

LIVELIHOOD DIVERSIFICATION THROUGH TOURISM: IDENTITY, WELL-BEING, AND POTENTIAL IN RURAL COASTAL COMMUNITIES

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Traditional rural livelihoods are disappearing due to natural resource decline, climate pressure and, also modernization. This study explores livelihood diversification from primary economic activities into tourism employment in rural communities. We examine the developmental role of tourism in areas where traditional activities, in this case fishing, have declined and tourism is growing. This article presents the findings of two case studies: the coastal communities of Padstow (UK) and Pater-noster (South Africa). The approach is qualitative and draws on sustainable livelihoods and social well-being notions to examine how affected people “cope with change” with respect to tourism diversification, and individual and community well-being. While the socioeconomic and sociopolitical contexts in the two research sites differ, the findings show that narratives about belonging and identity feature prominently with respect to fishing livelihoods in both cases. Small-scale fishing, perceived as a way of life for fishers, is under threat in both areas, yet there is limited evidence of concerted efforts to plan and manage the potential diversification processes into tourism. Nonetheless, we observe that tourism does provide some opportunities for fishing-dependent communities and outline some avenues for stronger collaboration, particularly by focusing on culinary tourism.

Key words: Livelihood diversification; Tourism development; Culinary tourism; Fishing communities; Identity and well-being

Introduction

This study explores the developmental role of tourism in two rural coastal communities—Paternoster (South Africa) and Padstow (UK)—

presently diversifying through tourism. A focus on livelihood diversification is useful for understanding the local benefits of tourism (see Mbaiwa, 2011). The Sustainable Livelihoods Framework (SLF; Department for International Development,

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1999) is a well-established method to assess livelihood strategies and outcomes at community level, also applied in tourism research. With respect to the latter, the emphasis often is on natural resource management and the livelihoods of rural communities in protected and/or coastal areas (see, e.g., Bires & Raj, 2020; Burbano & Meredith, 2021; Mbaiwa, 2011; Stone & Nyaupane, 2016; Tao & Wall, 2009; Torell et al., 2017). In these contexts, tourism often is regarded a pathway for livelihood diversification that can increase the number of income-generating activities as a means to reduce exposure to risk and alleviate poverty (Bires & Raj, 2020; Lasso & Dahles, 2018; Sowman, 2011; Torell et al., 2017). This aligns with literature on tourism as a tool for community development in marginalized and/or rural areas (Matiku et al., 2021; Mbaiwa, 2011; Ngoasong & Kimbu, 2016; Rogerson & Rogerson, 2011).

Global decline in fisheries-related employment has compelled many coastal areas to diversify into hospitality and tourism (H&T) as an alternative, or complimentary, source of employment (Burbano & Meredith, 2021; Stead, 2005). However, Lasso and Dahles (2018) cautioned that tourism can trigger a “complete transformation” of traditional livelihoods that render communities “fully dependent” on tourism. This can enhance vulnerability and be considered as unsustainable. Relatedly, Brookfield et al. (2005) raised concerns about the impact of those livelihood transitions, arguing that, “the ‘touristification’ of the fishing industry might lead to status and identity problems for fishers” (p. 67). While tourism might be regarded as a more sustainable option than fishing in certain coastal destinations, particularly in protected areas, the transition from fishing to tourism is neither simple nor necessarily beneficial to fishers (Fabinyi, 2010; Lasso & Dahles, 2018). Therefore, for any diversification to be successful, alternatives must provide meaningful work with similar levels of job satisfaction as the displaced activity (Pollnac & Poggie, 2008) and meet the aspirations and needs of the affected residents and communities (Wright et al., 2016). In particular, the identity of residents, especially fishers, in rural communities has been largely overlooked with few studies dedicated to investigating this in the context of tourism (see Baum, 1999; Prospero et al., 2019; Salmi, 2005; Urquhart & Acott, 2014).

Sustainable livelihoods refer to a community’s (people) ability to cope with and recover from stresses and shocks that may be caused, for example, by poverty, declining resources, and natural disasters, thereby maintaining their capabilities and assets without damaging the natural resources for use by future generations (Tao & Wall, 2009). Livelihood diversification is “an adaptive strategy to increase household well-being and make them [residents/communities] responsive to changes in resource states, environmental conditions and market or regulatory constraints” (Carrà et al., 2014, p. 1), which might be complimentary, or alternative, to primary sector activities. Sustainable livelihood diversification therefore entails complex processes and interactions, geared towards combatting poverty and ensuring that people’s livelihoods, way of life, and identity can be sustained.

Our case study areas of Padstow and Paternoster have both experienced a decline in traditional fishing activities, resulting in social and economic stress (Morgan, 2013; Sowman, 2011; Welman & Ferreira, 2017) with pronounced impacts on the well-being of the communities and their residents. This study considers: 1) how communities cope with change vis-à-vis identity, belonging, and overall well-being; 2) how livelihood diversification through tourism is playing out at the community level; and 3) the role of culinary tourism, a trend in both locations, as a diversification pathway towards greater local benefit. Empirically we draw on a content analysis of qualitative data from 12 semistructured interviews, two half-day stakeholder workshops, and field observations complemented by rapid participant observation in Truro (workshop location) and Padstow (UK), and Paternoster (South Africa). The next section is a review of the literature, followed by a description of the study context and research methods. The study findings, discussion, and conclusions are presented thereafter.

Literature Review

Well-Being and Tourism in Fishing Communities

The concept of well-being (also often referred to as quality of life) is widely accepted as a multidimensional construct that provides a frame for

understanding what is important to people, communities, and society at large (see Weeratunge et al., 2014). Hjalager and Flagestad (2012) defined well-being as “a multidimensional state of being describing the existence of positive health of body, mind and soul” of the individual, that “is manifest only in congruence with the well-being of the surrounding environment and community” (p. 725). McGregor (2008) noted that a social conceptualization of well-being (which this study focuses on) attempts to bring together resources, relations, and subjective reflections on life satisfaction. This entails taking into consideration the material, relational, and cognitive dimensions of well-being of both individuals and communities. This approach emphasizes the importance of engaging with the meanings that people have in their lives, their goals, and aspirations.

Uysal et al. (2016) accordingly noted that well-being comprises of both objective and subjective dimensions captured differently by scholars and researchers in different disciplines and sectors. Within the fisheries sector, well-being constitutes a broad-based outcome, including material goals such as economic yield, food supplies, and employment, as well as nonmaterial aspects such as safe, decent, and nondiscriminatory work conditions. It also encompasses the preservation of marine and coastal ecosystems (International Labour Organization, 2011). Relatedly, Weeratunge et al. (2014) and Uysal et al. (2016) identified three dimensions of well-being (i.e., the material, relational, and subjective dimensions), each of which is relevant to established well-being at scales ranging from individual, household, community, fishery, to human-ecological systems.

The social well-being concept has been employed in assessing and understanding the impacts of change on individual and community livelihoods in rural and/or coastal areas (see Britton, 2014; Stone & Nyaupane, 2016). This approach enables an analysis of the interrelationships and interdependencies between tourism and nontourism stakeholders, the identification of potential problems/challenges, and the different ways they forge the impacts tourism has on community well-being and livelihoods also in fishing communities (Laeis & Lemke, 2016; Lasso & Dhales, 2018; Proserpi et al., 2019). While there is little consensus of what

defines a “community,” community in this context can be understood as being shaped by “the shared meanings and values amongst people living and working in coastal fishing areas” (Ross, 2015, p. 1). Community conditions that embody identity including place and belonging, people, and power are integral to understanding community well-being and identifying change needed for enhancing well-being (South et al., 2017; Weeratunge et al., 2014). Indeed, Weeratunge (2014) stressed that: “Identity in its social, political and cultural sense, including scope for personal and collective action and influence is considered a determinant of relational wellbeing” (p. 269). The concept of identity is ergo a thread that requires explicit recognition as it runs through the objective, relational, and subjective components of individual, family, social, and community well-being. Identity therefore is a critical element of small-scale fisheries and fishing communities, and other communities diversifying into tourism.

Studies that point to the decline of resource-based economic activities in rural communities also outline the multiple opportunities and economic benefits associated with diversifying into tourism-related activities, such as conservation, nature, and wildlife tourism (Mbaiwa, 2011; Stead, 2005). However, a reluctance by fishers to diversify into other sectors is observed, with studies stressing that fishing is not merely a job for fishers, but also a way of life responsible for identity formation that includes a profound sense of pride with respect to their occupational identity (van Ginkel, 2001; McGoodwin, 2001). Moreover, fishing is regarded as significant for preserving social and cultural traditions, values, and language, and reportedly plays a role in community coherence (van Ginkel, 2001; Weeratunge et al., 2014). For example, Salmi (2005) in his study looking into diversification strategies of fishermen in the Finnish Archipelago found that despite fishers (in comparison to farm, tourism-related, and waged workers) having the lowest hourly income, they emphasized their freedom, lifestyle, and independence as the main motivations of working in this industry, with 73% of respondents not considering leaving the fishing industry. Relatedly, Morgan (2013) and Proserpi et al. (2019) observed that Cornish fishers were not keen on diversifying since they perceived this as

undermining their identities as fishers. This said, a recent study in the Galapagos found that more than half of the fishers were willing to diversify, with tourism being their first choice (Burbano & Meredith, 2021). Respondents expected improved livelihoods from tourism growth with regards to better opportunities to sell their produce to local hotels and restaurants.

It is important to note that job diversification from primary to service sector activities also influences identity with respect to learning new skills and adapting attitudes to a client-facing environment (Baum, 2018). A lack of such skills, coupled with limited training offers, policy constraints, and reluctance to give up a particular way of life, might ergo impede and/or hamper the success of any diversification from fishing into other sectors like tourism (Burbano & Meredith, 2021; Prospero et al., 2019). This could lead to increased regional poverty, growing inequalities, lower life quality, and general feelings of exclusion in affected communities. Considering the range of possible challenges related with a diversification from fishing to tourism, some argue that “selective diversification” as opposed to “dualistic” concepts of diversification might be more promising (Burbano & Meredith, 2021; Turner, 2007).

Culinary Tourism as a Diversification Pathway in Rural Areas

Culinary tourism was identified as a key diversification opportunity in both study areas. Culinary tourism is “the experience of the ‘other’ through food related activities, whereby cultural learning and knowledge transfer of the destination and its people are facilitated” (Ellis et al., 2018, p. 253), thereby enhancing local development. Culinary tourism is a growing niche market in rural (also coastal) communities connected to “lifestyle” motivations of tourism consumers. It is contributing to the diversification of tourism offerings, growth in local economies and enhancing livelihoods (Bertella, 2011; Everett & Aitchison, 2008). Culinary tourism has a strong connection to the “local” and “culture,” helping to shape a sense of place and strengthening identity and strategies for its development center on stimulating and strengthening local value chains. This enables communities

to adapt to uncertain socioeconomic conditions (Alonso & Kok, 2021; Rogerson, 2016). Indeed, tourism strategies that incorporate culinary tourism inter alia “seek to reduce economic leakages from localities, stimulate local value chains using local renewable resources, and emphasise local identity and authenticity” (Booyens, 2020, p. 187). This not only contributes to local development but equally fosters the regeneration of local heritage (Broadway, 2017). For example, Claesson et al. (2006) found that fishing festivals help communities to preserve their local heritage, while tourists and younger generations learn about the industry.

Equally, alternative food networks foster a better appreciation of the environment as they encourage and emphasize artisanal/craft/boutique and/or organic foods and beverages offered in localities (Booyens, 2019; Mason & O’Mahony, 2007; Rogerson, 2016). Mason and O’Mahony (2007) pointed to “alternative” food and beverages as being “more sustainable, possibly maintaining biodiversity, saving energy, improving producer remuneration, reducing food miles, re-establishing trust between producers and consumers, maintaining local food knowledge, and retaining economic value in a community” (p. 503). However, the link between fishing identity and community well-being in relation to culinary tourism has received limited attention in the literature.

Study Areas and Methodology

Our study areas are the rural fishing communities of Padstow (UK) and Paternoster (South Africa) (see Fig. 1). Their emergence as attractive culinary tourism destinations within the context of a declining fishing industry and challenging economic environments, the institutional evolution of fishing policies and regulations, along with the potential for tourism to contribute to livelihood diversification (see Morgan, 2013; Prospero et al., 2019) make Padstow and Paternoster appropriate cases for this study.

Padstow is a small village on the Cornish coast in the Southwest of the UK with an approximate population of 2,500 people. Being a historic fishing village, today the main industry is tourism, with the population increasing to approximately 5,500 per day during peak season and 500,000 day-visitors

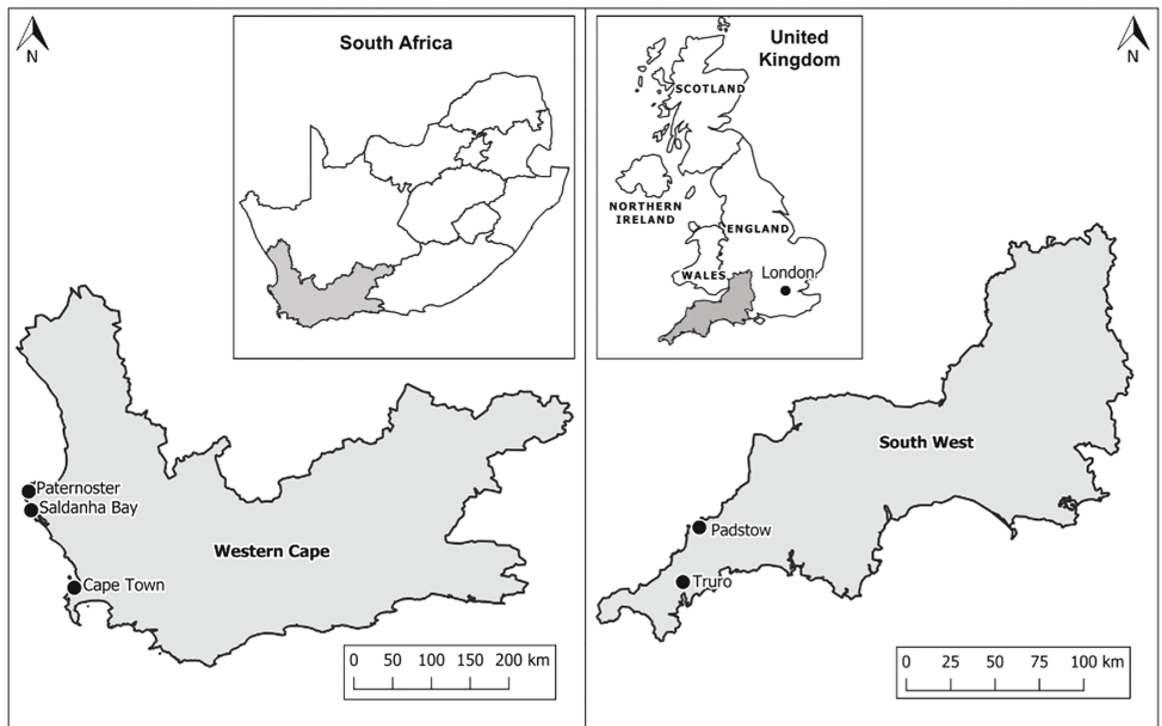


Figure 1. Maps of South Africa and the UK indicating study locations (source: Authors).

per year. Since the late 1970s the town has been strongly associated with the TV chef Rick Stein, who runs several hospitality businesses in Padstow. Fish and fishing play a central role for tourism, which provided around 1,600 jobs in 2012 accounting for 61% of local employment (Beatty et al., 2014). As such, Padstow can be seen as a mature food destination. The main tourism offers include food and drink, self-catering, guesthouses, and a few hotels, as well as art galleries and tourist shops. While the fishing fleet has decreased considerably over the last 30 years, there is still a thriving fishing activity in the small commercial harbor with 14 inshore boats registered that mainly land fish, crab, and lobsters (Marine Management Organisation, n.d.; Port of Padstow, 2018).

Paternoster is a historical fishing village on the West Coast of South Africa with a population of just under 2,000 as per the 2011 census, which is about 500 households. Fishing consisting of commercial as well as small-scale and subsistence fishing has declined sharply since the turn of the century (Saldanha Bay Municipality, 2011;

Welman and Ferreira, 2017). The West Coast rock lobster (hereafter crayfish¹), the traditional mainstay of the fishing community, is on the red data list,² meaning that its harvesting is highly regulated. While some fish packing factories are still in operation along the West Coast, others have closed or scaled down their operations to a fraction of their capacity in recent decades—resulting in a marked increase in unemployment in Paternoster (Donaldson, 2012; Saldanha Bay Municipality, 2011). At the same time, Paternoster has become a popular tourism destination, with visitors attracted by “it’s fisherman’s village character, the unique architecture, the available seafood and crayfish, the unspoilt beaches” (Saldanha Bay Municipality, 2011, p. 259). Its current product offering is hospitality dominated, consisting of about 22 restaurants, food outlets and coffee shops, holiday cottages,³ and a couple guest houses providing visitors accommodation. There are also a few shops and art galleries.

This study adopts a qualitative mixed-method, microethnographic approach drawing on workshop

discussions, formal and informal informant interviews and discussions, as well as secondary sources and field observations. A microethnographic approach can be effectively implemented in periods of 3 months or less. The fieldwork was conducted between June and October 2018 covering the two case study areas. Ethnography is used to examine the structures, patterns, and procedures to uncover social meanings and behavior of people in a given setting, situation, or context (see Ngoasong & Kimbu, 2016). The workshops and interviews were tape-recorded, transcribed, coded, and thematically analyzed.

We conducted two half-day workshops (one in each location), which were attended by 8 and 12 key stakeholders each (balanced in terms of gender) and conducted 12 follow-up in-depth interviews with selected informants (see Table 1). Participants were purposively selected from the wider local tourism and fishing communities, H&T businesses, NGOs, local government, and tourism marketing organizations. Access was gained through the personal networks of the authors and through open invitations to community members involved in either H&T and/or fishing. Some participants were approached directly in harbors.

Table 1
List of Workshop Participants and Interviewees

Engagement: Occupation of Participants/Interviewees	Place of Work
Padstow	
Cornwall workshop (CW)	Across Cornwall
1. Journalist and digital entrepreneur	
2. Marine biologist and entrepreneur	
3. Local Government representative	
4. UNESCO World Heritage Coordinator	
5. Network founder	
6. Managing Director of a celebrity restaurant and social enterprise	
7. Writer, editor, and farm owner	
8. Agritourism entrepreneur and lecturer	
Cornwall interviews (C)	Padstow/Truro
C1. Fisherman	
C2. Ex-fisherman	
C3. Head Chef at celebrity restaurant	
C4. Assistant manager at celebrity restaurant	
C5. Harbor master	
C6. Cornwall Rural Community Charity (CRCC)	
C7. Visit Cornwall	
Paternoster	
Paternoster workshop (PW)	Paternoster mostly and two persons from Cape Town
1. Tourism entrepreneur	
2. Booking office representative	
3. Local fishery representative	
4. Local fishery representative	
5. Local fishery CEO	
6. Cape Town Tourism representative (research)	
7. Researcher, University of Cape Town	
8. Tourism entrepreneur	
9. Tourism entrepreneur; Paternoster Partnership (NGO)	
10. West Coast Biosphere; West Coast Chamber of Commerce	
11. Travel writer	
12. Tourism entrepreneur	
Paternoster interview (P)	Paternoster
P1. Two lifestyle entrepreneurs (tourism and media)	
P2. A fisher's girlfriend/partner	
P3. Two female entrepreneurs from fishing community	
P4. A lifestyle entrepreneur who owns restaurant	
P5. A business strategist: tourism development in Paternoster	

This research was exploratory in nature and an iterative process was followed (see, e.g., Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2016). The literature informed the themes explored in the workshops. The workshops were used for the initial scoping of issues concerning tourism development in the traditional fishing communities included in this study. The following topics were discussed in the tourism and community stakeholder workshops:

- impacts of fishing decline and tourism growth on individual and community levels,
- opportunities and challenges associated with tourism diversification,
- obstacles for people entering the tourism sector focusing particularly on image, identity, working conditions and pay, social standing, and skills,
- priority areas for policy action with respect to tourism and community development,
- roles of actors involved: local actors, government agencies, and external organizations.

The issues discussed in the workshops were wide ranging. As a first level of analysis, we analyzed key themes based on the workshop notes and recordings. It emerged that tourism is widely regarded as vital for diversifying local livelihoods, but that this has pronounced impacts on individual well-being and community relationships. At the same time, limitations and opportunities for tourism development were identified. We then returned to the areas to explore specific issues with respect to identity, belonging, and well-being, and tourism diversification in more depth with selected community members and tourism entrepreneurs (see Table 1). The interviews, which lasted 30–60 min, helped to provide further clarification and information on identified issues. The second level of analysis drew on the individual interviews to unpack issues identified in greater depth. For the purposes of this article, the findings sections present combined observations across instruments and levels of analysis, with secondary information and observations, on the key themes explored through this research (Ngoasong & Kimbu, 2016).

Findings

This section reports the main findings emanating the workshop and interviews, and informal

discussions and observations in Padstow and Pater-noster. Findings are thematically structured, presenting the situation in Padstow first, followed by Paternoster.

Identity, Belonging, and Community Well-Being

Among research participants interviewed, there was a strong sense of pride and belonging (Prosperi et al., 2019). Some interviewees never felt the desire to leave Cornwall, whereas some interviewees deliberately chose to live in Cornwall or returned to their hometowns because of their desire of being with and bringing up their own family at “home”: “[I] love being in Padstow, that’s where family is” (C1). One interviewee who had lived abroad for some years noted: “When we had our daughter, I wanted her to have what I had as a kid growing up” (C5). Here, a nostalgic sense of place is apparent as a counternarrative to “progress,” transcending into hopes for a safe and carefree upbringing of his own children (Boym, 2001). People in Padstow expressed strong connections to either their own or the community’s fishing heritage, with narratives about people returning to fish, retired fishermen still spending much time on the quay, and being respected for sharing their knowledge and experience with the younger generation, and community members not working in fishing volunteering with the Royal National Lifeboat Institution (RNLI). An interviewee who stopped fishing because of economic reasons almost 30 years ago stated he “would go back [to fishing] tomorrow” (C2), underscoring an identity deeply engrained in fishing. While his sense of place and belonging (Weeratunge et al., 2014) is kept alive by being out at sea as part of his work for the RNLI, he explained how his sense of identity, and that of the Padstow community, is connected to fishing.

Some interviewees expressed concern about the future of the town’s fishing heritage and activities: “It could end up disappearing. Same with a lot of the old ports men. Hopefully it won’t. But the trouble is, all the locals are being priced out of the towns” (C2).

The issue of local people being “priced out” of their towns was a recurring theme in almost all interviews and has been an issue for several years (D. Urquhart, 2013). Data from 2015 suggest that in

Padstow 29% are second homes (Cornwall Council, 2015), which “changes the dynamics, because obviously locals aren’t living in towns. Everyone is a visitor” (C2). One interviewee explained how this led to local facilities such as hardware shops or bank being replaced by art galleries and other tourist facilities, consequently leading to a feeling of a disappearing community, negatively affecting people’s livelihoods and a sense of place and community. Inflated property prices that by far exceed local wages prevented many young local people, including fishers, from buying their own properties. Nonetheless, there was a strong sentiment about keeping people in the local area and keeping local industries alive.

Similar to Padstow, there was a strong sense of belonging in Paternoster, especially among members of close-knit “Colored”⁴ fishing community, with women from the community noting that: “Our people do not want to leave this place” (P3).

Although young people often moved away because of limited schooling and work opportunities, many wanted to stay and the ones who left often returned. While some people worked outside of Paternoster in neighboring towns like Vredenburg, Saldanha Bay, and St. Helena Bay, unemployed women typically rely on social (i.e., “child” or “old age”) grants and men try to eke out a living as subsistence fishers during the fishing season. Traditionally, it was men who fished while women often found employment in the fishing factories. There was a consensus among respondents that men generally couldn’t see themselves doing anything other than fish. Fishing, furthermore, was linked to community identity and a certain way of life as suggested by P4:

That [fishing] is part of an identity. We joke about it, but it’s a way of life, what you have grown up with: you’re dependent on the weather; you’re dependent on the sea; you’re dependent on the moon for how the sea is going to be; you’re dependent on a lot of outside factors. You do not have a nine to five job, seven days a week.

P4 explained that for this reason it was difficult to pull fishers into tourism work since they were reportedly not keen on working a job with fixed hours, among other reasons. Only a handful of men from the fishing community worked in H&T and others took on casual jobs in construction or

gardening from time to time (P1, P2, P3). The partner of a fisher observed, when referring to subsistence fishers, that: “if work comes in the scarce time, then they’ll take it; but when the [fishing] season starts, then they’ll go back to the sea” (P2).

In Paternoster there are women who have been able to find employment in hospitality mostly as kitchen assistants, waitresses and cleaners:

They [local women] used to work in fishing factories. Tourism happened fortunately at a time that they had more or less lost their jobs [due to some factories closing down]. Especially for the younger girls, that was a logical progression [to work in tourism]. (P4)

There are also isolated examples of local “Colored” women who have progressed into management positions or started their own hospitality related businesses in Paternoster (P3).

Similar to Padstow, tourism in Paternoster is further characterized by lifestyle entrepreneurship and second home ownership, which has expanded in recent decades, especially since the early 2000s. The fishing community reportedly views people who had settled in Paternoster in recent decades, mostly White lifestyle entrepreneurs, as *inkommers* (translated as in-comers) (PW11, P1). It is important to highlight the racialized profile of Paternoster, which is by no means unique in the South African context owing to legacies of apartheid, to understand the character of tourism development, power relations, the benefits it has for locals, and how it impacts on gentrification.

The Saldanha Bay Municipality (2011) noted that: “The increasing popularity of the area has resulted in a dramatic relative increase of the property values which has resulted in the internal displacement of many of the traditional fishing facilities” (p. 259). However, we observed that the historical fishing village has been left largely intact and P4 suggested that gentrification turned out to be less of a problem than they had anticipated, observing that: “People [in the fishing community] are still living in their houses. They are very proud to have their houses” (P4).

Conversely, second homes and those of lifestyle entrepreneurs are mostly new build (P4) and located along the northern part of the coast. The lower income fishing community is confined to

the southern part of the coast and there is a cluster of council houses (social housing) located further inland. Nonetheless, the fishing community is troubled about the shortage of affordable housing (P1, P2). P2, who is unemployed, stated that she lived with her boyfriend, a subsistence fisher, and their children in a *hokkie* (little shack) at the back of his mother's house. While the municipality is reportedly planning to expand its housing program in Paternoster, P2 claimed that “there are still many of us”—that is, people like her who need decent housing. The housing issue is further complicated by the (un)availability of land. The fishing community is confined and surrounded by affluent homes that they cannot afford, and available land in the village is rapidly being sold off by private landowners to individuals and property developers, typically for building more holiday homes (P4, P5).

Tourism and Livelihood Diversification

In Padstow, which is increasingly dominated by H&T services, the “heart and soul of town [are] right here in the quay” (C1). The harbor and fishing activities not only retain a strong connection to the traditional way of life, but interviewees also identified the active fishing industry as beneficial for tourism, referring to the picture postcard appeal of the fishing boats, and vice versa: “when tourists come down to Cornwall, they like to go round to the little Cornish fishing village, and that's what you want to see” (C6). The interdependence between fishing and tourism becomes apparent with respect to the local fish sold to Padstow restaurants, which is seen as beneficial for the town and the fishermen. Having developed as a “foodie hotspot” particularly for crab and lobster since the 1970s (Prosperi et al., 2019), a fisherman concluded that “the more people come, the more business for fishermen” (C1). This interviewee takes pride in educating tourists about fishing and benefits economically from supplying local high-end restaurants since three generations. He frequently and willingly interacts with diners when delivering his catch, as well as tourists on the quay, representing authenticity and locality. Through this, he becomes absorbed into being part of the visitor experience. However, research found that despite being licensed, very few fishermen sell their catch directly to restaurants, and most of the

catch still goes abroad (Prosperi et al., 2019). Many restaurants prefer working with wholesalers instead of applying for a buyers and sellers license due to the bureaucratic burdens related to traceability and sustainability reasons. This limits their potential ability to stimulate local value chains (Booyens, 2020).

When asked about the perception of diversifying into H&T, one fisherman (C1) recalled the challenges when trying to supplement his fishing income by taking tourists on fishing excursions. The expected economic benefits did not occur as he felt uncomfortable charging passengers when they became ill, while at the same time having missed a day of fishing income. In this case, a lack of business acumen made the attempted diversification unviable (Baum, 2018). Apart from a few fishermen selling directly to local businesses, no other notable diversification into tourism was reported by Padstow participants.

However, there was consensus among participants that fishers' knowledge could be better harnessed for the local tourism economy, which might involve creating investment opportunities and training schemes for supporting the adaptive diversification strategies of fishers (see Prosperi et al., 2019). Workshop participants cited the *Cornwall Good Seafood Guide* (The Wildlife Trusts, n.d.) as a good example of how hospitality businesses could tap into local fishing intelligence while actively promoting sustainable fish consumption.

In Padstow, there was a strong commitment for retaining and supporting professional fishers while also upgrading tourism and leisure boat facilities. The harbormaster stated:

It is a fishing town more importantly than anything else to be honest. Going forward, it has to share that with tourism because Padstow now is one of the most popular destinations—particularly in Cornwall. So [it would be good] if we could work alongside each other. (C5)

Here, the interviewee calls for fishing and tourism stakeholder collaboration in the future development of Padstow's harbor (Fig. 1), while explicitly stressing the town's identity as a fishing community. Similarly, participants suggested the adoption of a proactive and collaborative multistakeholder approach on how to sustain local livelihoods while

developing sustainable tourism experiences and products, stressing: “we have never had a conversation about what we want, it was more about what we were losing [with respect to mining, agriculture and fishing]” (CW5). Such conversations should include people from diverse industries as well as policy makers from across Cornwall.

Some respondents identified opportunities in strengthening the linkages between fisheries and the visitor economy (CW, C7), where “restaurants and fishers see themselves as part of the value chain” (CW6) and there was a sentiment that “you have to look after locals” (C4). For example, Jamie Oliver’s *Fifteen* in another part of Cornwall made a deliberate commitment to local suppliers: “It is part of our purpose, and it’s massively part of our value” (CW6), thus positioning their activities as part of their unique selling point. However, apart from a few fishers selling directly to restaurants, overall there was a perceived lack of collaboration between the fishing and tourism industries in Cornwall (Prosperi et al., 2019). Tourism-related participants felt that fishing is lagging behind other industries such as agriculture (CW). Unlike with some farmers’ family members, who had already embraced diversification for many years (e.g., by turning dairy farms into educational theme parks), fishing-related industries in Cornwall were perceived as being “like a brick wall” (C7). Thus, interviewees suggested various ways to overcome such barriers for the mutual benefits of both industries. Suggestions included: establishing viewing galleries to watch fish auctions in commercial fish markets, similar to Tokyo establishing “fishermen markets” (similar to farmers’ markets), and offering courses in fish preparation (C7), or “involving fishers in marine protection talks” (CW2), thus spreading benefits among fishing and tourism more strongly while protecting fishers’ identity. Such links, which of course would need to be considered in a local context and scale, are expected to have entertainment and educational value for tourists, while also encouraging purchase and consumption of local fish, even beyond the holiday experience, thus supporting the fishing industry in the long term (C7, CW6).

Overall, our qualitative engagements in Paternoster reveals that respondents regard tourism as an important avenue for economic diversification

(Bertella, 2011; Everett & Aitchison, 2008) in the light of the continued decline of marine resources and the growth of tourism in Paternoster. Paternoster workshop respondents unanimously agreed that the ability of small-scale fishers to sustain their livelihoods are constrained by fishing permits and quotas for crayfish⁵ and their ability to compete with larger trawlers. Fishers do fish for other fishes, but reportedly struggle to sustain their fishing livelihoods year round (P1, P2, P4). Some fishers work for the commercial trawlers and fish factories, but employment is limited due to the contraction of the sector. There is an aquaculture (i.e., oyster farming) facility in the vicinity of Paternoster, but it appears to operate on a very small scale. To overcome some of these issues, there are fishers’ rights groups who continually tries to negotiate a better deal for subsistence fishers specifically. A workshop participant, from the local fishery, stressed:

There has never been legislative change to accommodate subsistence fishermen. We cannot ignore the rights of shore-based fishermen to fish, people in Paternoster have done so for more than a century, there is heritage there. (PW3)

P4, a restaurant owner, concurred by observing that:

Government need to get their act together so that they can actually give them [subsistence fishers] their permits at the right time and for the right amount so that they can live a sustainable life.

Fishers also need permits for supplying local restaurants. Restaurants are reluctant to buy from fishers, fearing a backlash from visitors who know that crayfish is on the red data list (PW4, P4). However, stakeholders argued that if crayfish are caught by fishers with permits who honor regulations, then restaurants should be able to buy from local fishermen. P4 averred: “It can be sustainable: whole crayfish being caught and sold in Paternoster. I reckon with effort from fisheries, and from every-body involved, it could work.”

It emerged from the Paternoster workshop that most of the crayfish presently caught legally by trawlers with permits are exported. Supplying the hospitality industry will help small-scale fishers to sustain their fishing livelihoods and contribute

to the growth of culinary tourism in Paternoster. Moreover, P4 noted that the legal trade in crayfish would also reduce poaching and black-market trade in crayfish tails and eggs, which in turn supports drug smuggling. Poaching, drugs, unemployment, and petty crime emerge as interlinked issues in Paternoster. Petty crime was raised by nearly all participants as a concern since it is seen to impact negatively on tourists, as well as on community well-being, in relation to safety and the livelihoods of persons reliant on tourism. It was argued that improving linkages between the fishing industry, local fishers and tourism are imperative to enhance livelihood options and foster greater well-being in Paternoster. Indeed, a workshop participant (PW3) stressed: “It is difficult for fishermen in the Western and Northern Cape to diversify their livelihoods and there are places [like Paternoster] where we need to think more about the interface between fishing and tourism”.

Our research suggests that a greater focus on culinary tourism opens up opportunities for creating stronger linkages between fishing and tourism towards diversifying livelihoods. Locals insisted that Paternoster is increasingly being regarded as a “foodie” destination (PW11, P1, P4). Seafood is seen as a specialty and there are “foraging” or “field food” chefs like Kobus van der Merwe, whose restaurant *Wolfgat* won as the 2019 Restaurant of the Year (<https://www.finedininglovers.com/article/world-restaurant-awards-2019-meet-winners>), and celebrity chef Reuben Riffel, who has set up shop in Paternoster. The number of restaurants in Paternoster has increased and so too has the artisan food and beverage offerings; for example, a new craft brewery (Paternoster Brewery), which enhances the visitor experience:

It is not just about going to a restaurant to eat local seafood, but it is also a cultural experience. People are able to maximize on the connection between the two sectors so there is some sort of sustenance beyond fisheries and beyond tourism. Paternoster has a unique cultural story to tell. (PW9)

Years ago when we had a shop, people used to come in and say ‘well, I’ve been to the hotel for a drink. What else is there do in Paternoster? It was always said “as little as possible.” . . . People don’t want to do nothing anymore. They want to come and have an experience. They want to go away

with a food experience. They want to go away with a historical experience. (P4)

Accordingly, workshop participants were unanimous that opportunities exist for promoting culinary tourism as a niche market, which includes food markets, festivals, and events, especially during the low season to attract visitors to Paternoster. These activities, in addition to supplying directly to local restaurants, will enhance the value chain; relatedly, a fish market will provide another platform for fishers to trade and also sell directly to visitors. While there is currently no fish market on the West Coast, and a previous attempt by the municipality to establish one in Paternoster failed, this was still seen as a viable option by respondents. P4 observed: “Everybody says ‘oh the fish market doesn’t work,’ but nobody consulted the guys who have to sell the fish. Yes, you can make it work. If you get people together you could make it work.”

Similar to findings from Padstow, this highlights the importance of stakeholder collaboration for successful diversification. In view of this, the Paternoster Fishery is constructing a wharf development on their premises that includes a working harbor and factory (PW5, P5) (see Fig. 1). The development will be rolled out in various stages to include a market, along with restaurants, food stalls, and shops. This is seen as an avenue that will enhance the synergies between fishing and tourism, and respondents emphasized the importance of partnerships and inclusion of the fishing community in order to make this work.

Discussion and Conclusion

This study set out to explore how individuals and communities cope with change during the transition from fishing to tourism activities in the coastal villages of Padstow and Paternoster. This research contributes to literature focusing on tourism as a pathway for diversification in rural areas experiencing natural resource decline. Our findings show that diversification processes are complex and that issues concerning individual and community identity and well-being are pertinent. Fishing traditions in Padstow and Paternoster alike are tied to a strong sense of belonging and identity as identified in other studies in coastal communities (see Brookfield et

al., 2005; Morgan, 2013; Prosperi et al., 2019; J. Urquhart & Acott, 2014; van Ginkel, 2001; Weerantunge et al., 2014). In other words, decline in fishing has significant impacts on the individual and community well-being and illuminates the extent to which communities cope with change. Even though the future of fishing is considered insecure in both destinations (Prosperi et al., 2019; Welman & Ferreira, 2017), few fishers in Padstow and Paternoster have successfully transitioned into H&T employment. Reasons for the lack of transition include that that fishing is considered as an innate part of their heritage and identities. Overall, particularly in Paternoster, apart from collaboration with a few restaurateurs, small inns, and B&B owners, members of the local fishing communities have derived limited benefits from tourism growth other than (mostly) casual, seasonal, and low-level employment. This corresponds with research that highlights the modest economic gains at community level in coastal areas through tourism, especially with respect to propoor benefits (Lasso & Dhales, 2018; Mensah, 2017). While a few local women from the fishing community in Paternoster have progressed to management positions or have been able to transition into tourism entrepreneurship, career progression is generally very limited for women in low-level hospitality jobs (Baum, 2018; Booyens, 2020; Ngoasong & Kimbu, 2019; Ribeiro et al., 2021). Greater collaboration on the local level, and between the fishing and tourism sectors, which was found lacking in both cases, can enable mutual economic benefits and open up more and better employment options for locals, including microenterprise opportunities particularly for women, which is important from an empowerment perspective (see Kimbu et al., 2019, 2021; Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2016; Matiku et al., 2021).

Our findings indicate that the well-being of local fishers and their communities are at odds with the well-being of tourism businesses and visitors in certain respects. However, the dynamics around well-being in Padstow and Paternoster play out differently. In both cases, second home ownership and accompanying gentrification are perceived as threatening the well-being of local communities. The feeling of being outpriced by holiday homeowners strongly featured in Padstow. As much as 67% of homes were bought as second homes in

2017 (Wilson, 2018), mainly by affluent buyers from outside Cornwall who then capitalize from inflated holiday lets. Such is the situation that a loss of sense of community and a dire need for affordable housing is strongly reflected in a recent community consultation (Cornwall Council, 2018). In Paternoster gentrification seemed to be slightly ameliorated by the observations that most second homes are new built, the historical fishing village is largely intact with the exception of a few shore-front properties converted into holiday cottages, and that there are no gated developments as seen elsewhere on the West Coast (see Donaldson, 2012). Nonetheless, affordable housing was raised as a concern by local people and recognized by the municipality. The settlement patterns manifested by the social and economic divisions as experienced in Paternoster stem from South Africa's recent past. In other words, areas of relative affluence and depravity coexist alongside each other, which is by no means unique in the South African context.

While the socioeconomic and sociopolitical contexts differ in Paternoster and Padstow, this research suggests that there is a need for regulating the housing situation in both areas. For example, lessons can be learned from the current housing situation in Padstow. We recommend that heritage areas should be earmarked in Paternoster as part the municipality's Spatial Development Framework and that regulations for further commercial housing development are put into place. This is to ensure that 1) the heritage of the fishing community (i.e., the built environment) is protected and that 2) access to affordable housing is provided. These measures, if implemented, should caution against overdevelopment and property value inflation at the expense of local residents. Important decisions about land use and resource management should therefore be made in collaboration with and/or after consultation with the residents and communities concerned (Kimbu & Ngoasong, 2013; Kimbu et al., 2019; Matiku et al., 2021).

In terms of opportunities for meaningfully participating in tourism, an increasing focus on culinary tourism can open up avenues for diversification and strengthen linkages between fishing and tourism in several ways. Both Padstow and Paternoster are regarded as "foodie" destinations with an emphasis on seafood. Research on culinary tourism in

Cornwall from the restaurateurs' perspective found that tourism-related diversification is perceived as an economic lifeline for primary activities such as farming and fishing, and that food festivals can have identity-affirming effects, in addition to supporting local economic development (Everett & Aitchison, 2008). Furthermore, increased tourist interest in high-quality local produce throughout the year could offer "a longer, more sustainable, less intensive season in which to sell local produce, bolster markets and sustain livelihoods" (Everett & Aitchison, 2008, p. 161). While the impact of tourism is sometimes perceived as contributing to the erosion of local identity, food or culinary tourism provides an opportunity to strengthen regional identity and culinary heritage (Booyens, 2019; Everett & Aitchison, 2008). While there is evidence of successful linkages between fishers and local hospitality businesses in Padstow, subsistence fishers in Paternoster need permits (an ongoing challenge) to operate and enable them to supply restaurants.

It is worth noting that this research was carried out before the COVID-19 pandemic struck. The impact of the pandemic is far-reaching and has certainly impacted on the potential of tourism as a tool for local economic development in rural locations such as those included in this study. There will likely be a slow return in tourist demand. It is pertinent to emphasize that tourism has a role in economic diversification as we do in this article rather focus on transition from traditional rural to tourism livelihoods. This article highlights the vulnerability of locations that are heavily reliant on tourism as the recent experience with COVID-19 underscores (Adam & Kimbu, 2020). The effective management of the diversification processes through effective stakeholder collaboration will be critical in fostering recovery post-COVID-19. Furthermore, the formulation and implementation of context specific policies and programs based on local needs assessments to better understand livelihood diversification options and well-being within the fishing sector in rural coastal communities are pertinent. Ensuring that diversification leads to sustainable and resilient communities can only succeed if there is a concerted effort by all stakeholders to ensure that the benefits of tourism are shared more equitably.

With respect to research limitations, it should be stressed that this scoping study adopted a

microethnographic approach, along with a rapid but focused fieldwork exercise, to explore issues identified in new contexts with the intention to undertake a wider assessment of livelihood strategies and coping mechanisms, along with changes in traditional livelihood activities in the future. This approach was feasible given the resources available to us for this exercise. Through the exploratory work, sufficient primary data was obtained, the analysis of which enabled the identification and discussion of the themes outlined in this article. However, potential exists for further research on tourism livelihoods, transition from traditional economic activities, and local economic development through tourism in the locations included in this study and other similar locations both in the UK and South Africa, which adopt the sustainable livelihood and/or other frameworks.

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Notes

¹Crayfish is the common colloquial term used for the West Coast rock lobster: *Jasus lalandii*.

²Red on the SASSI (South African Sustainable Seafood Initiative), WWF (World Wide Fund) list. See <http://wwf.sassi.co.za/fish-detail/119/>.

³Approximately 100 listings for self-catering holiday accommodation appear on local booking sites.

⁴"Colored" was a racial classification used during apartheid for people of mixed decent. While it has become a contentious term, it is still used widely in South Africa and specifically in Paternoster where people refer to themselves as "Colored." We use the term in this analysis to highlight issues of inequality.

⁵The size and number of crayfish caught are regulated as well as the time of year (mid-November to mid-February) by the Department of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries (DAFF).

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