INDALO: THE EASTERN CAPE PRIVATE NATURE RESERVE ASSOCIATION**

### **5.1 INTRODUCTION**

South Africa's future depends on developing land use options that are socially just, economically viable, and ecologically relevant (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2). The necessity for novel and realistic approaches to sustainable development is especially vital in the Eastern Cape due to its high poverty levels and threatened natural resources (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2).

The ecotourism based private game reserves (PGRs) contribute considerably to the Eastern Cape economy with the reserves contributing more than \$11.3 million to the regional economy each year (Sims-Castley et al, 2005:6). Game reserves, on the whole, are acknowledged as one of the most important and fastest growing economic activities in the Eastern Cape (Motala, 2010). Considering the rising importance of game reserves in addition to the ecotourism based PGRs in the Eastern Cape, long term sustainability has become a crucial consideration and "private protected areas have recently emerged as innovative and powerful engines for sustainable development" (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2). Increasing evidence strongly indicates that privately owned conserved areas can preserve biodiversity, do well financially, and contribute to community upliftment (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2).

Indalo is a leading private game reserves association in the Eastern Cape. The Indalo PGRs state that they are making a considerable contribution to rural development in the Eastern Cape (Helliker, 2008:18). They do this through employment generation, multiplier effects and targeted community involvements. The Indalo PGRs have established a development section in community involvement and development. They make claims of focusing on the inclusion of rural communities and displaced workers; community programmes and projects established to enhance social sustainability and community involvement and development. PGRs have established this development arm to stimulate development and the improvement of livelihoods in rural communities. The real question of interest is to what extent these claims are true.

In a number of ways, present debates concerning PGRs appear to be confined within the narrow limits of the dominant paradigm of development (Helliker, 2008:4). For example, PGRs go out of their way to assert that they employ more workers per hectare than the normal sheep or cattle farm in the area, or that they pay their working staff higher wages than commercial farmers pay their general workers. They might also want to claim that game reserves have considerable multiplier effects for local economies and communities through expenses by tourists over and above what is spent at and on the game reserves (Helliker, 2008:4). These claims may or may not be true, and whether or not they are is of some importance.

## **5.2 A REVIEW OF CONTEXT**

The Eastern Cape Private Nature Reserve Association, widely known as Indalo, represents private nature reserves/game reserves in the Eastern Cape Province which focus on non-consumptive wildlife and biodiversity based tourism (Indalo Conservation). Through its members Indalo aims to promote land-use, which is socially responsible and ecologically viable. It currently consists of 7 member reserves, covering a total of over 67,000 hectares of sub-tropical thicket, Fynbos, karoo and forest vegetation in the Albany Region and south eastern Karoo of the Eastern Cape Province (Indalo Conservation).

Undoubtedly, one of the most successful game reserves in the Eastern Cape is Shamwari Game Reserve, a leading member of the Indalo group. Shamwari (with regard to awards received) is reportedly the world's leading safari and game reserve in Africa (Helliker, 2008:18). Drought and financial problems caused neighbouring farmers to sell their farms. Shamwari was established in 1992, is now 25,000 hectares in size, employs more than 325 staff and above all has been returned its rightful ownership, the 'Pristine Eastern Cape Fauna and Flora' (Shamwari Game Reserve). Conservation has always been a top priority for Shamwari. In many facets Shamwari has been the pioneer reserve in the Eastern Cape ecotourism revival. To ensure responsible wildlife management the Shamwari Wildlife Department was established in 1996. This Department has developed into a successful and well-known unit that manages the distinctive ecosystems within Shamwari (Shamwari Game Reserve).

Amakhala Game Reserve is a unique conservation initiative that permits animals to be re-introduced to the land where they once wandered freely, therefore contributing to the conservation of our natural history (Amakhala Game Reserve). The land was previously used to farm sheep and cattle. The farms that amalgamated to form the reserve have remained in the same farming families since the 1850s and the notion of sustainable stocking levels and clearing of alien vegetation have been instilled into the reserve since the 1920s (Amakhala Game Reserve). Amakhala prides itself on its 'social development programme', which comprises income generation projects (for example vegetable growing projects). The Amakhala Foundation is the domain to the social projects of the Amakhala Game Reserve, in addition to the educational projects of the Conservation Centre (Amakhala Game Reserve).

"Kwandwe Private Game Reserve is a well-known conservation and community success story, offering a state-of-the-art African safari adventure" (Kwandwe Private Game Reserve). Kwandwe was established to rehabilitate 22,000 hectares of 'once degraded farmland to pristine wilderness condition' (Kwandwe Private Game Reserve). The Ubunye Foundation (formerly The Angus Gillis Foundation), a charitable trust formed by co-owner Carl DeSantis, attempts to facilitate community development within the reserve as well as in the broader Eastern Cape communities (Helliker, 2008:20). Kwandwe strives to show its 'commitment to improve the living conditions of the rural communities living in and around the reserve' and to develop 'sustainable empowered communities' (Helliker, 2008:18). Together, energy and resources are centred on those residing in impoverished rural areas where access to basic goods and services, especially education and healthcare, is extremely limited (Kwandwe Private Game Reserve).

Kariega Game Reserve is a family-owned and family-operated private game reserve covering 10,000 hectares of unspoiled wilderness in the Eastern Cape (Kariega Game Reserve). The existing Kariega Game Reserve was made up of twenty different farms. Given this reality, Kariega's steady growth and development of the reserve bringing about the effective re-introduction of wild animals and rehabilitation of farmlands to their natural vegetation, is one of the most accomplished conservation initiatives in the province thus far (Kariega Game Reserve). Kariega Game Reserve is the main employer in the Kenton-on-Sea area and is dedicated to responsible tourism, social upliftment and resource sustainability. Surrounded by impoverished communities in great need of help,



Kariega are committed to uplifting local neighbours and empowering communities (Kariega Game Reserve).

Sibuya Game Reserve is one of South Africa's most unique game destinations, having more navigable river than any other game reserve in the country (Sibuya Game Reserve). Sibuya covers an excess of 3000 hectares of diverse terrain and vegetation. A central belief at Sibuya is that there is an enormous difference between tourism businesses, which are simply located in protected/natural areas, and those, which deliberately aim to minimise their environmental impact whilst also assisting the local economy and community (Sibuya Game Reserve). Sibuya aspires to provide a tailored African bush experience that is ecologically and socially sustainable (Sibuya Game Reserve).

Pumba Private Game Reserve forms a very distinctive part of the conservation of the Eastern Cape, since only three percent of the Eastern Cape falls under formal conservation areas (Pumba Private Game Reserve). Pumba is committed to playing an active, pertinent role in the conservation of the region, the upliftment and empowerment of its community and the sustainability of its resources (Pumba Private Game Reserve). This has to be performed while accommodating guests and showing them Africa's natural treasures. Pumba has undertaken many initiatives to achieve this balance (Pumba Private Game Reserve).

Indalo was established in 2002 after the Wilderness Foundation made possible a series of meetings between owners and general managers of some of the main Eastern Cape based private reserves, and put forward the idea of an association (Indalo Conservation).

The objective of Indalo is to create a forum for its members to: (1) recognise and address threats to biodiversity and ecological sustainability, and identify appropriate answers, (2) identify and develop programmes to increase social sustainability and community involvement and development, (3) be educated and knowledgeable in biodiversity conservation and sustainable development, and (4) to create collaborative environmental management policies and plans (Indalo Conservation).

The Centre for African Conservation Ecology has been at the leading front of research on private game reserves in the Eastern Cape. It has published four studies since the year 2002, namely, Smith and Wilson (2002), Sims-Castley et al (2005), Langholz and Kerley

(2006), and Muir et al (2011). The latter three studies focus on game reserves affiliated to Indalo. The research by the Centre seeks, in a limited way, to evaluate the implications of game reserves for farm worker livelihoods (Helliker, 2008:9). In this regard, the reports rightfully acknowledge crucial gaps in empirical information and the provisional standing of their conclusions (Helliker, 2008: 9).

The majority of Indalo reserves are private registered companies with a number of shareholders, however there are also forms of partnerships, voluntary associations, public-private companies and subsidiary companies (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:10, Helliker, 2008:15). In some instances, owners of the former agricultural properties came together and formed the reserve (Helliker, 2008:15). Most of the PGRs were created when their original farming activities became economically less viable and joining the ecotourism industry by starting a reserve was therefore seen as a more profitable alternative (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:10). Ecological restrictions in addition to increasing levels of stock theft are also mentioned as reasons for the move away from livestock farming (Luck, 2003:35; Helliker, 2008:10). Currently an average of 45% of the original farm workers are working for the PGRs (Muir et al, 2011: 19). The real question is what happened to the other 55% and, as there is an increase in employment, where do the other people come from?

The report by Sims-Castley et al argues that the reserves have “increased on-site employment opportunities, significantly improving local economic empowerment” (2005: 10). On average, each Indalo reserve employs 120 persons, which far surpasses the number employed on farms of similar size, mostly owing to the larger range of services provided (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:2; Muir et al, 2011:4; Langholz and Kerley, 2006: 10). For example, in changing from agriculture to game farming, employment increased from 175 employees (on the pre-consolidated agricultural farms) to 623 employees (on the consolidated game reserves) (Helliker, 2008:11). In the second Indalo report (by Langholz and Kerley, 2006) the benefits to employees are recorded: 1.172 employees are on the reserves compared to 260 under the former traditional land-uses. This involves a factor increase of 4.5, higher than the 3.5 factor in 2003 (Helliker, 2008:14). This, according to Snowball and Antrobus (2008) indicates that the PGRs do contribute considerably to the production of employment in the area, employing more than 4 times as many people as the original farms did. Interestingly, one of the reasons

presented by Eastern Cape farmers for changing to wildlife is that game farming is regarded as 'less labour intensive' (Smith and Wilson, 2002:11), a concern especially significant in considering farm wage increases under post-apartheid (Helliker, 2008:11). Other analysts, such as Steenkamp et al (2005:15) in Helliker (2008:12), mention the wildlife industry as being labour intensive and therefore it 'can help to revive depressed rural economies'.

Changes in the quantity of employment may rely on the specific type of game farm enterprise and the certain types of employment categories being studied (Helliker, 2008:12). For Sims-Castley et al, though, there has also been a noticeable shift in the qualitative circumstances of employment. All employees on the reserves receive enhanced benefits such as modern accommodation, with electricity, hot and cold running water, food, training, medical benefits and pension plans. The report states that, 'through preferential recruitment and training of local people, social upliftment and poverty alleviation is achieved by raising literacy and numeracy levels and providing skills to previously unskilled individuals' (Sims-Castley et al, 2005:14).

One of the significant problems with the three Indalo studies is that they offer rather cursory disaggregated information regarding a number of reserves. The only relatively comprehensive study of one specific game reserve is by Howarth (n.d.). Even though the reserve is not stated by name, it appears to be Pumba Private Game Reserve, an affiliated member of Indalo. Howarth studies the direct impact and multiplier effect of Pumba in relation to the Makana Municipality in which it is located. He notes for instance that tourists (originating from outside Makana) generate substantial income for the reserve. However, the reserve imports 99% of its supplies from outside Makana. For this reason, Pumba 'only injects a small amount of its revenue into the local community', which indicates that Makana is not able to 'meet the demands of tourists from within its own production capacities' (Howarth, n.d.8-9). It might be that the over-accumulation of game reserves in the area is overcrowding other economic activities, including agricultural ones (Helliker, 2008:17).

Regardless of the fact that Pumba, with regard to supplies and skilled staff, is not greatly rooted in Makana, Howarth nonetheless concludes that Pumba 'has and is still set to be

considerably more beneficial to the local economy and the immediate area' than traditional farming practices (Howarth, n.d.16).

### **5.3 COMMUNITY AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS AND BEE**

A less known aspect of Indalo PGRs is the degree of their engagement in community development programmes (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:2). As well as being part of the Indalo mission, one of the objectives of the association is to “identify and develop programmes to enhance social sustainability and community involvement and development” (Muir et al, 2011:21). They do this through employment generation, multiplier effects and targeted community involvements. They also make reference to their commitment to Black Economic Empowerment, mentioning (in some cases) their prioritising of black subcontractors, positioning black staff at managerial levels and providing limited company shares to black staff.

All the Indalo reserves have some involvement in existing community development projects. Extensive projects conducted by the reserves involve the support of local schools and local sports teams, environmental and conservation awareness programmes, providing outlets for the sale of products, and participation with charitable development foundations (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:26).

In evaluating the impact of Indalo's community engagement programme, the focus on people and their participation will be paramount. Further issues to be looked at and analysed are; Indalo's claims on focusing on the inclusion of rural communities and displaced workers; community programmes and projects established to enhance social sustainability and community involvement and development, and to what extent these are true.

Kwandwe Private Game Reserve in particular prides itself on its development role. It established the Angus Gillis Foundation (AGF), recently renamed the Ubunye Foundation to drive its development endeavors. The Ubunye Foundation is an independent rural development trust that wanted to work in partnership with local communities living within and bordering the Reserve (Hayes, 2009:3). The foundation has built a pre-school within the reserve and a primary school for R800,000 in Fort Brown, for children living both in

and around the reserve, inclusive of transport for the children living in the reserve. It has established numerous self-help groups (e.g. gardening, vegetable growing, grass weaving) amongst communities both in and outside Kwandwe (Hayes, 2009:4). It has built a Community Centre (to be owned by a community trust) on Kwandwe for the benefit of eight villages both on and off the reserve. It is designed as a place for skills development and for community-based tourism contributions, not only for Kwandwe but also for other game reserves in the region. In doing so, Kwandwe attempts to show its 'commitment to improve the living conditions of the rural communities living in and around the reserve' and to build 'sustainable empowered communities' (Helliker, 2008:18).

#### **5.4 FARMWORKER'S RIGHTS**

Helliker (2008:21) states that regardless of what the Indalo reserves might claim, it is evident that rural communities and occupants continue to be marginalised and excluded throughout the Eastern Cape. The most recent IDP documents attest to this. Cases about enhancing and empowering the rural poor through the 'private revolution' (ie. land-use conversion) are based on weak if not insignificant empirical evidence (Helliker, 2008:21). In several ways, the changeover to game reserves basically replicates the exclusionary processes of apartheid capitalist landed property (Helliker, 2008:21). Indeed, the work of NGOs working in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape has this in mind. Retrenchments and evictions will be considered in this regard (Helliker, 2008: 21).

According to Helliker (2008:21), no comprehensive study has been carried out of retrenchments and eviction in the Eastern Cape as a result of setting up of game reserves and/or expansion into the wildlife industry. Nevertheless, there is adequate evidence that illustrates conclusively the existence of a substantial number of retrenchments and evictions to cause concern (Helliker, 2008:21). Indeed, repeatedly, the ESTA rights of farm workers and dwellers (including long-term residents) have been extremely violated. In this regard, it is of interest to note that, in their commissioned resource document for Indalo, Hamer et al (2003:8) 'strongly encourage' Indalo members to become 'well-acquainted' with ESTA. However, in several cases of changeover, more than likely there were no retrenchments or evictions. As stated by Helliker (2008:21), there is no reason to believe that there is an essential connection between agriculture-game conversions on the one hand and retrenchment-eviction on the other. The connection appears dependent on

local conditions and struggles, even though – in rebuilding the farm infrastructure and landscape – there may be greater need on the part of game management to vacate the land of ‘superfluous people’ (extended family members dwelling alongside agricultural farm labourers) (Helliker, 2008:21).

A longer-term concern, mentioned by Helliker (2008:24), regarding game farms is the ways in which they go against and undermine land reform actions. This is something that game farm owners and managers themselves are very aware of, however they would rather not address its consequences (Helliker, 2008:24). In the Indalo studies, game reserve management frequently indicated the land redistribution programme and any prohibition on foreign land ownership as risking the future of the land-use conversion in the Eastern Cape farmland (Helliker, 2008:21). The wildlife industry mentions complementary interests between itself and surrounding rural communities. This was seen concerning its idea of community development (Helliker, 2008:25-26).

However, findings in this research indicate that farm owners and managers believe that the ecotourism game reserve industry is not going against the imperative for land reform and are in fact creating rural community sustainability, skills development and employment. They believe in their opinion that land reform, particularly tenure reform, in this country has not worked and has not created rural community sustainability. Government policy has not succeeded in being pro-poor. Farm workers have experienced continued retrenchments and dispossession, despite supposedly protective legislation. Game reserve managers further believe that the game reserve alternative can fit in very well with land reform because, where communities have been displaced and there have been land claims, one of the best ways of doing it is by establishing game reserves that have a community development focus, as they can be community owned – managed as a separate entity but community owned and the benefits they receive are that of employment, housing, welfare and skills development. Therefore the game reserve industry with its extensive community development focus for farmworkers and local communities is a viable and sustainable alternative to conventional land reform, providing security of tenure to workers and local communities.

Unfortunately, the post-apartheid government has not intervened in the interests of workers, dwellers and smallholders (Helliker, 2008:26). While landed property owners

have frequently violated the basic labour and tenure rights of poor people with almost full indemnity, poor people are required to follow proper procedure in justifying and progressing their cause. For example, the intrusion at Ndumo Game Reserve in northern KwaZulu-Natal by a group of people was considered by the provincial agricultural and environment minister as the work of ‘criminal elements’ (Mail and Guardian, 1 July 2008 cited in Helliker, 2008:26). Similarly, the expropriation of land is often depicted as going against civil procedures and good governance. At most full respect for property and the market adds up to courtesy from this standpoint (Helliker, 2008:26). If the rights of workers, dwellers and small-scale farmers are to be protected, then this presumed enlightening mission needs to be questioned and challenged (Helliker, 2011:26).

#### **5.4 CONCLUSION**

Agriculture has for a long time been dominant in the Eastern Cape, but has proven to be unreliable and on the decline (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:12). PGRs act as economic engines in areas that are undergoing constant economic decline, presenting alternatives to agriculture that are economically and ecologically appealing (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:13). PGRs are especially valuable in that they exist in rural areas – places where government services seldom reach, where economic opportunities are the scarcest, and where the need is highest (Sims-Castley et al, 2005:10).

Further, the dominant discussions regarding the impact of game farms on rural economies and communities need to be engaged with more analytically (Helliker, 2008:25). Interestingly, a couple years ago the Eastern Cape Land Affairs and Agricultural Minister, Gugilile Nkwinti, spoke about the ‘recolonialisation of the countryside. Game reserves are taking over... These commercial game farmers assume that African people will always be labourers under them, that no African will own land’ (Mail and Guardian, 30 November 2005 cited in Helliker, 2008:25). That is to say, ‘domestic government’ is being replicated in new forms in the province, and from this perspective the needs of farm workers/dwellers are being overlooked through the continuous and dramatic change in land utilisation in the Eastern Cape (Helliker, 2008:25). Endeavors by game farms to become more involved in social development programmes, as Jones et al (2005) strongly advise game farms to do may just be a way of keeping (or obtaining) some form of ‘political legitimacy’ (Helliker, 2008:25).

Indalo is a major private game reserves association in the Eastern Cape which all have some involvement in current community development. The Indalo PGRs have established a development division in community involvement and development. They focus on the inclusion of rural communities and displaced workers; community programmes and projects set up to improve social sustainability and community involvement and development. Private game reserves have established this development division to encourage development and the improvement of livelihoods in rural communities. In evaluating the impact of Indalo's community engagement programme, the emphasis on people and their participation will be of greatest importance.

In this regard, and given that government policy has not succeeded in being pro-poor, Indalo members believe that the ecotourism game reserve industry are creating rural community sustainability, skills development and employment. They believe that land reform, particularly tenure reform, in this country has not worked and has not created rural community sustainability. Farm workers have experienced continued retrenchments and dispossession, despite supposedly protective legislation. Therefore the Indalo game reserves with its extensive community development focus for farmworkers and local communities is a viable and sustainable alternative to conventional land reform, providing security of tenure to workers and local communities.



## **CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY**

### **6.1 INTRODUCTION**

The purpose of this Chapter is to provide an overview and justification of the research paradigm, research methodology, data collection methods, methods of analysis, and ethical considerations of the current research.

Collis and Hussey (2003:55) define research methodology as “the overall approach to the research process, from the theoretical foundation through to the collection and analysis of the data”. The design of a study starts with selecting a topic and a paradigm. According to Gioia and Pitre (1990) in Creswell (1994:1), paradigms in the human and social sciences help us understand phenomena: they put forward assumptions about the social world, how science should be managed, and what comprises legitimate problems, solutions, and standards of ‘proof’. The paradigm that this research will follow is the qualitative paradigm.

Before discussing the research design and methodology, the objectives of this research are restated:

The main objective of the research is to analyse the Indalo association of private game reserves in the Eastern Cape Province’s development model for ex-farmworkers and adjacent communities. The sub-goals for the study are:

- to assess whether ecotourism is a viable alternative to conventional land reform;
- to analyse whether the work has built capacity: whether it encourages participation and self-reliance;
- to assess whether it is sustainable: the structures and training that are in place to ensure the projects are going to be successful when the “experts” leave.

The outcome of this research will contribute towards expanding the field of knowledge and developmental efforts pertaining to the ecotourism based PGR industry in the Eastern Cape Province by utilising a qualitative research paradigm as described in this Chapter.

## **6.2 THE RESEARCH PARADIGM**

I used the qualitative approach as I felt that this was the most accurate way of obtaining data for this research. According to Denzin and Lincoln (2003:1) in sociology, the work of the “Chicago school” in the 1920s and 1930s ascertained the importance of qualitative research for the study of human group life. Qualitative research attempts to study human action from the insider’s perspective and is carried out in the natural setting of social actors (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270). This indicates that qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to understand, or interpret, phenomena with regard to the meanings people bring to them (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:2). The main objective of this approach is defined as ‘describing’ and ‘understanding’ as opposed to explaining human behavior (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:270). Qualitative research is particularly effective in acquiring culturally specific information regarding the values, opinions, behaviors, and social contexts of certain populations (Family Health International, 2010:1). Qualitative research entails the studied use and collection of an array of empirical materials, such as case study, personal experience, and life history, that explain usual and problematic instants and meanings in individuals’ lives (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:2).

The research methods in this paradigm comprise numerous interpretative techniques which attempt to describe, translate and in some way accept the meaning of particular naturally occurring phenomena in the social world (Collis and Hussey, 2003:53). The data collected in this research is qualitative data as the emphasis of the qualitative paradigm is on the quality and depth of the data (Collis and Hussey, 2003:57). Nevertheless, before the discussion of data collection it is essential to ascertain the research methodology associated with the selected paradigm in the current research.

### **6.2.1 Case study approach**

This research will loosely utilise the case study approach. A case study approach is “the in-depth examination of a single instance of some social phenomenon, such as a village or a family” (Babbie, 2011:301). The majority of case studies involve the examination of multiple variables. The interaction of the unit of study with its setting is an important part of the investigation (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:281). Closely described case studies take numerous perspectives into consideration and try to understand the impacts of multilevel

social systems on subjects' outlooks and behaviours (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:281). The unit of study may be an individual person, but case studies can be done of other units, for example a family. Case study research can also investigate several individual units (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:281). Collis and Hussey (2003:68) further state that a case study is an example of a qualitative methodology, therefore making this approach congruent with the paradigm used within this research.

The current research roughly makes use of a case study design. A case study design attempts to explain new and perhaps innovative practices chosen by certain organisations (Collis and Hussey, 2003:83). The case under study in this research includes six ecotourism based PGRs which are members of the Indalo group, the Association of Eastern Cape Private Game Reserves, in the Eastern Cape Province.

### **6.3 DATA COLLECTION**

Qualitative data collection methods have been described as a collection of interpretative techniques which attempt to describe, decode, translate and then come to accept the meaning of certain relatively naturally occurring phenomena (Collis and Hussey, 2003:150). The research was conducted in and around the Indalo association of PGRs in the Eastern Cape Province. Upon identifying the selected sample, the data collection methods, namely semi-structured in-depth interviews will be discussed.

To assist in the data collection stage I made use of a field journal, providing a detailed description of ways I planned to spend my time when on-site, as well as in the transcription and data analysis stage. I recorded details related to my observations and interviews in a field notebook and made note of my own views and experiences throughout the research process (Creswell, 1994:166).

#### **6.3.1 Sample and sampling procedure**

For the purpose of this research, as mentioned in Chapter Two, the tourism industry is a major economic activity in the Eastern Cape province. In choosing a case, the Indalo members (the Association of Eastern Cape Private Game Reserves) were contacted to participate in the research study. Six of the Indalo PGR members were prepared to

participate in this research.

According to Collis and Hussey (2003:56), “a sample is a subset of a population and should represent the main interest of the study”. Snowball sampling is affiliated with qualitative studies where it is fundamental to include people with knowledge of the phenomena being studied in the sample (Collis and Hussey, 2003:158). Specific sampling techniques permit one to ascertain and/or control the probability of specific individuals being chosen for study (Babbie and Mouton, 2001:164). Snowball sampling is a nonprobability-sampling method, often utilised in field research, whereby participants or informants with whom contact has already been made use their social networks to refer the researcher to other people who could possibly participate in or contribute to the study (Family Health International, 2010:5).

Farmworkers, reserve staff and foundation members were selected through a snowball sampling process. This was achieved by meeting with Indalo members and selected private game reserve managers and getting recommendations as to whom they believed would be willing to participate in the study.

The Indalo group is made up of 7 ecotourism-based reserves. All the member reserves use wildlife-based ecotourism as their primary means of business. They were formed independently by amalgamating land previously used for farming practices. The reserves are situated in the western part of the Eastern Cape Province, in the Albany Region and the South Eastern Karoo (Muir et al, 2011:8). They range in size, with the smallest being 2,633 hectares (ha) and the largest 21,265 ha (Muir et al, 2011:9).

### **6.3.2 Data collection methods**

Qualitative research is essentially multi-method in focus. This process of using multiple sources to acquire information reflects an attempt to obtain an in-depth understanding of the phenomena in question (Denzin and Lincoln, 2003:5). The qualitative methods I used in obtaining my data were semi-structured in-depth interviews. In this research data was collected from different sources, namely the managers/owners, farm/staff workers and foundation members at the different Indalo reserves. The data collection methods used will be briefly discussed below.

### *6.3.2.1 Interviews*

Interviews are a way of collecting data that involves asking respondents questions with the purpose of investigating their perspectives on a particular idea, or situation (Collis and Hussey, 2003:167). Under a qualitative paradigm interviews are valuable when detailed information is required regarding a person's thoughts and behaviours or when new issues are studied in depth. According to Babbie (2011:312) design in qualitative interviewing is iterative, in other words, the incessant nature of qualitative interviewing denotes that the questioning is redesigned throughout the research process.

The primary source of data collection is in-depth interviews. These were conducted with selected Indalo members, private game reserve owners/managers as well as farmworkers/reserve staff and community foundation coordinators in the areas designated for the study. Interviews were aimed at two different parties, namely those for operational or lower level staff and managerial or upper level staff. Operational staff includes those largely unskilled employees who would have had a background of working when the land was still used under traditional farming practices (Howarth, n.d.2). Managerial staff includes the largely skilled employees such as lodge managers, chefs and game guides who may have been imported from outside areas as a result of a lack of local skills (Howarth, n.d.3).

In-depth interviews supply "deeper" information and knowledge (Gubriem and Holstein, 2001:104). The researcher's interviewing techniques in an in-depth interview are driven by the desire to learn everything the participant can share concerning the research topic (Family Health International, 2010:29).

Semi-structured interviews formed the main research instrument of the current research where I made use of field notes and digital recorders. Even though all the respondents were asked the same questions from the interview guides, semi-structured interviews allow for the researcher to adjust the design, as well as the terminology, to fit the background and educational level of the respondents (Welman et al, 2005:166). In this regard semi-structured interviews provide an adaptable way of collecting data (Welman et al, 2005:167).

Semi-structured interviews included open-ended research questions concerning, general questions about the game reserves, questions regarding the developmental aspects of

PGRs, in addition to questions pertinent to the current practice of community development initiatives and the challenges encountered in fulfilling these initiatives. The construction of these questions uses previous research by Langholz and Kerley (2006), Snowball and Antrobus (2008), and Muir et al (2011). Open-ended questions have the ability to conjure up responses that are: meaningful and culturally important to the participant; unexpected by the researcher; and rich and descriptive in nature (Family Health International, 2010:4).

### **6.3.3 Data recording procedures**

The approach to data recording that was followed was to record information from interviews by using note taking and digital audio recordings. One digital recorder per interview was used and the interview was then transcribed. In addition, notes were taken throughout the interview in the event that the recording equipment failed (Creswell, 1994:152).

## **6.4 DATA ANALYSIS**

Qualitative data analysis is the non-numerical assessment and interpretation of observations, for the intention of finding underlying meanings and patterns of relationships (Babbie, 2011:391). Qualitative research methods involve an ongoing interaction between data collection and theory (Babbie, 2011:391). The data analysis was conducted as an activity at the same time with data collection, and data interpretation (Creswell, 1994:153).

The process of qualitative analysis was based on data was reduced to certain patterns, categories, or themes and then interpreted (Creswell, 1994:154).

During data analysis the data was organised categorically and chronologically, re-examined repeatedly, and constantly coded. A list of major ideas that surfaced was recorded. Taped interviews were transcribed verbatim. Field notes and diary entries were frequently reviewed (Creswell, 1994:167).

Firstly, the data analysis around the main data collection methods of semi-structured in-depth interviews is discussed. The interviews were subjected to a qualitative content

analysis. Before an analysis can take place it is necessary that the data be arranged in a form that can be analysed.

#### **6.4.1 The transcription process**

Transcription is an essential process in qualitative data analysis. A suitable transcription should be manageable to write, easy to read, and straightforward to understand and interpret.

After the transcription process, it is important that data be arranged correctly to guarantee accuracy of data suitable for analysis (Cooper and Schindler, 2006:440). Data arrangement includes editing in addition to discovering errors and omissions. My work with the Indalo PGRs ensured that the data is accurate, in line with the aim of the question, and organised to simplify the coding and categorisation process that formed part of the data analysis.

#### **6.4.2 Qualitative content analysis**

Qualitative content analysis has been described as:

- . "a research method for the subjective interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005:1278, cited in Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009:1),

For the purpose of this research I made use of qualitative content analysis. Qualitative content analysis is favoured as it studies meanings, themes and patterns that may be obvious or dormant in a certain text (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009:1). It permits researchers to comprehend social reality in a personal but scientific manner (Zhang and Wildemuth, 2009:1). Qualitative content analysis is made particularly useful through its reliance on coding and categorising of the data. This was achieved by grouping together the different responses of the interview questions to obtain the main themes. These themes were subsequently cross-referenced with the literature. It is noteworthy in this study, that researcher's bias, which can influence coding and categorisation was minimised by linking the interpretation of data to the literature review.

## **6.5 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS**

Qualitative studies typically involve the participation of people. Any research that includes people requires ethical considerations (Orb et al, 2000:93). Ethics refers to doing good and avoiding harm (Orb et al, 2000:93). The protection of human rights in any research study is vital. It is of utmost importance to remember that an interview is usually associated with confidentiality, informed consent and privacy (Orb et al, 2000:94). In the interests of informed consent, all the research participants had full disclosure as to what the research entailed before they agreed to participate in the study. It was also made clear to the participants that the research seeks only to determine their perceptions through investigating whether the Indalo association of private game reserves provides a viable development model for ex-farmworkers and adjacent communities. It was also clarified that my presence will not hinder access to their current benefits.

## **6.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY**

The most significant limitation in this study pertained to the small sample size of ex-farmworkers interviewed. Some of the reserves were against interviewing their farmworkers, indicating that it was not good for the reserve, causing further issues and setting expectations. As a result a number of interviews were therefore conducted with more senior level staff, such as lodge managers and game guides. As a result of the small sample size, I cannot confidently state that I have fully established the views and feelings of the ex-farmworkers towards the establishment of PGRs. Even though this was problematic it was not detrimental and I still managed to interview a number of the old original farmworkers. Although all the respondents expressed their willingness for the interviews to be conducted in english, for many this was not their first language and could have been a limitation to the responses given. In this regard every effort was made to simplify questions without wavering from the main ideas. This proved to be successful with only one respondent requiring a translator. Regardless of the limitations, the study was generally successful and produced noteworthy results.



## **CHAPTER SEVEN: FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

### **7.1 INTRODUCTION**

One of the most striking developments in the Eastern Cape in the last 15 years has been the proliferation of game reserves. One only has to drive from Grahamstown to Port Elizabeth to see dozens of animals grazing on the other side of the fence. It is wonderful to see the landscape returning to its pristine natural state. In order to try and understand the research topic at hand, it is important to analyse the data I collected through my various trips to the Indalo PGRs. In this Chapter I will present the findings of this research and discuss the findings in relation to the theoretical perspectives outlined in the literature review chapters.

All of the respondents were interviewed by means of interview guides in line with the research design and methodology outlined in Chapter Six. The research participants (managers and foundation coordinators) all spoke in English. The majority of staff employees agreed to conduct their interviews in English despite it not being their first language, with only one employee needing an interpreter. Therefore their way with words is often unusual, at times ungrammatical, but always engaging and enlightening.

As discussed in Chapter Five of this thesis, Indalo PGRs claim that they are making a considerable contribution to rural development in the Eastern Cape through employment generation, multiplier effects and focus on community involvements (Helliker, 2008:18). The Indalo PGRs have established a development arm that deals with community involvement and development. They make claims of focusing on the inclusion of rural communities and displaced workers; community programmes and projects established to enhance social sustainability and community involvement and development. For example, PGRs claim that they hire more workers per hectare than the normal large-scale stock or arable farm in the Eastern Cape, or that they pay their operational employees higher wages than commercial farmers pay their general workers (Helliker, 2008:4). PGRs have established this development arm to stimulate development and the improvement of livelihoods in rural communities. The real question of interest is to what extent these claims are true.

A less known aspect of Indalo PGRs is the degree of their engagement in community development programmes (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:2). One of the objectives of the Indalo association is to “identify and develop programmes to enhance social sustainability and community involvement and development” (Muir et al, 2011:21, Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:26). In evaluating the impact of Indalo’s community engagement programme, the focus on people and their participation will be of great importance.

However, all these claims have to be assessed against the background of a discussion on land reform, tourism and ecotourism and development.

## **7.2 GAME PARKS: CONTRIBUTING TO OR HINDERING LAND REFORM?**

South Africa’s future depends on developing land use options that are socially just, economically viable, and ecologically relevant (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2). Agriculture has for a long period been dominant in the Eastern Cape, but has proven to be unreliable and on the decline. In the Eastern Cape there is high levels of unemployment, poverty and a lack of provision of the most basic services. Attending to these problems has proved almost impossible because of poor leadership, lack of ability and corruption (Luck, 2003:2). Neo-liberal economic policies, and the redistribution of land on a 'willing seller, willing buyer' foundation have significantly deprived the land reform process in the Eastern Cape (Luck, 2003:2). Over the past fifteen years there has been an extensive conversion of land use from traditional farming practices to conservation and private game reserves. The economic and social impact of this land conversion from traditional farming to PGRs is a topic of notable interest. More specific areas of interest are the indirect and resultant effects of the formation of PGRs, as well as their direct impacts on the surrounding communities. This further takes into consideration the developmental and social impact on farmworkers and local communities, regarding employment, community development projects, overall well-being and redress.

In order to understand the shift from commercial farming to game farming a number of things need to be taken into account. Direct attention should be given to previous land use. Why is it no longer regarded as viable? Or is it indeed still viable? In examining any new development thought must be given to the universal matters of globalisation and market trends (Luck, 2003:34). Tourism has been recognised as having the ability to generate

urban and rural employment and, much-needed foreign exchange.

By 2009, ecotourism was considered the most popular tourist attraction (Motala, 2010:1) and is perhaps “the area of the economy in which environmental sustainability and job creation could be combined most effectively” (Smith and Wilson, 2002:17). A central development in ecotourism is aimed at improving the livelihoods of the rural poor. These factors in addition to an apparent economic advantage have caused extensive private support for the industry (Luck, 2003:34).

### **7.2.1 Restructuring agriculture in the Eastern Cape**

Land ownership is an increasingly high profile and controversial issue in South Africa. In the Eastern Cape, huge areas of farmland have been converted to game reserves or privately-owned protected areas many of which are currently subject to land-claims from local communities (Hayes, 2009:5). A method for addressing the issue is to highlight both the economic benefits of PGRs as well as their ability to develop poor rural communities through community development initiatives (Snowball and Antrobus, 2008:6).

Most of the PGRs were created when their previous farming activities became economically less viable and joining the ecotourism industry by starting a game reserve was seen as a more profitable alternative. Although this is a controversial issue, most of the game reserve managers are adamant that this is the case. For example, the Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve argues that:

*“The Eastern Cape is agriculturally very very marginal in most areas, very marginal from a number of aspects – rain, soil, vegetation...Whereas game farming tends to rejuvenate the bush and the grasslands...puts it back to its natural situation”<sup>1</sup>*

The Manager from Amakhala Game Reserve agrees with him on this issue:

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<sup>1</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

*“I know from experience, just from running the farm and running the reserve. I know the figures and finances, so it just is more sustainable”<sup>2</sup>*

As does the Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, one of the most successful private game parks in the world:

*“It creates 5 times more employment than traditional farming methods, because of that it affords the workers an opportunity to earn probably 3.5 times more income than they would if they were living and working on the farm. Along with that obviously is the indirect economic spin-off of the entire Eastern Cape community. So it has a massive massive spin-off in the whole Eastern Cape area”<sup>3</sup>*

This confirms Sims-Castley et al’s (2005:6) all-inclusive statement that private game reserves are highly sought after in comparison to other land usages and that they have had ‘positive benefits for employment creation, ecotourism and biodiversity’. Recognised benefits of wildlife ecotourism projects, we are told, include employment creation, wealth distribution, community upliftment and sustainable land practices. Not everybody however agrees with this analysis. There is a considerable amount of negative feeling concerning the formation of the proliferation of PGRs in the area. It is argued that for some, PGRs have seen employment losses and farm worker evictions. This is also combined with the prolonged nature of the land redistribution and repossession procedure as well as the challenges faced by evicted people (Hamer and Snowball, 2008:9).

It is worthwhile to know that the substantial conversion of land use in the region is to some extent caused by demand for ecotourism, but in addition it can also be attributed to a downturn in the viability of stock farming (Hamer and Snowball, 2008:9). Ecological restraints, for example drought and shortages of feed, in addition to increasing levels of stock theft, are also mentioned as reasons for the move away from livestock farming (Luck, 2003:35; Helliker, 2008:10). For many it is a way to settle debt and, for others it offers the certainty of more sustainable earnings. The political field is another important area of consideration especially in South Africa because of the huge legal and policy

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<sup>2</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>3</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

changes since 1994 (Luck, 2003:35). In post-apartheid South Africa, land reform, the formation of basic conditions of employment for farm workers, agricultural deregulation and raised stock theft all led to the depletion of direct agricultural activity as suggested by Luck (2003:35).

PGR managers indicate the environmental and conservation factors of the industry, the economic advantages it puts forward and the reality that traditional farming is considerably less sustainable given the facts of inconsistent rainfall and drought.

### **7.2.2 Ecotourism based private game reserves as an alternative to conventional land reform**

The state's land reform model concentrates on past injustice as well as on current issues of poverty, inequality and underdevelopment (Hall et al, 2003:1). Experience with execution has been inconsistent across land reform programmes and in various regions of the country. There have been improvements in the pace of the programme, however all three elements of the land reform programme have, on the whole, fallen short of meeting their targets (Hall et al, 2003:3).

Farm dwellers that live and work in dire poverty and under insecure land tenure arrangements on white-owned farms in South Africa are a main target group of land reform (Crane, 2006:1036). However recent research suggests that regardless of government policy and intentions (Hall, 2004; Wegerif and Russell, 2005) land reform thus far has produced little benefit to this marginalised group. Below are some of the responses that Indalo managers' gave to show that in their opinion, that land reform has not worked.

*“If you look at the land reform model in South Africa it hasn't created rural community sustainability. So, that model has in fact been by governments' own admission flawed”<sup>4</sup>*

*“Land reform in this country has not worked. And our socio-economic model has proved over and over again that it's a far better and far more sustainable land use than previous farming. So we have all the facts and the figures to be able to*

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<sup>4</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*substantiate that”<sup>5</sup>*

Therefore, the ecotourism game-farming alternative with its wide-ranging community development focus for ex-farmworkers and neighbouring communities is an option to be assessed.

As I discussed in Chapter One of this thesis, Seekings and Natrass (2005 cited in Lahiff, 2007:33) make a clear link between changes in the agricultural economy and increasing poverty, and link this further to failures in the land reform model. They argue that, rather than increasing employment in agriculture, government’s economic policies have led agricultural employment to fall severely, increasing the ranks of the unskilled unemployed:

Overall ... government policy has not succeeded in being pro-poor. Farm workers have experienced continued retrenchments and dispossession, despite supposedly protective legislation. Land reform has not benefited the poor significantly. The reforms that have been implemented have generally been to the benefit of a constituency that was already relatively advantaged. In this crucial sector, the post-apartheid distributional regime has not resulted in improved livelihoods for the poor (Seekings and Natrass, 2005: 357 cited in Lahiff, 2007:33).

In keeping with these views the Indalo managers’ believe that ecotourism and/or the game reserve industry are not going against the imperative for land reform. One of the managers interviewed believes that the game-farming alternative can fit in very well with land reform;

*“...Because where communities have been displaced and there have been land claims, one of the best ways of doing it is what we are doing here because, one it can be community owned – managed as a separate entity but community owned and the benefits that they get from that are employment, welfare and skills development”<sup>6</sup>*

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<sup>5</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>6</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

The Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve mentions that:

*“It isn’t at all because the thing that’s most important is that you make rural economies sustainable and if you look at the land reform model in South Africa it hasn’t created rural community sustainability...So the thing that you are seeing here is that there is a notion and there is a perception that because you run a high-end tourism business you would import labour to fulfill those positions using more highly skilled workers than one would be able to find in the rural communities as a result of a poor education system historically but I think Kwandwe has been able to show that that’s not the case at all and that we run a... the highest end tourism product category in the Eastern Cape and we do that with having employed from within and up-skilled from within. So there’s just as much human capital here as there is anywhere else, one just needs to have the commitment to the rural community”*<sup>7</sup>

*“...How imperative is land reform really... You utilise land to the best of your ability for the country, I am not one that is all for land reform...The practicalities to me are; you need in a country, particularly a growing country, a developing country, you need the best usage of the land in terms of job creation, in terms of food stability in a country...I’m not one for jumping on this bandwagon of the imperatives of land redistribution...there are certain cases where people were...land was illegally taken away and maybe some compensation is due but whether that includes giving back the land and making usable land unusable or, commercially viable land commercially unviable, I have an issue with that”*<sup>8</sup>

From the above findings it is evident that the Indalo managers’ maintain that ecotourism and/or the game reserve industry are not going against the necessity for land reform and are in fact creating rural community sustainability, skills development and, employment. As argued in Chapter One of this thesis, all the evidence indicates that ‘existing land reform policies have failed to bring about the expected transformation of landholding...to date and are most unlikely to do so in future...This demands a new vision of land reform’

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<sup>7</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>8</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

(Lahiff, 2001 in Kepe and Cousins, 2002:3). The Indalo managers' conclude that ecotourism and the game reserve industry with its extensive community development focus for farmworkers and local communities is a viable and sustainable alternative to land reform.

Two main points are emerging here. The first, is that conventional agricultural is failing and less profitable than ecotourism, and secondly, that land reform, to a certain extent because of the first point (but not exclusively), has also failed. Therefore, both of these factors make ecotourism a more viable strategy for rural development. The question which, addressed converting agricultural land for the purposes of the affluent when there was a greater need for land redistribution and the community at large attempted to further assess their views on ecotourism being a more viable approach for rural development. This justification is highlighted in the following quotes:

*“Well first of all, its not highly productive agricultural land. I think from a land reform perspective, we understand that ecotourism requires large tracts of land in order to make the ecosystem sustainable. We seem to believe that more than others, that we believe that 20,000 ha of land in our area makes it sustainable... But the bottom line is that...if we talking about people being healthy and people being well and people living in a positive environment, then surely the most important thing is, is there sustainability of those communities and the up-skilling of them”<sup>9</sup>*

*“Well very simple, it's because of the model that we have created. It has created a lot more work, a lot more employment. The income per capita earned by the workers is I think 3.5 times or 4 times that of farmworkers... direct economic spin-off... So all the positives are there. The staff that are working here now are far better off than they were under the farming – there has been skills development, a lot of them have received promotions, developed their careers, so you know there many factors that have, that endorse the private game industry as opposed to farming”<sup>10</sup>*

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<sup>9</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>10</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.



This indicates that the PGRs do contribute considerably to the production of employment in the area, employing significantly more people than the original farms did, as noted by Snowball and Antrobus (2008). Increased employment opportunities, skills development and training in addition to multiplier effects are common among all reserves and are indicated below;

*“We employing 150 people now which is at least 3 times the number of people that were employed here. The skills requirements for the jobs that we providing is a whole lot more that would be normally associated with what we doing with the land usage. So the thing is yes wealthy people are paying to come here but it’s because of what we providing and they spending money here and, that money is used for development of the area and it just has a huge impact on it and so when you can create something that attracts that kind of wealth I don’t think there’s an argument”<sup>11</sup>*

*“This has been a massive job creation, I mean 5 to 7 times the amount of jobs created largely in the female sector, rural female employment which is fairly non-existent in agriculture. So that’s the thing, plus the level of training expertise that’s then given to the employees that have almost all come from our previous farms so we have basically exhausted all employment opportunities from the existing people that were living there in the villages and, given them training, they’ve got better wages, they’ve got better opportunities”<sup>12</sup>*

*“The minister will agree with me, that it’s an absolute waste of time. There is no ways that any poor black man whose going to be put on a farm will ever make any money. They can’t and its been proven. 278 farms bought, given to them, no capital cost at a nominal rental of R500 a month – nothing! It cannot work. The traditional qualified farmer couldn’t make it work...they selling their farms to the government flat-out...Unfortunately the wealthy generate the income. Our guests are 90% overseas, they bring foreign currency. We’ve created 145 jobs at a multiply effect of 5... There were 5 staff members here when we bought; times (x) 5 is 25. So we’ve created almost 20 fold increase in feeding people by bringing the*

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<sup>11</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>12</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

*so called 'wealthy' privileged white, not only – our guests are probably 20% black people, South African black people. So yes it's a fallacy that"*<sup>13</sup>

According to the Co-owner of Sibuya Game reserve, the fact of the matter is:

*"... You want to utilise the land to the best of the entire country, not just the farmer. Again, in a country if you want the best for the country and you want the country to do well and you want to give poor people a better opportunity, you've got to give them a better education and you've got to give them a better chance to earn a decent income and be self-sustaining. The only way to do that is to create jobs and to create a bigger growing developing economy. Giving land away and reducing the economy does the reverse of that regardless of what people have in their idealistic minds about what people, the underprivileged needs"*<sup>14</sup>

In conclusion, the reserve managers' believed that it was without doubt that ecotourism is a viable alternative to conventional land reform. The Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve had the following to say:

*"I think it's a viable alternative but I also think it's an opportunity for viable land reform. If at the moment you offer as a willing seller a game farm to the department of land affairs and rural development, or what ever they called, and it's a game farm, they likely to turn it down because it's a game farm. They will not fund emerging farmers for game farming. They do not see it as recognised agricultural land use, which it presently falls under the department of environmental affairs, but I can tell you now that game ranching is the third biggest income contributor to the GDP, after the dairy and maize businesses/industries. Think I'm correct in that, I only heard that statistic about two weeks ago... but I'm sure its something that will come out in print. So, you know we starting to see a contribution to the economy from the game ranchers of over R10 billion a year and so you've got this economy, this industry that's developing, that's showing enormous opportunities for the rural and green economy, and that needs to be harnessed in the land reform model. The land*

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<sup>13</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>14</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

*reform model needs to be cognisant of it, it needs to support it, it needs to get involved because there's an opportunity there for people.... my simple question is are you not missing a very profitable boat that could be turning debt into profit very quickly, and it's all because it's not considered traditional land use in Africa. We not considering wildlife as a traditional land use and it doesn't make sense to me*"<sup>15</sup>

The Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve agrees with him and adds that:

*"...Well firstly it has pushed the price of the land up and the economic spin-off to the rest of the community is vast... But I mean, our procurement that takes place in the Eastern Cape for these game reserves is massive, we spend lots of money every month on procurement which would not have taken place had these been traditional farms. So all the answers are there"*<sup>16</sup>

### **7.2.3 The shift to game reserves: how it happened**

According to the Department of Agriculture (1994:64), game ranching/farming is defined as the commercialisation of wildlife by private landowners. There are presently 500 private game reserves in the Eastern Cape Province, 100% more than in 1992 (Luck, 2003:33).

The Indalo reserves were developed independently by numerous owners through the amalgamation and conversion of commercial farms (Muir et al, 2011:8) Many large wildlife species, as well as the big five and other non-indigenous species (like giraffe) have been reintroduced over the years as mentioned by Muir et al, (2011:8). The following managers' describe the process of turning the land from conventional farms into game reserves:

*"...we were fortunate in that the rainfall pattern in our part of the Eastern Cape is too erratic for successful arable farming... So the land as it is now is as it was when we were farming. Obviously we took out fences and some infrastructure but*

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<sup>15</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

*essentially we haven't planted anything, we haven't taken anything out – vegetation wise, it was a pretty natural environment. So we essentially put in a perimeter fence, took down internal fencing, took out our livestock, put in wildlife and built lodges and marketed it, and that's how we did it”<sup>17</sup>*

*“Well firstly you had to do the research to find out that the animals were originally here, which was easy because the Eastern Cape is one of the richest wildlife areas in Africa in terms of diversity and very few people know that. There's more diversity here in terms of animal species and vegetation than you find anywhere else in Africa and, because of that it gives you license to be able to convert from traditional farming to game reserve fairly easy, except it does require a lot of capital”<sup>18</sup>*

*“...In terms of the physical nature of the development is; to meet the requirements in terms of fencing, to remove the signs of organised agriculture, such as concrete troughs or reservoirs... and to get the landscape back to as natural state as possible...these properties over the last 200 years have been through some very very difficult and hard farming practices, so there's been a significant impact on the land and you not going to change it to be exactly what it was in 1790. So immediately there's a notion that you not going to get it back to pristine. The definition of pristine is warped, so from that perspective, as natural state as possible”<sup>19</sup>*

According to the reserve managers' productive farming land was not taken for the establishment of game reserves, nor were people evicted as a result of the shift in land use. This is made clear in the following responses:

*“By the time we got here the farmers had all gone bankrupt. Pumba is 8,000 hectares, its probably 24 title deeds so it would've been 20 smallish farms...when*

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<sup>17</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>18</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>19</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*we bought it there was not one operational farmer that could say he was farming.... as I explained to Gugilile Nkwinti, we didn't take anything that was a production farm or land that was being productive or employing people. We took land that was fallow and bankrupt and totally rejuvenated, cleaned out the alien vegetation...– reintroduced game, conserving it, we part of the Albany hotspot for biodiversity which is perhaps in the three threatened biomes in the world. So to me people should be saying thank goodness those guys came along and established those protected areas”<sup>20</sup>*

*“Well from a human perspective you must understand that first of all our employment needs are 3.5 times what they were historically, about. So I said 47 employees, we now got 164 in our business as we speak. So the first thing you do is you don't mess with the rural communities because you need them and hopefully they going to need you and you're going to create some value into that, so from a human perspective, this notion that game farmers come and take people off the land particularly where there is a tourism model involved is not one that is supported in practice and in reality... So immediately there, there's a clash of opinions and I can tell you that the reality on the ground is very different to what's seen in the press”<sup>21</sup>*

The interviewees claimed that people were not evicted from the land, however I was unable to verify that this was or was not the case. Results showed that previous farm workers came with the sale of the land. Results further pointed out that workers were consulted regarding the conversion from conventional farming to game reserves. Findings indicated that across all the reserves there was no form of resistance from the workers:

*“I think one of the first things we did here was improve the working conditions, we improved the living conditions, we improved the education facilities for their children...and so the value of the community has to be respected and they have to see value in what your development is doing and that value needs to be seen by*

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<sup>20</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>21</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*them as well. So, I think there was a lot of support actually for it*<sup>22</sup>

*“...their conditions were improved dramatically”*<sup>23</sup>

The research further established that living conditions of the rural poor and surrounding communities are to a limited extent improved by the conversion of agricultural land into private game reserves.

*“All of a sudden you go to Seven Fountains... I suppose it is still part squatter part RDP, you go and look at the quality of life, the people are dressed nicely, most of them are employed and earning a decent salary. So it’s transformed this area hugely. It’s actually as I said to Gugilile Nkwinti... removed the pressure of the facilities in Grahamstown of providing housing, electricity etc. So in that perspective it’s done huge, huge things”*<sup>24</sup>

*“...their income is enhanced, their skills development is enhanced and in some cases their homes are obviously enhanced...they can now afford to buy RDP homes”*<sup>25</sup>

*“Absolutely. If you just take the fact that you’ve now, say in our reserve got 150 people directly employed and that rolls out to 3 or 4 dependents so you looking at supporting 5/6/700 people in that greater area. And we have quite a big social development project, an arm as part of our reserve because that’s where we’ve come from and what we believe in so in that sense we can be a more united development programme than just individual farmers”*<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>23</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>24</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>25</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>26</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

#### 7.2.4 Farmworker's rights

The reality of land tenure reform programmes, which are intended to deal with the residential rights of farm workers, has caused considerable commentary from NGO and academic critics (Lahiff, 2001). A great deal of this commentary is aimed towards the suitability of tenure legislation, the continual poverty of farm workers and the increasing frustration over the lack of available land for redistribution and settlement (Luck, 2003:9)

Historically, farm workers have been a marginalised underclass. The common theme surfacing through literature on farm workers is variable living and working conditions. In the past people suffered long working hours, low salaries, poor housing arrangements and poor education. This created a situation of critical dependence on the farmer (Luck, 2003:62). Agricultural labour did not make available the skills required to work in an urban environment should the opportunity occur (Luck, 2003:62). This was indicated by one of the original farm workers;

*“...They didn't pay overtime for the work that we are doing there. And then you work on Saturday and Sunday...then when we came to the reserve side, our salary changed, it was better... If I can compare the work on this side and on the farm side, the work that we do here is easy. If you work Saturday and Sunday that's overtime”<sup>27</sup>*

*“They were paying more than the other farms, because Teddy Badge was paying more money than the other farms”<sup>28</sup>*

*“...When it was a farm, we didn't have clean water, we didn't have electricity...we used the water straight from the river, we didn't have tanks”<sup>29</sup>*

Land reform has the power to have positive impact towards improving livelihoods particularly if it reinforces tenure security (Tom, 2006:26). Most of the rural population

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<sup>27</sup> Interview with Joseph Loteni, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

lives under various tenure arrangements, from communal land to the population residing on land owned by others. Farm workers or ‘dwellers’ seem to be the least protected group of the rural population (Tom, 2006:26).

As noted in Chapter Five of this thesis, no thorough study has been carried out of retrenchments and eviction in the Eastern Cape as a result of the setting up of game reserves and/or expansion into the wildlife industry (Helliker, 2008:21). By all accounts the ESTA rights of farm workers and dwellers have been extremely violated. In this regard, it is of importance to mention that, in their commissioned resource document for Indalo, Hamer et al (2003:8) ‘strongly encourage’ Indalo members to become ‘well-acquainted’ with ESTA (Helliker, 2008:21). However, there is no evidence that any farmworkers were laid off when the reserves were established.

*“Most of them are still employed, a couple of them are retired but they still here. Families are still here. Retirees are still here. And unfortunately some of them have passed on but they were essentially the backbone of the families that now work here. So their daughters and their grandchildren, those people are now employed here”*<sup>30</sup>

*“Workers were all retained. Most of them are still with us now, 1 or 2 of them have retired... and their families and their children have ben employed as well”*<sup>31</sup>

Findings indicated that, in many cases, the majority of original farm workers were re-employed on the PGRs or moved with their former employer. Following this some of the workers have retired and are either still living on the reserve where they worked or have moved somewhere else. Results further indicated that farm workers family members have also been employed by the reserves. When interviewing ex-farmworkers that were re-employed by the reserves, results confirmed that none of them or their families were laid off as a result of the establishment of the reserves.

*“My family is still with me, even now”*<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>31</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.



*“What happened when they were still busy fixing the houses, I was still working on the farm then I spoke to the Manager that was Angus Sholto-Douglas and I asked him, ‘okay then when you start to work here I would like to get the job or join the game reserve side’. Then he said ‘okay when they start to work he will speak to me’, but in the beginning he was also scared of taking the staff that was working for.... Because what happened... Mr Badge who sold part of the farm, he didn’t sell the whole farm at the same time. He gave them part of the farm then he keep the other one. So we were still working then he said ‘okay I don’t want to take the staff from the farm because that one will fight with him and cause maybe a conflict between the two owners. But later when they took the whole farm then he took the staff that was working here. So some of the guys that were working here, Mr Badge didn’t want to leave them because even with me he wanted to cause trouble, then he said no you cant take...if you go to that, if you go to work for the reserve then we going to have a problem. But then I speak with him and I speak with Angus then it was okay”<sup>33</sup>*

There is no reason to believe that there is an essential connection between agriculture-game conversions on the one hand and retrenchment-eviction on the other. The connection appears dependent on local conditions and struggles as indicated by Helliker (2008:21) in Chapter Five of this thesis.

It was thought that democracy would bring an end to most of these injustices, provide an improvement in living conditions and secure housing status. Unfortunately, the post-apartheid government has not forcefully got involved in the welfares of workers (Helliker, 2011:26). ESTA was passed, two classes of farm occupiers were created, and their residential rights weighted accordingly (Luck, 2003:62). ESTA was passed with a vision of fixing the current system of tenure functioning on the farms and in the former homelands. Apart from the rights given to long-term occupiers, and the strict procedures for eviction, it was intended to provide more secure rights for farm workers. Nevertheless it has been unsuccessful; only achieving limited success regarding eviction (Luck,

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<sup>32</sup> Interview with Gibson, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>33</sup> Interview with Joseph Loteni, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

2003:62). If the rights of workers, dwellers and small-scale farmers are to be protected, then this presumed enlightening mission needs to be questioned and challenged (Helliker, 2011:26).

### 7.3 TOURISM

As indicated by Spenceley and Seif (2003) in Chapter Two of this thesis, the *White Paper* acknowledged tourism as having important potential to function as a means for socio-economic upliftment, together with the fundamental principles of community participation and the sustainable management of resources.

South Africa's tourism policy framework concentrates on tourism development, promotion, responsible tourism development, sustainable development and the broad based black economic empowerment (BBBEE) of historically disadvantaged persons. In attempting to determine the value of this policy framework in improving the Indalo reserves involvement in ecotourism activities the following responses were given:

*"I haven't seen them, what do they say.... No effect whatsoever on 90% of people in tourism. The bottom line of tourism is a business like any other business. You go in there because it's a business that you want to do and you try to make a profit. Whatever guidelines they bring out have no bearing on what I do or don't do really... So to me a lot of the government stuff is very misguided"*<sup>34</sup>

*"I've been in this business for 22 years and I haven't used any papers. Its basically been developed with a couple of core principles that I'm sure must be in some handbook somewhere"*<sup>35</sup>

*"I don't know if there's any specific policies that have influenced us but we are certainly aware of the global move towards eco-friendly sustainable business and that's what we trying to aim for.... But we certainly subscribe to all the*

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<sup>34</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

<sup>35</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*guidelines*”<sup>36</sup>

*“The National Responsible Tourism Guidelines.... I don’t really know what they are to be quite honest...The only national guidelines are really conservation guidelines that are in place...So we do adhere to the local and national conservation guidelines... It’s a difficult one for me to answer... We pretty much found a model that works for us and in many cases we haven’t had the support from local establishments that we would require. There’s no state support for the private game reserve enterprises, it’s all privately funded”*<sup>37</sup>

*“Well we’re actually part of Fair Trade in Tourism, which is a more defined version of responsible tourism and it’s actually quite an arduous thing to commit to and to be accepted with so that’s actually been more of a guideline for us”*<sup>38</sup>

The above findings point out that despite the comprehensive tourism policy framework available (as described in Chapter Two), many of the respondents appear to be unaware of the policy details and in some cases their existence. Kariega Game Reserve is the only reserve that subscribes to all the guidelines. The Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve argues that they adhere to local and national conservation guidelines. Amakhala Game Reserve, however, forms part of Fair Trade in Tourism, which is a more defined version of responsible tourism.

From the above responses it is evident that tourism policies have not aided in the Indalo reserves implementation of ecotourism activities. This can be attributed to the fact that the managers of the reserves have been influential in creating their own models and principles on their experience in the tourism industry. According to the Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, Shamwari was the pioneer of the private game reserve industry in the Eastern Cape. They have created their own model in the Eastern Cape that works for them, which many have followed.

*“Our model is three-fold. You have got to be; number one, ecologically*

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<sup>36</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>37</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>38</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

*sustainable. Number two, you've got to be financially sustainable and, number three, you've got to be socially sustainable. So we work from the 3-legged pot. So A, we've got to protect the environment, because if you don't have that right out there you don't have a product; B, if you don't make money you don't exist because there is no state support for it so you have got to be profitable to be able to continue and expand to be able to make more opportunities and you have got to use the local communities*<sup>39</sup>

#### **7.4 ECOTOURISM: A VIABLE STRATEGY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT?**

Ecotourism has become the focus of many endeavors to incorporate nature conservation with rural development (Turner: 2001:369). According to Smith and Wilson (2002:17) ecotourism is possibly “the area of the economy in which environmental sustainability and job creation could be combined most effectively”. An important development in ecotourism aims at improving the livelihoods of the rural poor (Turner, 2001: 368). Considering the emerging significance of game reserves in addition to the ecotourism based PGRs in the Eastern Cape, from an economic and tourism point of view, long term sustainability has become a crucial factor, and particularly ‘private protected areas have recently emerged as innovative and powerful engines for sustainable development’ (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2).

The question regarding the Indalo managers’ understanding of ecotourism attempted to establish their motivation towards current ecotourism activities and initiatives. Managers understand ecotourism as being focused on environmental conservation, community development and are both profitable and self-sustaining. This is highlighted in the following quotes:

*“In our case its where we, creating an environment in as pristine as we can keep it... We have the capacity to do it and the land is available to do it and it can fit in very well with land redistribution and so on if it's approached in the right way. The skills and the expertise is here and we've got a lot of land in South Africa that's not arable, its difficult farming and that land should be made use of and if*

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<sup>39</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

*this is the way to do it, what better way to do it”<sup>40</sup>*

*“Ecotourism is essentially... visitors, local and international coming to a facility where they going to view wildlife, biodiversity, in our instance social development because we explain to our guests that we charge them a percentage that goes into a trust fund which goes back into the community.... and at the same time minimising our footprint on the environment. So we are fully conformant with the green leaf initiative throughout all our lodges”<sup>41</sup>*

*“Well... for me, its not about ecotourism paying its way for conservation, I think that that is a definition that is widely used but I can tell you that the cost of running a private game reserve in South Africa, where you own the land and you own the animals cannot be funded by tourism enterprise alone...So its about minimal impact of human beings on the land, deriving an income from wildlife... I would broaden the definition. I think ecotourism needs to have a positive impact on local communities around it and we have various examples of that, but it’s an expensive thing to do and the financial burden of that cannot be generated out of the tourism business. So in essence, a lot of the time ecotourism reserves are in fact philanthropic models that create employment and rural community sustainability, but they are not necessarily profitable adventures. So the business model is somewhat jaundiced, so if you go back to the fact that it’s an enclave for a wealthy few, that wealthy few actually contribute significantly around them”<sup>42</sup>*

Ecotourism, as indicated by the above findings is a form of tourism which reduces negative impacts, contributes to conservation, directs economic benefits to local people and furthermore presents opportunities for local people to value natural areas as suggested by Chiutsi et al (2011:15).

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<sup>40</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>41</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>42</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

#### 7.4.1 Ecotourism within sustainable development and sustainable tourism

Of importance is the significance that the tourism industry can only be sustainable if local communities obtain income through tourism. Against this framework ecotourism has been accepted as a crucial development strategy for developing countries because it is widely acknowledged as a main generator of foreign exchange and employment (Chiutsi et al, 2011: 16).

An additional important aspect of ecotourism is local community involvement. As indicated in Chapter Three of this thesis, the Quebec Declaration on Ecotourism cited in Chiutsi et al (2011:16) states that, “ecotourism is tourism which includes local and indigenous communities in its planning, development and operation and contributes to their well-being”. The concept of meaningful community involvement is mainly understood as an essential part of sustaining the tourism sector through nature conservation and generating economic benefits to the local people (Chiutsi et al., 2011: 16). According to the Indalo managers’; employment and employment opportunities, supplying of social services and infrastructure; and the buying of local produce and crafts are the main ways in which local communities are involved in ecotourism.

*“They are involved mainly by working at these private game reserves. Unfortunately our local communities are not very creative in terms of curios and that kind of stuff that you would find in other parts of Africa, its something that’s lacking... I wish they were, but its just not an art or skill that they have in these parts of the world”<sup>43</sup>*

*“Well obviously employment is the biggest one and, employment opportunities, and then obviously secondary industries that we buy produce from, those can be vegetable gardens to soap making...”<sup>44</sup>*

*“The only way they involved is providing the services of the choirs and the dancers*

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<sup>43</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>44</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*and being employees in the industry”<sup>45</sup>*

*“I think a lot of it is that there is an awareness created in a lot of the communities and what its about and that’s what we try and do, is create an awareness about what it’s about. A lot of our procurement and so on we try and look at local communities...from food to small business...whatever we can get locally whether it be arts and craft or any cultural stuff that we look at. We get choirs in to come and sing at special occasions and so on. So not a lot but its certainly involving the local communities”<sup>46</sup>*

Furthermore, managers’ described how they had increased on-site employment opportunities:

*“Its through the development of the business that we’ve really increased those opportunities. The other thing that’s also happened is that through the up-skilling of individuals, so they’ve been promoted through the ranks so it’s created voids and new people have had the opportunities to come in, so those are two-fold.... Also, the upswing in the market has created more employment opportunities. I think we’ve employed more people in the tourism business in the last 6 months than we had probably in the 4 years before that”<sup>47</sup>*

*“By doing all our own work, so we do all our own road maintenance, all our own fence maintenance, all our own building maintenance, all our own security. So we don’t sub-contract or the loved word, use labour brokers at all. It’s all our own staff that we employ. So every possible job post is filled by people that are employed directly”<sup>48</sup>*

*“We have put in place a training programme and mentorship to move people from basic skills level into management skills levels. When I took over here three and a half years ago there wasn’t one single person from the local community in any*

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<sup>45</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>46</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>47</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>48</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

*management level position anywhere, there now 7... Our whole philosophy is to promote internally by developing the skills internally and getting them as far as we can into the structure”<sup>49</sup>*

*“...The employment opportunities increased either 4.5 or 5 from traditional farming opportunities. And then employment opportunities are largely determined by the expansion of your property and building more lodges you know. You cant employ more people unless you create more opportunities...we operate 8 lodges, we operate a gap year programme, we operate a Born Free centre, we have a wildlife division and I think our total permanent payroll is in the vicinity of 250 – 300, depends on what season we talking about...then there are a lot of indirect jobs like all of the security is outsourced, a lot of those guys come from local communities and a lot of fence repair work is outsourced, so you bring them in when you need them. These are all the indirect spin-offs that I was talking about”<sup>50</sup>*

Furthermore, according to Chiutsi et al (2011:17) “the success and viability of ecotourism lies in right-sizing the operations and in generating direct financial benefits to the local residents”. It is further stated by Chiutsi et al (2011:17), that regardless of how environmentally and socio-culturally sustainable its noticeable impact, ecotourism will only continue if it is also sustainable as a business initiative.

#### **7.4.2 Local community participation in ecotourism**

At the heart of development lies the role of people. People’s skills and participation are essential to the development process. A further important requirement for development is that it should be engaging to the participants to inspire them to recognise changes in their lives generated in the development process (Jeppe, 1985:59). However, what is frequently overlooked in ecotourism development is the involvement of the local community and its culture (Reid, 1999: 34). There have been numerous attempts to encourage more active participation by a broad range of the population/community in local level governance as

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<sup>49</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>50</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.



one of the elements needed to promote sustained development (Roodt, 2001:312).

Participation in this context refers to “people involving themselves, to a greater or lesser degree, in organisations, indirectly or directly concerned with the decision-making about, and implementation of, development” (Roodt, 2001:312). The level of participation of local communities in ecotourism is described by the reserve managers in the following responses:

*“...It’s not huge but it’s there and I don’t know if it can be any more than it is at the moment”<sup>51</sup>*

*“How would you measure it... I don’t know. As much as we can possibly get them involved is the only way I can answer it”<sup>52</sup>*

Of paramount interest is the degree of community participation in decision-making. People must participate in decision-making if their livelihood priorities are to be reflected in the way tourism is developed (Chok et al, 2007:147). The degree of community participation in decision-making was described as:

*“Particularly if it’s in projects...If we going to develop a community centre, there’s no point doing that if it’s not something that people want.... That’s a lot of the time what happens in terms of aid, you come in and you say well you need a new jungle gym so I’m going to give you a new jungle gym, whereas in fact the tap has been broken for 6 months. You know what I mean, which was a third of the price but nobody looked at it type of thing. Nobody went to somebody and said well jeez we’ve got some money, what do you need...so those levels of participation are very important in terms of what you doing, in terms of which direction or which market we going to market our ecotourism product in internationally... “<sup>53</sup>*

*“The community bring needs to our attention and then we will choose and select a*

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<sup>51</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>52</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>53</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*cause that we would support”<sup>54</sup>*

Not everybody however agrees with this analysis:

*“Unfortunately they don’t make decisions for themselves so they not going to come and influence our decision making. But as I said, in our meetings we look after our people well, we talk to them about what’s happening, so...but on the final decisions on how we run the company, no. We reserve that right”<sup>55</sup>*

Supporters of ecotourism, as a sustainable and viable alternative to more overwhelming uses of the natural resource base, have recognised that active involvement in the decision-making process by those most affected is an important factor of productive and sustainable tourism development (Reid, 1999:35). Sustainable tourism cannot be effectively executed without the direct support and involvement of those affected by it (Wahab and Pigram, 1997:9)

Furthermore, an important doctrine of ecotourism development must be to aim a decent amount of the benefits arising from the project to the local community and to keep leakage to a minimum (Reid, 1999:35).

### **7.4.3 Benefits to local communities from ecotourism**

According to Dowling and Fennell (2003:13), perhaps the most important benefits of ecotourism plans and strategy is to promote developments that provide benefits for local communities and their environments. These comprise jobs, skills development, new markets for local products; improved infrastructure, and enhanced land-use patterns. Economic benefits do not only come in the form of income; the reality of an ecotourism destination could also bring about increased employment and employment opportunities that create greatly needed hard currency (Mametja, 2006). Benefits that neighbouring communities receive from ecotourism as described by managers were:

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<sup>54</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>55</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

*“The benefits they receive really lie in the jobs that are created by the people that are working here which means they have more disposable income and... their skills are developed so if they don’t want to work here they can move along and get jobs in other parts of the world. So that’s really where the advantage is, is in the work that’s created and the skills developed”<sup>56</sup>*

*“If you compared it to agriculture, the skills level required for agriculture is a lot lower than what are here, so it’s a diversity in skills that benefit the labour force because you providing with skills that are transferable...and those skills are transferrable so people that have been employed here have a set of transferable skills that they wouldn’t necessarily have acquired before that. If you look at the surrounding communities the only work that was available really when this was purely agricultural was piece work and seasonal work – picking or hoeing lands or something which is very basic skill levels and it was providing an income but I think we providing a much more diverse employment opportunity and as well as the levels of remuneration that go with it”<sup>57</sup>*

*“I think they’ll only receive benefits from ecotourism if the ecotourism reserve has, in my opinion, the right ethic ...it’s a weird anomaly with private game reserves, we are seen like we almost have to do something...but you can’t blame the game reserve that doesn’t do anything... We’ve given them land, we’ve given them education opportunities. Our foundation is in those communities all the time working, setting up a wealth of economic projects you know almost like, we call them self-help groups, like a “savings group”. The array is really wide of what they do and what they have achieved...It’s very easy to go and point at those things because they tangible, but that’s actually not what’s important, it’s how many people have we given the confidence to start their own business. To give the confidence to the people just to demand what they deserve. So it’s that kind of dignity that hopefully we’ve... and once again if we only reach 25% of the people,*

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<sup>56</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>57</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

*that is still significant you know”<sup>58</sup>*

The success of such tourism is mostly dependent on the giving out of economic benefits from ecotourism as well as the real amount of benefits a community may be given (Schuyvens, 1999:248). Whether or not ecotourism is successful in South Africa will affect the health, education and well-being of many excluded and vulnerable members of society at large (Allen and Brennan, 2004:5). Unfortunately, its execution has not always produced the anticipated results. However, the ecotourism based Indalo game reserves have provided income to local people while minimising the impact on the natural and social environment.

As a development strategy, tourism has been often criticised for the amount of leakages from the local economy (Allen and Brennan, 2004: 5). On the whole, it is clear that tourism’s possible contribution to the well-being of rural communities is contingent on the development of economic linkages (Rogerson et al, 2013:4).

The matter of developing local linkages is especially relevant for game reserves as these industries function in outlying rural areas close to marginalised and mainly poor farming communities (Rogerson et al, 2013:5). More generally, the fostering of local linkages can be seen as a vital policy for responsible tourism, a crucial foundation for South African tourism policy in the post apartheid era (Rogerson et al, 2013:5).

## **7.5 EMPLOYMENT AND PGR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

The PGRs in the sample reported that, before the formation of the reserves, an approximate total number of 136 workers were employed as farm labourers. This number has drastically increased and is illustrated in the following responses:

*“We employing 150 people now which is at least 3 times the number of people that were employed here”<sup>59</sup>*

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<sup>58</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>59</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

*“There were about 47 farmworkers... we now have 164 in our business as we speak”<sup>60</sup>*

*“Employment opportunities increased 5 fold from traditional farming opportunities... our total permanent payroll is in the vicinity of 250-300, depends on what season we talking about”<sup>61</sup>*

*“We’ve created 145 jobs at a multiply effect of 5...there were 5 staff members here when we bought, times (x) 5 is 25. So we’ve created almost 20 fold increase”<sup>62</sup>*

*“We’ve got 150 people directly employed”<sup>63</sup>*

*“There were 10 workers on all these farms initially...I think we employ 50 at this stage”<sup>64</sup>*

Rogerson et al (2006:6) state that the tourism industry is labour intensive and has the ability to generate employment directly and indirectly through the formation of local linkages, therefore assisting in the upliftment of local communities. This demonstrates that the PGRs do contribute significantly to the production of employment in the area, employing substantially more people as the original farms did. Furthermore the Indalo group helps in fighting unemployment in the Eastern Cape by employing staff from the local communities.

### **7.5.1 Sourcing staff and skills requirements**

All PGRs interviewed sourced the vast majority of their staff locally, and provide in-house training to employees. However, a concern indicated by the majority of PGRs in the

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<sup>60</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May, 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>61</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>62</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>63</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>64</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

research was that specialist staff are not easily obtained locally and at times have to be imported.

*“They are sourced from Paterson and Alicedale and Port Elizabeth, but mainly Paterson and Alicedale, the local communities, that is our priority. But if the skills set cannot be found there, then obviously we have to go look further”<sup>65</sup>*

*“From Seven Fountains, Highlands, Alicedale area. And then anyone we can’t train and develop we then go further afield, perhaps PE or wherever we can recruit them like your lodge managers, chefs and top end people – wherever we can find them. But I’d say probably 80-85% of our staff come from the local areas”<sup>66</sup>*

The Manager of Kariega Game Reserve describes their main aim as trying to train and develop their people locally through various programmes:

*“Mostly from the surrounding communities, Kenton-on-Sea, Bushman’s River area...We are compliant in terms of our employment equity and so on, so where we can’t find skills locally then we employ people who have those skills. But the whole idea, our whole aim is over the years to try and transfer those skills to local people. So we’ve got an in-house training programme and mentorship programme that is trying to transfer those skills so that we only source from local. Our policy, our company policy is to source as much as possible locally but when it comes to the necessary skills we don’t always have that available locally”<sup>67</sup>*

*“The farm staff are all sourced locally. The hospitality staff, probably 60/70% local and; then the specialist ones, the game rangers, certain management staff, the skilled people are not available locally mostly”<sup>68</sup>*

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<sup>65</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>66</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>67</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>68</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

The Managing Director of Kwandwe made an interesting remark in terms of how they source, up-skill and train their employees:

*“What we did quite some time ago... Diana Hornby who is in social engagement...ran our foundation. She devised for us an accelerated leadership development plan...We took 30 local people, of any level of education and we put them through a tough 18 session leadership course and out of those 30 people we probably generated 5 members of our existing management structure 5 years down the line and those people are still in our systems now. So we up-skill people and if they wanted to take those skills and go get a job somewhere else or whatever the deal was, I mean that’s the risk you take. So you know that process for us first of all, it follows the kind of creed of our commitment to our area but second of all it gives us much better longevity, much more care ethic, it falls into place much more easily for us. So I would certainly challenge other private game reserves to put in that effort. It’s a lot of effort and it’s tiring and it isn’t always successful but the gems that you get out of that process are definitely worth it”*<sup>69</sup>

Over and above hiring employees from local communities Ashley et al, (2005a:2) express that organisations can play a meaningful role in empowering the local community by improving their skills and capacity. A positive result of the struggle in sourcing skilled staff is the considerable amount of training that PGRs provide to staff and, occasionally, to local community members who are unemployed. Both in-house training and short training courses is often provided at notable cost to the PGRs, which will be discussed in more detail below. For example, one large reserve reported that they spend R300, 000 a year on training, training to develop their staff locally. Therefore, promotion is often internal. An example given by one PGR is of someone employed as a scullery worker who does well and is promoted to a more responsible job, and eventually to an operations manager. The following employees make the promotion of internal candidates to higher levels clear:

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<sup>69</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*“I started here as a gate minder, and then slowly trained as a guide looking after the animals and caring for the animals, also working with the different people. And so now as acting chief ranger I have more responsibility”<sup>70</sup>*

*“I started as a security guard and then became a fence monitor...After that I was on the field team, which is a different task than the other two. Then while I was in the field team I got my driver’s license and then I was promoted to a driver and then after being a driver which is, I’m still a driver even now but I was also promoted to be the leader of the eco-team which is the conservation team which is where I am now”<sup>71</sup>*

*“I started here as a waiter which I did for about three years; then for two and a half years I was doing a training on management. Then 2008 I started as an assistant manager in one of the lodges. Then 2009 December I was the lodge manager. Then from last year I became ops manager”<sup>72</sup>*

The majority of PGR employees are the main wage earners for their families. This implies that Indalo employees support additional dependants. The following responses indicated how many people the PGR employees supported:

*“I’ve got my mom who doesn’t have a husband and doesn’t work, I’ve got my child who is 9 years old, then I’ve got two younger brothers and a sister”<sup>73</sup>*

*“I live with my wife and my daughter so I am the one who is responsible for their well being”<sup>74</sup>*

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<sup>70</sup> Interview with Gladman Vayo, employee of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May, 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>71</sup> Interview with Bulelani Ngcani, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>72</sup> Interview with Bongsi Tsotsa, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>73</sup> Interview with Bongsi Tsotsa, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>74</sup> Interview with Bulelani Ngcani, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.



*“Its me, my wife and 4 children”<sup>75</sup>*

In addition to the income element of employee wages, Indalo PGRs also provide a considerable number of additional benefits to their employees. All PGRs provided some form of food and funded housing, transport, training, uniform and insurance. A few provided provident funds and medical plans too. This was confirmed when speaking with reserve employees whose responses to additional benefits were:

*“I can say there’s a lot, besides the training and everything...I have free accommodation, free water, free electricity, transport, free fuel and safety as well. One of the departments that we have here is security but we feel like we are always secure. We don’t have to be scared of anything so there are lots of benefits”<sup>76</sup>*

According to Joseph Loteni, an ex-farmworker, living conditions have drastically improved with the conversion to private game reserves:

*“I can say that we’ve got everything because when it was a farm, we didn’t have clean water, we didn’t have electricity, you just staying on the house. Then we used the water straight from the river if you don’t have a tank, and we didn’t have tanks. Then when I came here, every house has got a tank and they’ve got a purification plant where they clean the water so the water that comes to the house is clean water. We’ve got electricity, we’ve got a geyser in the house and transport”<sup>77</sup>*

With regard to health and safety the reserve managers make use of numerous measures to ensure employees stay healthy and productive. These measures include:

*“We have an environmental health and safety officer... it’s important that you identify somebody in the business.... So certainly an active approach to a healthy*

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<sup>75</sup> Interview with Joseph Loteni, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>76</sup> Interview with Bulelani Ngcani, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>77</sup> Interview with Joseph Loteni, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*environment, to avoid accidents before they can possibly happen. And I think it's critical in any organisation”<sup>78</sup>*

*“Well basically we follow the legislated health and safety act where there is training and providing the right equipment, things like that. And then we also get onsite courses and things so whether its HIV, or whether it's first aid”<sup>79</sup>*

*“Well we have a medical fund for our farm staff”<sup>80</sup>*

According to the Managing Director of Kwandwe:

*“We have a nurse who is employed by our foundation who comes to visit the property once a week who knows who all the patients are and makes sure that they getting their treatment. We also run a baby and toddler group at our pre-school...so we make sure that the nutrition and those types of things are good for those kids and we make sure that they are well looked after; we weigh them, just like a normal pre-school. They'll have all their eyes tested, all their ears tested...”<sup>81</sup>*

Interestingly he mentions that more than half of their employees are rural black women, therefore creating safe parks and making child minders available on the reserve:

*“The kids all have safe areas to play in, they have child minders that look after them because remember now in this business, that in our tourism business, over 50% of our employees are rural black women which... that's actually the big difference between the past and now and it's a thing that's overlooked because rural women are historically not employed or if they are, they employed either as domestic workers in the house or they employed to sort wool or mohair in the shearing season and it's just temporary work and the it's done, whereas now, these people are the most important people on the staff and so that immediately*

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<sup>78</sup> Interview with Gunther Strauss, General Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>79</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>80</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

<sup>81</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*changes the dynamics of the property considerably. There's nobody at home to look after the kids, they have to work late shifts, so we create facilities for those children to be looked after*"<sup>82</sup>

However, one reserve has incurred huge problems in terms of receiving health services on the reserve:

*"Ahh that's a sore point. We spent probably R400, 000 rebuilding the clinic. And when we had decent mayors here in Grahamstown it was great because the clinic ran, the doctors came once a week, the nurses came Monday, Wednesday, and Thursday. They changed the mayor and they just stopped coming... It's horrific....there's no health or service out here at all, they've all got to go to Grahamstown for it. We then even asked them to bring the mobile clinic in here, it came twice and then stopped coming*"<sup>83</sup>

As specified by Hamer et al (2003) it is an employee's right that the tourism industry provides all employees with a safe and healthy working environment. In this respect the above findings indicate that health and safety of employees is of utmost importance to reserve managers.

The HIV/AIDS policies of the Indalo group are highlighted in the following quotes:

*"Well that's very much part of the legislation that we have to comply with so those awareness courses are held regularly. And obviously we work with the local mobile clinics that come into the reserve for inoculations etc etc and the dispersal of medication*"<sup>84</sup>

*"We have the clinic that we've arranged to come through once a month, talk to the people. We have a suggestion box, an anonymous suggestion box, so if somebodies got a suggestion we've learnt that people are too scared to go and ask because*

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<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>83</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>84</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

*they worried about what their friends might think if they do ask. We've learnt that people don't know where to go for testing. So what we do is we have a suggestion box so they pop their question into it anonymously and then we'll try answer those questions and if we cant we'll get a doctor involved''<sup>85</sup>*

*“...we get people to come in and give talks, probably twice a year. Our guys have come out and the ones that have got are quite open about it and we give them time off because once they on those retrovirals they've got to go in once a month to the clinic in town, of course because the clinic doesn't work here anymore, so we've got to give them a day off which we do and we don't count it as sick leave. So that's about as much as we can do''<sup>86</sup>*

*“We run several workshops a year. HIV and AIDS are a problem here. We have... obviously the nurses here... And it's alarming but we have it under good control. The prevention of it in the future is obviously where the workshops come in and we only do that with the youth...We organise the department of health, we organise the police – they run a really good 'rape' sort of workshop, what constitutes rape etc''<sup>87</sup>*

The above findings demonstrate the devotion of PGRs in increasing the awareness of HIV/AIDS and related diseases through many innovative initiatives employed at the reserves. Regardless of these differences, the objective of the managers is the same. Managers realise the risks and dangers that HIV/AIDS has and therefore intend on educating their employees and adjacent communities concerning the prevention and contraction of the disease together with the necessary care if an individual is HIV positive.

### **7.5.2 Community development projects and BEE**

Another of the Indalo association's aims is to “identify and develop programmes to enhance social sustainability and community involvement and development” (Indalo

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<sup>85</sup> Interview with Gunther Strauss, General Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>86</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>87</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

Constitution, 2003). The Indalo reserves are bordered by impoverished communities desperate for help and are dedicated to uplifting their neighbouring locals and empowering their communities.

To this end, all the PGRs in the study have been involved in a considerable amount of community engagement. Comprehensive information comprising in depth detail emerged in the interviews with both managers of the reserves and reserves' foundation coordinators'. The most usual form of support involves HIV/AIDS awareness, environmental education and employment creation. General community engagements were the support of local schools, sponsorship of local sports teams in addition to involvement with charitable development foundations. These will all be discussed in more detail below. Although a lot of the initiatives are presently short-term, they are part of a long-term concept. Four of the six PGRs have volunteer programmes, with volunteers providing support to schools, playgroups and orphanages in the neighbouring communities.

Motivation for community development projects varied as suggested by Snowball and Antrobus (2008:27), however can be divided into projects which benefit the reserve, either directly or indirectly and those that are entirely directed at benefiting the community. As one PGR owner phrased it, these projects are somewhat motivated by the reality that a skilled and uplifted community are excellent for the reserve, and in part by a feeling of moral responsibility to communities and employees – a number of whose families had been working on the original farms for generations as indicated by Snowball and Antrobus (2008:27).

*“Our motivation is our commitment...to our social responsibility as a company that has a huge impact on the area. We are committed to the community around us so that’s our motivation, its part of what we do. We can’t look at ourselves in isolation because all of our people come out of the community. Everything we do here has an impact on the community around us and so we are very aware of that”<sup>88</sup>*

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<sup>88</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

*“The motivation for such projects is for private game reserves to have a role in uplifting and developing rural communities and, recognising that we cant operate in isolation of those rural communities. They need to see us... if we going to come in and have these large tracts of land, we need to give value to those communities”<sup>89</sup>*

*“Because you need to have a happy workforce and when you operate in a rural environment where you sourcing most of your workforce it’s very important that you support those communities so that you can have a happy workforce that can produce obviously the service levels that you require. So the one leads into the other. What’s important is the fact that most of our staff have no formal, a lot of them have no formal hospitality training whatsoever. That’s been sort of provided on the ground as we go”<sup>90</sup>*

In addition the above quotes indicate managers’ understanding that organisations do not operate in isolation. Additionally, it can be ascertained from these findings that managers understand that in order to be successful, organisations cannot exist as islands on their own because they make up part of the society and community in which they are established.

Community development projects can be divided into numerous groups:

#### **7.5.2.1 Social development in neighbouring communities:**

An important feature of many of the PGR ventures comprised involvement with local orphanages, environmental education, training programmes and general community support, for example the supplying of food packages, activities and training via volunteer programmes. Some reserves mentioned sponsoring the education of local students in hospitality and tourism. An example of a social development initiative in a local community is described by the General Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve. This is a testament to their constant commitment to the local community:

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<sup>89</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>90</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

*“What we do is, our business generates a whole lot of if I say waste food it’s not scraps left over on a plate from the guests, its waste food – if we put a buffet together and we have to feed 100 people there is a proportion that you have to over cater to ensure that you not running out of food. So what we do is, our head chef and her team packs the left over food together which gets given to the local schools etc, so we feed them for a couple of days”<sup>91</sup>*



Photograph 1 and 2: Sherelda and Inge (chefs) at Shamwari Game Reserve make food donations to Mrs Joni, the principal of Sinovuyo Day Care Centre and the day care children.

An important emerging tendency towards BEE projects was also mentioned. These included the establishment of trusts for staff, who would ultimately own productive possessions, such as small businesses who provide the PGRs with vegetables.

*“We have a trust called Abantwana Bethu, which is ‘our children’, which is established solely for the Seven Fountains community”<sup>92</sup>*

*“We give a percentage of a every single guests night on the property to a community levy and that assists us to run our community development centre”<sup>93</sup>*

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<sup>91</sup> Interview with Gunther Strauss, General Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>92</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>93</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

### 7.5.2.2 Job creation and income generation:

In all possible cases, the PGRs have created employment opportunities for local people and in the majority of cases this has entailed the provision of training opportunities and up-skilling of ex-farm workers.

Opportunities for creating income have been made possible by numerous reserves through training and selling of crafts, in addition to buying of products provided by local people (eg. vegetables). More examples of income-generating projects include beading, weaving, soap making, spaza shops and, vegetable and herb gardens. A few of these gardens supply fresh produce everyday to the lodge kitchens on the reserves.



Photograph 3 and 4: Hand made dolls and beaded articles made by women of the Ubunye Foundation, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

A Craft Centre on Amakhala Game Reserve mentioned that unemployed members of the local community are offered an opportunity to generate income via their Craft Centre, where beaded objects, sewed and printed items are sold. Beaded bracelets made by the teenagers of the Isipho Project are also sold at the Centre. A percentage of the profit of these bracelets goes to a bursary fund to support these teenagers with some tertiary education.<sup>94</sup>

In addition Amakhala Game Reserve, with funding from an external donor has established a vegetable gardening project. The purpose of the project is to offer sustainable employment to gardeners who will grow vegetables for the kitchens of the lodges on the

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<sup>94</sup> Interview with Jennifer Gush, Project Coordinator of the Amakhala Foundation, 11 June 2014, Amakhala Game Reserve.



reserve. Fifteen prospective gardeners, including three from the reserve were subsidised a training programme on permaculture. According to the reserve's Foundation Coordinator, the establishing of the vegetable gardens has been a slow process and there has been a high turn-over of staff, particularly in the Isipho (Aids Orphanage) garden. Nevertheless, during the last few months of 2013, the garden at Isipho provided their nutrition programme with nearly R900 worth of vegetables and sold a further R500 worth of vegetables into the local community.<sup>95</sup>



Photograph 5: The vegetable growing project at Amakhala Game Reserve.

Rogerson et al (2013) maintain that the tourism industry has the ability to generate entrepreneurship and to create new products and services in addition to steer local economic development. The above findings provide information of local linkages formed through the production of tourism products and services based on local skills and resources, for example, vegetables. The development of such linkages is a crucial foundation for increasing tourism multipliers and spin-off effects within local communities (Rogerson et al., 2013: 4).

The Indalo group benefit by encouraging and supporting the development of products and services because the bigger and more varied the local tourism basis, the greater the success of the organisations in the area will be (Ashley et al, 2005a:2). In this regard, investment and revenue is created for both groups as put forward by Ashley et al (2005b:4). Local communities benefit financially through the provision of products and services to the reserve, whilst reserves benefit financially through the provision of cultural products and services that are both easily accessible and available.

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<sup>95</sup> *Ibid.*

### 7.5.2.3 Education:

At least five of the PGRs interviewed provide some kind of provision for local schools and school children (including playschools). This support has been in the form of building maintenance, assistance with school fees, special events and transport. Some of the reserves make leadership training available to staff showing promise through in-house management training programmes.

*“We’re involved with assisting schools in the local communities, both in Alicedale and Paterson, financially as well as in providing equipment – It’s financial assistance, it’s computers, it’s clothing. We are currently paying for a teacher because the government won’t put a maths teacher in place in Alicedale, so we contributing to this. So there lots of ways we contribute but our focus is education”<sup>96</sup>*

*“We mainly work in the Paterson community - we support the schools there, so either by building vegetable gardens, painting classrooms and then we’ve also been involved in teaching sports as well. We also support a little day care centre which was basically a shack with 30 kids in – no tables, no chairs. Even the teacher sat on the floor and we saw potential there. So we’ve basically been supporting that crèche and it looks very nice now. They’ve even got paper which they didn’t have before”<sup>97</sup>*

Kariega Game Reserve believes that the future of South Africa rests in the hands of the younger generation and that education is the means to opportunity and sustainable living. Kariega Game Reserve have and continue to take on projects with two big schools in their vicinity, yet to make an actual impact; their main emphasis is Farmerfield School. Their plans are to change this extremely underprivileged school into a place of pride and a sign of hope within its impoverished community. According to the Kariega Foundation Coordinator:

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<sup>96</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>97</sup> Interview with Cindy Stadler, Community Project Leader of Shamwari Conservation and Experience, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

*“The foundation does weekly visits to the Farmerfield School, a rural school where our volunteers go and actively help in teaching; help teachers in, depending what kind of skill sets we have amongst the volunteers – from IT to all sorts of things”<sup>98</sup>*



Photograph 6 and 7: Kariega Foundation volunteers making a difference at Farmerfield School.

With the assistance of the Kariega Conservation Volunteer Programme and its volunteers, the Foundation has achieved to complete many projects at these schools and in the community in general, however there is still lots to do.

The Amakhala Foundation aspires to help in uplifting the community and surrounding areas by helping those less fortunate through education-based programmes. Working together with Sidbury School, the foundation has established a bursary for children of lower level staff workers on the reserve to go to Sidbury School for their foundation years. This provides for a concrete foundation in their starting years: Grade R – Grade 3. According to the Foundation Coordinator this further allows:

*“...their children to be able to stay at home, not having to be sent to Grahamstown or Paterson to stay with their extended family”<sup>99</sup>*

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<sup>98</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>99</sup> Interview with Jennifer Gush, Project Coordinator of the Amakhala Foundation, 11 June 2014, Amakhala Game Reserve.

The Ubunye Foundation run five programmes which are all interlinked with education being one of them:

*“The fourth area we work in is education with our specific focus on early childhood development; that was one of the key priorities identified by the women’s groups that initially started working with. So we have so far worked with eight community groups to establish community run early childhood development sites (ECD) or preschools. Many of them are non-formal at the moment but we working with them on sustainability so to register with the department of social development and formalise those sites. So within the communities that we work with currently there... we work with ECD sites that provide services for over 200 children daily and that includes supplementary nutrition on a daily basis “<sup>100</sup>*



Photograph 8 and 9: Safe parks and local school education at Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

#### **7.5.2.4 Environmental education:**

All the PGRs are very enthusiastic about conservation and make considerable offerings to the environmental education of local communities. These comprise off-season trips and day visits offered at extremely low rates, or free, to local school children, and volunteer programmes at low rates, and to a greater extent non-formal adult education of local community members.

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<sup>100</sup> Interview with Lucy O’Keeffe, Director of the Ubunye Foundation, 6 June 2014, Grahamstown.

*“Most of our work that we do with the kids is try and teach them; we take them on our boats to try and clean up the river banks and we take them with our rangers and also with Ndlambe environmental officers to try and teach the locals how important the river is, not just as an entity in itself but as an entity that produces a livelihood for most of the people in the area. So if they don’t preserve it and look after it then they not looking after their future. So that’s our main focus”<sup>101</sup>*

*“We run an environmental education programme that feeds into the community and over the last year we have seen 1100 people through that programme”<sup>102</sup>*

*“We are very involved in social work in the surrounding communities, particularly in the two villages of Alicedale and Paterson and, it’s basically through providing environmental education to the kids. Our sort of social programmes are very much driven at the children and trying to teach them about conservation etc. So we put about 600 school kids through a programme at the Born Free Centre every month and there’s obviously no charge for it. So it’s very much conservation driven, at the children level”<sup>103</sup>*

The Born Free Foundation Animal Rescue and Education Centre is a joint venture between Shamwari Game Reserve and The Born Free Foundation. Their objectives include, providing long term compassionate care for rescued African cats that have been exposed to cruel conditions globally and to provide an education option for guests, school children and students (Shamwari Game Reserve). The Office Manager of the Born Free Centre shared light on what the Education Centre offers:

*“We have an education programme that operates 3 days a week... where we have schools from anywhere in the Eastern Cape really coming to visit our centre and we give talks on conservation...the schools that we get here are primarily underprivileged schools so we don’t charge them for visits here...Born Free has*

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<sup>101</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

<sup>102</sup> Interview with Jennifer Gush, Project Coordinator of the Amakhala Foundation, 11 June 2014, Amakhala Game Reserve.

<sup>103</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

*got a strong belief as well that obviously for anything to change in the world education is the key and that's why they've given us the funding to actually have the education department as well within Born Free here at Shamwari''<sup>104</sup>*

Furthermore, the Born Free Centre together with WESSA (Wildlife and Environmental Society of South Africa) is specifically implicated in an eco-schools project whereby;

*“...We've got five schools that we support in the Paterson and Alicedale community where we encourage them to do everything in an eco-friendly manner. So we assist in veggie gardens and in water saving measures and everything, at their schools. And each of those schools has one teacher responsible for the eco-club, and they've got an eco-club that consists of 8 to 12 students – they come and visit once a year and then we try and implement projects at the school every year... and there's a certain flag status that the schools can achieve... So every year, you have to submit a portfolio to WESSA to see that you are actually running something sustainable, something that is being carried on and being worked on and improving...they get taught all these conservation practices which in turn gets passed on to their families, their parents, to the younger siblings, to the grandparents you know because its obviously in the communities the older folk are very unaware of these sorts of things... So everything's kind of got a ripple effect, where...we benefiting and they benefiting as well''<sup>105</sup>*

A significant part of successful community engagement appears to be the environmental education of local communities, so that they comprehend the benefits of conservation and how the PGRs run. Regardless of the different methods employed by the different reserves the findings demonstrate the Indalo group's commitment to educating the surrounding communities about the environment and the wildlife. Furthermore a relationship is created with the surrounding community by which both parties realise their responsibility in looking after the environment too.

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<sup>104</sup> Interview with Catherine Gillson, Office Manger of the Born Free Centre, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>105</sup> *Ibid.*



Photograph 10 and 11: Environmental education at Amakhala Game Reserve.

### 7.5.2.5 Training and skills development:

As previously stated, many of the PGRs mentioned the concern of the difficulty of sourcing skilled staff. A main way of managing the problem of all PGRs was the training of existing staff. This included particular training in the hospitality industry, occasionally through bringing in outside experts for a period, and overall on-the-job skills training. Both methods enabled PRGs to promote internal applicants to junior and middle management positions effectively, as well as play an important part in uplifting the local community as suggested by Snowball and Antrobus (2008). As one PGR manager put it, the role of skills development and training is “*huge, it’s at the epicenter of it*”<sup>106</sup>. The following responses described the role that the reserves play in skills development and training:

*“We provide ongoing training, from rangers through to everybody who is employed here. We trying to at least every year provide them with some sort of training to up their skills set. So it’s very much part of our ongoing programme here”*<sup>107</sup>

*“All our people go through training whether it be the hosts on the floor, the barmen; the guys in the workshop, our roads guys, all our bulldozer drivers have been on training courses...so everyone gets the required training for the skill level*

<sup>106</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>107</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

*that they at”<sup>108</sup>*

The General Manager from Shamwari Game Reserve describes the upskilling and training of local employees and the link between internal promotions:

*“I think probably the biggest contribution there is we, because of our plans to employ people from the local communities we were faced initially – and that was when I was in food and beverage that was my biggest challenge at the time. The staff members didn’t understand the five star market, they didn’t know how to deal with them or how to talk to them, they couldn’t understand them...So we decided to incorporate training providers to show these people that it’s a way of life, it’s a job that people do anywhere in the world...It was our single biggest challenge at the time and we’ve kept budgeting for that every year. We spend R300, 000 a year on training and that’s to develop our people locally. The last thing I want to do is bring in the skills from another area. So if you have the skill here we want to develop these people, we want them to progress in their jobs”<sup>109</sup>*

He further added that the role the reserve plays in skills development and training is serious:

*“We link that training to our promotional plan. So we’ve identified people that we want to promote and it’s important that you don’t set people up to go and fail...So it’s critical in our planning that we link our skills development plan with our promotional plan otherwise we simply set people up to fail. And we made those mistakes, luckily a couple years ago – they became managers and they all failed and they all doing something else now. In fact I think we’ve chased away ambassadors and...they all doing something else now because I think we put them into those posts prematurely because of the pressures from government you see. You can still achieve government’s targets if you link it cleverly to your training plan”<sup>110</sup>*

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<sup>108</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>109</sup> Interview with Gunther Strauss, General Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>110</sup> *Ibid.*



The training programmes and skills development mentioned above that take place at the ecotourism based PGRs of the Indalo group are portrayed by reserve employees in the following responses:

*“For instance driving out there you need a 4x4 course to drive these vehicles, which I did also here in Pumba. Then as an acting chief ranger I now have more responsibility and I’m still learning a few things because I didn’t know anything”<sup>111</sup>*

*“I was doing first aid, doing the project that I’m doing now, Working for Water’ (clearing out of alien vegetation) and also the ranging department; I did some courses there”<sup>112</sup>*

*“I did the training for a leadership course, which I got a certificate for. I think it took about 6 months but Di Hornby was teaching us and there was also another lady that was coming from Rhodes that was teaching us... The training for the work I’m doing now I got it here, I didn’t go outside for training. I learnt from working because, Hendrik did help me and Keith Craig, the guy I was working with before Hendrik. When I started working here Keith Craig was the manager. So most of the stuff I am doing, the electricity....the guy came from Grahamstown, came to work here and they put me with him so he showed me how to do it. And the plumbing I was also looking for, there’s another company, R & S Plumbers. They came and worked here and I was working and learning from them. So that’s how I learnt”<sup>113</sup>*

*“My drive’s license, that’s the first one; the leadership course, the rhino security training which was offered by the Eastern Cape government Department of Nature Affairs. Then this rhino monitoring training is, some of the training is held outside the reserve, Shamwari Game Reserve and other places. But all the training I’ve got is only because of the reserve because my name is being nominated and then I*

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<sup>111</sup> Interview with Gladman Vayo, employee of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>112</sup> Interview with Vuyani Ndibaza, employee of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>113</sup> Interview with Joseph Loteni, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

*have to go for that certain training. Everything I have is because of the game reserve”<sup>114</sup>*

*“When I started here I’d never done anything with hospitality. So I have done all my training here. I have done the leadership course and the management course. For me, I love it. First of all, they take someone if you don’t have the skills, then they help you to develop you. So for me it’s very very good. Most of the other places you have to have the experience but here you don’t need the experience and then they help you...”<sup>115</sup>*

This indicates that PGRs have a significant part to play in skills development and transfer, but furthermore that job opportunities are present at the game reserves for people from all levels of society, not only those who have higher education levels as suggested by Snowball and Antrobus (2008).

In this respect the findings suggest that the Indalo group encourages an environment of ongoing education through its running of training programmes directed at expanding the knowledge of staff workers in addition to enabling them to flourish in the organisation. An atmosphere of continual training emphasises the positive nature of the Indalo reserves and is helpful in making sure that employees are educated, involved and empowered.

Respondents highlight an improvement in skills with the education of new skills in the fields of management and leadership. In this respect the organisation benefits noticeably as employees increase their own knowledge and improve their skills. The Indalo group's commitment to training and providing employees with valuable skills has the ability to inspire both employees and local communities to support and stay devoted to the organisation.

#### **7.5.2.6 Added positive benefits:**

Added to the above, PGRs also had further positive impacts, such as their expenditure on

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<sup>114</sup> Interview with Bulelani Ngcani, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>115</sup> Interview with Bongzi Tsotsa, employee of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 24 July 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

the removal of alien vegetation (job creation and conservation aspects) and the support of local charitable foundations.

Nearly all the reserves in the research described some type of procurement policy, which concentrated mostly on supporting local and BEE industries where at all conceivable. One reserve is busy with the establishment of an agri-village in order to procure produce locally whereby it will create more opportunities, stimulate development in the rural communities, will be community driven and where profits will go back into that community. Further products and services sourced from the local communities include:

*“...we run various projects with communities outside, where we rely on them for... well we don't rely on them but we do it as part of our commitment to the area to buy for instance, our soaps and our candles, and those sorts of things through various projects that our foundation has set up in those communities”<sup>116</sup>*

*“...our whole aim is over the years to try and transfer skills to local people. So we've got an in-house training programme and mentorship programme that is trying to transfer those skills so that we only source from local.... Certainly, we try and source as much as what we need locally, so we support local business and so on, from food to whatever we can get locally whether it be arts and crafts or anything cultural... So we continuously involved in, not only through procurement but through the foundation in interacting with the local communities and procuring what we can from local communities”<sup>117</sup>*

The General Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve describes an enterprise development project that they run:

*“...what we have is a business, an enterprise development project. So the person who does our staff transport for us, I'm paying him R2 more per kilometer than what the AA rate is for his vehicle. That way we helping a local entrepreneur to*

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<sup>116</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>117</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

*get his business off the ground, we assisted him to buy the Quantum that he has from Toyota and the R2 difference from what the rate is and what we paying him we put towards an enterprise development project. It scores points for our BEE programme as well and it's also the right thing to do for a business our size. To see where there's opportunity to assist somebody who's got a sound business model and that can make a living from that. So we can both benefit from that. So I think from a responsibility point of view we'd love to have more of those kinds of initiatives coming forward"*<sup>118</sup>

One more stimulating development discovered in the course of the interviews was the emergence of volunteering. A few projects are up and running effectively, for example the maintenance and improvement projects at Farmerfield School. One PGR runs a "gap year" volunteer programme, whereby students mostly from England come and monitor animals and their impact on the different types of vegetation.

The Kariega Foundation and Conservation Volunteers support numerous maintenance and improvement projects at Farmerfield School. These projects include; fixing the old school ground fence to stop roaming livestock from destroying the school vegetable garden, replacing broken classroom windows and, revamping and painting of classrooms to name a few.



Photograph 12: Volunteer donations for Farmerfield School.

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<sup>118</sup> Interview with Gunther Strauss, General Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

### 7.5.3 Factors constraining community development work

All the PGRs acknowledged that there were certain factors constraining their community development work. The most important constraining factor was the profitability of the reserve itself. Without a secure financial basis, subsidising for projects is not viable. The Chairman of Indalo made this clear:

*“...You only get really involved in socio-economics when you have money to spend. So any business in its early days when it’s trying to set up, when it’s trying to get to a profitable stage it doesn’t have money to spend on socio-economics, you just don’t have the money to do it. If you’ve got an extra R100, 000 you don’t go and put it into a socio-economic project, you buy a new vehicle because you desperate for vehicles or you build a room because you desperate for more income. When you get to a situation of being a multimillion rand business making big profits and showing big profits then it’s very easy to say okay we going to take 10% of those profits and we going to put it into socio-economic projects. In other words it’s a luxury and not a necessity. So most businesses will do it once they making big profits but smaller businesses still trying to grow just can’t afford to spend money on that sort of thing”<sup>119</sup>*

As one PGR manager put it, the connection between business, conservation and social development matters is “like a three legged pot”<sup>120</sup> – they all need to be managed at the same time in a sustainable manner to be effectual.

Nevertheless, government and institutional factors were also mentioned by PGRs as constraints. One example was the funding of a big soccer tournament near a PGR, who agreed with government to provide financial funding and assistance with organising the tournament. According to the Co-owner of the reserve:

*“They came to me and they wanted us to fund, just before the elections, a big soccer tournament. So I put up R50, 000. I said right lets put a task team together,*

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<sup>119</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Chairman of Indalo and Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

<sup>120</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve

*they made three appointments with me to go and see them and they never arrived once. So I pulled it. We put R50, 000 on the table, and they did nothing”<sup>121</sup>*

Reserves arranging BEE projects stated that they had contacted many government agencies for help, but were still waiting for a reply. A detailed example of this was given by the Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve and is illustrated below:

*“To give you an idea. I’m busy with a project... about a year ago I said to myself and I said to my team, why are we spending so much money buying things from Port Elizabeth, why aren’t we trying to procure it locally, well it’s not available locally... But why don’t we create our own little sort of ‘agri-village’ – where we bottle our own water, grow our own vegetables... put in a little butcher shop, a bakery etc. So we do all our procurement from there, so that’s the project that’s on the table at the moment with the Department of Economic Affairs because, they are looking at models to stimulate development in the rural communities; they looking for economic models and this is something I have tabled. Its extremely slow, I have had about 4 or 5 meetings with government, we’ve had presentations done here, the local Department of Housing is involved because they said they would put up the money to build homes.*

*So what I want to do is create this agri-village ... the long-term plan there is (to) procure here and create more opportunities. We can accommodate some of our key family members here that will work at this agri-village and, there will be a little nursery school or a school there as well... So this is all in the pipeline and if I don’t get the support from state then I’m going to go ahead and do it myself because I can’t just wait for government bureaucracy to pull through. But it makes a lot of economic sense, its going to create job opportunities, it’s going to develop skills and it will be a community driven project where there will be a trust which will involve people from the local community and the profits will go back into that village. You know, we don’t want the profits to come to Shamwari. Profits we make out of that we put back into that local community.... if we don’t get any kind of go*

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<sup>121</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

*ahead from the state then we going to go ahead and do it ourselves”<sup>122</sup>*

A further constraint to community development work that surfaced was mentioned by the Manager of Kariega Game Reserve:

*“A lot of it is suspicion from the community side as to what our motives are for it and I think that’s a historic thing. I also think that community development up until recently has always been approached in the wrong manner where community, or agencies prescribe what they think communities need not the other way round. And our approach is very much to look at it from what the community needs not what we think the community needs. So people I think are generally suspicious because they see agencies like this coming in and it’s seen as handouts. So your approach has to be different and I think that’s slowly changing where it’s not the top-down approach, it’s the other way round. Those kinds of things are about relationships and relationships take time to build, so I think that’s probably our biggest”<sup>123</sup>*

The findings further revealed that lack of government support regarding the accessibility of basic services for instance water, housing and education has witnessed PGRs donate their own resources to deliver these services as indicated by Snowball and Antrobus (2008:29).

Only two PGRs mentioned government policies and incentives that encourage community development interactions. One pertained to SETA training grants and the other to a policy called Estuary Care.

*“So when you provide training the government gives you a percentage of your money that you spent on training back, so the SETA grant is 70%. So 70% of the money that you spent on the SETA training which we do annually the government gives... so that is the only incentive I am aware of that the government provides”<sup>124</sup>*

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<sup>122</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>123</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid.*

*“There is a body called Estuary Care which came out of a government white paper which, was called Bushmans Estuary Management Forum... So the government approached various interested parties to set up management committees for the estuaries throughout the country. They started a process of these forums in various areas to run them and that is still going...it was a government initiative to involve provincial government, municipal government and all interested parties on the ground”<sup>125</sup>*

#### **7.5.4 Capacity building of community development work: participation and self-reliance**

According to Shapiro as outlined in Chapter Three, there are particular criteria that exist for evaluating development projects. There are three main series of questions that must be answered in evaluating development work; these are questions of effectiveness, efficiency and impact (1996:5-6).

The essential values that motivate evaluation consist of; the impact the work has on the natural environment; whether the work has built capacity in the communities it has helped; and whether it is sustainable (Shapiro, 1996:12). Capacity building and sustainability are significant matters in all development work. Capacity building is the method of increasing the potential of individuals and communities to control and direct all the important aspects of their lives (Shapiro, 1996:12).

The main motivation for making development appealing to the people is enhanced well-being, to make decisions, and to participate in, the improvement of themselves and communities (Jeppe, 1985:59; Burkey, 1993:50). This involvement is regarded as the most important factor for the successful implementation of any project or programme (Roodt, 2001:317).

Cernea (1991) in Naguran (1999:42), portrays community participation as “giving people more opportunities to participate effectively in development activities”. These consist of; empowering people to generate their own skills, be social actors, control resources, make

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<sup>125</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.



decisions and manage the activities, which influence their livelihoods (Naguran, 1999:42). The ‘long-term “sustainability” of projects is closely linked to active, informed participation by the poor’ (Rahnema, 1992:119).

Integration of ecotourism into the main culture of the field must be developed using a grass roots method instead of being imposed from the outside. The Ubunye Foundation makes this clear. They are an independent, non-profit, charitable trust that presently invests in the development of nine rural communities, two of which are situated in the Kwandwe Private Game Reserve. Instead of following the traditional but dated approach of concentrating on a community’s needs and problems, the Ubunye Foundation concentrates on enabling an asset-based approach to development wherein community participation holds the key to long-term change. It’s all about utilising people’s potential as opposed to focusing on what they don’t have.

The asset-based approach realises that sustainable development can only occur when communities are developed from the bottom up and from the inside out. Ever since its establishment, the Ubunye Foundation has been astonished at how communities will take up development opportunities to put an end to poverty. Appreciating local culture and local community’s accepted beliefs has gained the Foundation extensive acceptance and respect in the region.

By means of ecotourism, communities are given an opportunity to come into contact with many outside organisations. To help communities become active partners in the running of ecotourism destinations, outside organisations should present local people with opportunities to effectively take part in development activities and decision-making processes. This could bring about the empowerment of the local people to such a degree that they would be allowed to organise their own abilities, control resources, make decisions and manage the actions that have an impact on their lives (Mametja, 2006:25).

A further interesting finding was that of the Kariega Project. The Kariega Foundation works in partnership with the Kariega Project, which is a non-profit organisation that uses an inventive financing system called “Kariega Credits” to empower local communities to fund and carry out grassroots economic, social and environmental development

programmes. Communities receive Credits by taking on a set amount of community service. Credits can be “cashed in” for project financing or essential services directed at economic, social and environmental change. They believe that all communities are rich in resources. They may not have money, but they have different resources such as people, passion and determination. They create a market where these resources have importance. They control the resources local communities do have (people and aspiration) to acquire those they don’t (money and services). The Kariega Project doesn’t give aids. They offer assistance. Beneficiaries receive the help provided as a result of community service. Ecotourism could thus indirectly provide the relevant institutions and skills to empower local communities as noted by Koch (1997).

The following responses were given by the foundation coordinators as to whether the reserves’ foundations encourage participation in community development work and if so, how:

*“Everything that we do is through the local communities that we work with. We a very small team...we work with another 15 community based project workers and we very careful about not setting the agenda. We are there to facilitate processes that are of value to the community themselves and are identified to the community themselves. We not there to drive community development processes”<sup>126</sup>*

*“The Kariega Project is not about the community getting stuff but they actually have to ‘in credit’ to be helped. So we very much supporting the Kariega Project because we believe that their ethos is a very sound one”<sup>127</sup>*

*“With the environmental education programme we encourage the game guides to get involved with the teaching and the taking of the game guides. I just sort of facilitate. With the gardening project, obviously anybody who wants to grow vegetables can and we’ll buy them. With Isipho (Aids Orphanage) it is probably a little bit different because we just feeding into another NPO but they in turn*

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<sup>126</sup> Interview with Lucy O’Keefe, Director of the Ubunye Foundation, 6 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>127</sup> Telephone interview with Helena Warren, Project Coordinator of the Kariega Foundation, 28 May 2014.

*employ care givers and they employ up to 30 people”<sup>128</sup>*

According to the Office Manager of the Born Free Centre, participation is encouraged through the use of incentives:

*“We use it as an incentive in a lot of ways because people in the underprivileged communities would not normally ever get an experience to go out to a big five game reserve and go on a game drive. For example, we had art competitions at our schools and the prize is...that child gets to bring their family for a game drive and lunch here at Shamwari for a day. You know, that sort of thing. So it intensifies participation and awareness and then, having a bit of pride behind doing something”<sup>129</sup>*

*“The community is involved. You cannot force a horse to drink water. So that’s the first thing we have learnt. We learnt the process of having a steering committee. The steering committee that are currently looking at the projects and involving all the departments. I was heading that process and we invited the community to say to them ‘we understand and this is what we thinking could help you but it will depend on you to make this work’”<sup>130</sup>*

Nevertheless, there is not active participation in all community development work. The involvement of local people is certainly one of the missing components reducing the successfulness of numerous tourist destinations (Mametja, 2006:20). This is evident according to the Community Project Leader of Shamwari Conservation Experience:

*“Most of the schools I would prefer if they actually helped out a little bit if, say for instance we build a vegetable garden you would like to see that they show a bit of interest that they want to help. So most of the time it’s just the volunteers who do the work so they don’t actually partake in what we do except for our beading project with the old ladies in Addo. There we will sit together and make beads and I come and sell it here, which 100% of the profit goes back to them where we can*

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<sup>128</sup> Interview with Jennifer Gush, Project Coordinator of the Amakhala Foundation, 11 June 2014, Amakhala Game Reserve.

<sup>129</sup> Interview with Catherine Gillson, Office Manager of the Born Free Centre, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>130</sup> Interview with Nomawethu Stuurman, Community Project Leader for Pumba Private Game Reserve, 3 June 2014, Grahamstown.

*buy more beads or food for their own projects there”<sup>131</sup>*

Participation is a fundamental part of human growth. According to Burkey (1993:56), without such a development within the people themselves all attempts to reduce their poverty will be extremely more challenging. This approach, by which people learn to take control of their own lives and resolve their own problems, is the core of development (Burkey, 1993:56).

Participation of the local people in their own development has been considered as a crucial feature in the success of projects (Burkey, 1993:56). The Foundation Coordinators described how people participate in decision-making:

*“Well through the savings groups and everything that is done comes from those savings groups so any initiatives that are established be they enterprise projects or early childhood development projects, those all come from the community groups initially. We also do on a more formal level strategic planning every year as a team and then with the different community development initiatives that we work with”<sup>132</sup>*

*“They will participate in the meeting situation whereby they will be exchanging their views and also for example, when there is a building that needs to be renovated then we wont be paying people to do that because they know it is their own resources that needs to be renovated. So they will embark into such an activity whereby they will be painting or fixing fences because they know they doing it for themselves. So they are participating in all aspects you know”<sup>133</sup>*

*“Well they do in the sense that... the way they participate is that, you say okay here’s a project or what project would you like to do – we prepared to help you and then you know they will say that maybe they want to start a vegetable garden and then you show them and even the students sometimes we take them to them you*

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<sup>131</sup> Interview with Cindy Stadler, Community Project Leader of Shamwari Conservation Experience, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>132</sup> Interview with Lucy O’Keeffe, Director of the Ubunye Foundation, 6 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>133</sup> Interview with Nomawethu Stuurman, Community Project Leader for Pumba Private Game Reserve, 3 June 2014, Grahamstown.

*know but, they must tell us how they want it for them in order to sustain it. And so that's how they make a decision on how they want it*"<sup>134</sup>

*"It is very difficult not to spoon-feed because ultimately it must be someone's decision to actually make it work and make it happen. We can assist as much as possible but it does sometime become difficult"*<sup>135</sup>

The Amakhala Foundation described this aspect as one of their weak points:

*"They don't really. That's probably one of our weaknesses. The Amakhala Foundation is run by a committee and on that committee there are five of us, but at this stage we don't have a community member on that committee"*<sup>136</sup>

According to Roodt (2001:469), "the participation of citizens in local-level decision-making through active involvement in formal structures, or through organised pressure groups, as part of civil society, is something that is difficult to achieve and sustain". It is becoming increasingly obvious that the initial stage in attaining genuine participation is a process wherein the rural poor become more conscious of their own circumstances, of the socio-economic realities around them, of their real problems and the causes of these problems, and what actions they can take to start changing their condition (Burkey, 1993:57).

People need to feel and believe that it is their personal performances that are steering the development process. They should feel that they themselves are giving the utmost of their own resources, and that external support is only for what they cannot yet achieve themselves (Burkey, 1993:50). The following responses were given as to how the different foundations encourage self-reliance within these communities:

*"The idea of self-reliance is very core to what we do so the savings groups again, we don't go into communities and put in resources we encourage people to recognise the resources that they already have. So the savings groups are about*

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<sup>134</sup> Interview with Sidney Clay, Education Officer of the Born Free Centre, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>135</sup> Interview with Catherine Gillson, Office Manager of the Born Free Centre, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>136</sup> Interview with Jennifer Gush, Project Coordinator of the Amakhala Foundation, 11 June 2014, Amakhala Game Reserve.

*people getting together and making use of their own resources so we don't put any money into that. We provide a kit that the group pays for and then they save in their own income taking loans from within the group that the funds pulled within the group and then getting the savings and the income from that after a 12-month share out. So we're very focused on facilitating community driven development, so it must come from the community itself and it has to happen at the pace of the community”<sup>137</sup>*

*“I suppose through the income generating projects obviously we encouraging them to develop a skill to become self-supporting. In terms of the bursary fund, there are people that have jobs within the lodges already but we offering to help them. They have to pay some of the fees, there's no full bursary but then added to that.... To be accepted on the school bursary scheme it's more about the parents involvement, the child doesn't have to be a straight 'A' student to get the bursary. It's more about; are the parents actively involved in the child's life, do they support the school...are they participating like that. So that is one way that they get involved and then in fact now we going to be running a parenting workshop in August to try and get more sort of awareness and education into the communities about what that's all about”<sup>138</sup>*

Self-reliance needs a wide variety of knowledge and skills. Individuals need to learn how to develop and manage their own operations. They need to discover how to utilise their organisations to access resources and services. They also need to learn how to acquire new knowledge and expertise for enhanced income-generating activities as well as how to set up and run these activities (Burkey, 1993:50).

However, it is important to recognise that self-reliance is not meant to produce absolute self-sufficiency, that is the capacity to achieve totally on ones own without interaction with others (Burkey, 1993:51).

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<sup>137</sup> Interview with Lucy O'Keeffe, Director of the Ubunye Foundation, 6 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>138</sup> Interview with Jennifer Gush, Project Coordinator of the Amakhala Foundation, 11 June 2014, Amakhala Game Reserve.

### 7.5.5 The sustainability of community development projects

As mentioned in the previous section, one of the basic values that motivates evaluation includes whether the development work that is done in the communities is sustainable (Shapiro, 1996:12). Sustainability is of utmost importance in all development work. It is the ability for development work to continue functioning successfully without continuous outside support (Shapiro, 1996:12).

When asked what would happen if their foundation stopped supporting these communities, the following responses were given by foundation coordinators:

*“It depends on the different initiatives...we work with a number of small enterprises some are... to varying levels of sustainability and profitability. We recognise that it’s a lengthy and complex process to start a small business in a rural area so we do play an intermediary role in the long term, a mentoring role. So some of those enterprises would continue and some would probably struggle without support at the moment. The early childhood development sites that we work with are certainly able to function without us, we not involved in the day-to-day running of them. The community centre on Kwandwe is managed entirely by community members, lead by a community steering committee. We are there usually once a week, we provide very specific inputs but we really pulled back from managing it”*<sup>139</sup>

According to the Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve:

*“It’s quite difficult to develop, well its not difficult to develop projects but it’s difficult to develop projects and then to leave them in a sustainable fashion without the support, the ongoing support. One wants to obviously set up projects that are possible to then initiate and then let them carry on running them. But often you find when you withdraw the support then the projects collapse simply because they just don’t have the resources and the kind of background because they living in very impoverished communities to actually take it on. Obstacles just overwhelm them and then the projects fall. So we’ve tried to pick things that are not grandiose*

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<sup>139</sup> Interview with Lucy O’Keeffe, Director of the Ubunye Foundation, 6 June 2014, Grahamstown.

*but are actually sustainable and possible for us to have a limited involvement and to just assist them”<sup>140</sup>*

However, some projects are not as sustainable and would certainly impact the local communities as described below:

*“Well obviously the income generation, there would probably be about 10 people without work. The school - the school has 26 pupils in total from the age of 3 to grade 3 – half of those are on bursaries, so it would impact the viability of the school to a large extent as well. Because obviously the bursaries allowing almost half the student population being there. So those would probably be the biggest impacts. In terms of the environmental education programme, well there would be 1000 people that wouldn’t have access to environmental education and a chance to experience a wildlife area”<sup>141</sup>*

*“I think with Born Free and Shamwari together it provides a lot of support. Born Free in particular because they provide support globally its difficult to say whether in this community it would make too much of a difference. I reckon it would because we active, especially in the eco-schools community. It would make a difference because the underprivileged schools wouldn’t be able to come here for the education and the game drive side of things but from Shamwari point of view, I think it would be entirely sustainable forever. There’s a very strong social responsibility ethos that Shamwari has”<sup>142</sup>*

Furthermore, the maintenance of building infrastructures such as schools would also be affected:

*“The Farmerfield School rely quite heavily on us for maintenance at the school and for assisting the teachers once a week just with lessons. So I suppose the*

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<sup>140</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>141</sup> Interview with Jennifer Gush, Project Coordinator of the Amakhala Foundation, 11 June 2014, Amakhala Game Reserve.

<sup>142</sup> Interview with Catherine Gillson, Office Manager of the Born Free Centre, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.



*actual physical buildings at Farmerfield would, we help quite a bit with the maintenance of it”<sup>143</sup>*

According to the Project Leader of Shamwari Conservation Experience, there is no external support and as a result projects would fail to continue:

*“I don’t think there would be anyone else who would take over from us because there would’ve been someone who would support them before we did but no one knows about it so I think it would probably just stop. There’s no other external help from anyone else so I don’t think it would continue”<sup>144</sup>*

The above findings indicate that apart from one or two of the Foundations, communities rely heavily on outside support for the development and upliftment of their communities. Most of the development projects appear to not be completely sustainable without the help from the various foundations. The following responses were given to, the different measures that foundations have put in place to make sure that these projects will carry on:

*“Everything that we do is about building sustainability and building local capacity so we’re effectively trying to work ourselves out of a job by making sure that those skills, the knowledge, the capacity is within the communities themselves”<sup>145</sup>*

*“Not at Farmerfield, no. But at the Kareiga Project yes definitely. It’s all about the community helping themselves to achieve that. So it’s quite a hands off type of approach”<sup>146</sup>*

According to the Office Manager of the Born Free Centre, Born Free is global and thus has the required support it needs to carry on supporting such projects:

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<sup>143</sup> Telephone interview with Helena Warren, Project Coordinator of the Kareiga Foundation, 28 May 2014.

<sup>144</sup> Interview with Cindy Stadler, Community Project Leader of Shamwari Conservation Experience, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>145</sup> Interview with Lucy O’Keeffe, Director of the Ubunye Foundation, 6 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>146</sup> Telephone interview with Helena Warren, Project Coordinator of the Kareiga Foundation, 28 May 2014.

*“I don’t think it has ever been doubted. Born Free is global so it’s not as if it’s ever going to be withdrawn unless, unless Shamwari is sold to somebody that is not a conservation based company and, unless Shamwari is sold to an entity that has different values to Born Free, then Born Free would probably not exist on Shamwari anymore”<sup>147</sup>*

Other reserves have trusts whereby guests pay a bed levy which goes into the foundation forming long term reliable funding:

*“Our trust fund is going to be our support machine kind of, because when I made a proposal for community projects we said there must be even the smallest percentage that will be going into that trust fund from each and every guest that will be staying at Pumba. So as long as Pumba is still alive you see. So those funds will be making sure that they are going straight to the community of Seven Fountains, working together with the government departments and with the Makana municipality”<sup>148</sup>*

*“The main way in which the foundation is funded is that Amakhala is made up of a whole lot of members and they each have a lodge or a tented camp or something and each establishment pays a bed levy for every guest to the foundation. So once a month they add up...there’s a set levy they pay per person and they pay that into the foundation. So that is our kind of long term reliable funding, we know that money is coming in every month”<sup>149</sup>*

The above findings indicate that the majority of the foundations have/or are putting in measures to ensure the continuation of community development projects. Although these measures may vary, foundation coordinators have recognised the need for measures to ensure the long-term sustainability of projects. The following responses were indicative of the foundations training people to manage projects for the long-term:

*“We are training people to an extent and the craft centre pretty much runs itself.*

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<sup>147</sup> Interview with Catherine Gillson, Office Manager of the Born Free Centre, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>148</sup> Interview with Nomawethu Stuurman, Community Project Leader for Pumba Private Game Reserve, 3 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>149</sup> Interview with Jennifer Gush, Project Coordinator of the Amakhala Foundation, 11 June 2014, Amakhala Game Reserve.

*The vegetable gardening project is in its infancy, so it's requiring quite a lot of my time but we looking at employing somebody who would act as the middle man. So a local person would be sourcing all the vegetables and selling them into the lodges. So yes in time I think that will be, will sustain itself without much input from the foundation”<sup>150</sup>*

*“The teachers involved at the schools... obviously there's always turnover of staff in any business; the ongoing eco-schools projects are literally just going year to year so there's turnover of pupils, of learners and staff so that's a difficult one... So for example Sidney and I are both coordinators for the eco-schools projects here, and obviously if either of us had to leave our jobs someone else would be coming into it and you'd kind of have to, so.... The companies do support the sustainability of the projects and the infrastructure that it requires so there would be someone handing it over – it wouldn't just be left flat”<sup>151</sup>*

## **7.6 POLICY ISSUES: CURRENT NEEDS AND FUTURE SUPPORT**

### **7.6.1 Current and future PGR sustainability concerns**

As in the commissioned Indalo reports, most of the existing challenges faced by PGRs and their concerns for the future have to do with government policy and legislation. Of particular concern is the long-term stability of the tourism industry regarding political strife and future government policies aimed at PGRs. Rising costs was also a concern mentioned often, including rhino security costs as well as the fear of land redistribution. The following responses were given regarding the various issues affecting current and future PGR sustainability:

*“I think the first thing is expense, it has become incredibly expensive to run these things. Just take into account our rhino security costs have increased 7.5 times in 3 years. That has a massive affect on sustainability. The cost of just doing business has become excessive; it really affects the sustainability of the property a great deal. Then to an extent as well is sentiment. I have a great belief in the role of*

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<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>151</sup> Interview with Catherine Gillson, Office Manager of the Born Free Centre, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

*sentiment in business, if people are negative towards you, it's demotivating*"<sup>152</sup>

The Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve agrees with him on this issue:

*"Expense creep – the cost of fuel, electricity, vehicles – they are the main issues. Obviously if there's political strife in the country tourism is dead so we are very reliant on a stable political climate"*<sup>153</sup>

As does the Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve and further adds that:

*"Well obviously South Africa needs to be a viable destination so we need to be stable politically, economically for people to come because you know as soon as we have a slump, whether it's South African economics or international economics that have driven it then it affects our business hugely....And if there was a major threat via land redistribution or something like that, we don't anticipate that but if there was, that would be a big threat"*<sup>154</sup>

A further issue brought up was the fear of land redistribution:

*"I suppose there is that fear of nationalisation or confiscation of land but again that will be a policy decision at government level and we'll have to wait and see. And that is our biggest threat"*<sup>155</sup>

The Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve made an interesting finding regarding the sustainability of PGRs:

*"The biggest inhibitor that we have in our business, because our business is 90% overseas tourism is restriction of the air in this country with this ludicrous situation of ACSA controlling all the airports and charging ridiculous prices for airport taxes. With SAA being subsidised by the government to the detriment of all other airlines; we're becoming a more and more expensive destination... And*

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<sup>152</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May, 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>153</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>154</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

<sup>155</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

*unless the government understands that then those are the things that are inhibiting us, and conversely those are the things that could help us if they would act on them*”<sup>156</sup>

### **7.6.2 Received and desired external support**

The level of national support to PGRs appeared to be very restricted. This is made clear by the Group manager of Shamwari Game Reserve:

*“In many cases we haven’t had the support from local establishments that we would require. There’s no state support for the private game reserve enterprises, it’s all privately funded but we do work with the South African Tourism authorities in the various countries... they provide media, so there is an ongoing relationship*”<sup>157</sup>

On the whole, the kind of support at a national level that would be valued by PGRs can be grouped into the promotion of South African and Eastern Cape tourism and financial support by way of resources and financial help. Particular ideas comprised enhanced crime prevention in addition to rhino protection and environmental protection. According to one of the reserves managers:

*“For us its one of our biggest costs, protecting our rhino and protecting the environment and I think there could be a lot more done from government side to make resources available. You not asking for hand-outs, but resources available and commitment from their side to aid with the kind of stuff that needs to be done*”<sup>158</sup>

The Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve believes that:

*“If the government just do what they supposed to do, that will be fine – make sure*

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<sup>156</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

<sup>157</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>158</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

*that health is available to everyone, education is improved, those kind of core things are addressed then we're on a decent wicket, but that's easy to say... that doesn't happen*"<sup>159</sup>

However, he also feels that:

*"The government are uneducated about our business and they see it as sort of rich white enclaves that are negative in terms of what they do for rural communities and I'm sure there are examples of that but, I talk from our perspective and our perspective only... we've donated land to the municipality; we've really shown a strong commitment to our area... it's also not terribly encouraging when you doing a whole lot of things in partnership with communities and driving a whole lot of issues that you pick up the newspaper and hear that we are the dogs breakfast... you know, its pretty unsettling and demotivating*"<sup>160</sup>

Only one of the PGRs had experienced any support from provincial government which was in the form of tourism promotion.

*"The governments got to keep promoting tourism, which they do because they see it as a major job creator. And in fairness, that they do a reasonable job at but its limited to that*"<sup>161</sup>

Areas where provincial government support was sought after could be divided into; support and recognition of the industry's capacity as a driver of economic development and upgrading of local services, such as the roads. Some PGRs also mentioned grants for, and support with the establishment of BEE projects and healthcare.

*"...from the whole tourism side they need to be accepting or promoting it more as a real big economic driver in the country – actually realising that it already is and that we are part of that*"<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>160</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>161</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>162</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

With regards to healthcare services, the Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve had the following to say:

*“Makana is a sad... there’s no health or service out here at all for our employees, they’ve all got to go to Grahamstown... No they useless, Iv got nothing good to say about the bureaucracy at the moment but I’m afraid they’ve screwed everything up”<sup>163</sup>*

The Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve further added that:

*“About 25% of our staff’s time at the foundation is spent making sure that the government deliver on what they are supposed to. So stuff like, making sure that the mobile clinics get to those communities, making sure that the school transport system runs correctly, those types of things..., when those systems fail, assisting those communities and making sure that they get back on track and creating the necessary pressure, even if they need to go to Bisho and sit outside the persons door until they prepared to see them which has been done”<sup>164</sup>*

What’s more is that the Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve further believes that:

*“We are exceedingly dependent on perceptions about the country; safety perceptions, security... So if the government doesn’t control crime, if it doesn’t control terrorism, if it doesn’t look after its infrastructures – you’ve got decent roads so people can drive and get to places; all these are problems that require...that’s what the government should be doing, not interfering in business, they should be facilitating our business to run better”<sup>165</sup>*

A convincingly powerful argument for government support of any project is the existence of spin-offs. These accumulate not only to the private entities who provide them, but also to the general public. In the instance of the PGRs, the government support sought after is for precisely such positive externalities as mentioned by Snowball and Antrobus (2008:

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<sup>163</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>164</sup> Interview with Angus Sholto-Douglas, Managing Director of Kwandwe Private Game Reserve, 14 May 2014, Kwandwe Private Game Reserve.

<sup>165</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Co-owner of Sibuya Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

43). Improving the airport and upgrading the roads in addition to reducing crime will benefit both the reserves, and the general population of the province. The setting up of viable BEE tourism initiatives is a significant component of the national economic development plan and is also crucial for local economic development initiatives as indicated by Snowball and Antrobus (2008: 43). Shamwari Game Reserve as previously mentioned is busy with the establishment of such a project, namely the agri-village:

*“...so that’s the project that’s on the table at the moment with the Department of Economic Affairs because, they are looking at models to stimulate development in the rural communities; they looking for economic models and this is something I have tabled”<sup>166</sup>*

Half of the Indalo PGRs interviewed described some support felt from local officials. This varied from good working relations with the Departments of Economic Development, Environmental Affairs, and Health and Housing, to reserve visits made by mobile clinics and the police. Areas where support could be improved once again focused on the acceptance of the significant role that PGRs play in conservation and in local development.

Experienced private sector support consisted of Indalo membership, which allowed effective petitioning against, for example powerlines cutting through PGRs, and information on rates policy. Others indicated support received from local businesses from which they sourced products and services.

### **7.6.3 Important government actions for PGR sustainability**

PGRs described the most important government actions for the promotion of long-term sustainability of the industry, which can be divided into the promotion of ecotourism, the acknowledgment of the significant roles PGRs play in the conservation and management of South Africa’s wildlife resources, but furthermore in their current and possible influences to socio-economic development.

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<sup>166</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.



*“I think government’s overall responsibility is to create an environment generally where people will feel safe, where they feel that there is stability in the economy and that there is growth in the economy. It’s not just about tourism, it’s not just about promoting tourism it’s about creating an environment where within we can work and can attract people to come here. So governments responsibility is overall as a government to ensure our sustainability, is to ensure that the whole economic environment is sustainable and, just in terms of stability that economic stability as well as social stability”<sup>167</sup>*

The Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve further believes that PGRs need more support from government authorities, like the tourism board:

*“We need more support from the government authorities, like the South African tourism board; in terms of the campaigns that they run, there needs to be more of a strategy, a creative strategy in place for South Africa. The World Cup has come and gone, we cant sit back and rely on that for the next 10 years you know... it was a great showcase to be able to put South Africa on the map but you’ve got to reinvent yourself every year”<sup>168</sup>*

The Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve agrees on this issue and adds:

*“Well I think they should be, obviously from the whole tourism side they need to be accepting or promoting it more as a real big economic driver in the country – actually realising that it already is and that we are part of that so maybe not putting any obstacles in our way and they should be actually.... making a better effort at promoting game reserves. There is quite a perception about it being elite and whatever but in fact it’s actually a huge growth point in South Africa and it needs to be developed and nurtured”<sup>169</sup>*

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<sup>167</sup> Interview with Alan Weyer, Manager of Kariega Game Reserve, 28 May 2014, Kariega Game Reserve.

<sup>168</sup> Interview with Joe Cloete, Group Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 15 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>169</sup> Interview with Richard Gush, Manager of Amakhala Game Reserve, 5 June 2014, Grahamstown.

The General Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve would like to see more involvement from the local municipalities, in addition to greater security for reserve staff:

*“We really want the local municipalities to be more involved with our business and understand that we not just here as a business and to make money, but we also here to try and develop the local communities. We here to increase our footprint, we want to buy more land, we want to develop... but we need them to also play a role in that. We think that the local communities government can play a far larger role in making sure our people are safe at night, especially in the townships. We have to drop the people off closer to their homes because they worried about walking at night...because there’s no visible policing There are four police officers in our area and they have to service about 6,000 people – it’s an unheard of ratio”<sup>170</sup>*

Furthermore, he would like to see improvement of education to produce employable candidates:

*“I think also the previous thing about producing employable candidates is something they have to view as serious. I think they have to step up the education department so that individuals are solid individuals that are employable. We have major challenges getting the right person in for the job and there shouldn’t be a reason why we have to view 2 people differently because of their colour. It must be the right person for the job. But in saying that I also understand hat it’s the law of the country; you have to do it, I’ll do it, I am doing it but I think it needs to come to an end at some point and government needs to start producing employable candidates. That way we will lure investors, we will be seen as a productive country and it will fix many of the problems in the country”<sup>171</sup>*

Not everyone agrees however that there are important government actions for the promotion of long-term sustainability of the industry. This was made clear by the Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve:

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<sup>170</sup> Interview with Gunther Strauss, General Manager of Shamwari Game Reserve, 26 May 2014, Shamwari Game Reserve.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*

*“There isn’t any. They see it as a privileged white profession. I went to see the general about our rhinos being poached, he said Mr Howarth no black people have got rhinos, they the white man’s pets – look after them yourselves. That’s the response I got”<sup>172</sup>*

## **7.7 AN ASSESSMENT OF THE INDALO ASSOCIATION**

Indalo is a top private game reserves association in the Eastern Cape. Through its members Indalo aims to promote land-use, which is socially responsible and, ecologically viable. The Chairman of Indalo describes the objectives of Indalo as an association as the following:

*“...The objective is to get together, pass ideas between each other and work as a force to combat problems that pertain to all reserves together. In other words, work as a combined force in that area. Having said that, there are certain things that are being pushed in terms of socio-economic projects”<sup>173</sup>*

He goes on to mention that receiving a fair amount of attention at this stage and of most importance is:

*“... the idea of trying to convert this area back to a Sabi Sabi type, Kruger type effect. In other words, to get all the game reserves and all the game farming areas to drop their fences and have a continual area of biodiversity from Addo basically to the Great Fish River Reserve. So that is one of the things we working on”<sup>174</sup>*

However, it is proving to be problematic because:

*“...The first thing that any businessman is trying to do is make a profit and if by dropping fences and making a continuous reserve, you taking the ability to make a profit away from those farmers they not going do it. They can’t do it. They’ve got bills to pay; they’ve got staff to feed. So if by doing that you’ve got a hunting reserve in the middle and he hunts there and he can’t hunt because his game is*

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<sup>172</sup> Interview with Dale Howarth, Co-owner of Pumba Private Game Reserve, 27 May 2014, Pumba Private Game Reserve.

<sup>173</sup> Interview with Nick Fox, Chairman of Indalo, 5 June 2014, Sibuya Game Reserve.

<sup>174</sup> *Ibid.*

*going to leave his farm and go elsewhere then all of a sudden he is out of business, he's got no income and his staff have got no income and he is not going to join in. So although again it's an idealistic idea, it's something we would really like to do, there are serious challenges to it. But that's one of the main aims at the moment”<sup>175</sup>*

According to the current Chairman, the major focuses at this stage for Indalo are:

*“... Number one is anti-rhino poaching. It's our biggest concern and most of our resources and time and effort go into protecting rhino. Our second biggest problem is wind farms, making sure wind farms don't come into the area because they are very very dangerous to our business...there are hundreds proposed throughout the country and they were proposing putting them on our boundaries and they just are so counter intuitive to tourism, so we spend a lot of time and effort trying to make sure that they put those in other areas and not here, not because we don't like the look of them per se but because of the damage they'll cause to the ecotourism industry”<sup>176</sup>*

A further major area of concern that was noted is:

*“...Governmental issues particularly pertaining to rates. Government looks at private game reserves as cash cows where they can milk for huge rates without providing any services whatsoever; I mean we get zero services here. We get electricity, which we pay for; we have a road, which they don't really maintain. We do most of the maintenance ourselves and yet we pay large rates. So a lot of our effort is going into, because it's a major...it can become a dangerous input cost – it can make our business unsustainable so there is quite a lot of effort put into that”<sup>177</sup>*

A further area mentioned that is still being worked on pertains to socio-economics:

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<sup>175</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>176</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*

*“...We still working on the socio-economic side... You have to understand socio-economics... you only get really involved in socio-economics when you have money to spend. So any business in its early days when it’s trying to set up, when it’s trying to get to a profitable stage it doesn’t have money to spend on socio-economics, you just don’t have the money to do it. If you’ve got an extra R100, 000 you don’t go and put it into a socio-economic project, you buy a new vehicle because you desperate for vehicles or you build a room because you desperate for more income. When you get to a situation of being a multimillion rand business making big profits and showing big profits then it’s very easy to say okay we going to take 10% of those profits and we going to put it into socio-economic projects. In other words it’s a luxury and not a necessity. So most businesses will do it once they making big profits but smaller businesses still trying to grow just can’t afford to spend money on that sort of thing”<sup>178</sup>*

In comparison to the socio-economic studies commissioned by Indalo, membership of Indalo decreased from 13 members in 2013 to 10 members in 2011 (Muir et al, 2011), and to 7 members by October 2014. In an interview with the Indalo Chairman, the main reasons for the drop-off in membership is linked to the following:

*“Most of the people that have... it started off and grew and grew and grew, lots of people joined in because they believed in the benefits of Indalo. There was a good strong force for fighting problems off, so for example, a lot of people joined when they thought there were going to be power lines across their reserves and Indalo fought that and made them go around some of the reserves. Then what happened is that there were people that weren’t in the area that it actually didn’t suit, for example Samara Game Reserve and Camdaboo and those outlying game reserves. It didn’t suit them because they weren’t in the main cluster. There wasn’t a lot of benefit to be got from that even though the anti rhino poaching sort of initiatives didn’t really cover them, we had helicopters in the area that were doing patrols, they were too far away to go out there and include them so there weren’t benefits for the outlying reserves, so they dropped off”<sup>179</sup>*

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<sup>178</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>179</sup> *Ibid.*

A further reason given for the drop-off in membership included:

*“...One or two locals that just sort of had a different opinion with Indalo and left. So I think there was pretty much a natural attrition, particularly of people that didn't subscribe particularly to the conservation principles. There were a couple that fell by the way side because they didn't agree with the conservation principles of Indalo and then secondly those people in outlying areas. It wasn't really helping them to be a part of a conservation project based in this area or organisation based in this area”<sup>180</sup>*

With regards to the contribution that Indalo is making to rural development in the Eastern Cape, the current Chairman had the following to say:

*“Well very little per se as an organisation because it's an organisation to protect its members that are already there. It's not making new members as such, certainly not at this stage. So it's an organisation for the betterment of its members and it doesn't have projects to necessarily bring in other members. We are always keen for other members to join but again they have to subscribe to the right principles to become a member. So we don't actively search out for members so directly I would say the answer is nothing. We don't really have a direct influence except through the existing members and most of the existing members are pretty static in terms of size, the odd one is acquiring land every now and again which would have an impact but generally it's just the existing members”<sup>181</sup>*

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<sup>180</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

## **CHAPTER EIGHT: CONCLUDING REMARKS**

The aim of this study was to analyse the development model for ex-farmworkers and adjacent communities in the Indalo association of private game reserves in the Eastern Cape. The study sought to establish whether their development work has built capacity in these communities and whether their development work is sustainable. In addition, the importance of this research is further demonstrated by Langholz and Kerley (2006:2) who assert that information concerning the contribution that private protected areas, in particular ecotourism based PGRs, make through ecotourism developmental initiatives in the Eastern Cape is critical.

As mentioned throughout this thesis, Indalo PGRs claim that they are making a considerable contribution to rural development in the Eastern Cape through employment generation, multiplier effects and focus on community involvements. The Indalo PGRs have established a development arm that deals with community involvement and development. They make claims of focusing on the inclusion of rural communities and displaced workers; community programmes and projects established to enhance social sustainability and community involvement and development. PGRs have established this development arm to stimulate development and the improvement of livelihoods in rural communities. The real question of interest is to what extent these claims are true.

Over the past fifteen years there has been an extensive conversion of land use from traditional farming practices to conservation and private game reserves. Considering the emerging significance of game reserves in addition to the ecotourism based PGRs in the Eastern Cape, from an economic and tourism point of view, long term sustainability has become a crucial factor, and 'private protected areas have recently emerged as innovative and powerful engines for sustainable development' (Langholz and Kerley, 2006:2). The economic and social impact of this land conversion is a topic of notable interest.

### **8.1 GAME PARKS: CONTRIBUTING TO OR HINDERING LAND REFORM?**

The land reform programme in South Africa has been ambitious in its objectives and has been slow to produce tangible benefits. Farm dwellers that live and work in acute poverty and under insecure land tenure agreements on South Africa's 'white-owned' farms are a

main target group of land reform. Government policy has not succeeded in being pro-poor. Farm workers have experienced continued retrenchments and dispossession, despite allegedly protective legislation. Research suggests that regardless of government policy and objectives land reform thus far has produced hardly any benefit to this marginalised group. The reforms that have been implemented have generally been to the benefit of a population that was already relatively advantaged.

Seekings and Natrass cited in (Lahiff, 2007:33) make a clear link between changes in the agricultural economy and increasing poverty, and link this further to failures in the land reform model. They argue that, rather than increasing employment in agriculture, government's economic policies have led agricultural employment to fall severely, increasing the ranks of the unskilled unemployed.

Given this reality, the ecotourism game-reserve alternative with its wide-ranging community development focus for ex-farmworkers and neighbouring communities is proving to be a viable strategy for rural development.

It is evident from this research that the ecotourism based PGRs are not going against the imperative for land reform and are in fact creating rural community sustainability, skills development and, employment. As argued in Chapter One of this thesis, all the evidence indicates that existing land reform policies, particularly tenure reform, have failed to bring about the expected transformation of landholding to date and are most unlikely to do so in future (Kepe and Cousins, 2002:3). This demands a new vision of land reform, one that should include sustainability in all aspects. Therefore the ecotourism private game reserve industry with its extensive community development focus for farmworkers and local communities is a viable and sustainable alternative to land reform, providing security of tenure to workers and local communities.

From this research, two main points have emerged. The first, is that conventional agricultural is failing and less profitable than ecotourism, and secondly, that land reform, to a certain extent because of the first point (but not exclusively), has also failed. Therefore, both of these factors make ecotourism a more viable strategy for rural development.



As noted in Chapter Five of this thesis, no thorough study has been carried out of retrenchments and eviction in the Eastern Cape as a result of the setting up of game reserves and/or expansion into the wildlife industry (Helliker, 2008:21). There is little evidence that significant numbers of farmworkers were laid off when the reserves were established and there is no reason to believe that there is an essential connection between agriculture-game conversions on the one hand and retrenchment-eviction on the other.

## **8.2 ECOTOURISM: A VIABLE STRATEGY FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT?**

In ecotourism, active involvement in the decision-making process by those most affected is an important factor of productive and sustainable tourism development. Interestingly, the degree of community participation in decision-making was very limited, if at all present, and only seen in few development projects. People must participate in decision-making if their livelihood priorities are to be reflected in the way tourism is developed. Furthermore, sustainable tourism cannot be effectively executed without the direct support and involvement of those affected by it. In this regard, the local communities need to be more involved in decision making if productive and sustainable development is to be achieved.

From this research it is clear that participation of members in local-level decision-making through active involvement in formal organisations is difficult to achieve and sustain. It is becoming increasingly clear that the initial stage in attaining genuine participation is a process where the rural poor become more conscious of their own circumstances, of the socio-economic realities around them, of their real problems and the causes of these problems, and what actions they can take to start changing their condition. Employment opportunities, supplying of social services and infrastructure, and the buying of local produce and crafts are the main ways in which local communities are involved in ecotourism.

Perhaps the most important benefits of ecotourism plans and strategy is to promote developments that provide benefits for local communities and their environments. The Indalo PGRs provide jobs, skills development, new markets for local products; improved infrastructure, and enhanced land-use patterns for local people while minimising the impact on the natural and social environment. Economic benefits are not only in the form

of income; the PGRs also bring about increased employment and employment opportunities that create greatly needed hard currency. The success of ecotourism based organisations is mostly dependent on the giving out of economic benefits from ecotourism as well as the amount of benefits a community may be given.

### **8.3 EMPLOYMENT AND PGR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROJECTS**

PGRs contribute considerably to the production of employment in the area, employing significantly more people than the original farms did. Owing to preferential recruitment and training of local people, social upliftment and poverty alleviation is achieved by raising education levels and providing skills to previously unskilled individuals. Increased employment opportunities, skills development and training programmes in addition to multiplier effects are common among all reserves. The research further established that living conditions of the rural poor and surrounding communities are enhanced and empowered by the conversion of agricultural land into private game reserves.

To this end, all the PGRs in the study have been involved in a considerable amount of community engagement. The most usual form of support involves HIV/AIDS awareness, environmental education and employment creation. Generally community engagement involves the support of local schools, sponsorship of local sports teams in addition to involvement with charitable development foundations. Although a lot of the initiatives are presently short-term, they are part of a long-term concept.

The most important factor constraining community development work is the profitability of the reserve itself. Without a secure financial foundation, subsidising for projects is not viable. Nevertheless, government and institutional factors were also mentioned by PGRs as constraints. The lack of government support regarding the accessibility of basic services for instance water, housing and education has required PGRs donate their own resources to supply these services.

## **8.4 CAPACITY BUILDING AND SUSTAINABILITY OF DEVELOPMENT WORK**

The main motivating factor for making development appealing to people is enhanced well-being, to make decisions, and to participate in, the improvement of themselves and their communities (Burkey, 1993:50). This involvement is regarded as the most important factor for the successful implementation of any development project or programme.

Participation is encouraged in community development by facilitating processes that are of value to the community themselves and are identified by the community themselves. The PGRs are not there to drive community development processes. However, there is not active participation in all community development work. The involvement of local people is undoubtedly one of the missing components reducing the successfulness of numerous tourist destinations. It is evident that it is very difficult not to spoon-feed because ultimately it must be someone's decision to make it work and make it happen. Therefore, participation of the local people in their own development is considered as a crucial feature in the success of projects.

Integration of ecotourism into the main culture of the community must be developed using a grass roots method instead of being imposed from the outside. An asset-based approach to development is employed by one of the PGRs foundations wherein community participation holds the key to long-term change. It's all about utilising people's potential as opposed to focusing on what they don't have. The asset-based approach as discussed in Chapter Seven proposes that sustainable development can only occur when communities are developed from the bottom up and from the inside out. This could bring about the empowerment of the local people to such a degree that they would be allowed to organise their own abilities, control resources, make decisions and manage the actions that have an impact on their lives. In this regard, PGRs need to adopt an asset based grassroots approach that focuses on unlocking human potential and community participation.

In this regard, people need to feel and believe that it is their personal accomplishments that are steering the development process. They should feel that they themselves are giving the most of their own resources, and that external support is only for what they cannot yet achieve themselves. The idea of self-reliance is core to many of the PGRs

foundations. This has been achieved through a number of the foundations as they are focused on facilitating community driven development, where it must come from the community itself and it must happen at the pace of the community. It is important that individuals learn how to develop and manage their own operations. They need to learn how to utilise their organisations to access resources and services, for enhanced income-generating activities as well as how to set up and run these projects.

As I showed in Chapter Three, the basic value that motivates evaluation of development work includes whether the work that is done in the communities is sustainable. Sustainability is of huge importance in all development work. It is the ability for development work to continue functioning successfully without continuous outside support.

Apart from one or two of the PGRs foundations, communities rely heavily on external support for the development and upliftment of their communities. Most of the development projects appear to not be completely sustainable without the help from the various foundations. Some of the PGRs have established trusts whereby guests pay a bed levy which goes into the foundation forming long term reliable funding for development projects. However, the majority of the foundations have/or are putting into place measures to ensure the continuation of community development projects. Although these measures may vary, PGRs foundations have recognised the need for measures to ensure the long-term sustainability of projects.

Finally, there is an urgent need for national and provincial governments to acknowledge the important contribution this industry is making towards the country's economy, and to provide assistance and support in both the establishment and management of private reserves, but also in their current and possible future influences on socio-economic development.

In conclusion, the establishments of PGRs have a significant positive impact on the local areas in which they are established. As a land-use, ecotourism based game reserves are an economically and ecologically desirable alternative to other land uses. Therefore the ecotourism based private game reserve industry with its extensive community development focus for farmworkers and local communities is a viable and sustainable

alternative to land reform. Not only does it generate more income per unit area, but it also creates more jobs that are better paid and ecologically sustainable. The Indalo PGRs development work has built capacity in the communities it has served, however community participation, particularly in decision-making is limited and needs more development if productive and sustainable development is to be achieved. Furthermore, communities rely heavily on external support for the development and upliftment of their communities. However, the majority of the PGRs have/or are putting measures in place to ensure the continuation of community development project to ensure the long-term sustainability of projects.

A new vision of land reform is needed that should include sustainability in all aspects. Given this reality, the ecotourism private game reserve industry with its extensive community development focus for farmworkers and local communities is a viable and sustainable alternative to land reform that should be considered.

The consolidation of Indalo reserves (from Addo Elephant Park to the Greater Fish River Reserve) into an enlarged environmental conservancy is a concept that should be looked into more seriously. The benefits of this initiative to community development and upliftment are considerable, as larger consolidated areas will lead to a significantly positive impact on the entire area and its economy, regarding employment, income, skills development and several other factors that cannot be ignored and can be regarded as an effective means of improving local communities and local economies.

In this regard, PGRs could work together to combine local linkages, such as the provision of training programmes and the provision of local products and services from surrounding communities. Currently these linkages are duplicated at each of the reserves, by combining the linkages the Indalo group can ensure a wider developmental impact on the adjacent communities and in turn a reduction in their costs.

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