Pro-poor tourism intervention within Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife: a case study of Amatikulu Nature Reserve, South Africa

DEREK MORGAN

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Preface

This dissertation was carried out as part of the requirements for the Masters of Environment and Development at the Centre for Environment and Development, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, South Africa. The research was conducted from July 2002 to January 2003, under the supervision of Prof. Robert Fincham and Mr. Richard Clacey.

The dissertation is wholly the original work of the author and has not been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any university or tertiary institution. Where use was made of the work of others, it is duly acknowledged in the text. The dissertation is comprised of two components, component A is literature review, while component of

Signed...

Derek Andrew Morgan

Signed.

Rob Fincham (Supervisor)

Component A

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List of Acronyms

CAMPFIRE Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources

CBNRM Community Based Natural Resource Management

CBT Community Based Tourism

DFID The Department for International Development

GEF Global Environmental Facility

ICOMOS The International Scientific Committee on Cultural Tourism

ICRT International Centre for Responsible Tourism

IIED International Institute for Environment and Development

IMF International Monetary Fund

IUCN International Union for the Conservation of Nature

KZN KwaZulu-Natal

NGO Non Governmental Organisation

ODI Overseas Development Institute

PPT Pro-Poor Tourism

SLA Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

SMME Small Medium and Micro Enterprises

TIES The International Ecotourism Society

UN United Nations

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNEP United Nations Environment Programme

WTO World Tourism Organisation

WTTC World Travel and Tourism Council

1.1 Rationale

Tourism is acknowledged as one of the fastest growing industries in the world. It is also acknowledged as one of the few industries that, through ease of accessibility, can secure tangible livelihood benefits to economically underprivileged communities. The Overseas Development Institute (ODI) together with the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED), have developed a Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) approach that aims at maximising the benefits to poor communities through tourism development by "putting poor people at the heart of tourism" (Bennett, Roe and Ashley 1999: 6). In order to achieve this, the PPT approach focuses on multilevel and multi-sectoral intervention, with the four broad levels of PPT implementation being; the public sector, the private sector, civil societies and the local communities.

The PPT approach is, however, a relatively new concept in the international development arena. As such PPT intervention, particularly in South Africa, is little beyond its inception, with the principal focus being on private sector initiatives. This is especially true in KwaZulu-Natal (KZN), where the PPT approach has been limited to implementation by the private operator Wilderness Safaris (at Rocktail Bay and Ndumu Lodge (Poultney and Spenceley 2001). The benefits realised by the communities involved in these two initiatives have however illustrated how sustainable tourism practices can serve as an effective means for poverty alleviation, while maintaining social and ecological integrity. Benefits that include employment through capacity building, gender orientated empowerment and social structure development.

In order to ensure that the application of PPT intervention is extended beyond this private sector operator in KZN, it is necessary to assess the feasibility of applying it to other spheres of intervention. Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, as the public sector representative for nature conservation in KZN, and as the custodian of a wide range of nature reserves centred on sustainable tourism development, is in a position to facilitate PPT intervention throughout the province at the public sector level. The vision of KZN wildlife confirms its commitment for ensuring benefits to local

communities by affirming, "conservation and wise use of wildlife in KZN in partnership with the people" (KZN Wildlife 2002: 1). A vision directly in-line with the PPT approach.

By assessing the level of pro-poor tourism intervention in Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, using Amatikulu Nature Reserve as a case study, a basic framework can be sketched for PPT implementation throughout the province. Once established, this framework will provide the means for ensuring long term pro-poor, community-public partnerships that focus on sustainable as well as socially beneficial conservation practices.

1.2 Aim

The aim of this research is to assess the level of Pro-Poor Tourism intervention within Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife Services, South Africa, using Amatikulu Nature Reserve as a case study.

1.3 Objectives

- To assess to what degree the tourism development approach of Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife Services is in line with the principles of Pro-Poor Tourism.
- Through the case study of Amatikulu Nature Reserve, to assess to what degree
 the implementation of tourism development at Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal
 Wildlife Services is in line with the principles of Pro-poor Tourism and how it
 is enhancing livelihoods outcomes of the poor.
- To suggest options for ensuring effective pro-poor tourism implementation at Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Wildlife Services.

1.4 Conceptual Framework

In order to understand the principles of pro-poor tourism intervention in South Africa it is first necessary to investigate the contemporary theoretical environment in which tourism development finds itself and to locate where the PPT approach integrates itself within this landscape.

It is necessary to begin with a historical perspective of the growth in the tourism industry, and how this has led to the development of both the Mass and New Tourism industries (Figure 1). Although these two forms of tourism development are essentially divergent in their underlying philosophical approaches, they often share a commonality in the impacts and benefits that they effect on local communities, albeit at different scales. It is therefore necessary to investigate these outcomes in order to encapsulate a broad understanding of the advantages and disadvantages associated with tourism development.

Furthermore, the nature of pro-poor tourism research requires an understanding of the interaction of the poor within the tourism industry. Therefore, from the base of the Mass versus New tourism debate, the analysis moves to contemporary tourism development options for Third World destinations. An important component of this discussion is strengthening the link between poverty relief and Third World tourism development. Options for Third World tourism development including Responsible, Community Based and Eco-tourism are critically explored in terms of their likely impacts on poverty reduction and livelihoods outcomes for development.

From the above assessment, Pro-poor Tourism, with its affinity for the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (DFID 1999), emerges as one of the most appropriate avenues in linking tourism and poverty alleviation. The multi-sectoral, cross-disciplinary nature of the pro-poor tourism approach requires interventions at various social, political and economic levels to ensure realistic livelihood outcomes. Outcomes include; livelihood activities and assets, the policy and institutional environment as well as localised economic benefits. Figure 1 serves to illustrate this interrelationship between the various levels of pro-poor tourism implementation.

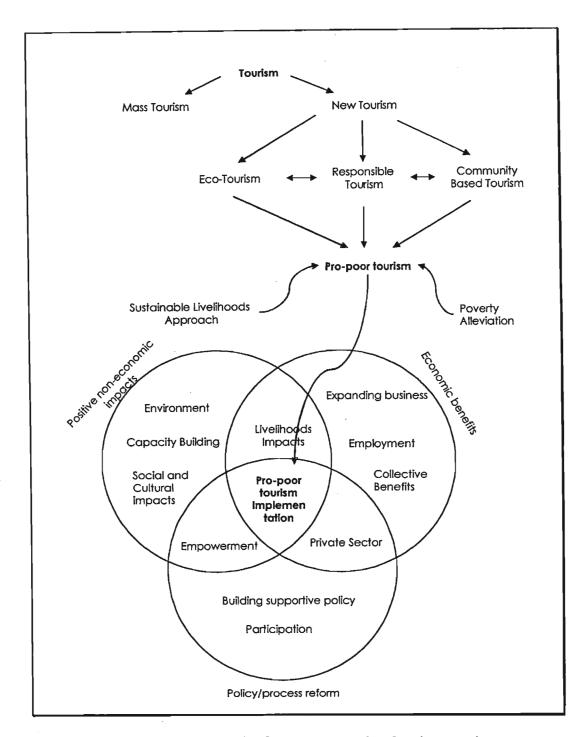


Figure 1: Conceptual Framework of Pro-Poor Tourism Implementation

1.5 Structure of Document

This document constitutes Component A of a course work Masters Degree in Environment and Development at the University of Natal, South Africa. Component A comprises the scope of the thesis and consists of the aims, objectives and rationale (as outlined above). It also includes a literature review of the relevant and current

academic debate on the topic as well as a thorough description of the methodology that has been applied.

The following chapter (chapter 2) charts the evolution of tourism from the ancient forms of pilgrimage to the birth of the mass tourism industry and then to the more recent responsible and socially conscious forms of travel. This investigation serves not only as a description of the evolution of tourism but also as a critical foundation of what the contemporary forms of tourism are available to developing tourism industries.

Chapter 3 discusses these tourism development options in more detail, focussing specifically on options for Third World tourism destinations. Approaches such as responsible tourism, eco-tourism, cultural-tourism and sustainable tourism are critically evaluated in terms of their positive and negative impacts on Third World host regions. From this discussion, pro-poor tourism, with a specific focus on poverty alleviation and livelihoods development, emerges as one of the more appropriate options for tourism development available to Third World destinations.

Chapter 4 outlines the research procedure. The study area, timing and research methodology are explained in detail.

Component B, a separate document, is structured in such a way as to meet the requirements for publication of an academic paper. The structure has been adapted to meet the requirements of the pro-poor tourism website publication page:

http://www.propoortourism.org.uk/,

a collaboration between the Overseas Development Institute (ODI), the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and the International Centre for Responsible Tourism (ICRT).

As such, it begins with an introduction and overview rather than an abstract and summary of the literature. The overview section describes the geographical, demographic, historical and economic context of the study area as well as the policy and institutional environment of KZN Wildlife. From this basis the following section covers the pro-poor focus of KZN Wildlife in relation to the case study area, the

Amatikulu Nature Reserve. This is then followed by an analysis of the results and impacts that the intervention has had on the local community and concludes with a review and lessons.

1.6 Limitations of Study

The structure of the Masters for Environment and Development Degree is such that the initial six months constitute an intensive course work programme, which is then followed by a six month period for a mini-dissertation. This restricted time frame has placed two key limitations on the scope of the research.

The first of these is that the research has had to take the form of a case study rather than a comprehensive institutional review. Although not a limitation in itself this methodological approach results in research findings that are not globally accurate or feasible to extrapolate to other areas of intervention. In this situation, the findings from Amatikulu Nature Reserve may well not be applicable to other reserves under the jurisdiction of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife.

The second limitation of the restricted time frame has been the quantity and corresponding representivity of the stakeholders interviewed. Although a wide range of stakeholders were questioned, it was not possible to validate these responses by interviewing stakeholders in similar positions or with similar levels of involvement. As an example, the response of the management at Amatikulu Reserve could not be compared with responses from the management of other reserves or areas. The input from the individual stakeholders therefore had to used critically and with caution.

An additional limitation of the research has been the lack of a framework for evaluating the expected PPT outcomes. All previous PPT research has focussed on tourism development that has specifically implemented the PPT approach. The propoor outcomes from these developments are evaluated according to specific criteria that have been established within the PPT framework, criteria that include the expansion of business opportunities and building supportive policy frameworks. In contrast, the livelihood outcomes from Amatikulu Nature Reserve cannot be directly

assessed according to the PPT framework as a PPT approach has never been implemented by Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife.

However, one of expected outcomes of this research is to establish a foundation for future PPT implementation in Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife (and the broader KZN area) by determining the current PPT status quo. The lack the PPT approach to tourism development in Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife has therefore proved to be one of the most significant strengths of this research. This research has created the foundation for the evaluation and implementation of PPT in alternative, specifically public sector, tourism interventions in KZN.

2 The Conceptual Transformation of Western Tourism; from Travail to the New Tourism

2.1 An Introduction to Tourism

2.1.1 Origins

Honey (1999), in reviewing the origin of tourism, notes travel and tourism date as far back as ancient Greece and Rome, where nobility would explore the European continent, seeking exotic and pleasurable experiences. Instances of this form of leisure travel were however relatively rare through the Middle Ages and up to the pre-industrial era, with most travel orientated towards scientific (including geographical anthropological and cultural) exploration and religious pilgrimage (Laverly 1971, Murphy 1985, Krippendorf 1987, Honey 1999). Travel, during this period was, considered difficult and sometimes dangerous, often only conducted under conditions of necessity (Murphy 1985, Crick 1989 cited Palmer and Viljoen 2001). Palmer and Viljoen (2001) note that the concept of pre-industrial travel initially related to vocation, with the word 'Travel' being derived from the French *travail*, meaning 'work'.

With the onset of industrialisation, towards the end of the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century, infrastructure improvements and increased personal wealth provided the necessary ingredients for expanding the leisure travel industry. The new bourgeoisie classes became more adventurous in their quest for leisure activities (Murphy 1985, Ceballos-Lascurain 1996), and, as a result, the popularity of "grand tour" style of travelling grew in popularity (Murphy 1985: 17). These travellers were the new wealthy, touring mostly Western Europe in search of new political, cultural and educational learnings (Honey 1999).

2.1.2 Mobility and the Changing Tourism Industry

As the industrial revolution gained momentum, improvements in the European public transport systems allowed for a much larger audience in the tourism adventure (Lavery 1971, Murphy 1985, Krippendorf 1987 and Honey 1999). Murphy (1985) draws attention to this leap in the transformation of the industry by emphasising the importance of the interplay between *mobility, motivation* and *ability* (see Table 1). The industrialisation period has been labelled as the watershed in travel by authors such as Palmer and Viljoen (2001), noting that travel was no longer exclusive, but rather the pursuit of personal relaxation, education and empowerment of the middle class masses. Consequently, some areas within easy rail access became the holiday staple for many European travellers, most notably the coastal areas of the northern Mediterranean (Honey 1999). This is what Urry (1990) describes as the birth of *Tourism*.

Table 1: Growth Factors in the Evolution of Tourism

Pre-industrial	Exploration,	Few travellers,	Slow and dangerous
	business, religion,	mostly wealthy, by	
	education and health	permission	
Industrial	Impact of radio and	Higher income,	Lower costs, and
	print, colonialism	organised tours	increased public
			transport.
Consumer society	Impact of visual	Shorter work week,	Improved transport,
	media,	discretionary	increased personal
	consumerism,	income, package	transport.
	escape from routine	tours	_
Future	Vacation a	Self-catering,	More efficient
	necessity, business	smaller families,	transport, alternative
	and learning.	two wage earners.	fuels.

Source: Murphy (1985: 22)

However, by the mid 20th century, the tourism revolution had begun to undergo another significant transformation. The period before and during World War II saw a rapid growth in aviation transport technology (Murphy 1985). Consequently, by the end of the war, airline companies were in a position to expand their markets beyond the military to include the travel for the leisure market (Murphy 1985, Honey 1999, Palmer and Viljoen 2001). In 1948 the first tourist class was offered by Pan America

World Airways and by the 1950s intercontinental (mostly between Europe and the USA) flights became available to the tourism industry (Honey 1999). The introduction of affordable international air travel now gave tourists a substantially greater range of international destinations to choose from (Honey 1999, Palmer and Viljoen 2001).

This expansion, however, was initially focused on First World destinations, for First World tourists. Only by the late half of the 20th century did Third World destinations begin to feel the impact of this new, internationally lucrative industry (Honey 1999). The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) states that by the mid 1970s, 8% of developed nation tourists were bound for Third World destinations. This figure grew to 17% by the mid 1980s and to 20% by the 1990s. The latest WTO figures, based on tourism data for 2001, where that 31% of tourists travelling from developed countries are bound for holiday destinations in developed countries (WTO 2002).

2.1.3 From Mass Tourism to New Tourism

One of the key features of tourism during the mid 20th century was its mass consumptive nature (Turner and Ash 1975, Urry 1990). Mowforth and Munt (1998) explain how *mass tourism* was born in an era of western culture marked by Fordism economics and modernist cultural trends. That is, an economically prosperous era, focussed on bulk production lines and mass consumption patterns, while marginalising cultural expression to predominantly functional paradigms (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996).

In line with these trends, the standard mode of travel was that of cheap package holidays, that were mass-produced by travel organisations and mass-consumed by the middle class masses (Palmer and Viljoen 2001). Turner and Ash (1975) describe the tourism product for this genre as focussed on the four S's; sun, sea, sand and sex. That is, destinations that offered an experience that was physically opposite to that of the polluted, gloomy built environment of industrial cities (Urry 1990). Consequently, during the early part of the 20th century, European mass tourism favoured destinations such as the shores of the Mediterranean. These areas offered the perfect combination of the four S's (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996), while still being affordable and involving

minimal uncertainty (Murphy 1985). This form of mass tourism enjoyed domination of the market well after the end of World War II (Palmer and Viljoen 2001) and with improved travel, western tourists were able to explore idyllic coastal destinations all around the world (Murphy 1985).

The latter half of the 20th century saw a significant change in the economic paradigm of the west and consequently the work pattern of many employees (Mowforth and Munt 1998). Economics were slowly shifting from the mass production culture of Fordism to the more malleable and individualistic forms of restricted production and consumption in a post-Fordist economy (Krippendorf 1987). Honey (1999) notes that this shift in the global economic system was accompanied by a changing work pattern that led to increased labour rights and an increased demand for quality vacation experiences. She states that the ideal of a relaxing pre-directed beach holiday began to give way to holidays that promoted the pursuit of personal development through a variety of alternative and unique experiences (Honey 1999).

This new development in tourism has been extensively documented (MacCannell 1976, Crompton 1979, Krippendorf 1987, Butler 1990, McIntosh & Goeldner 1990, Mowforth and Munt 1998, Opperman 1998) and is described under a variety of different labels, including *New-Tourism*, *Post-Tourism* or *Alternative-Tourism* and even *travel* (as oppose to *tourism*) (Palmer and Viljoen 2001). In principle, it encompasses an emphasis on alternative, relatively unique travel experiences that will primarily serve as a vehicle for empowerment and education to the tourist, over and above traditional forms of passive relaxation (Mowforth and Munt 1998).

Palmer and Viljoen (2001) states that the new tourists are still drawn to destinations that offer a warm climate and relaxed atmosphere, but they are no longer restricted to these locations. New tourists are as likely to select a tropical beach as they are to select unique natural or cultural landscapes for their holiday destination (Urry 1990, Palmer and Viljoen 2001). The new tourists however are also more likely to become involved in a variety of activities while on holiday, ranging from ecological to adventure to cultural experiences (Mowforth and Munt 1998, Opperman 1998).

Opperman (1998) and Palmer and Viljoen (2001) stress though that the new tourism has not replaced mass tourism, but rather added a new dimension to tourism development, with both forms still very much a part of today's travel industry. Consequently, host destinations are subject to a diversity of tourism developments, both *mass* and *new* in nature.

2.2 Theoretical Approaches to Tourism

There are a variety of conceptual approaches to the study of tourism, ranging from acculturative processes to commercialised hospitality (Cohen 1996). However, Dann, Nash and Pearce (1988) state that tourism research often lacks a strong methodological base. They attribute this to the infancy of the field and to the lack of self-criticism with regards to the methodologies and research practices. Pearce (1993) confirms this by stating that tourism research reviews are often descriptive in nature rather than critical of the methodologies in general practice. To overcome this Cohen (1996) has broadly classified the study of tourism into various ranges of all inclusive groups. However by attempting to incorporate all the genre of tourism study, Cohen's (1996) groups tend to lack resolution and are often allied in characteristics. Conversely, Mowforth and Munt's (1998) breakdown of tourism research into four distinct categories offers a comprehensive summary of current academic tourism investigation. The categories of; structural analysis, impact analysis, tourism models, and typological analysis are able to transcend elementary critical analysis in tourism research by identifying, what Mowforth and Munt (1998) regard as critical oversights that exist in much of current tourism studies.

2.2.1 Structural Analysis

The first of these categories that Mowforth and Munt (1998: 88) identify are those that focus on the structures and 'main actors' of the tourism industry. This type of research is often found in earlier literature and Murphy's (1985) growth factor analysis (see table 1) is an example of the kind of study. Murphy (1985) focuses on structures and mechanisms that determine the development and evolution of the tourism industry. It is evident that he has identified a strong correlation between increased structures of mobility and ability and the changing tourism environment.

Shaw and Williams (1994) also offer an example of this type of research by linking the transforming geographical perspective to the evolving tourism industry.

2.2.2 Impact Analysis

Secondly, Mowforth and Munt (1998) describe studies that focus specifically on the impact of tourism. These studies concentrate on the complex connectivity between the social, cultural and environmental impacts that tourism inflicts on the host countries and as well as the visiting tourists. Impacts studies can range from inflation, taxes, foreign exchange, income, employment, to development and environment (Cohen 1996). Tourism impact studies have also become increasingly focused on the social and specifically cultural impacts that can result through tourism. Tomaselli and Wang (2001) use this approach in providing an extensive review of the cultural dynamic associated with tourism, specifically within a Southern African context.

2.2.3 Tourism Models

The third type of tourism analyses are those that develop or utilise models to investigate tourism development. These models can be either descriptive or predictive (Mowforth and Munt 1998). Smith (1989) defines tourism using the simplistic descriptive model:

$$T = L + I + M$$

Where T = Tourism, L = Leisure Time, I = Income (Discretionary) and M = Motivation. However, Mowforth and Munt (1998) note that tourism models can also be predictive in that they can be used to set out criteria for future tourism development. Much of contemporary tourism literature is based on models adapted from or closely related to development models (Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin 2000, Roe and Urquart 2001).

2.2.4 Typological Analysis

Lastly tourism studies can take a more sociological approach through the use of typologies (Mowforth and Munt 1998). These studies emphasise the diversity of tourism characteristics and as such state that they cannot readily be summarised into

single categories (Pearce 1978, Cohen 1979, 1988, Redfoot 1984, Smith 1989). Tourism typologies are often based on motivation (Mowforth and Munt 1998) and the resultant research is orientated towards a range of economic, cultural or psychological characteristics (Cohen 1979, Smith 1989).

Mowforth and Munt (1998), however, criticise all four approaches to tourism study for lacking the inclusion of the relationship with the power structures within the tourism environment. They argue that an awareness of evolution of the power structures is critical to understanding how and why the scope of tourism has changed so much over the last two centuries. Table 2 summarises how Mowforth and Munt (1998) view the changing power structure's relationship to the development of the tourism industry.

Mowforth and Munt (1998) also criticise the general lack of conceptualisation in tourism research, which restricts the direction of research, and which leads to endless repetition. Pearce (1993) highlights this lack of a sound ideological framework from where tourism research can expand and develop. To accommodate this lack of an ideological base, Mowforth and Munt (1998) include the need for an ethical dimension in tourism research. Table 2 illustrates how a parallel evolution in *tourism ethics* has occurred, from that centred on work through to leisure and finally into the conservation ethic.

Table 2: Ethics and the Tourism Industry

	nedge finer Nederled desi			
Modernist	Fordist	The Work Ethic	Mass and package	Merchants and new service providers
		The Leisure Ethic	Package exploration adventure	Trans-national corporations & lending organisations
Postmodernist	Post-Fordist	The Conservation Ethic	Nature and sustainable	Socio- environmental organisations & lending organisations

Source: Mowforth and Munt (1998: 90)

By including both the ethical nature and power structures in tourism research Mowforth and Munt (1998) argue that societal dynamics become woven into tourism development plans and strategies. Turner and Ash (1975) confer by noting that tourism is not necessarily the financial elixir to many developing economies and that there needs to be a comprehensive understanding of particularly the power dynamics if the social and environmental impacts and benefits of tourism are to be recognised.

2.3 The Power in Tourism

2.3.1 Leakages

Britton and Clarke (1987) state that although Third-World tourism began to grow significantly in the 1970s, there was already concern at this early stage that the benefits realised from this industry and consequently the control of the industry were skewed. One of the primary concerns that they highlighted was that of leakage of capital out of the host destinations.

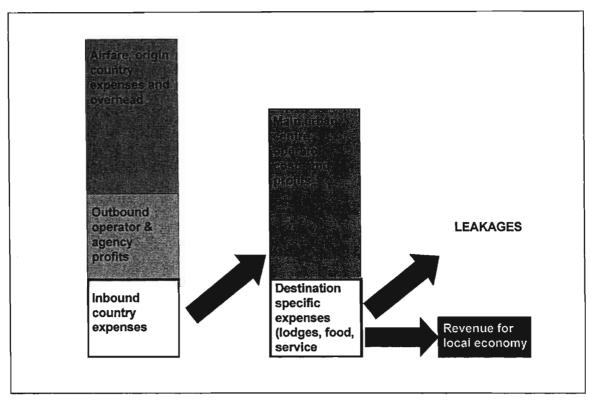


Figure 2: The Loss of Revenue through Leakages in the Tourism Industry. Source: UNEP (2001)

Leakages can be defined as the loss of income to a region through; wages, taxes and profits paid outside an area and after imports are purchased (UNEP 2001). Figure 2, illustrates the principal flow of income in the tourism industry. It is evident that of the original monies associated with tourism, the bulk is channelled to tour operators and airfares in the countries of origin (Gonslaves 1993 cited Mowforth and Munt 1998, Pattullo 1996). The majority of the revenue generated from tourism does not reach the inbound county, and even less is realised by the local economies (Hong 1985). A UN report in 1996 (Barnwell 2000) showed that as much as 56% of gross tourism income in the Caribbean leaked from those developing countries.

2.3.2 Under-development

Britton (1980) in an analysis of tourism on the Fiji islands goes further to state that tourism has begun to play a critical role in retarding development of Third World nations. This opinion was unanimously expressed in 1980 at the Manila declaration on World Tourism, which stated that "tourism does more harm than good to people and societies living in the Third World" (Honey 1999: 9). Britton (1980) uses the

Dependency Theory to argue that Third World nations often play only a minor role in tourism initiatives within their own borders. The dependency theory states that developing countries, through a legacy of exploitation by richer industrialised nations, often do not possess the capital, infrastructure, or capacity to develop their own industries. As a result the host country becomes dependent on the richer First World to develop and maintain economic growth through tourism initiatives (Britton 1980, Kay 1989, Pattullo 1996).

2.3.3 Colonialism and Imperialism

Closely linked to dependency in the debate on the power relationship in tourism are the re-emergence and/or maintenance of colonialism and imperialism (Llewellyn Watson and Kopachevsky 1996, Mowforth and Munt 1998). Cohen (1972) and Bruner (1989) both conclude that tourism is not only an extension of colonialism by emulating the same ideology, it in fact follows the same social process of power transfer through land invasion and cultural suppression. Crick (1996) observes the obvious parallelism between Bright's remark (1859, quoted Crick 1996: 30) that imperialism was a "gigantic system of outdoor relief for the aristocracy" and present day tourism activities. Llewellyn Watson and Kopachevsky (1996) expands this criticism to state that tourism not only serves as a means for satisfying the West's indulgences, and by doing so it turns Third World cultures and environments into commodities.

2.4 New Tourism the Answer?

However, Britton's (1990) study in the Fiji islands concludes that exploitation and dependency resulting from tourism development are often based on mass tourism models. Honey (1999: 9) confirms by stating that "mass tourism often [leads to] over-development, uneven development, environmental pollution and invasion by culturally insensitive and economically disruptive foreigners". By inference, the new tourism, which is promoted as being far more responsible and sensitive to local environments, and as causing less impact and as such should be regarded as a viable and sustainable alternative (Kutay 1989, Lash and Urry 1994, Seabrook 1995, Mcloed 1997).

One of the key characteristics of the new tourism is that of the quest for authenticity (Buntman 1996, Tomaselli and Wang 2001). The major advantage of this pursuit for authenticity, as promoted by authors such as Poon (1989) and MacCannell (1992), is that it relocates the tourist away from the mass tourism enclaves and into the local community. The benefits secured by tourism are therefore not lost through economic leakages (see above) but rather realised directly by the community.

Mowforth and Munt (1998) explain by noting that since the shift from the Fordism mode of consumption, tour companies have changed their marketing emphasis from holiday experiences that are romantic and utopian to ones that are more 'realistic' and focused on authenticity. As an example they note how a Caribbean holiday guide transformed its marketing strategy from one of glossy pictures of couples dining on deserted white beaches, to one of an emphasis on the authentic difficulties associated with travelling to a tropical Third World country (e.g. mosquitoes, erratic weather).

Tomaselli (2002) also argues that the quest for cultural authenticity can serve as a channel to empower the communities as well as the tourists through cultural education. He states that this form of empowerment is greatly enhanced where communities have direct access to the media. To illustrate, Tomaselli (2002) uses the video *In God's Places*, where the Khoi/San descendants were given the freedom to interpret their ancestral rock-art. In so doing the role reversal repositioned them rather than the camera as the educator.

2.4.1 Interventionism

MacCannell (1992) and Gonsalves (1993) however criticise the notion that the new tourism should be hailed as the vessel for local empowerment through tourism development. One of the key criticisms that MacCannell (1992) offers of the new tourism is that of interventionism. He states that all too often the new tourism is hailed as a means for ensuring environmental and cultural preservation by increasing their economic value. However, in the process, Western ideals of 'resource' management are being forced on Third World destinations. Pleumarom (1990) corroborates this by

noting that host destinations can be forced to adopt certain policy reforms in order to ensure financing from international aid agencies such as the World Bank.

2.4.2 Subservience

Mowforth and Munt (1998) further criticise the new tourism for subservience. These authors emphasise the importance of the power relationship in tourism initiatives (see above). The key issue they raise is the base level interaction between the tourist and the host. They question whether this interaction is balanced in terms of the social dynamics that takes place. Holder (1990: 76 cited Mowforth and Munt 1998), in an analysis of Caribbean tourism, notes the negative attitude of many tourism employees, who find it difficult to distinguish between "service and servitude". Mowforth and Munt (1998: 71) state that subservience is by no means restricted to mass tourism and to promote the new tourism as reducing this form of servitude is "somewhat disingenuous". They note the strong parallelism between colonialism and many safari operations, where luxury holidays are literally carried out on the backs of local individuals. Michael Hall (1996) confers in an analysis of 'sex' tourism in Third World countries. He notes that tourism in many countries has resulted in institutionalised sexism and racism.

2.4.3 Commodification

Closely linked with interventionism is commodification. Tourism organisations and operators in an attempt to protect their tourist investments and maximise profit often 'commodify' the host environments and cultures (Llewellyn Watson and Kopachevsky 1996). Natural and cultural assets are in the process converted into potential tourism revenue. This is compounded when, for example, local communities have to revise traditions to meet with the needs of tourist demands (MacCannell 1992). Tomaselli (2002) discusses the commodification of Third World cultures in detail, noting that tourists often arrive at their destinations with a certain expected experience. He uses the example of communities living in the Eastern Cape in South Africa who have modified their lifestyles to imitate those of the Khoi/San, a people who no longer live in the region as a unique ethnic group. All this to satisfy the demand by the visiting tourists.

2.4.4 Over Exploitation

Eadington & Smith (1994) also highlight the problem of over-exploitation of resources caused by the massive growth and diversification of the new tourism industry. They describe the sequence of events in Third World tourism destinations as a model of progressive deterioration. In their model the industry begins with initial low impact explorer type travellers. As the destination becomes recognized as a unique experience there is a significant growth in the number of visiting tourists. Eventually the volume of tourists exceeds the carrying capacity of the destination and as a result tourist product degenerates. This, in turn, leads to a lessened tourist experience and the industry goes into decline, leaving the host destination with a degraded natural and cultural environment. (Eadington and Smith 1994).

2.5 Concluding Remarks

This chapter begins with a historical perspective of the growth in the tourism industry, then briefly discusses some of the academic paradigms that govern current tourism research and development and concludes with the impacts that tourism can have on host destinations. One of the key debates that was highlighted the value of the new versus mass forms of tourism development. Mowforth and Munt (1998) conclude that although the new tourism is less capital expensive and often results in a wider benefit base, it should be developed with caution. Developing nations in particular should pay heed to the dangers of assuming that the new forms of tourism are any less destructive than those of the mass tourism models.

3.1 Background

The previous chapter has described the considerable negative impacts that can be associated with both mass and new tourism development. These can include dependency, imperialism and subservience, commodification, interventionism and over-exploitation. However, the tourism industry as a whole has been accepted as a significant sector for economic growth, particularly in many Third World destinations (Eadington & Smith 1994, Ceballos-Lascurain 1996, Ashley and Roe 1998, Honey 1999). The WTO estimates that tourism, as the world's biggest industry, employs up to 10% of the world's labour force, and comprises 10% of global gross domestic product (DFID 2001). Figures from a WTO analysis of the global tourism industry in 2001 confirmed that of the global tourism arrivals, 30.6% of international tourists were bound for Third World countries (WTO 2002). Bennett, Roe and Ashley (1999) also note that the aggregate growth of international arrivals to Third World destinations has risen by 9.5% since 1990, compared with 4.6% for the rest of the world.

3.1.1 Tourism and the Poor

There is a strong geographical correlation between contemporary tourism destinations and areas of high incidences of poverty (Ashley, Roe and Goodwin 2001a). Bennett, Roe and Ashley (1999) note that tourism accounts for a significant economic proportion of 11 of the 12 countries that represent 80% of the world's poor. This report also notes that tourism is a significant economic contributor to "almost half of the low income countries and virtually all lower-middle income countries" (Bennett et al 1999: 9).

However, Ashley, Boyd and Goodwin (2000) highlight that the poor are particularly susceptible to impacts of tourism owing to their increased social and economic vulnerability and their dependence on the natural resource base. The poor face the greatest number of social and economic obstacles in realising the benefits from

tourism initiatives. These can include education, skills development, capital investment and access to the market (Goodwin 1998).

Nevertheless, it has also been argued that tourism is dissimilar to other economic sectors, in that it possesses a range of characteristics that, if harnessed responsibly, can aid in poverty alleviation. (Bennett et al 1999, Ashley et al 2000, Ashley et al 2001a). Cohen (1996) states that the diverse nature of tourism allows for the participation of a much wider range of social groups and economic sectors. To complement this, tourism is centred on consuming natural and cultural assets. Assets, which poor communities often have direct access to without necessarily possessing other forms of economic empowerment (Ashley et al 2001a). Tourism also has the benefits of bringing the customer to the product thereby avoiding spatial discrimination (Ashley et al 2000). Furthermore, Cohen (1996) notes that tourism has social gains of being labour intensive and often advances gender empowerment through employing previously discriminated sectors of the population, particularly young woman.

Bennett et al (1999) summarise the debate by stating that tourism has the potential to be both beneficial and damaging to poor communities. Therefore, if tourism is to be considered as an approach to poverty alleviation, the impacts (both negative and positive) need to be compared with those impacts associated with other development alternatives. From this comparison, the optimal development strategy can be designed. The focus should not be on whether or not tourism is an effective means for poverty alleviation but rather on how to adapt tourism to maximise the social and economic benefits while minimising the costs carried by the targeted poor communities (Bennett et al 1999).

3.2 Contemporary Tourism Options for the Third World

As mentioned previously, Third World destinations often possess the natural and cultural asset base to offer a range of tourism products (Ashley et al 2001a). Mowforth and Munt (1998) draw attention to the diversity of this product base by compiling a list of 25 different types of tourism available in the contemporary tourism industry (See Table 3). The development of a tourism industry based on these

products can be broadly separated into two sectors; ecological or nature based developments and community focused or socially based developments. These two sectors are not mutually exclusive and are often incorporated into a single multifaceted tourism development strategy (Mowforth and Munt 1998).

Table 3: The A to Z of New Tourism

Academic tourism Ethnic tourism Green tourism Adventure tourism Nature tourism Agro-tourism Risk tourism Alternative tourism Safari tourism Anthro-tourism Scientific tourism Appropriate tourism Soft tourism Archaeo-tourism Sustainable tourism Contact tourism Cottage tourism Trekking tourism Truck tourism Culture tourism Wilderness tourism Ecological tourism Wildlife tourism Eco-tourism Environmentally friendly tourism

Source: Mowforth and Munt (1998: 100)

3.2.1 Nature Tourism

The nature tourism industry has its roots in the original forms of tourism, where the ideal tourists products were pristine natural environments. The nature tourism industry has expanded alongside the growth of conventional tourism (Honey 1999) and today there is a diverse range of products available, ranging from viewing wildlife to trekking in rainforests to coral reef diving (World Bank 2002). Goodwin, Kent, Parker and Walpole (1998) define nature tourism as a multi-sector industry that includes mass, adventure, wildlife and eco-tourism utilising a range of natural resources from landscapes and scenery to individual species. The specific commonality in the industry is the use of the natural assets base (Honey 1999). Goodwin *et al* (1997) also note that nature tourism may be consumptive (e.g. hunting and fishing) and/or non-consumptive (e.g. bird and whale watching).

Access to the nature tourism industry therefore only requires the natural asset base and is enhanced by effective marketing of resources such as unique wildlife and the environment (Goodwin et al 1997). Third World countries often view it as an alternative to less sustainable industries based on natural assets, such as logging, cattle ranching and intensive cropping (Honey 1999). Nature tourism also predominantly takes place in protected areas (both public and private) and in so doing, gives economic incentives to increase conservation efforts of the resources (Goodwin et al 1997).

The low level capital entrance requirements along with the perceived sustainability of the industry makes it an attractive option for struggling Third World economies (Honey 1999).

3.2.2 Sustainable Tourism

However (Goodwin et al 1997 and Honey 1999) note that nature tourism is not necessarily sustainable. The focus can, and often is, on short-term profit motives with an emphasis on consumptive practices (Honey 1999). This has led to wide-scale environmental degradation and combined with economic leakages, has seen the collapse of many Third World tourism industries (Mowforth and Munt 1998). As a result, with the shift in consumer preferences towards more authentic and responsible tourism products, there has been increased emphasis on the need to transform the industry to one that embraces more sustainable tourism practices (Brandon 1996, Ceballos-Lascurain 1996, Honey 1999).

There is considerable discourse regarding what constitutes sustainability in tourism (see; Whelan 1991, Chalker 1994, De Kadt 1994, Gale and Cordray 1994, McCool 1994, Goodwin et al 1997, Goodwin 1998, Mowforth and Munt 1998). The discourse has evolved with the wider debate of sustainable development, which has its seed in the Bruntland report of 1987 and the Earth summit in Rio in 1992 (Basiago 1995). One of the outcomes of the 1992 Earth Summit was Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry, a global sectoral action plan for the transformation of the industry to embrace more sustainable development practices (WTTC 2002).

An important ideological shift for the tourism industry from these proceedings was the transformation in strategic planning from a preservationist top-down approach to policies that emphasised the sustainable use of the tourism assets. Along with this was a focus on integrating local communities as the key to successful sustainable development (Bennett *et al* 1999, Hulme & Murphree 2001). The anticipated goal of these policy shifts therefore would be to empower local communities to use their natural resource base as a means for poverty alleviation and in so doing provide a sustainable means for conservation (Ashley and Roe 1998).

This shift saw the birth of the notion of 'sustainable tourism', which as defined by the WTO is "tourism development [that] meets the needs of the present tourists and host regions while protecting and enhancing the opportunity for the future" (cited UNEP 2002). Tourism should lead to the "management of all resources in such a way that economic, social and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled, while maintaining cultural integrity." (cited UNEP 2002). However Honey (1999: 11) also notes that there is considerable confusion as to the precise designation of the term sustainable tourism as the shift from nature tourism to more sustainable forms was not synchronized. Academics, aid institutions, developing countries and the travel industry all developed alternative forms, resulting in terms such as 'responsible', 'sustainable', 'low impact' and 'conservation tourism'. All of these forms nevertheless have the same guiding principles in focussing on community empowerment through tourism as a means for effective conservation and poverty alleviation (Honey 1999).

In order for Third World countries to adopt sustainable tourism approaches to development there needs to be a national policy review that focuses on implementing strategies that are "sustainable (environmentally, socially, culturally and economically)", "educational", emphasise "local participation" and adhere to the principles of Agenda 21 (Mowforth and Munt 1998:105,115). Diggle (unpublished) also notes that it is critical for local governments to establish people centred institutions, locally and nationally, which can facilitate in the implementation of these strategies.

3.2.3 Ecotourism

The concept of eco-tourism originates with Miller's (1978, cited Ashton and Ashton 1993, Honey 1999) review of the Latin American national park system. He coined the phrase "eco-development", noting that development needs to integrate socio-political, economic and biological spheres in order to sustain environmental and human needs. Miller's (1978) ideas of eco-development were incorporated into the International Union for the Conservation of Nature's (IUCN) 1980 World Conservation Strategy, which stressed the interplay between economic sectors, local communities and conservation challenges (Honey 1999). As such, the original notion of ecotourism was born to be a form of sustainable tourism that focuses on nature-based activities while sustaining the local social and natural environment (Brandon 1996, Goodwin 1996, Mowforth and Munt 1998).

However, with the considerable expansion in the tourism industry over the following two decades, the concept of eco-tourism began to acquire a variety of meanings (Goodwin 1996). Ecotourism is used by different sectors (public, private and civil) to promote different agendas (Mowforth 1993, cited Diggle unpublished, Brandon 1996, Goodwin 1996). As a result, today there are two broad, what Honey (1999:21) describes as "crosscurrents" of ecotourism; those of "genuine ecotourism" versus the less legitimate "ecotourism-lite".

The most well recognized definition of 'real' ecotourism is that of the International Ecotourism Society (TIES 2002) which is, "responsible travel to natural areas that conserves the environment and sustains the well-being of local people." Honey (1999: 22), in her systematic analysis of what constitutes ecotourism, has broadened the TIES definition to include seven characteristics. These are; (i) travel to natural destinations, (ii) minimizing impacts, (iii) building environmental awareness, (iv) providing direct financial benefits for conservation, (v) providing financial benefits and empowerment for local people, (vi) respect for local culture and (vii) support for human rights and democratic movement. The IUCN also expands on the TIES definition by stating that "ecotourism is environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying culture – both past and present) that promotes

conservation, has low negative visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations" (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996:20).

Real ecotourism therefore strives to maximise the dynamic interactions between nature tourism, conservation efforts and localised socio-economic empowerment. It focuses on low impact initiatives that conserve the natural environment, empowers both the host and tourist and emphasises respect for cultural and human rights (Brandon 1996, Ceballos-Lascurain 1996, Honey 1999).

"Ecotourism-lite" is best described by Honey (1999: 51) as "mass tourism wrapped in a thin veneer of green". Brandon (1996) and Goodwin (1996) note that the travel industry has used ecotourism as a platform to launch a variety of new tourism niches without necessarily adhering to the set principles. Through effective marketing campaigns the industry has been able to capitalise on the shift in public sentiments to more environmentally responsible travel by creating products that, on the surface, appear to be environmentally and socially conscious. Mowforth and Munt (1998: 200) also note how the shift from mass to new tourism has been accompanied by a new vocabulary in tourism advertising. Vocabulary such as "pleasure", "relaxation" and "resort" has been replaced by more accountable language such as "conservation", "ecology" and "environment".

Honey (1999: 21) notes that the contrition of this "greenwashing" of the industry goes beyond the private sector and can also be used for political gain. The success of the ecotourism industry has prompted many countries to adopt development strategies based on promoting ecotourism. This is publicised as a viable means for poverty alleviation and securing foreign exchange as well as satisfying prerequisites for aid from international donor organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The Global Environmental Facility (GEF) was established by the World Bank in 1990 to promote and finance development that encourages the protection of biodiversity in Third World countries. However, Soares (1992: 48) criticises the GEF for, rather than protecting biodiversity, funding development that represents "mainstays for a development model that increasingly reproduces conditions for the planets deforestation, even while preaching its conservation". Fernandes (1994) further criticises the GEF for advocating World Bank style

structural adjustment programmes that focus on macro-economic profit gains while excluding local community participation and ignoring associated social and environmental costs.

Ecotourism therefore, if misinterpreted, can be as damaging as it can be beneficial to developing nations. To harness the potential Goodwin *et al* (1997) offer some advise for developing nations who wish to transform their nature tourism into an industry more in line with the principles of ecotourism. Foremost, there needs to be reinvestment in ecological conservation and restoration. This reinvestment can be direct (financial) or indirect (emphasis on management that minimises ecological impacts). There should also be integrated planning that maximises local participation, both through employment and ownership as well as in the decision making process. Tourist awareness of impacts and conservation also needs to be raised to the level where the private sector industry can be held accountable for initiatives that are destructive to the host regions. Lastly, there should be effectual marketing that can integrate the tourism product into the international tourism arena (Goodwin *et al* 1997).

3.2.4 Cultural Tourism

ICOMOS, the International Scientific Committee on Cultural Tourism, defines cultural tourism as "that form of tourism whose object is, among other aims, the discovery of monuments and sites. It exerts on these last a very positive effect insofar as it contributes - to satisfy its own ends - to their maintenance and protection." (ICOMOS Charter on Cultural Tourism, 1976). It is evident that this definition lacks a certain sense of modernity in that it makes no reference to the human environment. However, it is useful in that it illustrates how the concept of cultural tourism has evolved from an industry based on primarily historical artifacts and monuments to that which has become more concerned with the human cultural commodity.

A contemporary definition of cultural tourism is offered by Strebbins (1996: 948) namely that it is a "genre of special interest tourism based on the search for and participation in new and deep cultural experiences, whether aesthetic, intellectual, emotional, or psychological". This definition has merit in that it incorporates the possibility of a variety of experiences, ranging from museums, and historical sites to

festivals and performances. More significantly though, it does not limit itself to the tourists that are actively seeking a cultural experience, the observers, but includes the participation of those that provide the service, the observed.

Cultural tourism ventures can therefore take a variety of forms from localised traditional ceremonies to mass scale tourism Disney-like attractions. In general, they are based on adapting cultural heritage to create a product that satisfies foreign curiosity about alternative customs and societies (Murphy 1985). As such, Third World destinations, with traditional culture often very distinct from the western lifestyle, are well placed to capitalise on the industry (Buntman 1996).

However, Buntman (1996: 271) warns that cultural tourism initiatives are often associated with a lack of formalised structures, which can result in the destruction of the cultural and natural environment. One of the impacts she highlights is the "ideological framing of history, nature and tradition, a framing that has the power to reshape culture and nature to its own needs". Conforti (1996) confirms this analysis of ghetto tourism in the United States. He states that the reconstruction of culture through tourism interventions results in a certain sense of proprietorship by those who script the exhibitions. That is, those that are placed in a position to represent cultural development, especially in the absence of generally accepted and acknowledged historical records, contain the power to represent and determine what that history should be. A reality especially pertinent in Third World destinations where, through the legacy of colonialism, documented history is still in its infancy.

Garland and Gordon (1999) also highlight the risk of racial and sexual stereotyping and objectification, often driven by the quest for the alternative, authentic cultures. To compound this Buntman (1996: 277) argues that cultures tend to "museumise" themselves in order to satisfy the tourist demand for authenticity. Likewise, Tomaselli and Wang (2001) note that this demand for the primitive traditions can cause cultures to stagnate, as performers continuously act out the desired pre-modern stereotypes for western tourists.

However, Palmer and Viljoen (2001) state that the "new tourist" is becoming increasingly educated in terms of political, ecological and cultural dynamics in their

destination communities. Tomaselli (2002) states that tourists do not necessarily passively absorb and believe all they are fed by the tourism industry. He argues that travel has become a means of self-reflection and edification through interpretation of the cultural exchange experience. As a consequence, tourism can serve as a channel to empower the performers as well as the tourists through cultural education.

Cultural tourism initiatives therefore need not be culturally and socially destructive. Tomaselli and Wang (2001) note that in order for cultural tourism initiatives to be truly successful there needs to be an emphasis on localised participation. The community should be able to engage with the "perceptions and anticipations" of the tourists to develop a product that will prove to be beneficial to both host and guest (Tomaselli and Wang 2001: 30).

3.2.5 Community Based Tourism

A recurring theme in the previous section has been the inclusion of community participation in tourism initiatives. Krippendorf (1987), Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) and Mowforth and Munt (1998) agree that the first step in promoting a responsible tourism strategy is to shift the power relationship of tourism development. Krippendorf (1987) states that the industry cannot sustain itself unless local communities are placed in a situation that enables them to exert direct control over the development and management of tourism initiatives. Ceballos-Lascurain (1996) confirms by noting that the difference between local and external control is that it is in the best interests of the local community to manage their resources in a sustainable manner and to minimise the impacts on both the social and natural environment.

The principle objective of community based tourism (CBT) initiatives is to increase the contribution of local communities at all levels of participation (see Appendix 1) (Ashley and Roe 1998). CBT is founded on the Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) framework (Roe, Grieg-Gran and Schalken 2001), which Murombedzi (1998: 1) defines as "the devolution of control and management authority over communally held resources". CBT consequently emphasises the access that communities can maintain in controlling and managing tourism initiatives (Ashley and Roe 1998). It is therefore similar to some of the participatory principles

of ecotourism but the shift in focus has succeeded in no longer placing social and cultural aspects secondary to ecological concerns (Bennett et al 1999).

However, Shackleton, Campbell, Wollenberg and Edmunds (2002), in a review of natural resource devolution policies, have shown that the devolution of control promoted by CBNRM programmes often goes little beyond rhetoric. Some of the key concerns that they have highlighted with CBNRM are that there are often negative trade-offs associated with CBNRM, the burden of which is carried by the poor. These authors, together with Roe *et al* (2001) use the Namibian example of community based wildlife gamming to illustrate how communities have benefited from tourism revenue created by wildlife, but simultaneously lacked the authority to deal with wildlife that invaded their cultivated and livestock holdings. Another issue highlighted by Shackleton *et al* (2002) is that the financial benefits realised by the communities often fell short of local expectations. This was part due to high expectations of the community, but they also found that a disproportionate amount of the revenue generated was often retained by the state (e.g. CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe). Adams and Hulme (2001) also note that CBNRM is often not economically sustainable, and the benefits incurred rely heavily on the continual reserves of foreign aid.

3.2.6 Pro-poor Tourism

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is an approach to tourism development that focuses on building strategies and interventions that sustain poverty alleviation (Bennett et al 1999, Roe and Urquhart 2001). The key difference between PPT and the sustainable/responsible tourism agenda is that sustainable tourism often lacks integration between poverty, development and the environment (Ashley et al 2001a). The emphasis in PPT on the contrary, is not only on sustainable practices and increased local participation as such, but also on creating an enabling environment that will ensure poverty reduction through tourism interventions (Ashley et al 2001a). "Tourism that generates net benefits to the poor" (Bennett et al 1999: 6, Roe and Urquhart 2001: 1, Ashley et al 2001a: 2).

Ashley et al (2001a) also note that sustainable tourism developments often institute effect from within the mainstream tourism and then targets social and environmental

impacts on the periphery. PPT recognises that in order to address poverty, there is a need to shift the focus from the mainstream destinations to areas that the poor inhabit (Roe and Urquhart 2001). By focusing on "unlocking opportunities for the poor", PPT is able to move beyond ecological and community based initiatives to formulate a holistic approach to sustainable tourism development. (Bennett *et al* 1999: 6).

3.3 Poverty Alleviation and Tourism

In order for development agencies and governmental institutes to effectively address poverty alleviation the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) drafted the Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA). The SLA is a conceptual construction for sustainable development that has built a framework on "putting people at the centre of development" (DFID 1999: 1.1).

3.3.1 Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

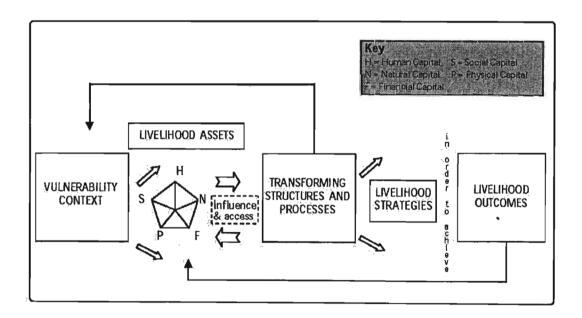


Figure 3: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. Source: DFID (1999).

The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework is designed in such a way as to maximise livelihood outcomes for the poor. This is achieved through a continuous process of building the asset base of the poor while optimising external factors that impact on livelihoods development.

Figure 3 is a schematic representation of the Sustainable Livelihoods Framework. The central cog to the framework is the asset pentagon, which indicates the access that communities have to human, social, physical, natural and financial assets. The use of a pentagon is significant in that it can graphically illustrate the skewed asset base that communities often possess. The centre point of the pentagon represents zero access to assets and the outer points represent maximum access. As an example, a community with diminished human capital, but enhanced social capital would be represented by the pentagon illustrated in Figure 4.

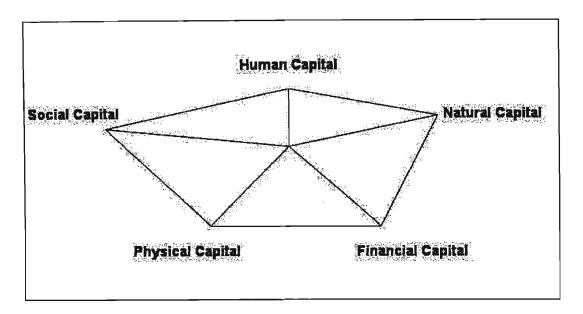


Figure 4: Sustainable Livelihoods Framework Asset Pentagon, with Decreased Human Capital and Enhanced Social Capital

Human capital is those assets such as skills, knowledge, labour ability and health that reflect the overall collective human potential of the community. Human capital is arguably the most important of the livelihood assets in that it is required to make use of the other forms of assets. Social capital is that capital that acts as cohesion in a community. For example networks, memberships, and relationships all act as a means of improving the functioning of the community. Natural capital is the natural resource stock that a community possesses, which is often critical for the day to day survival of the poor. Financial capital, is more versatile than natural capital, and includes both available economic resources as well as flow of capital. Lastly, physical capital

comprises infrastructure, the lack of which is often considered a key component of poverty (DFID 1999).

The asset base can be impacted upon by either its vulnerability context or the transforming structures and processes. The vulnerability context is the external environment over which people have little or no control, and includes; trends (population trends, technological trends, etc..), shocks (economic shocks, conflict, famine, etc..) and seasonality (or price, production, employment, etc..). The vulnerability context need not be negative. For example, economic or technological trends can shift in the favour of local poor communities. However, communities are often not in a position to manage the impacts of their vulnerability and one of the key aims of the SLA is to help communities to become more resilient to negative shocks and trends or alternatively to capitalise on positive shocks, trends and seasonality. This is achieved through improving the asset base, for example, increased financial assets can create financial security in depressed economies, or alternatively, to ensure that the transforming structures and processes are geared towards the needs of the poor (DFID 1999).

The transforming structures and processes are the institutions and policies that direct livelihood development. Transforming structures include the public and private sector as well as civil society, while processes include policy, legislation, institutions, and cultures. There is a reciprocal relationship between the transforming structures and processes and the asset base of the poor. By creating an institutional and policy environment that benefits the poor, the livelihood asset base can be enhanced. With an improved asset base communities, in turn, have increased ability to influence the transforming structures and processes (DFID 1999).

There is also feedback from the transforming structures and processes to the vulnerability context. Policies and strategies can be drafted in such a way as to minimise seasonality and trends as well as accommodate for the impact of shocks to the poor. Institutions and policies can also have a direct impact on the livelihood strategies that the communities choose. For example social structure such as caste systems severely limit the livelihoods choices that people can make (DFID 1999).

Livelihood strategies are the choices and activities that people perform in order to realize their livelihood goals or outcomes. Examples include; reproduction choices, investments, employment choices and relocation. The SLA attempts to assess the factors that lie behind the livelihood choices that communities make and build on factors that promote variety of choice (DFID 1999).

The final aspect of the framework is the livelihood outcomes, the yield of the livelihoods strategies. Livelihood outcomes are impacts that effectively improve the overall standard of living of the poor. Outcomes include; more income, reduced vulnerability, increased well-being, improved food security and more sustainable use of the natural resource base. These outcomes, in turn, feed back into the framework to create a continuous cycle of effective poverty alleviation (DFID 1999).

In sum, the SLA has been developed as a tool that will aid in understanding and analysing the multi-dimensional nature of people's livelihoods. It emphasises participation by incorporating and respecting people's input into development strategies and structures. By taking into consideration the link between the policy and institutional arrangements, which impact on people and the livelihood's assets these communities possess, it is able to construct holistic, pragmatic and dynamic development programmes that realise effective pro-poor growth (DFID 1999).

The SLA is however not without criticism. The SLA Forum, established at an interagency meeting in Italy, in March 2000, highlighted the concerns for achieving pragmatic solutions using SLA. The forum noted that although the concepts in SLA were multi-dimensional and provided a comprehensive agenda for development initiatives, there was little tangible evidence of improved livelihoods outcomes for the poor. One of the biggest areas of concern was degree to which policy reform could take place. Development structures often require lengthy consultative processes before transformations can take place. However, it was also noted that the approach is still in its infancy and with further implementation and application valuable insight could be gained into adapting the framework to overcome its limitations (SLA forum 2000)

3.3.2 Sustainable Livelihoods Approach and Tourism

The 'Key Sheets for Sustainable Livelihoods', states that outcomes in rural livelihoods can be significantly enhanced with properly administered tourism development (DFID 1999). To assess the application of tourism in enhancing poor livelihoods, Ashley (2000) has summarised both the negative and positive livelihoods impacts associated with tourism development (see table 4). These authors have illustrated how livelihoods goals, both short and long-term, can be affected through tourism. Livelihood goals can be enhanced through financial injection and environmental and cultural restoration. However, they can also be undermined by dependency and conflict with other traditional activities. The institutional and policy environment can be positively impacted on by effective participation or negatively impacted on by focusing policy on tourism over other development opportunities. It is also possible for tourism to impact on the livelihoods asset base by promoting reinvestment or alternatively by excluding communities from tourism development.

Table 4: Potential Impacts of Tourism on Aspects of Livelihoods

Tourism affects	Possible positive impacts	Possible negative effects
Livelihood goals	Tourism can support livelihood goals such as economic security, cultural life and health, e.g. by increasing cash income or by contributing to cultural restoration.	Tourism can undermine economic security, self- determination and health, e.g. by creating dependency on a volatile industry
Livelihood activities	Expand economic options, e.g. by creating employment and small business options	Conflict with other activities, e.g. constrain fishing or agriculture
Capital assets	Build up assets by enhancing natural and economic assets by sustainable practices and reinvestment.	Erode assets through lost access if local people are excluded from tourism areas or over-burdening of physical infrastructure.
Policy and institutional environment	Improve the residents' ability to influence it by expanding local markets and focusing policymakers' attention on marginal areas.	Exacerbate policy constraints, e.g. diverting policy-makers' attention, resources and infrastructure investment to prioritise tourism over other local activities.
Long-term livelihood priorities	Correspond with people's long- term priorities by diversifying against risk, or build buffers against shocks, such as drought.	Create or exacerbate threats to long-term security, e.g. from aggressive wild animals to economic dependency on tourism

Source: Adapted form Ashley et al (2000: 4)

DFID (1997) in the 'Key sheets for development in the natural resources through tourism interventions' (see appendix 2) summarises by noting that in order for tourism development to benefit livelihoods, there should be an emphasis on multiplying the livelihoods assets by promoting increased access to skills and resources. In addition it is vital to create "an integrated economic environment in which inter-sectoral linkages are actively promoted" (DFID 1997:1).

3.4 Pro-poor Tourism Implementation

PPT is an approach to tourism development that has incorporated the principles of the sustainable livelihoods approach, in that it places poverty alleviation at the centre of its agenda. It also takes a holistic approach by focusing on multilevel and multisectoral intervention (Ashley, Goodwin and Roe 2001b). The four broad levels of PPT implementation outlined by Ashley *et al* (2001b) and Roe and Urquhart (2001) are, governments, the private sector, civil societies and local communities.

3.4.1 Governments

Governments can assist by creating a pro-poor conducive policy environment. They can: (i) provide secure land and tourism assets tenure; (ii) provide incentives, and institute controls that encourage pro-poor commitments; (iii) encourage tourism development to shift to poor area; (iv) support small, medium and micro enterprises (SMME) and (v) incorporate pro-poor and sustainable livelihoods principles into development strategies.

3.4.2 Private Sector

The private sector can have intervention at multi-levels. (i) Local services and products can be maximised; (ii) training and advice can be provided; (iii) community-private community partnerships can be established; (iv) incorporate and respect local knowledge in tourism products and (v) develop local services and infrastructure.

3.4.3 Civil Societies and Aid Agencies

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) can act as a synergist between stakeholders, by creating processes that empower local communities in effective participation. NGOs can also assist in training and facilitate in linking the private sector with poor products and services. Donor agencies can support tourism initiatives that implement pro-poor and sustainable livelihoods strategies. They can market PPT so that tourism consultancies and development agents are aware of the approach and able to implement it. They are also able to intervene at an international level, by promoting a pro-poor focus in the sustainable tourism industry.

3.4.4 Local Communities

The poor can be involved in PPT strategies as, individual producers, employees and employers or as a community. Their engagement can be enhanced by: (i) diversifying products and services that supply the industry; (ii) developing appropriate skills; (iii) creating a stable socio-political environment that focuses on equity and transparency and (iv) increase understanding of the possible positive and negative impacts of the tourism sector.

3.5 Critical Issues in Pro-poor Tourism

However, the success of PPT lies beyond effective implementation (Ashley et al 2001a). Ashley et al (2001a) in a review of 6 PPT case studies have summarised the critical issues that affect PPT intervention (Table 5). These authors have divided the issues into four broad categories, namely; access of the poor to the market, commercial sustainability, policy framework and implementation issues.

3.5.1 Market Access

Access to the market is dependent on the structure of the existing tourism industry and its relationship (particularly spatial) to the poor. To avoid market and spatial monopolisation by larger corporations, governments can intervene by promoting cross-sectoral linkages such as community-private partnerships. There should also be an emphasis on developing infrastructure that will service the more remote areas.

3.5.2 Commercial Sustainability

Commercial sustainability for the poor can only be achieved if the products they provide are competitive in the tourism market. To achieve this, the products need to satisfy the demand by being sufficiently attractive to the tourists. If the products are able to satisfy the demand, they can be used as a means for engaging the private sector in partnership arrangements. The appeal of the product can also be affected by the wider tourism destination. If, for example, there is the perception of crime in the area as a whole, the PPT commodity will suffer irrespective of the quality of the product.

3.5.3 Policy Framework

As Ashley et al (2001b) and Roe and Urquhart (2001) have noted, the policy framework can create an enabling environment for PPT implementations. The critical issues highlighted by Ashley et al (2001a) are land tenure and government capacity and commitment. If communities have secure land tenure they are in a stronger position to ensure that benefits are realised from private operators. An area which has uncontested land claims and a transparent tenure system also provides a more secure and consequently more attractive investment environment. Government capacity and attitude is a function of the processes and structures that affect policy implementation as well as the policy content itself. In addition, there can be a conflict of interest between different tiers of governance and different departments and sectors.

3.5.4 Implementation Issues

Furthermore Ashley et al (2001a) emphasise the need for addressing implementation issues. Implementation can be improved by bridging the skills and capacity divide. However, they also noted that the private and public sectors are often limited to the degree in which they can assist in this form of livelihoods development. They therefore note that NGOs and aid agencies can play a critical role by promoting skills and capacity development. Ashley et al (2001a) have also found that in all six case studies, communication and its insufficiency between all the stakeholders has proved critical to PPT success. Effective communication can, not only improve the linkages between the participating parties, but it also creates a sense of trust and familiarity.

Finally, they note that PPT interventions can disintegrate if unrealistic expectations are created at the outset. Therefore, it is essential that expectations are managed in a manner that is realistic and pragmatic, while still ensuring that sustained short-term gains are attained.

Table 5: Critical Issues Facing PPT Interventions

Critical issues and	implications	
Issues		Implications
Market access	Strength of existing economic elite	Breaking in is not easy. Government intervention, marketing links, intensive communication, profit motives and realism are needed.
	Location of poor people	Poor people – and hence PPT products – are often in remote areas with poor infrastructure. Investment in infrastructure – particularly roads and communications – may be needed to ensure viability.
	Attractiveness and quality of product	Unattractive products do not sell and will threaten the commercial viability of an enterprise. Involving the private sector in product development should help ensure that initiatives are commercially realistic.
Commercial sustainability	Marketing	Marketing is critical if PPT is to compete in the crowded tourist product market. Government or private sector support may be needed to develop effective links and marketing strategies.
	Cost benefit	PPT can be expensive, especially when transaction costs are included. Costs may exceed the capacity of a company, community, or even government tourism department, making external (donor?) funding important.
Policy framework	Land tenure	Secure land tenure is important for attracting PPT investment. Land rights need to be clarified before tourism development goes ahead.
Toney Hamework	Government attitudes	Government attitudes can be the driving force or the stumbling block for PPT. Commitment is critical but not enough, on its own.
	Skills and capacity gap	Capacity building is likely to be an essential part of any PPT initiative. Some form of external facilitation may be required.
Implementation issues	Communication and collaboration	PPT is most effective when different stakeholders work together. Investment in communication is required.
	Meeting expectations	Mismatched expectations and benefits can kill initiatives. It is important to deliver short-term benefits while long-term schemes are developing.

Source: Ashley et al (2001a: 36)

Roe and Urquhart (2001: 8) conclude by noting that PPT has been able to expand the industry and create opportunities previously under-utilised. It is able to assist in poverty reduction at multiple levels of intervention, from local to national governance, to the private and civil sectors. At the very least it is able to "tilt the industry" to benefit the poor.

3.6 Concluding Remarks

Tourism has been labelled as one of the key economic regenerators of many Third World regions. Together with this, the relationship between poverty alleviation and tourism development in Third World regions has become increasingly apparent. However, in order to maximise the livelihood benefits while minimising the costs associated with the industry, the optimal tourism development approach needs to be applied.

Currently there are a variety of tourism development options available for emerging tourism markets. The two broad options are those of 'mass' and the 'new' more socially and environmentally friendly forms of tourism. Although the mass tourism models can generate substantial economic returns, these returns are often not in balance with the costs associated to the host communities. As a result the 'new' forms of tourism have become increasingly popular within the Third World tourism development arena.

There are a wide range of tourism development options available, ranging from ecologically based industries to those that focus on the promotion of local cultural heritage. However, the disadvantages and costs associated with mass tourism are often similarly present within the new tourism industries, as a result the local communities are left to carry the burden of the cost of the development.

With an emphasis on pro-poor development, outcomes from tourism development can however be geared towards tangible, sustainable impacts on poor livelihoods. To facilitate these net livelihood benefits to Third World local communities, there needs to be a shift away from promoting tourism development as a means to achieve local economic regeneration to one that focuses on tourism development as a tool within

the broader poverty alleviation framework. A shift towards tourism development that in reality, generates net benefits for the poor.		

The following section outlines the study procedure that was followed during this research thesis. It includes a description of the study area, timing of research and methodology.

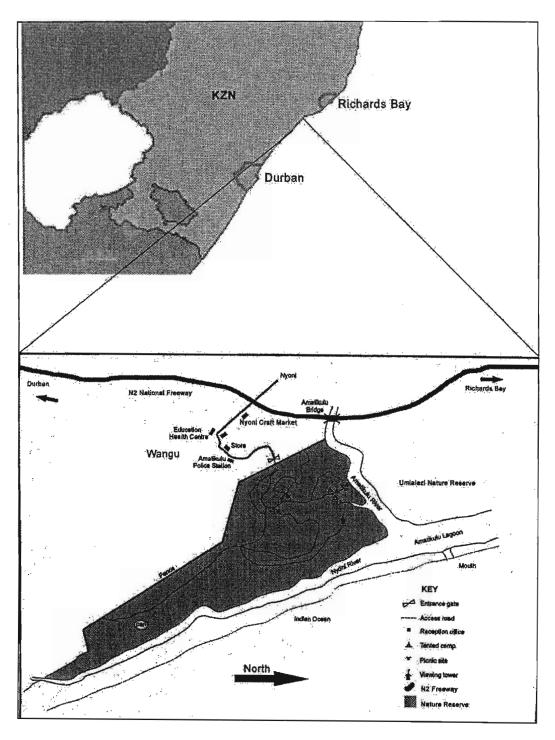


Figure 5: The Location of Amatikulu Nature Reserve in KwaZulu-Natal

4.1 Study Area

The study area included the Amatikulu Nature Reserve and the surrounding Macambini community. The reserve lies between the uThukela and Amatikulu Rivers on the Northern KwaZulu Natal coastline (Figure 5).

4.2 Timing

Proposed commencement of study: 1 October 2002

Proposed completion of write-up: 15 January 2003

4.3 Methodology

The primary aim of this research was to assess the level of PPT intervention at KZN Wildlife. However, the holistic nature of the PPT approach required analysis at various levels of implementation. These levels can range from the policy and institutional environment to the livelihood asset base of the local host communities. With this in mind, the broad methodological approach was that of a policy and institutional review complimented by a case study of a selected site.

4.3.1 Policy review

A policy review was conducted with the aim of defining the tourism development legislative landscape and seeing how aligned it is with the principles of pro-poor tourism. This review covered national and provincial legislation and development strategies, local and district development plans as well as the recently drafted Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife development policies and strategy. These can be summarized as follows:

National:

- White Paper On Development And Promotion Of Tourism (1996)
- The South African Tourism Act No 72 (1993)
- The South African Tourism Amendment Act (2000)
- White Paper On Sustainable Coastal Development (2000)

National Responsible Tourism Development Guidelines (2002) (Provisional Guidelines)

Provincial

- KZN Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (1998)
- KZN Tourism Community Based Tourism Strategy (1999)
- KZN Tourism Act (1996)
- KZN Tourism Amendment Act (2002)
- KZN Tourism Strategy (2000)
- KZNT Annual Report (2000-2001)
- KZNT Developers Guide (2002)

KZN Wildlife

- Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Strategic Plan (2002)
- Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Charter (2002)
- KZNWL Ecotourism Policies:
 - o Ecotourism and Protected Areas
 - o Hutted Camps
 - Visitor Facilities Management by KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation
 Service
 - Partnerships for Ecotourism Development Within or Adjacent to Protected Areas

District: Ilembe Municipality (Dc 29)

• Integrated Development Plan (IDP)

Municipal: Endondakusuka (Dc291)

- eNdondakusuka IDP
- Umlalazi Sub-Regional Plan

4.3.2 Case Study

To asses the implementation of the PPT principles, one of KZN Wildlife's official nature reserves, Amatikulu Nature Reserve, was selected as a case study site. A case study methodological approach was selected over a comprehensive institutional review owing to the limited time frame (six months) and budget of the study programme.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with representative members of staff from Amatikulu nature reserve and with management of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Services. Interviews were held with Callum Beattie, the Officer in Charge (OIC) at Siyaya Coastal Reserve, Cyril Buthalezi, the Community Conservation officer at Amatikulu Nature Reserve, Mhelngi Gumedi from the Ecotourism and Marketing Branch of KZN Wildlife, and Gladman Buthalezi, the Regional KZN Wildlife of Zululand. A meeting was also held with the Macambini Tribal Authority, attended by the Nkosi K. Mathaba and representatives of the Community Development Committee. Nonhlangla Mshweli, the local economic development planner of eNdondakusuka (KZ 291) council and Mr. Ray Mathobela of the Ilembe District Municipality Community Tourism Association, were also interviewed.

In order to remain consistent with current pro-poor tourism literature, the questionnaires for the semi-structured interviews were adapted from the methodology used by Poultney and Spenceley (2001) and Mahony and Van Zyl (2001). The questionnaires were designed in such a way as to determine the level of pro-poor tourism intervention at Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, and specifically at Amatikulu Nature Reserve. Four different questionnaires in total were drafted:

Appendix 3: Questionnaire 1 – KZN Wildlife Staff

Appendix 4: Questionnaire 2 – KZN Wildlife Management

Appendix 5: Questionnaire 3 – Macambini Community Representatives

Appendix 6: Questionnaire 4 - Local and District municipal representatives.

Each questionnaire had the same principal format. Section 1 investigated the background of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife and Amatikulu Nature Reserve. Section 2 interrogated the pro-poor focus by looking at specific actions to involve local people

in tourism, while livelihoods of the pe		investigated	the	positive	and	negative	impacts	of
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6 Appendix

Appendix 1: Pretty's (1995) typology of participation

Appendix 2: 'Key sheets for development in the natural resources through tourism interventions' DFID (1997).

Appendix 3: Questionnaire 1 - KZN Wildlife Staff

Appendix 4: Questionnaire 2 – KZN Wildlife Management

Appendix 5: Questionnaire 3 – Macabini Community representatives

Appendix 6: Questionnaire 4 - Local and District municipal representatives

Appendix 1: Pretty's (1995) typology of participation

Improving participation in development initiatives is more multifaceted than an increase in the role that local communities play in the decision making process. Pretty (1995) in designing a typology of local participation, gives great insight into the various levels of involvement that communities can hold in tourism initiatives (see Table 4).

Table 6: Typology of Participation

	en film novembrande kommungstjorn i negoverneg i stremen i more bli sind i novembra eta eta eta eta eta eta et Novembrande ila eta eta eta eta eta eta eta eta eta et
Manipulative participation	Participation is usually a pretence, with nominal representation
2. Passive participation	Communities participate by being told what to do
3. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted. External agents define issues and programmes
4. Participation for material incentives	People participate by contributing resources (labour, knowledge) in exchange for material incentives
5. Functional participation	Participation is a function to achieve project objectives. Often major decisions are taken by external agencies.
6. Interactive participation	Participation is interactive in planning, development and management. Participation is seen as a right not a means for achieving project goals
7. Self Mobilisation	Participation is in the form of initiatives taken outside of the control of external agencies.

Source: Pretty (1995: 4)

Participation can range from manipulative, where communities have no power and are only representative on elected boards in name, to self mobilisation, where the initiative comes from within the community and external agencies are only consulted in an advisory capacity.

Pretty (1995) notes though, a greater level of participation does not necessarily signify a greater degree of success in an initiative. He states that although self mobilisation is viewed as the ideal form of development, factors such as capacity as well as local social and political dynamics need to be taken into consideration. In addition Barrow & Murphree (2001) state that the level of participation should never be predetermined, but should rather develop along with the evolving social and economic environment triggered by the tourism initiative.

RESOURCE MANAGEMENT

2. Tourism

DFID

The purpose of these Key Sheets is to provide DFID Natural Resource Advisers with an easy and up-to-date point of reference on issues relating to development in the natural environment.

The sheets are designed for those who are managing change and who are concerned to make well-informed implementation decisions. They aim to distil theoretical debate and field experience so that it becomes easily accessible and useful across a range of situations. Their purpose is to assist in the process of decisionmaking rather than to provide definitive answers.

The sheets address three broad sets of issues:

- Service Delivery
- Resource Management
- Policy Planning and Implementation

A list of contact details for organisations is provided for each subseries.



Overview of the debate

Over the past 5 years, the debate on tourism in development has focused on:

- Definition of principles for 'responsible' tourism and fair trade in tourism, which will maximise
 benefits for destination countries, and minimise negative environmental and cultural impacts.
- The need to operationalise these principles through integrated tourism policies at national, regional and local levels, which incorporate enabling investment frameworks and the promotion of intersectoral linkages.
- The contribution that tourism can make to improved rural livelihoods and community-based conservation, and the capacity of local communities to manage and engage with tourism in rural areas, including parks and other protected areas.
- The need to establish mechanisms for promoting improved standards within the tourism industry and to sensitise tourists and the tourist industry to the need for such mechanisms.

Key issues in decision-making

Tourism is frequently cited as the world's fastest growing economic sector, currently the world's largest employer and soon to be the world's largest industry. As many developing countries have a comparative advantage in forms of tourism which value a wide range of unspoiled natural environments, tourism is promoted for its potential revenue benefits and as a means of attracting foreign direct investment. In some developing countries, especially small island states, it is now the dominant economic sector. However, the economic impact of tourism varies enormously:

- > Is there an enabling investment framework which promotes responsible tourism?
- > Do the domestic private sector and local communities have access to the capital and appropriate management and marketing skills to invest in and benefit from the tourism sector?
- > Are profits from tourism reinvested in-country?
- > Are local staff being trained for new roles in tourism or are they by-passed in favour of outsiders?
- Are goods and services demanded by the tourism industry domestically produced on a sustainable basis? Are local suppliers competitive in terms of price, quantity, quality and timeliness?

If the overall impact of tourism is to be positive and sustainable it is vital that the sector operates within an integrated economic framework in which inter-sectoral linkages are actively promoted from the local to the national level.

- ➤ Which other sectors are most closely linked to tourism (agriculture, fisheries, trade etc.)?
- ➤ How can inter-sectoral coordination be institutionalised so that decision-makers from relevant sectors contribute to the development of national tourism policy and opportunities for inter-sectoral linkages are fully exploited?
- What types of forum can be established to enable government authorities and other stakeholders (donors, private sector, NGOs and local people) to improve coordination and develop linkages?
- Which forms or combinations of tourism (small-scale vs large-scale, up-market vs mid-market, mass vs alternative) are most likely to have positive net impacts for destination countries, and under what conditions?

In rural areas, well-managed tourism, even at low volumes, can make a significant impact on livelihoods. Tourism development should aim to build on and complement existing economic activities rather than replace them. However, local communities must have legal rights over land and other resources if they are to invest their own effort in tourism and attract partners for development. Communities also require access to the skills, resources or external contacts to enable them, first, to understand the implications of encouraging tourism in their areas and, second, to secure maximum benefits from tourism.

- In the absence of full-scale reform of land and resource tenure systems, what options are there for conferring binding rights over particular resources for set periods of time?
- What support can be provided to communities whose existing rights are being usurped by powerful, outside investors?
- ➤ How can communities be supported to assess the pros and cons of opening up their culture to tourism development and to assess whether tourism is a realistic option?
- What kind of training courses might be provided to local people to enable them to develop the skills and expertise to participate more fully in the tourism business (eg. guiding skills and small enterprise development courses)?
- How can financial resources be made available to local communities to enable them to invest in tourism? Can donors help establish links with banks or other financial institutions?
- > Would an association comprising communities involved with tourism, supporting NGOs and

DFID financed research

- African Wildlife Policy Consultation (1996)
- Tourism, Conservation and Sustainable Development (DICE – start 1994)
- The Environmental Impacts of Wildlife Tourism (IIED - start 1995)

DFID project experience

- Zambia: Mpika
 District Tourism and
 Wildlife Development
 Project (start 1993)
- Brazil: Lake Mamiraua Ecological Reserve Project (start 1991)
- South Africa: Madikwe Community Wildlife Management (start 1997)
- Slovakia:
 Development of
 Sustainable Tourism in
 Tatra Region (start
 1996)
- St. Helena Tourism Masterplan (start 1996)

UK and other expertise

- Action for Conservation through Tourism
- Durrell Institute of Conservation and Ecology (Harold Goodwin)
- Environment
 Business and
 Development Group
 (Richard Tapper)
- Green Globe
- International Institute for Environment and Development, Environmental Planning Group
- Overseas
 Development
 Institute
- * Tourism Concern
- University of Reading, Department of Geography (Erlet Cater)
- Voluntary Services Overseas

Tourism continued

other stakeholders (similar to the CAMPFIRE association in Zimbabwe) help in terms of information sharing and provision of expertise?

Can local communities be financially supported to employ their own 'consultants' to assist them in solving their own problems?

Tourism is often promoted as a means of financing the conservation of wild areas. However, while nature tourism is often assumed to be inherently benign, recent research has highlighted its potential for negative environmental impacts in the absence of careful management.

- Are regulations in place to ensure that sufficient nature tourism receipts are reinvested in conservation and local development?
- Have conservation managers adopted pricing policies which maximise the returns from tourism without exceeding tourism carrying-capacity?
- > Are local communities involved in tourism-financed conservation activities? With what impact?
- ➤ Is the linkage between tourism revenues and conservation clear to local people?

It is clear that tourism will continue to have mixed development impacts until standards/performance targets for responsible tourism are established and achieved. Most tourism is currently 'self-regulated' but it is evident from the poor quality of employment, disregard for local people living around areas of (especially mass) tourism, and severe adverse environmental impacts in some places that this is not always adequate. Although, in some cases, industry practice could be improved through effective collective action, in others, additional mechanisms to improve performance must to be identified.

- Is it possible to define widely acceptable national or international standards or codes of practice? If so how can these be promoted (through independent action, self-regulation, external enforcement or a partnership approach)?
- > To what extent would 'education' of potential tourists in their home countries and on arrival (through tourist guidelines) contribute to 'demand-led' rises in standards?
- > Is a sound land-use planning and decision-making framework in place which requires comprehensive environmental impact assessments, including social assessments using public participation, for all major developments?

Tourism is largely driven by the private-sector, but external interventions may be necessary to enhance its positive impact and limit the negative effect. Donors can assist with developing awareness and understanding of the potential impact of tourism at all levels, through cross country exchange of information about best practice and approaches to be avoided, and through training and education. Donors should also support further research and monitoring of the economic, social and environmental impact of tourism on different stakeholders. It will be important to develop a domestic resource base specialising in the impacts of tourism on sustainable development which can support motivated communities and entrepreneurs in developing countries. Given the increased donor interest in tourism as a livelihood option for people in developing countries it will also be important to promote mutual learning across donors.

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Key Sheets are available on the Internet at: www.odi.org.uk/keysheets/ or through DFID's website

Department for International Development
Rural Livelihoods Department
Tel: +44 (0)20 7023 0022 Fax: +44 (0)20 7023 0624
Email: rl-policy@dfid.gov.uk Website: www.dfid.gov.uk/

ODI Series Editor: Diana Carney

Appendix 3:

Questionnaire 1: KZN Wildlife staff.

KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife: Cullen Beaty, O.i.C. Siyayi Nature Reserve; Sigmi Chilli O.i.C., Amtikulu Nature Reserve; Cyril Buthalezi, community conservation officer.

Name:	Organisation:		
Position:	Date and Place of Interview:		
Background to Amatikulu 1. What are the key geographical, cultural or historical characteristics?			
2. Is the area an established tourism destination?			
3. What types of tourists (international, domestic	c, regional)?		
4. What tourism segments (Coastal, urban, rural; etc.)?	mass-market, luxury, adventure, wilderness		
5. Is tourism growing or declining?			
6. What is the attitude of government to tourism?			
7. Does the government have pro-poor policies in how serious)?	n general, and specifically within tourism (if so,		

8. Which organisations are influential in tourism development? (TKZN, KZNWL, SDI, MTDA)
9. What market or market segment is the initiative targeted at (domestic, regional, international; high income vs. budget 'backpackers')?
Section 2 Pro-poor focus
1. What elements, if any, of the initiative are specifically pro-poor? Please be very specific abo how the initiatives are pro-poor. (policy, employment, ownership, purchase policy)
2. Which types/groups of poor people are involved? (list)
3. What efforts are made to involve other stakeholders (eg: government, private operators etc)? If not already covered, be explicit on the extent of private sector involvement.

Actions to address barriers to participation of the poor in tourism			
Issue	Identified as a barrier	Means of overcoming it	
a) Lack of human capital of the poor			
- e.g., skills			
b) Lack of financial capital of the	1		
poor - e.g., micro credit, revolving			
loans			
c) Lack of social			
capital/organisational strength			
ouplan organisational sa ong in			
d) Gender norms & constraints			
e) Incompatibility with existing			
livelihood strategies			
f) Location			
g) Lack of land ownership/tenure			
1. Y - 1 6 4 - 4			
h) Lack of product			
i) Planning process favours others -	<u> </u>		
lack of planning gain			
mon or promising good			
j) Regulations & red tape			
1			
K) Inadequate access to the tourism			
market			
Low capacity to meet tourist		İ	
expectations			
m) Lack of linkages between formal			
and informal sectors/local suppliers			
and informal sectors local suppliers			
n) Tourist market (segment)			
inappropriate			
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • • •			
o) Lack of pro-active government			
support for involvement by the poor.			
p) Others - please define			

Section 3: Results and Impacts

- 1. Expansion of business opportunities for the poor:
 - a) Have small enterprise development programmes (training/support/micro credit) been developed?

b) Have markets expanded?
2. Expansion of employment opportunities for the poor: Are unskilled jobs created and available to the poor?
 Addressing/enhancing the environmental impacts of tourism that particularly affect the poor: Any changes in access of the poor to land and natural resources. (more/less use with tourism, thatching grass, water, reeds, plants, wood)
Enhancing the positive and addressing the negative social and cultural impacts of tourism on the poor a) sexual exploitation (prostitution?)
b) loss of identity (women's roles in family/public meetings?)
c) women's economic participation
d) improved communication (telecommunications, community meetings)
e) health (services/infrastructure)
f) schools (number, capacity, teaching materials)
g) infrastructure (roads, airport)

4. Who has benefited from the initiatives (include all beneficiaries)? (Distinguish between different groups within 'the poor' and include benefits to the not-so-poor and non-poor)			
5. Who has suffered costs or negative impacts from the initiative, if anyone?			
6. How and why have they suffered?			
7. How or why have they benefited?			
8. Has the tourism initiative prevented or enhanced other types of earnings (e.g. from alternative uses of the land, wildlife etc)?			
9. What do they buy?			
10. How much difference do they make?			
11. How were the current staff recruited?			
12. From where?			
13. Amount of land affected			
Positive and negative impacts on livelihoods of the poor: Observation,			
	Benefits	Losses, problems	
access to education (schools supported, how)			
access to training b) Natural resources (access to use/productivity/			

sustainability of use)		
c) Community organisation		
Cohesion		
Pride		
d) Access to investment funds		
Loans		
e) Infrastructure: (& access to) - water		
-		
- roads, transport	l	
- telephone, communication		
- other		
f) Health, access to health care		
g) Access to information		
h) Funds for the community		
i) Other livelihood activities: farming, employment,		
migration etc		
j) Markets, market opportunities		
k) Policy environment		
l) Influence over policy makers		
m) Jobs		
n) Opportunities for informal sector & small businesses		
o) Casual labour opportunities		
p) Household income		
q) Local culture		
r) Overall vulnerability of households		
Other		
Other		

Appendix 4:

Questionnaire 2: KZN Wildlife Management.

KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife: Mhelngi Gumedi, Ecotourism and Marketing Branch of KZN Wildlife; Gladman Buthalezi, Regional KZN Wildlife of Zululand.

Name:		Organisation:
Positio	on:	Date and Place of Interview:
	1 Bac	kground
1.	What is the attitude of KZNWL to tourism	1?
2.	Does the KZNWL have pro-poor policies how serious)?	in general, and specifically within tourism (if so,
3.	Are pro-poor objectives explicit or implic	it in the initiative? (re policy)
4.	How is the organisation funded?	

5. What market or market segment are initiatives within KZNWL targeted at (domestic, regional, international; high income vs. budget 'backpackers')? 6. What elements, if any, of Amitikulu are specifically pro-poor? Please be very specific about how the initiatives are pro-poor. (policy, employment, ownership, purchase policy) 7. Which types/groups of poor people are involved? (list) 8. What efforts are made to involve other stakeholders (eg: government, private operators etc)? If not already covered, be explicit on the extent of private sector involvement.

2 Pro-poor focus

1. Expansion of business opportunities for the poor:
 a) Have small enterprise development programmes (training/support/micro credit) been developed
·
b) Have markets expanded?
2. Expansion of employment opportunities for the poor:
Are unskilled jobs created and available to the poor?
2. A discoving forth maring the empirery most of improves of tournings that particularly affect the poor
3. Addressing/enhancing the environmental impacts of tourism that particularly affect the poor: Any changes in access of the poor to land and natural resources. (more/less use with tourism,
thatching grass, water, reeds, plants, wood?)
4. Enhancing the positive and addressing the negative social and cultural impacts of tourism on the poor
a) sexual exploitation (prostitution?)
b) loss of identity (women's roles in family/public meetings?)

c) women's economic participation
d) improved communication (telecommunications, community meetings)
e) health (services/infrastructure)
f) schools (number, capacity, teaching, materials)
g) infrastructure (roads, airport)
5. Developing pro-poor processes and institutions:- Decision-making that includes participation by the poor

Actions to address barriers to participation of the poor in tourism			
Issue	Identified as a barrier	Means of overcoming it	
a) Lack of human capital of the poor – e.g., skills			
b) Lack of financial capital of the poor – e.g., micro credit, revolving loans			
c) Lack of social capital/organisational strength			
d) Gender norms & constraints			
e) Incompatibility with existing livelihood strategies			
f) Location			
g) Lack of land ownership/tenure			
h) Lack of product			
i) Planning process favours others – lack of planning gain			
j) Regulations & red tape			
K) Inadequate access to the tourism market			
Low capacity to meet tourist expectations			
m) Lack of linkages between formal and informal sectors/local suppliers			
n) Tourist market (segment) inappropriate			
o) Lack of pro-active government support for involvement by the poor.			
p) Others – please define			

3 Results and impact

3.1 Relevance to the poor and poverty reduction

1.	What impacts are evident so far?
2.	Causality: -policy, influences?
3.	Context: Things that enabled it to have positive impacts or prevented it from achieving anticipated benefits.
3.1.1 impact	Broader contributions to poverty elimination 1. Apart from direct effects on poor people's livelihoods, what broader or longer-term is do the new policies have relevant to poverty elimination?
	2. changing attitudes
	3. opening markets
	4. building social organisations?

Appendix 5:

Questionnaire 3: Local Community Representative

Name:	Contact Tel No if available:
Address:	Date and Place of Interview:
Backgrou What are the key geographical, cultural or h	und to Amatikulu uistorical characteristics?
2. Is the area an established tourism destination	n?
3. What types of tourists (international, domes	rtic, regional)?
4. What tourism segments (Coastal, urban, ruretc.)?	al; mass-market, luxury, adventure, wilderness
5. Is tourism growing or declining?	
Section2: Assessment of bro	oad pro-poor tourism strategies
1. Have small business development progradeveloped through KZN Wildlife?	ammes (training/support/micro credit) been
2. Are unskilled jobs created and available	to the poor through KZN Wildlife

3. Has access to land and natural resources grass, water, reeds, plants, wood)?	s changed because of KZN Wildlife (thatching
4. Have any of the following changed beca a) sexual exploitation (prostitution?)	ause of KZN Wildlife or tourism in the area
b) loss of identity (women's roles in family/pul	plic meetings?)
c) women's economic participation	
d) improved communication (telecommunication	ons, community meetings)
e) health (services/infrastructure)	
f) schools (number, capacity, teaching, materia	ls)
g) infrastructure (roads, airport)	
h) other	

Actions to address harriers to participation of the locals in tourism

Actions to address barriers to particip		
Issue	Identified as a barrier	Means of overcoming it
 a) Lack of human capital of the locals – e.g., skills 		
b) Lack of financial capital of the poor – e.g., micro credit, revolving		
loans		
c) Lack of social		
capital/organisational strength		
d) Gender norms & constraints		
e) Incompatibility with existing livelihood strategies		
f) Location		
g) Lack of land ownership/tenure		
h) Lack of product		
i) Planning process favours others – lack of planning gain		
j) Regulations & red tape		
K) Inadequate access to the tourism		
l) Low capacity to meet tourist expectations		
_		
m) Lack of linkages between formal and informal sectors/local suppliers		
n) Tourist market (segment) inappropriate		
o) Lack of pro-active government		
support for involvement by the poor.		
p) Others – please define		

Section 3: Results and impact

1.	Who has benefited from the initiatives (include all beneficiaries)?
2.	How or why have they benefited (cash, status, security,)?
3.	For each type of benefit to poor people, how many people does it affect?
4.	Amount of land affected
	a. Who has suffered costs or negative impacts from the initiative, if anyone?
	b. How and why have they suffered?
5.	For each type of benefit to poor people, how many woman does it affect?
6.	How has tourism prevented or improved other types of earnings (e.g. from alternative uses of the land, wildlife etc)?
7.	Apart from direct effects on poor people's livelihoods, what broader or longer-term impacts does the initiative have relevant to poverty elimination?

a.	changing attitudes
b.	influencing the policy context
c.	opening markets
d.	building social organisations
e.	What further success and problems are anticipated?
f.	Who is expected to benefit further from the initiatives?

Positive and negative impacts on livelihoods of the locals: Observation,

Positive and negative impacts on livelinoods of the id	Benefits	Losses, problems
a) Skills	Deaches	2035c3, problems
a) Skills	ì	
access to education (schools supported, how)		
access to training		
b) Natural resources (access to, use/productivity/		
sustainability of use)		
\ Cit		
c) Community organisation		
Cohesion	•	
Pride d) Access to investment funds		
d) Access to investment funds		
Loans		
e) Infrastructure: (& access to)		
- water		
•		
- roads, transport		
- telephone, communication		
-		
- other		
f) Health, access to health care		
g) Access to information		
g) recess to information		
h) Funds for the community		
2 Other Division Association Association and A		
i) Other livelihood activities: farming, employment, migration etc		
j) Markets, market opportunities		
IA Pallan anniana		
k) Policy environment		
l) Influence over policy makers	_	
m) Jobs		
n) Opportunities for informal sector & small		
businesses		
o) Casual labour opportunities		
p) Household income		
q) Local culture		
r) Overall vulnerability of households		
1) Overall valuerability of flousefiolds		
Other		
	_	
Other		

2 Specific actions to involve poor people in tourism

Many barriers limit the economic involvement of the poor in tourism. Please consider the relevance of each of the following and identify whether or not it has been part of the initiative. Add any others.

Actions to address barriers to participation of the poor in tourism

Issue	Identified as a barrier	Means of overcoming it
a) Lack of human capital of the poore.g., skills		
b) Lack of financial capital of the		
poor – e.g., micro credit, revolving loans		
c) Lack of social capital/organisational strength		
d) Gender norms & constraints		
e) Incompatibility with existing livelihood strategies		
f) Location		
g) Lack of land ownership/tenure		
h) Lack of product		
i) Planning process favours others – lack of planning gain		
j) Regulations & red tape		
K) Inadequate access to the tourism market		
Low capacity to meet tourist expectations		
m) Lack of linkages between formal and informal sectors/local suppliers		
n) Tourist market (segment) inappropriate		
o) Lack of pro-active government support for involvement by the poor.		
p) Others – please define		

- 1. Expansion of business opportunities for the poor:
 - a) Have small enterprise development programmes (training/support/micro credit) been developed?

	b) Have markets expanded?
2. Ex	pansion of employment opportunities for the poor:
Are ur	askilled jobs created and available to the poor?
3. Ac	ldressing/enhancing the environmental impacts of tourism that particularly affect the po
	hanges in access of the poor to land and natural resources (more/less use with tourism, ing grass, water, reeds, plants, wood)?
щаюн	ing grass, water, reeds, plants, woody.
	3 Results and impact
3.1	Relevance to the poor and poverty reduction
	Relevance to the poor and poverty reduction What impacts are evident so far?
1.	
1.	What impacts are evident so far?
1.	What impacts are evident so far? Causality: -the tourism operation or other influences? Context: Things that enabled it to have positive impacts or prevented it from achieving
1.	What impacts are evident so far?

- 4. Who has benefited from tourism initiatives (include all beneficiaries)? (Distinguish between different groups within 'the poor' and include benefits to the not-so-poor and non-poor)
- 5. How or why have they benefited?
- 6. Who has suffered costs or negative impacts from the initiative, if anyone?
- 7. How and why have they suffered

Positive and negative impacts on livelihoods of the poor:

Positive and negative impacts on livelihoods of the poor:			
	Benefits	Losses, problems	
a) Skills			
access to education (schools supported, how)			
access to training			
access to training b) Natural resources (access to, use/productivity/			
sustainability of use)			
010000			
c) Community organisation			
Cohesion			
nda.			
Pride			
d) Access to investment funds			
Loans			
2001.0			
e) Infrastructure: (& access to)			
- water			
-		[
- roads, transport			
- telephone, communication			
-			
- other			
A Trackly accounts harlet and			
f) Health, access to health care			
g) Access to information			
g) Access to information			
h) Funds for the community		 	
,			
i) Other livelihood activities: farming, employment,			
migration etc			

j) Markets, market opportunities	
k) Policy environment	
l) Influence over policy makers	
m) Jobs	
n) Opportunities for informal sector & small businesses	
o) Casual labour opportunities	
p) Household income	
q) Local culture	
r) Overall vulnerability of households	

Component B

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List of Acronyms

CBT Community Base Tourism

CDP Coastal Development Project

DEAT Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism

DNC KwaZulu Directorate of Nature Conservation

DOA Department of Agriculture

IDP Integrated Development Plan

KZN KwaZulu-Natal

NPB Natal Parks Board

PPT Pro-Poor Tourism

SASA South African Sugar Association

SGDT Small growers Development Trust

SLA Sustainable Livelihoods Approach

SMME Small Medium and Micro Enterprises

UAF Umthombombo Agricultural Finance

1 Introduction

This research investigates the level of Pro-Poor Tourism (PPT) intervention within the South African nature conservation parastatal Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife Services. Ezemvelo KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife Services (hereafter referred to as KZN Wildlife) is a public sector, nature conservation service based in the province of KwaZulu Natal (KZN). As the key conservation parastatal in KZN, with the responsibility of over 110 formally protected areas, KZN Wildlife plays a pivotal role in the promotion and development of tourism in the province and the country as a whole.

However, PPT, as an approach to tourism development in South Africa, is little beyond its infancy. To date, what little implementation that has taken place, has been targeted on improving implementation at the private sector level. This paper begins to broaden the scope of PPT implementation in South Africa by examining the viability of incorporating PPT into other sectors of the tourism industry.

This paper is part of a research thesis for a Masters Degree in Environment and Development at the University of Natal, South Africa. The thesis constitutes two components, component A, a comprehensive literature review and component B the research thesis. Component A, the literature review, charts the evolution of tourism from the ancient forms of pilgrimage to the birth of the mass tourism industry and then to the more recent responsible and socially conscious forms of travel. This investigation serves not only as a description of the evolution of tourism but also as a critical foundation of what the contemporary forms of tourism are available to developing tourism industries. The review then discusses these tourism development options in more detail, focussing specifically on options for Third World tourism destinations. Approaches such as responsible tourism, eco-tourism, cultural-tourism and sustainable tourism are critically evaluated in terms of their positive and negative impacts on Third World host regions. From this discussion, pro-poor tourism, with a specific focus on poverty alleviation and livelihoods development, emerges as one of

the more appropriate options for tourism development available to Third World destinations.

This paper, the later component B, builds on the theoretical foundation of the literature review through an empirical assessment of the tourism development approach of KZN Wildlife. The paper is divided into six sub-sections. The introduction section which includes a description of the methodology employed in assessing the level of PPT intervention in KZN Wildlife. Section two provides a basic overview of the structure and policy environment of KZN Wildlife. Section three provides a background to the case study site, Amatikulu Nature Reserve, including a description of the local economic and social environment. Section four then investigates the level of pro-poor tourism intervention at Amatikulu Nature Reserve, given the policy and strategy environment promoted by KZN Wildlife. This intervention is then assessed in section five with regards to the impacts that the reserve has had on the local poor. The paper then ends with a review and recommendations section, where the key findings of the research is summarised.

1.1 Methodology

The primary aim of this research is to assess the level of PPT intervention at KZN Wildlife. However, the holistic nature of the PPT approach requires analysis at various levels of implementation. These levels can range from the policy and institutional environment to the livelihood asset base of the local host communities. With this in mind, the broad methodological approach was that of a policy and institutional review complimented by a case study of a selected site.

The policy and institutional review was conducted with the aim of defining the tourism development legislative landscape and how aligned it is with the principles of pro-poor tourism. As such, national, provincial and local tourism development policy was reviewed along with the policies and tourism strategies of KZN Wildlife. A list of the documentation reviewed has been supplied in appendix 1.

To assess the implementation of the PPT principles, one of KZN Wildlife's official nature reserves, Amatikulu Nature Reserve, was selected as a case study site. A case

study methodological approach was selected over a comprehensive institutional review owing to the limited time frame (six months) and budget of the study programme. The limitation of a case study approach is the difficulty in extrapolating research findings to other areas of intervention. It was therefore necessary to select a case study site that most accurately represents the model or average of all other sites.

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with members of staff from Amatikulu Nature Reserve, with management of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Services, local government representatives and local community representatives. Table 1 lists the interviewees as well as their respective organisations. The questionnaires for the semistructured interviews were formatted in such a way as to remain consistent with current pro-poor tourism 'working paper' literature¹. Each questionnaire was divided into three broad sections. The first section interrogated the basic background information of the institutional structure as well as that of the Amatikulu area. The results from this section, together with the policy and institutional review, have been summarised in sections two and three of this paper. The second section of the questionnaire assessed the level of PPT intervention. This section of the questionnaire used the template of Table 2 in this paper as a means of interrogation. The findings of the level of PPT intervention have been summarised in section three of this paper. Similarly, the third section of the questionnaire, the results and impacts of the intervention, used the template of Table 3 and the results have been summarised in section five.

The limited time frame and budget for conducting interviews has however placed a limitation on the quantity and corresponding representivity of the stakeholder's responses. Although a wide range of stakeholders were questioned, it was not possible to validate these responses by interviewing stakeholders in similar positions or with similar levels of involvement. As an example, the response of the management at Amatikulu Nature Reserve could not be compared with responses from the management of other reserves or areas. The input from the individual stakeholders therefore had to be considered representative of those specific positions.

¹ Please refer to http://www.propoortourism.org.uk/ppt_pubs_outputs.html

An additional limitation of the research has been the lack of a framework for evaluating the expected PPT outcomes. All previous PPT research has focussed on tourism development that has specifically implemented the PPT approach. The propoor outcomes from these developments are evaluated according to specific criteria that have been established within the PPT framework, criteria that include the expansion of business opportunities and building supportive policy frameworks. In contrast, the livelihood outcomes from Amatikulu Nature Reserve cannot be directly assessed according to the PPT framework as a PPT approach has never been implemented by Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife.

However, one of expected outcomes of this research is to establish a foundation for future PPT implementation in Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife (and the broader KZN area) by determining the current PPT status quo. The lack the PPT approach to tourism development in Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife has therefore proved to be one of the most significant strengths of this research. This research has created the foundation for the evaluation and implementation of PPT in alternative, specifically public sector, tourism interventions in KZN.

Table 1: List of interviewees and their respective organisations

Name	Organisation
Mr. C. Beatii	Officer in Charge, Siyaya Coastal Reserve, KZN Wildlife
Mr. C. Buthelezi	Community Liason Officer, Siyaya Coastal Reserve, KZN
	Wildlife
Mr. M. Gcumisa	Acting Community Levy Co-ordinator, KZN Wildlife
Mr. H. Gumedi	Ecotourism and Marketing Branch, KZN Wildlife
Dr. D. Kotze	Institute for Natural Resources/research fellow for CEAD
Mr. Lushosi	Treasurer, Macambini Development Forum
Sister Mbonambi	Mandini Health Clinic
Mr. S. Mabaso	Vice Chair, Macambini Development Forum
Nkosi K. Mathaba	Macambini Tribal Authority
Dr. M.B. Ngubane	Director: Service Delivery, eNdondakusuka Municipality
Mrs. M. Shandu	Macambini Tribal Authority
Mrs. G. Thompson	EnvironDev

2 Overview of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Services

This section has the purpose of introducing both the institutional and policy structure in which KZN Wildlife operates. In so doing, it paints a contextual background for the evaluation of the extent to which KZN wildlife has adopted principles that are inline with the pro-poor approach. The information from this section has been sourced from the Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Website, http://www.rhino.org.za, unless otherwise stated.

2.1 The Structure of KZN Wildlife

KZN wildlife has recently undergone a phase of dramatic reconstruction in line with the democratic transformation of South Africa. Previously, nature conservation in KZN fell primarily under the auspice of two independent although not entirely exclusive governing bodies, the Natal Parks Board (NPB) and the KwaZulu Directorate of Nature Conservation (DNC). These two bodies amalgamated in 1998 to form the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services, later renamed as Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Services. The reconstruction was born out of a need to firstly streamline nature conservation management and operation in the province, but more significantly, to shake off a legacy of military style operation by becoming a more transparent and participative organisation (KZN Wildlife 2002a).

The reconstruction of the organisation broadened the scope and focus of KZN Wildlife from a purely conservationist perspective to one that included the social, political and economic dynamic in which protected areas find themselves. As a result, the three core themes of "conservation, partnerships and ecotourism" were identified as the focal areas for future development. The mission statement of the Ezemvelo KZN Charter reflects this shift by stating: "sustainable biodiversity conservation and ecotourism management in KwaZulu Natal in partnership with its people" (KZN Wildlife 2002a: 1).

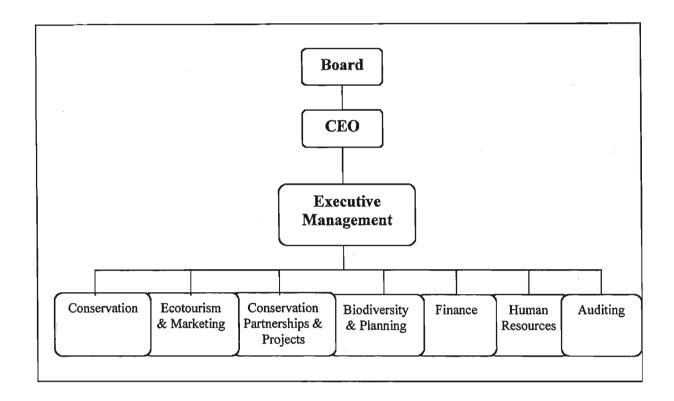


Figure 1: Management profile of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife

The restructured organisation is divided into seven management branches, with the seven branch directors constituting the executive management. The executive management is in turn headed by the Chief Executive Officer (CEO), Mr. Khulani Mkhize. The restructured management profile of KZN Wildlife is illustrated in figure 1 and explained in more detail in appendix 2.

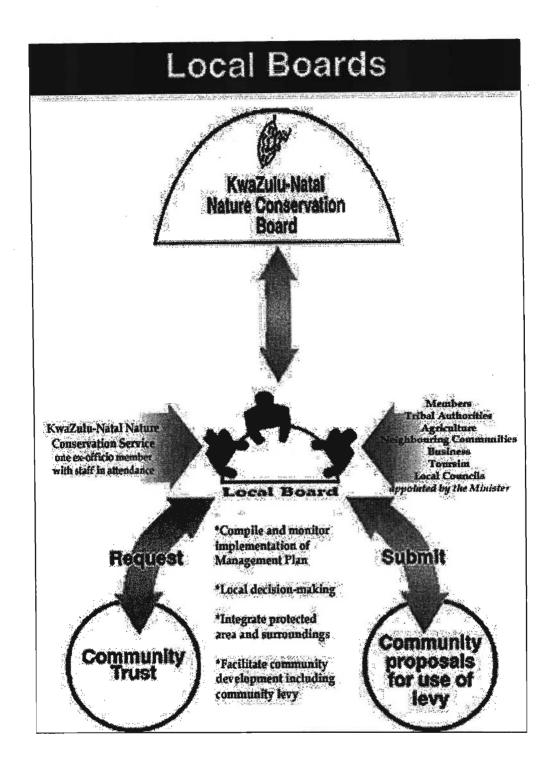


Figure 2: The role of Local Conservation Boards in Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife. Source: http://www.rhino.org.za

The new management structure of KZN wildlife also constitutes two forms of regulatory and advisory boards. The first of these is the KZN Nature Conservation Board, which as the authority, regulates nature conservation in the province by advising the executive management. The board comprises a panel of experts, all leaders in their respective fields of expertise. This expertise covers a range of issues,

from environmental and labour law, to international best practice, to tourism and traditional leadership.

Local Conservation Boards (Figure 2) are the second form of advisory/regulatory board, which have been established with the purpose of improving communication with business and communities which neighbour protected areas and nature reserves. The local boards are also responsible for integrating the activities of the KZN Wildlife within the livelihoods strategies of neighbouring communities.

Members of local boards are nominated by the public and are from a range of civil, private and public organisations including:

- 1) Formally constituted organisations/institutions.
- 2) Tribal authorities.
- 3) Formal agriculture.
- 4) Regional tourism.
- 5) Business sector.
- 6) Regional & Town councils.
- 7) Local authorities.
- 8) Environmental groups.
- 9) Special interest groups.

Each board will also include one ex-officio KZN Wildlife staff member.

Local boards are charged with compiling and implementing management plans as well as facilitating community development. This process is geared towards empowering local communities and ensuring the promotion of livelihood outcomes, while simultaneously demonstrating the difficulties associated with the management of protected areas.

The local boards have also taken over the responsibility of the administration and implementation of the community levy fund. First established in 1998, the community levy fund is money generated from the collection of a percentage of the entrance fees to nature reserves and protected areas. In the first three years of its implementation the fund raised capital in excess of US\$ 1.7 million (KZN Wildlife 2002b: 15).

Amatikulu and the neighbouring Umlalazi Reserves operate on a pooled levy system. The total amount that is received at both reserves is split equally between the two communities. This works to the favour of the Macambini community as Amatikulu has far less bedding and tourism facilities to offer than Umlalazi and therefore less collected gate earnings.

The local boards are responsible for receiving proposals for the use of the funds collected by each reserve. On the approval of a proposal, the money is made available to fund community projects in the neighbouring community, ranging from schools to small business ventures and community based tourism initiatives. In the event that no local board exists, then the fund is managed through KZN Wildlife Community Levy department.

This scenario is in fact the case with most reserves in KZN, where to date only four local boards have been established as pilot projects. These are in the following four prominent protected areas:

- 1) Tembe and Ndumo
- 2) The central section of the Ukhahlamba Drakensberg Park
- 3) The Coastal Forest Reserve
- 4) The Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park (Figure 3)

2.2 Policy Context

Along with the restructuring of the management of KZN Wildlife, the policy environment has recently undergone a process of review and revision. One of the outcomes of this transformation has been the Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Strategic Plan (2002), which has placed emphasis on adopting principles of nature conservation that are appropriate for implementation in a rapidly developing African country. In so doing, the strategy has identified six key performance areas (Appendix 3) in order to ensure that overall strategic objective of "Conservation and wise use of wildlife in KwaZulul-Natal in partnership with people" (KZN Wildlife 2002a: 1) is achieved.

One of these key performance areas is the broad concept of "community", with the objective of realising "communities who value biodiversity and share in the benefits" (KZN Wildlife 2002b: 13). To facilitate the process of achieving this objective the strategic plan has identified five key directions for the future relationship between KZN Wildlife and its surrounding communities:

- 1. To expand and enhance community conservation programmes
- 2. Resolve land claims
- 3. Develop local boards for protected areas
- 4. Implement the community levy programme to ensure benefits accrue to communities
- 5. Involve communities in tourism projects.

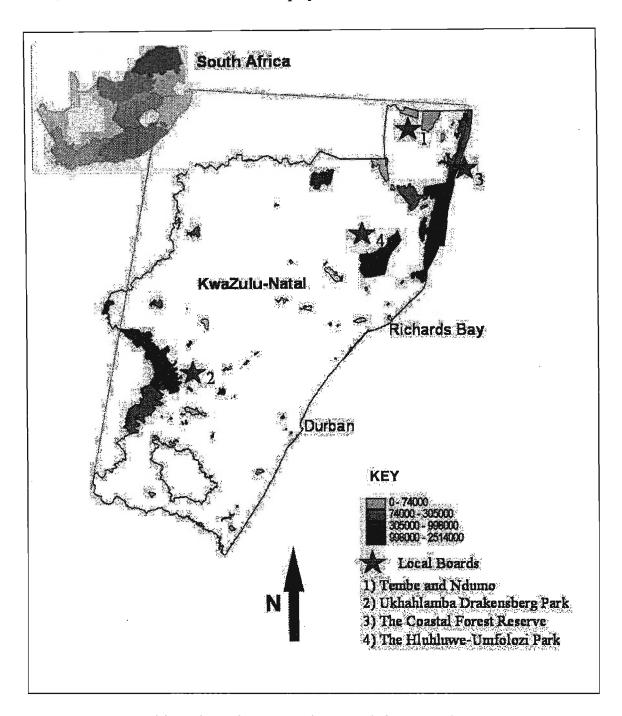


Figure 3: The position of Local Conservation Boards in KwaZulu Natal together with the funds generated to date from the community levy system for each nature reserve. Funds are given in Rand (R1 approx = \$10). (Map not to scale) *Source:* KZN Wildlfe (2002b)

To compliment this strategy there are a number of policies which influence the direction of tourism development and local participation within protected areas under the management of KZN Wildlife. The restructured policy environment can be separated into five broad groups; biodiversity, resource use, environmental management, community and ecotourism. The three most relevant of these policies are the Ecotourism and Protected Area Policy (No 7 - X, June 1999), the Partnerships for Ecotourism Development within or Adjacent to Protected Areas (No 5 – xviii, November 1996) and the Community Development policy.

The Ecotourism and Protected Areas policy defines ecotourism to encompass:

"Responsible tourism, based on the wildlife resources of the province, developed and managed to maintain or enhance environmental quality and to ensure that benefits accrue to society and, particularly, to communities neighbouring protected areas" (Policy No 7 - x).

It notes that ecotourism has the potential to create jobs and business opportunities, but can simultaneously have associated negative environmental and social impacts on the local community. It also states that income generated from the reserves needs to be realised equitably between national, provincial and local stakeholders.

The policy furthermore undertakes to create a tourism development environment that; optimises the ecotourism product base, enters into partnerships with private and community organisation that will maximise the benefits for local communities, motivate the relevant authorities for infrastructural development and provide information regarding conservation principles.

The Partnerships for Ecotourism Policy (No 5 - xviii, November 1996) recognises that there is a need for a range of tourism facilities that can contribute to nature conservation and the economic development of the neighbouring communities. These facilities can include the private sector in partnerships, but must ensure that development is ecologically, economically and socially sustainable.

The policy undertakes to promote private tourism development in areas adjacent to reserves, support private and community partnerships, and seek private sector investment in the development of tourism facilities within reserves.

The Community Conservation Policy (Draft) recognises that neighbours have a direct interest in sustainable management and the need for culturally, economically, socially and ecologically sustainable, consultative partnerships. It undertakes to develop and sustain participatory structures, engage in biodiversity education, develop and foster entrepreneurial opportunities, promote and develop legislative understanding as well as integrate and promote community conservation programmes.

Therefore, it is evident that the strategy and policies of KZN Wildlife have placed emphasis on promoting and participation of both the private sector and local communities. The focus is twofold. The policies are geared towards harnessing ecotourism as a means for ensuring future economic sustainability of reserves. There is specific emphasis on creating an environment that is attractive for private sector involvement. Simultaneously the community focus promotes local participation, effective job creation and broader livelihood outcomes such as infrastructural development.

3 Background to Amatikulu

Section three provides a background to the case study site, Amatikulu Nature Reserve, including a description of the local economic and social environment. The information from this section has been primarily sourced from the EnvironDev (2002) -The Amatikulu Coastal Development Plan, unless otherwise stated.

3.1 Geographic Context

With the recent democratic changes, South Africa has recently gone through a process of regional and local re-demarcation. The country has been divided into nine provinces, with each province further divided into district municipal areas or districts and each district divided into local municipalities. The legal status of land can generally fall into three basic categories, private, state owned or communal. In KwaZulu-Natal a large portion of the land is communal, meaning that land and land rights falls under the jurisdiction of the King (Ingonyama), or the Ingonyama trust. The allocation of land and land rights is regulated by the Nkosi (local Chiefs) who are directly accountable to the King. Communal or Tribal Authority land is further divided into wards, each headed by a Nduna (ward Headman), who report to the Nkosi. Presently though, the land rights of the Tribal Authorities are undergoing a process of review by the national government, and it is expected that the power of the Nkosi to allocate land will be transferred away to national government.

Amatikulu Nature Reserve is situated within the eNdondakusuka local Municipality (KZ 291), which is one of four local municipalities within the boundaries of the Ilembe District Council (DC 29). The reserve is surrounded by the Macambini Tribal Authority area, which is headed by a politically active and very charismatic chief, Nkosi K. Mathaba. The Macambini tribal authority is in turn further surrounded by a crescent of commercial farm land under sugar plantations.

The reserve is a coastal nature reserve strategically situated between the development nodes of Richards Bay and Durban (Figure 4). The reserve is situated between the coast and a key national transport route, the N2. Access is gained via a dirt road which

leads directly from the freeway exit ramp, past the Wangu settlement and through the Macambini Tribal area. The reserve is a narrow strip of predominantly coastal dune forest, approximately 20km long and ranging in width from approximately 450m to 5km.

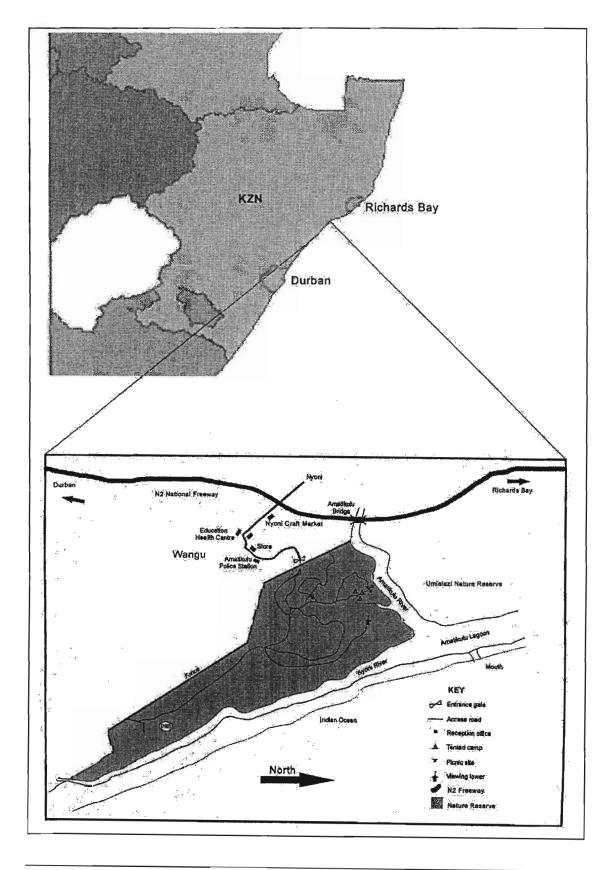


Figure 4: The Location of Amatikulu Nature Reserve in KwaZulu-Natal. (Map not to scale)

The southern boundary begins just north of the uThukela River mouth and extends to the Amatikulu River mouth in the north. Umlalazi Nature Reserve borders the Amatikulu River to the north, and the two reserves (Amatikulu and Umlalazi) are in the process of being amalgamated into a single reserve, the Siyaya Coastal Reserve.

3.2 Historic Context

The area between the Amatikulu and uThukela Rivers has a rich and assorted cultural history beginning with the first population of the Nguni tribe c1600. The Nguni settled in the area after a southward migration and were able to cultivate the land in relatively peace up until civil war in 1856. The civil war culminated with the battle of eNdondakusuka which was fought between the Zulu King Mpande's two eldest sons, Cetshwayo and Mbuyazi for succession to the throne. Mbuyazi, being outnumbered three to one, tried to flee over the uThukela River to the then British colony of Natal. However, pleas by Mbuyazi to enter the colony were rejected and as a result the Ggoza tribe was trapped between the Indian Ocean and the uThukela. The battle took place in and around the Nyoni River, and the Usuthu under the leadership of Cetshwayo systematically slaughtered the Ggoza, leaving "the bones of the combatants scattered about for some years after" (Samuelson 1929: 4).

The battle effectively de-populated the area and in 1858 the area was given to John Dunn, a controversial but very ambitious businessman who had supplied King Cetshwayo with firearms. Dunn slowly accumulated vast tracts of land and eventually established his own chiefdom called "Dunnsland". At the time, polygamous marriage in Zulu society was used as a means for establishing political and social ties to other clans. Dunn used this custom to build up his own chiefdom by marrying one coloured and forty eight African wives. Dunnsland, at its height, was double the size of the land originally given by King Cetshwayo, with a population of over 25 000, mixed between Zulu, Tsonga, Coloured and Nguni (Ballard 1985).

In 1940, the coastal area of Dunnsland (the area that is now the Amatikulu Nature Reserve) was transferred back to the government under the responsibility of the

Mandikini Primary Health Care Centre. The Mandikini Hospital was set up as a leprosy colony and the land was to be used primarily for cattle rearing for the production of milk and meat for its patients (KZN Wildlife unpublished).

However, cattle theft by the local community caused the hospital to become financially unsustainable and as a result the cattle were replaced with game and the hospital was disbanded. A boundary for a protected area was negotiated with the Nkosi and the present reserve area was fenced off with game fencing. Slowly the number of game was increased and in 1987 the Amatikulu Nature Reserve was officially proclaimed under the KwaZulu Natal Conservation Act (KZN Wildlife unpublished).

3.3 Demographic Context

The 1996 household census data estimates the total population of eNdondakusuka municipal area to be 111 909. Of these 94% are African, 2.5% White, 2% Indian and 0.5% Coloured. Although the coloured population percentage is marginal, it is one of the highest in the province, through the continued settlement of the Dunn clan. The average annual household income is R 14 215 (Approx US\$ 1400), with the largest percentage (21%) in the R2401 – 6000 (US\$ 240 – 600) bracket. Unemployment is estimated at 33% of the total population, which calculates as 53% of the total working population between the ages of 18 – 60 years old. The population age composition is skewed towards the bottom and top of the age pyramid, with many children been left in the care of elders, while the parents move to the larger city centres in search of work. This places the remaining working population under tremendous pressure to provide support for the community.

In December 2002, the Mandini Health Clinic estimated that the percentage of AIDS/HIV infected individuals in the Mandini area was 29.2. This percentage, according to staff at the clinic, was most likely very conservative, as it was based on the number of patients in the hospital and many people do come to hospital to have their HIV status tested.

3.4 Local Governance Context

The structure of the eNdondakusuka local municipality consists of a municipal manager and two municipal directorates. The two directorates are those of Service Delivery and Support Services. Service Delivery includes the Department of Technical Services and the Department of Communication Services, while Support Services includes Corporate and Financial Services. Tourism and Local Economic Development (LED) falls under the auspice of the communications department.

Community representation on the municipality is in the form of councillors who are elected from each of the wards, as well as councillors who are elected proportionally from the local population. The tribal authority also plays a significant role in governance in the area, with a tribal court mandated to mediate over minor offences. The Tribal Authority has also appointed the Macambini Development Forum, which constitutes members of the tribal authority as well as community representatives and is focussed on promoting development in the region.

3.5 Policy Context

The democratic transformation of South Africa has been achieved through a dramatic shift in the policy and legislation that governs the country. In line with this shift towards participative governance, the tourism approach of the government has placed emphasis on participation of local communities in tourism ventures.

Nowhere is this more true than in the White Paper on Development and Promotion of Tourism (DEAT 1996). The White paper states that: tourism should be government led, driven by the private sector and community based. Emphasis has been placed on Community Based Tourism (CBT) as it has been identified as being in the unique position to supply previously disadvantaged communities with access to mainstream economic markets. Similarly the White Paper on Sustainable Coastal Development (DEAT 2000) emphasises the need for sustainable tourism development, that not only benefits but includes the participation of local coastal communities.

The KwaZulu-Natal provincial legislation places similar emphasis on CBT and realistic participation in tourism development decision making. The primary goal of A Community Based Tourism Strategy for KwaZulu-Natal (TKZN 1999) is empowerment of local communities to participate in tourism initiatives and their effective inclusion in the tourism industry. Likewise one of the guiding principles of the Tourism KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Strategy (TKZN 2002) is to provide an enabling environment for a community based and private sector driven tourism industry.

At a more local scale the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) for the Ilembe District as well as the IDP for the eNdondakusuka Municipality has identified tourism as one of the key sectors earmarked for local economic development. The eNdondakasuka IDP states that there is a vast array of untapped tourism potential in the area, specifically the coastal region around the mouth of the uThukela River. The eNdondakasuka IDP also places emphasis on community participation stating that community participation has become a "cornerstone" of development initiatives (Platt 2002: 24).

3.6 Local Development Context

The two largest industries in the eNdondakusuka municipal area are the Amitkulu sugar mill and the SAPPI paper mill. However, neither the Amatikulu sugar mill nor the paper mill carry a large staff. They do however sustain the local economy by supporting local small scale growers, and it is estimated that there are more than 6 500 small-scale sugar cane growers in the Macambini area that supply sugar to the mill.

The small growers receive support from the Small growers Development Trust (SGDT), formed by the South African Sugar Association (SASA). The SASA also runs the Umthombombo Agricultural Finance (UAF), which provides financial services such as credit and savings facilities to small scale growers. Financial support is additionally offered by the Land Bank and Ithala. The Macambini Tribal Authority is also actively involved in the timber 'out-growers' scheme, which provides support to smallholder tree growers.

There is, in addition, a range of small, medium and micro enterprises in the Macambini Tribal Authority which have contributed and which continue to contribute to the local economy. Market Gardening, which consist of some 60 members sell cash crops, vegetables and fruit to the local community. However, most of the gardens produce little more than subsistence quantities and are limited by access to irrigational water, lack of experience, cost of marketing and lack of capital.

A medicinal plant community garden has been established outside Nkosi Mathaba's home with the financial support of the National Department of Agriculture (DOA) as part of the Cultivation of National Products to Generate Income and Entrepreneurial Opportunities for Women, Youth and Disabled People fund. The project aims at providing an alternative source of income to local communities while simultaneously alleviating pressure on the naturally occurring plant stock. However, the project was only funded for twelve months which proved to be too short to ensure a sustainable viable market.

One of the more significant SMME developments in the Macambini area has been the establishment of a Beading co-operative and Weaving group at Wangu, on the border on Amatikulu Nature Reserve. The weaving group, a formally constituted group of fifteen permanent members, under the name of the Ukukhangokule art and craft saving club focuses predominantly on the production of functional crafts such as blinds and lamp shades. The group was originally funded by the DOA under the Cultivation of National Products to Generate Income and Entrepreneurial Opportunities for Women, Youth and Disabled People project, and now receives adhoc support from the Institute for Natural Resources. The Wangu Beading Cooperative has proved to by highly successful, with over 400 members. The project was funded by DEAT, who have erected a retail kiosk at the intersection of the Amatikulu exit ramp from the National Freeway (Figure 4).

DEAT has also recently (August 2002) funded the Amatikulu Coastal Development Project (CDP), which is a poverty alleviation initiative aimed at supporting alternative sustainable coastal livelihoods. The key outcome of this project has been the establishment of a locally based umbrella co-operative, the Mcambini co-op, which integrates the key SMMEs into a single functioning body. The SMMEs that have been

included in the co-op are the Wangu Beaders and Weavers, the Market Gardening Group, subsistence Gardening Club and the Cultural entertainment group. The project also includes an infrastructural selection process, where premises are identified for training, storage and trading. The lease for unused bungalows outside the Wangu Police station are currently been negotiated as a site for training and storage, while the retail Kiosk at the Amatikulu exit ramp has been refurbished as the Nyoni Craft Market. The project was launched in December 2002 and has evaluation criteria that include; training, productivity and skills improvement, cost saving for SMMEs, quality improvements, turnover growth and marketing savings.

4 Pro-Poor Focus

With the aim of evaluating the pro-poor focus of tourism initiatives, previous PPT research have evaluated projects according to predefined criteria, including; expansion of business opportunities, expansion of employment, collective benefits, mitigating environmental impacts and increased participation. However, as mentioned previously, KZN Wildlife has not adopted a specific PPT approach to their tourism development framework. Nevertheless, the restructured policies and strategy of the parastatal are geared towards participation and community development. This focus, although not implicitly pro-poor, allows for the same criteria to be used to determine the PPT focus of KZN Wildlife. The following section therefore examines the case study of Amatikulu Nature Reserve and what progress it has made towards securing positive livelihood outcomes, as a means for evaluating the level of pro-poor focus in KZN Wildlife. Section 4.1 serves as a summary of the core outcomes of this level of the research while sections 4.2 to 4.8 unpacks the research in more detail according to the core criteria of PPT as outlined above. The information in this section has been summarised from the interviewee's responses during the semi-structured interviews.

4.1 Specific Actions to Address Barriers to Participation of the Poor in Tourism

Barriers to participation are often the key stumbling blocks for the poor to enjoy the benefits of tourism development. In order to ensure a realistic pro-poor focus in KZN Wildlife tourism development it is necessary to identify these barriers as well as solutions for overcoming them. The following Table 2 summarises the barriers to participation and solutions, as identified by the stakeholders of Amatikulu Nature Reserve and the Macambini Tribal Authority.

Table 2: Action to address barriers to participation of the poor in tourism

Issue	Identified as a barrier	Means of overcoming it
a) Lack of human capital of the poor –	 Limited capability to interact in the tourism 	 Craft training at new Nyoni craft centre.
e.g., skills	industry. HIV/AIDS disrupts community social	 Local Government proposed Tourism awareness campaign. Continued application of

	structures	reformed KZN wildlife community participation policies. Government HIV/AIDS awareness campaign and poverty alleviation focus
b) Lack of financial capital of the poor – e.g., micro credit, revolving loans	 Access to micro financial assistance limited. But macro finance (e.g. Poverty Alleviation funding) and community levy funding available. 	 Private sector partnership could diversify product base and increase tourism revenue realised by community. Private sector partnership could facilitate local micro finance schemes.
c) Lack of social capital/organisational strength	Not identified as a barrier, many co- operatives and clubs (e.g. cooking clubs) act as a mechanism for social cohesion.	 Macambini co-operative now accessible as an umbrella organisation for all coordination of existing co-operatives and clubs.
d) Gender norms & constraints	 Not identified as a barrier. 	
e) Incompatibility with existing livelihood strategies	Livestock often found grazing within reserve boundaries, as well as illegal gill net fishing and wildlife poaching.	 Tangible benefits from the reserve need to be realised by the community, therefore there needs to be more scope for community participation in tourism ventures, e.g. guides, produce, services. Proposed local government tourism awareness campaign could increase perceived value of reserve.
f) Location	 Poor state of access road for tourists not identified as negatively impacting return visits. Access to reserve and Nyoni craft market by local community is restricted by undeveloped transportation infrastructure and coastal location. 	A Public Works/Poverty Alleviation project could be initiated to improve the state of the access road.
g) Lack of land ownership/tenure	 Yes, reserve surrounded by Ingonyama Trust land, therefore difficult to attract private sector investment. 	 Recently settled land claims may lead to ownership security.
h) Lack of product	 Yes, presently very little tourism product on offer, although potential 	Nyoni craft centre will strengthen product base.Need to ensure community

	exists for expanding	participation and initiation of
	ecotourism product base.	additional tourism products.
i) Planning process	No, planning and	
favours others – lack of	policy environment	
planning gain	focussed on local	
1.	economic development,	
[although local	
	government promotion of	
	more visual project such	
	as military kraal outside	
	Mandini.	
55 1 0 1		- T111-
j) Regulations & red	Yes, the process of	 Local board needs
tape	implementing community	establishment to ensure
	levy funds identified as	transparency and to keep the
	protracted.	community informed of funding
1	Access to develop	process.
	tourism facilities on	 Decision making regarding
	reserve for private sectors	future private sector involvement
	difficult.	in reserves need to be streamlined.
k) Inadequate access to	■ Yes, tourism market	Nyoni craft market will attract
the tourism market	focussed on established	more passing tourism trade.
the tourism market		
	tourism enclaves, notably	A private sector partnership
	Maputaland, Zululand	could increase marketing and
	and Durban Metro	access to market.
	No, situated on major	•
	tourism route (N2)	
1) Low capacity to meet	Yes limited exposure to	Private/community partnership,
tourist expectations	tourism market and	with adequate training systems
	associated expectations.	could increase tourism trade as
	_	well as exposure to tourist
		expectations. Tourism awareness
		campaign
m) Lack of linkages	 Yes, linkages do not 	Product base needs to be
between formal and	, ,	
l .	exist.	developed in order to increase
informal sectors/local		demand for services and supplies
suppliers		from local suppliers.
\m_ 1		
n) Tourist market	No, market situated	
(segment)	between luxury and mass	
inappropriate	markets. Limited skills	
	and capacity required	
o) Lack of pro-active	No, recent DEAT	
government support for	funded coastal	
involvement by the	development project has	
poor.	provided opportunities for	
F	livelihoods outcomes.	
	Yes, local government	
	focus on large branding	
	projects e.g. Military	
	Kraal.	

4.2 Expansion of Business Opportunities

One of the key benefits to the Macambini community as a direct intervention of KZN Wildlife has been the community levy fund. The total amount received from the fund to date is in excess of R180 000 (US\$ 18 000), which has been halved between the Umlalazi and Amatikulu reserves. In June 2002, R 45 000 (US\$ 4 500) was set aside from the Amatikulu community fund to buy a pick-up truck and initiate a brick making enterprise. The Macambini community has rights to riverine sand in the Nyoni and Amatikulu rivers which, after extraction can be used to make building bricks. The extraction process is very labour intensive and so sources labour from the local community. The truck was used to transport sand to builders where the sand was sold as well as to a local block making enterprise to make and sell building bricks. However, the extraction and brick making businesses have since ceased as no funding was made available to maintain the truck, in case of mechanical failure (C. Buthelezi pers comm.).

The recent opening of the Nyoni craft market outside the reserve will also provide business opportunities for local crafters. Although the market was not created as a direct intervention of KZN Wildlife, some crafting materials are collected from within the reserves boundaries. The locally preferred weaving grass iNcema (*Juncus larousii*) used for thatching, reeding and weaving is only available at ten sites throughout the province, Amatikulu being one of them. The reed iKhwane (*Cyprerus latifolius*) as well as hard woods, and medicinal plants are also commonly harvested from the reserve. These materials are predominantly used in the production of household items and in the supply of fuel, whereas others such as the grasses and wood are used to create crafts that are punted on the open market (Dr. D. Kotze *pers. comm.*).

4.3 Expansion Employment

The recent restructuring of KZN Wildlife has resulted in a number of retrenchments and loss of employment opportunities. Amtikulu and Umlalazi are also in the process

of being amalgamated into a single reserve, the Siyaya Coastal Reserve. This has meant that the management component of both reserves has been transferred to Umlalazi, and only a skeleton staff remains at Amatikulu. The small scale of the accommodation facilities (six tented camps) at Amatikulu has resulted in the staff been streamlined to a total of eighteen, split seven 'profit' (tourism facilities) and 'eleven 'cost' (reserve maintenance). To compound this, concern was raised that a large portion of the staff at Amatikulu and the bordering Umlalazi Reserve are not local residents, but rather sourced from the far northern Manguzi District, or from as far a field as Swaziland.

There has also been little employment opportunities created outside of the reserve. This is predominantly because of the limited tourism facilities of the tourist camp and the resulting low number of tourists. However, it is also a result of the limited capacity and lack of opportunity of the local community to engage in the needs of the tourist market.

4.4 Enhancing Collective Benefits

The remaining funds of the community levy fund has been used to build two primary schools in the Macambini area. Ebendle Primary School classrooms was built in April 2001 and Ngulube Primary School classrooms in January 2001, both at the cost of R 28 000 (US\$2 800). These schools were a welcome addition to the local education facilities and have gone a long way to improve the relationship between the community and reserve (M. Gcumisa pers. comm).

Besides the schools, there has been no recent infrastructural development in the Macambini area as a direct result of the reserve. The dirt road that leads from the freeway to the reserve is in a poor state. The surface of the road is seriously eroded and there is continuous litter on both sides of the road almost all the way to the reserve. This has been identified as one of the key factors that is limiting the percentage of return visitors to the reserve.

4.5 Mitigating Environmental Impacts

As is other areas of the province, the transformation of KZN Wildlife has fostered a more transparent relationship between itself and the Macambini community. However, there is still some conflict regarding the use of the natural environment and its resources, particularly within the reserve. When game was first introduced to the area, a fence was erected to keep the control of the migration of the game as well as keep poachers at bay. With a lack of funding the condition of the fence has slowly declined to the situation where it no longer encloses the entire reserve. As a result there have been instances of poaching and illegal resource usage. The worst of these poaching instances occurred in January 2002 when poachers were caught in the reserve and opened fire on the conservation staff. One game ranger was killed and another wounded, while a number of poachers were wounded (C. Beatii pers. comm). There have also been a number of instances of illegal gill netting near the Nyoni River mouth. However, these illegal gill netters have been tried through the tribal court, with six successful prosecutions between 1999 and 2000 (Nkosi K. Mathaba pers. comm).

The changing nature of the KZN Wildlife's approach to community development and specifically the building of the schools have however promoted the general value of the reserve to the community. The attitude towards the reserve appears to be changing from one of something for white tourists to one of potential for employment and local development. An example of this shift is the reporting of illegal fishing to the KZN Wildlife management by local community members (C. Beatii *pers. comm*).

4.6 Promoting Participation

The policy environment of KZN Wildlife places emphasis of facilitating participation, especially with communities neighbouring reserves. However, local boards which have been created as vehicles to ensure effective participation have so far only been established as pilots in the larger prominent reserves. This interim period for the other protected areas has led to a breakdown in communication between the local communities and KZN Wildlife. This is particularly true for the Macambini

community, who have complained about the present lack of communication and a means for participation in KZN Wildlife management decisions.

4.7 Building Supportive Policy Framework

Presently Amatikulu Nature Reserve is having little impact on the policy environment as there is no local board to act as a communication channel between the community and KZN Wildlife. However, the national, provincial and local policy documentation supports tourism as a means for LED. This is coupled with a growing emphasis of local government on increasing tourism awareness in the local community. There are currently three projects earmarked for future development, which will be driven by the municipality. These are a traditional military kraal (encampment), on the border of the Mandeni (the largest town in the municipal area), development at the uThukela Mouth and Historical sites in the eNdondakusuka Area. The Amatikulu Reserve was however viewed as of secondary potential to generate viable economic returns and sustainable livelihoods benefits.

4.8 Bringing Private Sector on Board

Along with the restructuring of KZN wildlife there has been a move to bring the private sector on board in the operation of tourism facilities. This move has come out of a need to firstly make tourism facilities in reserves economically sustainable and to secondly shift the responsibility of these facilities away from nature conservation management. A tender process results in concession agreement which are ceded to successful applicants and then the responsibility for the operation of the facility is transferred to the private operator. Amatikulu Reserve is under review for the inclusion of private sector partnership, and it seems likely that in the future a private/community partnership will be considered for the operation of the tourist facilities.

4.9 Concluding Remarks

The case study of Amatikulu Nature Reserve has shown that the PPT focus of KZN Wildlife appears to be lacking in aspects of employment and local development but adequate in socially related outcomes such as collective benefits. There also appears to be a gap between the focus and the outcomes that are realised.

The strategy and policies place considerable focus on participation for both communities and the private sector. However, neither of these have been realised at Amatikulu and without a local board in place the Macambini community has limited means of communicating with KZN Wildlife. Similarly the policies promote job creation and infrastructure development, whereas Amatikulu has seen a decline in employment and no infrastructure development, even though the upgrade of the access road has been identified as a priority for ensuring return visits from tourists.

The community levy system has however provided much welcomed collective benefits in the form of two primary schools and also created a small business opportunity from the purchase of a pick-up truck.

5 Results and Impacts on the Poor

Impacts on the poor by developmental projects are not only limited to tangible outcomes, such as employment and economic status. In order to achieve viable outcomes a more holistic view needs to be adopted. The Sustainable Livelihoods Approach (SLA) notes that the success of achieving positive livelihood outcomes and thereby ensuring maximum impact from pro-poor initiatives, can be influenced by a range of factors. The three core areas of intervention stated by the SLA are:

- a) the vulnerability context of the poor, where impacts on vulnerability affect the security and sustainability of communities;
- b) the livelihood assets base, where impacts can directly degrade or enhance local capital and
- c) the transforming structures and processes, where positive impacts can promote the development of effective livelihood strategies leading to livelihood outcomes (DFID 1999).

The following section uses these three key areas of intervention to evaluate the impacts on the poor at Macambini by KZN Wildlife. In so doing, an inclusive view can be reached of the livelihood outcomes achieved by KZN Wildlife through Amatikulu Nature Reserve.

5.1 Specific Benefits and Losses to the Poor through PPT Intervention

The following table summarises the specific impacts realised by the Macambini community at Amatikulu though intervention by KZN Wildlife

Table 3: Specific impacts realised by the poor through intervention by KZN Wildlife at Amatikulu Nature Reserve

	Benefits	Losses, problems
a) Skills access to training and education	 Schools from community levy have provided education facilities. 	 Marginal skills development within the reserve, especially with regards to tourism products.
b) Natural resources (access to, use/productivity/	 Sustained access to medicinal plants for traditional healers and grass 	 Illegal vegetation burning to allow for grazing in reserve. Some instances of poaching

sustainability of use)	harvesting for market, weaving and thatching.	resulting in serious conflict. Illegal gill net fishing in Nyoni and Amatikulu rivers.
c) Community organisation Cohesion, pride	 The two primary schools have enhanced the education base for the community. 	Trust presently administered by KZN Wildlife and not the community, which has lead to bureaucratic delays in application of funds and disempowerment.
d) Access to investment funds and loans	No impacts	
e) Infrastructure: (& access to) water roads, transport telephone, communication	 No direct benefits, although Nyoni craft market is closely linked to activities and resources at the reserve. 	The road leading from the freeway to the reserve is in a very poor state and has been identified as negatively impacting on the return tourism trade.
f) Health, access to health care	■ The human resource branch of KZN Wildlife has placed emphasis on AIDS/HIV education of staff members.	 Access to health care has not improved.
g) Access to information	 No benefits 	 No, local board has resulted in the breakdown of communication between the community and KZN Wildlife
h) Funds for the community	The community levy scheme has made funding available for potential local development projects.	 Projects that are selected need to be considered in terms of long term funding sustainability.
i) Other livelihood activities: farming, employment, migration etc	 Natural resources from the reserve used for Nyoni craft market. The Garden co-operative has potential to supply reserve with fresh produce. 	 Reserve policies in conflict with traditional fishing and hunting.
j) Markets, market opportunities	Nyoni craft market has provided a means for tourism market access.	 Market knowledge of community very limited. Tourism product base very underutilised and undeveloped
k) Policy environment	Current KZN Wildlife policy promotes participation, sustainable social, ecological and economic development and community, private, public partnerships.	 No specific emphasis on poverty alleviation. No vulnerability context in policies.

l) Influence over policy makers		 Lack of a Local Board has meant little feedback from the community to the executive management of KZN Wildlife.
m) Jobs	18 people in total are employed at Amatikulu Nature Reserve	 Recent restructuring has resulted in job losses. Concern that members of staff are not from the local community and so much needed financial benefits are leaked away from the community.
n) Opportunities for informal sector & small businesses	 Brick making and sand winning enterprises a direct result of community levy 	 Lack of operational funding and lack of business skills development has resulted in the enterprises ceasing.
o) Casual labour opportunities	Only seasonal casual labour employed	
p) Household income	 Salaries from the reserve staff are often the only source of income for local households 	Not all staff are from the local community.
q) Local culture	 Medicinal plants are harvested from the reserve. 	 Traditional hunting no longer allowed within the reserves boundaries.

5.2 Vulnerability Context

In general, impacts on the vulnerability context of the Macambini community have not been realised as a result of the intervention by KZN Wildlife and the Amatikulu Reserve. Natural, economic or social shocks as well as trends and seasonality are not accounted for in the newly adopted policy framework or in the implementation of the current management system. These processes have rather focused on developing participative instruments and promoting business opportunities. Recognising the potential for shocks and the impact of seasonality and trends is critical to ensure the sustainability of pro-poor or livelihood development projects.

5.3 Livelihood Assets

The direct financial impacts of the reserve are difficult to evaluate as reserve staff salary figures were not made available. However, the nominal scale of employment

by the reserve compared to the high level of unemployment suggests that the overall financial impact has been marginal. The money generated from crafts sold at the Nyoni craft market could act as a valuable source of income to the community. However, KZN Wildlife has had little influence over the development and sustained operation of the centre. The sand winning and block making operations were constructive steps in the right direction but have since proved to be unsustainable.

There have, however, been improvements in the social and human asset base. The two primary school classrooms built from community levy funding have demonstrated the potential that exists for ensuring direct benefits to the community through KZN Wildlife intervention. The classrooms have also had the positive impact of improving the relationship between the Macambini community and KZN Wildlife. However, besides the schools the level of skills development has been marginal. The skills training that has taken place has centred on reserve management operations, such as game and vegetation management, rather than tourism related skills. This is partly due to the low level of tourism activity in the reserve, as well as the nature of the tourism facilities (tented camps) which do not necessitate a high degree of service provision.

Compared to the degraded and eroded state of the communal land surrounding the reserve and the sugar cane mono-crops further a field, it is obvious that the reserve has had a positive impact on the natural capital of the area. Previously the maintenance of the natural resources was achieved through complete 'no-take' policies, but the more recent approach has shown that environmental resources management can include sustainable harvesting practices. This has improved the natural asset base of the community, who now have access to a number of natural resources within the reserve, including grasses, medicinal plants and woods.

The physical asset base of the Macambini area has altered very little as a direct result of the reserve. As mentioned previously the access road to the reserve is in a poor state, which may be partially due to the traffic to and from the reserve.

5.4 Transforming Structures and Processes

The transforming structures and process have to some degree been influenced by the tourism approach of KZN Wildlife. Transforming structures include the private, public and civil sectors, which through a policy framework geared towards participation, have the opportunity to become involved in sustainable, socially beneficial tourism development. The emphasis on transparency in KZN Wildlife has promoted the participation of Non Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and community boards in the decision making processes.

However, the community participation to date has been restricted to the four areas that are represented by local boards. Currently the Macambini community have limited influence with regards to the decisions made by the transforming structures.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

The impacts on the poor by KZN Wildlife at Amatikulu have been marginal. The vulnerability context of the community has in no way altered as a result of the reserve, or intervention by KZN Wildlife. This is partly due to the fact that the strategy and policies of KZN Wildlife do not accommodate for the vulnerability of the poor. As a result, communities are not able to capitalise on positive shocks and trends and are left exposed to negative impacts, common in the continuously transforming tourism industry.

Likewise there has been little impact on the transforming structures and processes primarily through the lack of a formally constituted local board. This, in turn, has meant that there has been limited effect that the community could have on improving its asset base as a result of KZN Wildlife intervention, as well as securing the vulnerability context.

There have however been some positive impacts on the asset base brought about by the KZN Wildlife. The building of two primary schools with funds from the community levy system has enhanced the social and human capital of the Macambini community. Similarly, the access community members have to natural resources inside the reserve, has improved the natural asset base which in turn has created employment and injected money into the community.

6 Review and Recommendations

The primary aim of this research has been to assess the level of pro-poor tourism intervention in KZN Wildlife. This was achieved through a policy and institutional review, together with a case study. The policy review was conducted with the aim of defining the tourism development legislative landscape and how aligned it is with the principles of pro-poor tourism. The findings of this review were then empirically tested through a case study of Amatikulu Nature Reserve, with the aim of assessing the implementation of the PPT principles.

6.1 Review of Research Findings

The following SWOT analysis summarises the key research findings.

Strengths:

- Progressive policy and strategy environment that promotes community participation and private sector partnerships.
- Community levy fund available for local business opportunities.
- Community levy fund available for improving social capital.
- Communities have access to natural resources within the reserve, which
 provides materials for crafts and household products.

Weaknesses:

- Policy environment does not have a specific poverty alleviation focus.
- Interim phase of local board pilots has left a communication gap between community and local communities.
- Community levy fund not allocated over a set time frame to ensure sustainability of projects.
- Lack of tourism facilities and products.
- Lack of skills base and skills training.
- Lack of infrastructural development.
- Recent restructuring has resulted in job losses.
- Staff members are employed from areas outside of the local area.

No direct community ownership in tourism products.

Opportunities:

- Underutilised natural asset base in and around Amatikulu that if developed could have a much larger impact on the community.
- Nyoni craft market has created the opportunity and access to sell crafts to tourism market.
- National government focus on poverty alleviation projects could provide funding for future tourism projects.

Threats:

- Limited capacity of poor to engage in tourism industry.
- Vulnerability context of the poor not considered in policy environment
- Local government focus on bigger branding projects.
- Institutional bureaucracy delaying private sector involvement.
- Continued poaching could decrease value of tourism product.

The key principle of PPT, to promote tourism that "generates net benefits for the poor" (Roe and Urquhart 2001: 1), is not reflected in the KZN Wildlife legislative landscape. However, the restructuring of KZN Wildlife has seen a number of fundamental changes in the functioning of the organisation. Two of the most critical of these are the need to become economically sustainable, with a corresponding decrease in the amount of funding supplied by national government and the need to become socially interactive with the communities that surround the reserves. In order to achieve this, the tourism development approach of KZN Wildlife has been one focussed on fostering partnerships with both the local communities and with the private sector. An approach that is reflected in the newly drafted strategic plan and tourism related policies.

However, although the policy environment is progressive in its approach to participation, the level of impacts on the poor has been marginal. One of the reasons for this lack of livelihood outcomes could be attributed to the fact that the tourism development approach adopted by KZN Wildlife has not been explicitly pro-poor.

KZN Wildlife has actively granted the Macambini community access to resources within the reserve and used the community levy fund to initiate SMMEs and build schools. However, sustainable livelihood outcomes can only be achieved if the development focus goes beyond improving the asset base of local communities. The vulnerability context of the poor needs to be identified and built up if positive or accommodated if negative. For example, local communities who participate in tourism partnerships are susceptible to the seasonality and trends of the tourism industry. To help communities become resilient to these fluctuations in the market, alternative livelihood strategies, such as employment and skills training through infrastructure development, could be promoted.

Another reason why livelihood outcomes have not been realised at Amatikulu is the current level of communication between KZN Wildlife and the Macambini community. At present, local boards have only been implemented at the larger pilot sites, and staff and community members at smaller reserves such as Amatikulu Nature Reserve consequently have no means to influence policy and strategy directions. Sustained access to, and influence over the transforming structures and processes is a critical ingredient if pro-poor principles are to be adopted.

Similarly the access and influence communities have in private sector partnerships needs to be maximised. Although there are currently no private sector partnerships at Amatikulu, the policies and strategy imply that future partnerships between the private sector and KZN Wildlife, as well as communities and the private sector, will increasingly become more common. To ensure that communities are actively benefiting from these relationships, a pro-poor focus could to be incorporated in the constitution of these partnerships.

In conclusion, this study has shown that although the policy environment is not explicitly pro-poor, KZN Wildlife has shown commitment to developing local community participation in future initiatives. Participation, that can serve as a foundation for the future development of sustainable livelihoods for local KZN communities involved in nature conservation and pro-poor tourism.

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8 Appendix

8.1 Appendix 1. Reviewed Documentation

National:

- White Paper on Development and Promotion of Tourism (1996)
- The South African Tourism Act No 72 (1993)
- The South African Tourism Amendment Act (2000)
- White Paper on Sustainable Coastal Development (2000)
- National Responsible Tourism Development Guidelines (2002) (Provisional Guidelines)

Provincial:

- KZN Provincial Growth and Development Strategy (1998)
- KZN Tourism Community Based Tourism Strategy (1999)
- KZN Tourism Act (1996)
- KZN Tourism Amendment Act (2002)
- KZN Tourism Strategy (2000)
- KZNT Annual Report (2000-2001)
- KZNT Developers Guide (2002)

District: Hembe Municipality (DC 29)

IDP

Municipal: eNdondakusuka (DC 291)

- eNdondakusuka IDP
- Umlalazi Sub-Regional Plan

KZN Wildlife:

- Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Strategic Plan (2002)
- Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Charter (2002)
- KZNWL Ecotourism Policies:
 - o Ecotourism and Protected Areas
 - Hutted Camps
 - Visitor Facilities Management by KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Service
 - Partnerships for Ecotourism Development Within or Adjacent to Protected Areas

Local Development Reports

- uThukela mouth development plan Zama O'Brien
- Mtinzini State of the Environment Report
- Towards a Local Economic Development Strategy for eNdondakusuka Municipality 2002 – Prof JJ McCarthy and Mr. M.D. Maieane, Graduate School of Business, University of Durban Westville.
- Environmental Report on the Greater Mandeni Area Guy Nicholson

8.2 Appendix 2. Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Management Structure

The current management structure Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife comprises an advisory board and an executive management committee, headed by the Chief Executive Officer (Figure 1). The executive management committee consist of he heads of the seven management branches. These branches are:

The Conservation Branch, which deals with the management of the natural environment as well as the implementation of conservation legislation. The responsibility of the branch is further divided into three regions, uKhamlamba-Drakensberg, Zululand and the Coast.

The Eco-tourism and Marketing branch, whose responsibility includes the maintenance and promotion of tourist facilities including over 2500 beds and camping for more than 10 000 visitors.

Conservation Partnerships and Projects branch which functions as a communication channel between local communities and KZN Wildlife. The branch is responsible for establishing Local Boards, an instrument designed to improve local participation in management decision making processes as well as to administer the funds generated through the Community Levy system.

The Biodiversity and Planning branch is responsible for policy and strategy planning as well as the coordination and direction of scientific research.

The Human Resources branch, which is responsible for the administration, training, evaluation and empowerment of staff. This branch is actively involved in restructuring the organisation's demographic profile to one that is representative, efficient and effective.

The Finance branch, which is responsible for the financial management of KZN Wildlife inline with the Public Finance Management Act.

Internal Audit branch, an independent consulting service, established in terms of the Public Finance Management Act and the Treasury Act, tasked with the objective evaluation of KZN Wildlife services.

8.3 Appendix 3. Key Performance Areas and Measures of KZN Wildlife

Key Performance Areas	Examples of High Level Performance Measures
Organisation	Employment equity; Staff turnover
Finance	Return on investment; cash flow; ratio of personnel costs
	to total expenditure.
Biodiversity	The degree of representation of components of
·	biodiversity in protected areas; the change in status of
	critically threatened components throughout KZN;
	management effectiveness.
Community	The area of land in KZN where nature conservation is a
	demonstrated goal.
Customer	Occupancy trends; sales; customer satisfaction; market
	share.
Innovation and Learning	Functional partnerships with communities/private sector;
	the demonstrated improvement of staff skills.

Source: KZN Wildlife (2002b)