

Tourism, Local Livelihoods, and the Private Sector in South Africa: Case Studies on the Growing Role of the Private Sector in Natural Resources Management

Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa Research Paper 8

Anna Spenceley

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Summary

The focus of this paper is to examine how changing institutional arrangements and policies affect poor people's livelihoods and access to natural resources. It addresses tourism in South Africa, and the growing role of the private sector in natural resource management. Six different scenarios are analysed to demonstrate how government, NGOs, the private sector and rural communities have influenced rural livelihoods through tourism practices. The scenarios have been illustrated with seventeen case studies from South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe. The driving forces for initiatives and the degree to which the poor have influenced them are explored through the case studies, as are the costs, benefits and constraints of the scenarios.

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Sustainable Livelihoods in Southern Africa: Institutions, Governance and Policy Processes

Through work in southern Africa this research programme has explored the challenges of institutional, organisational and policy reform around land, water and wild resources. The case study sites have been in Zambezia Province, Mozambique, the Eastern Cape Wild Coast in South Africa and the lowveld area of southeastern Zimbabwe. Three broad themes have been explored:

- How do poor people gain access to and control over land, water and wild resources and through what institutional mechanisms?
- How do emerging institutional arrangements in the context of decentralisation affect poor people's access to land, water and wild resources? What institutional overlaps, complementarities and conflicts enable or limit access? What new governance arrangements are required to encourage a livelihoods approach?
- How do the livelihood concerns and contexts of poor people get represented in policy processes concerning land, water and wild resources in local, national and international arenas? What are the challenges for participation in the policy process?

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Introduction*

Tourism and the private sector in South Africa

The South African government and state conservation departments have become increasingly aware that they lack the necessary commercial focus to generate sustainable revenues from natural and wildlife resources. Public and political pressure has increased on the post-apartheid government to generate employment opportunities, stimulate investment, alleviate poverty, and enhance the capacity of historically disadvantaged individuals. Addressing the key socio-economic development needs of the country has made significant demands on the government's limited financial resources. These demands have competed with state subsidisation of natural state assets (for example, National Parks), and have led to increasing pressure on the government to channel biodiversity conservation subsidies into programmes that stimulate growth and address poverty.

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There has been an associated paradigm shift within state conservation agencies. Their priorities have shifted from controlling and protecting natural resources and biodiversity, to policies that focus on the sustainable utilisation of resources, and transferring commercial and resource benefits to the private sector and previously disadvantaged people. Although the state appreciates that it has a role in providing public access to areas of natural and cultural heritage, and in conserving and maintaining them for future generations, it has to prioritise activities to fulfil its remit most effectively. As part of this shift, South African authorities have refocused their role in order to create an enabling environment within which the private sector can operate effectively, and which can stimulate sustainable economic growth. In terms of natural resources and conservation areas, this means that instead of the state operating commercial tourism ventures itself, it promotes tourism development that is government-led, private sector-driven, community-based, and labour-conscious (DEAT 1997c).¹

The tourism private sector in South Africa incorporates a wide diversity of commercial forms, ranging from major international companies managing safari lodges across Africa, to family-run bed and breakfast establishments, to community guides running tours of townships in major cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town. Box 1 provides some background on the tourism industry.

Tourism development programmes in South Africa have increasingly focused on encouraging the private sector to operate tourism enterprises responsibly. The private sector is being called upon to address national empowerment and poverty alleviation objectives through sustainable economic growth. One example of where this has been attempted is the preferential allocation of wildlife concessions to operators with strong economic empowerment proposals that focus on uplifting marginalized and historically disadvantaged people (Spenceley et al. 2002). Some consider that state development policies and their linkages with trade are an important part of dealing with poverty (e.g. Nayyar 1999). However, it is also important to realise that policy has the potential to produce multiple, indirect and unintended impacts. There is also a risk that it may miss its target completely by relying on simplistic or incorrect assumptions (Shankland 2000). Therefore policy designed with the intention of benefiting the poor may not necessarily have its desired effect due to problems in implementation (for example, dealing with the competing objectives of incongruent policies or the activities of stakeholders on the ground).

Internationally, donor agencies are partially rethinking neo-liberalism. The inequality of distribution of income generated through economic

¹ 'Labour conscious' indicates 'awareness of creating employment'.

Box 1: Status of the tourism industry in South Africa

The tourism sector is the fourth largest generator of foreign exchange in South Africa and lies third, after manufacturing (24.4%) and mining and quarrying (8.6%), in its contribution to the economy at 8.2%. Although South Africa attracted just 0.9% of the total world tourism arrivals internationally in 1998 (ranking it 25th in the world as a tourism destination), it represents the economic sector of most significant growth in the country (DEAT 1999a). Predictions from the World Travel and Tourism Council indicate that the travel and tourism industry will grow from an estimated 69.8 billion rand industry in 1998 to 270 billion rand by 2010 (WTTC 1998).² This represents a growth of 84% over the time period, or an increase of 5.5% per annum (ibid.).

The increasing importance of the tourism sector is reflected in the increase in tourism export earnings from 5.2% of total exports in 1988 to 13% in 1999 (DEAT 1999a). There was also a 37% increase in foreign tourist arrivals to South Africa between 1994 and 1999 (SATOUR 1999).

During 2000, South Africa received 5.8 million visitors, of which 1.5 million were from overseas. This showed a growth of 2.7% over 1999. The UK is the top source market, which saw a 5% growth in 2000, with almost 350,000 visitors (SA Tourism 2001b). Just over 80% of all foreign arrivals in 1998 visited for reasons that included a holiday (DEAT 1999a). Around 67% of the South African tourism industry can be attributed to domestic tourism, contributing R16 billion of the R24 billion generated from the combined domestic and foreign tourism spend (SA Tourism 2001c). Between April 2000 and May 2001, an estimated 34 million domestic trips were taken, during which 10.9 million people spent R4.5 billion (SA Tourism 2001a).

growth is recognised (Dollar and Kraay 2000). Donors are also adopting 'sustainable rural livelihoods' approaches, which stress rural risk management in order to reduce the vulnerability of the poor (Carney 1999). Also, the Department for International Development (DfID) has been addressing mechanisms for 'pro-poor tourism' (tourism that generates net benefits for the poor). Pro-poor tourism stresses the importance of unlocking opportunities for the poor, rather than expanding the overall size of the tourism sector (Ashley et al. 2001). Increasing the area of land and natural resources under the control of the private sector has fundamental implications for the rural poor. The poor are the sector of society whose livelihoods are most dependent on access to wild resources. The pro-poor tourism approach can therefore potentially be applied to tourism enterprises in order to focus the type of business developed (Wade 2001).

In addressing the policy shift towards more private sector ownership and management of wild resources, it is important to understand what factors tend to maximise net benefits for the rural poor. Which policies, institutional arrangements, historical relationships and perceptions, and

² On 18 January 2001, one pound (£) equaled 11.57 rand (R); one US dollar (\$) equaled 7.85 rand; *Mail & Guardian* (South Africa), 19-25 January 2001, p. 6.

external factors facilitate or constrain the effective implementation of pro-poor objectives? How are social concerns ranked in terms of importance against other priorities?

Stakeholder perspectives and priorities

Given the potential for stakeholders to influence fundamentally the implementation of policy, it is important to understand the different perspectives of the primary role-players and organisations. As Shankland (2000: 14) notes,

Policy operates through specific institutions and organisations to influence people's choice of livelihood strategies, by changing their perception of the opportunities and constraints which they face in pursuing different strategies, and the returns which they can expect from them.

The perspectives and priorities of the **state**, the **private sector**, and **rural communities** are discussed below, in relation to how access to natural resources can affect rural livelihoods and utilisation of wild resources through tourism.

South African government

Since 1994, when the first post-apartheid democratic elections took place in South Africa, transformation has been a key issue at all levels of government. Empowerment and transformation were addressed within the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa of 1996, which

- prohibits discrimination on grounds of race, gender, sex, ethnic or social origin, culture, belief, or language, unless the discrimination is fair;
- provides for affirmative action to advance people who have been disadvantaged;
- notes that everyone has a right to a healthy environment in terms of pollution control, promotion of conservation, and ecologically sustainable development.

The subsequent creation of national policies relating to land, economic development, tourism, biodiversity and the environment have been related to these constitutional foundations.

Land policy

The forced removal and dispossession of African people under colonialism and apartheid in South Africa resulted in extreme land shortages and tenure insecurity for much of the black population (Lahiff 2001). It led to the concentration of 8 million South Africans on 13% of the land area, and ultimately ensured the unsustainable utilisation of resources in the communal lands (DEAT 1999b). The policy undermined the dependence on agriculture for rural subsistence, and led to a heavy dependency on migrant remittances and the formal economy (Shackelton

et al. 2000a). It was hoped that with the transition to democracy the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) launched in 1994 would address these issues, and lay foundations for social and economic upliftment of the rural and urban poor. The aims and objectives as set out in the Constitution of South Africa and the 1997 *White Paper on South African Land Policy* tackled the challenge of redressing the racial imbalance in landholding in the country, developing agriculture, and improving the livelihoods of the poor (Lahiff 2001).

However, as Lahiff (2001) states, the combination of a Department of Land Affairs (DLA) constrained by a lack of staff with administrative and technical capacity, and the 'silence' of senior political figures on the matter until recently, has suggested that land reform is not a political priority. Land invasions in Zimbabwe since 2000 have raised awareness of land transformation and have led to calls for South Africa to accelerate the pace of land reform. There has also been an increasing tendency for landless people to take direct action to acquire land. It is estimated that there have been just under 70,000 land claims lodged, of which 12,300 have been settled (17.9%) (DLA 2001).

Since many people were forcibly removed from land in order to create or expand protected wildlife areas, some of the land claims are enabling rural poor people access to land that has significant commercial potential through nature-based tourism (see Box 2).

Box 2: Overview of land and resource rights

With respect to greater benefits for the rural poor from the sustainable use of protected areas, issues of land and resource rights do not present the most important opportunities or constraints for progress. This is primarily because only a few of the protected areas are likely to undergo a formal change of ownership. For example, the Makuleke claim showed a flexible interpretation of the restitution process, and it is likely that this will become more common.

Co-management of protected areas, where the conservation authorities have passed on ownership, is likely to become more widespread, potentially through contractual agreements. Where new protected areas are declared, they are likely to be owned by rural people and co-managed with authorities. There is also the prospect for rural people to exert resource use rights in protected areas, following the international trend to allow park neighbours to practice approved sustainable utilisation of natural resources in protected areas.

Source: Adapted from Turner and Meer (2001: 44).

Economic development

The macro-economic Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) policy of 1996 emphasised fiscal discipline, the importance of a competitive outward oriented economic, and a programme of accelerated

tariff liberalisation to guarantee a stable environment of confidence in private investment (Government of South Africa 1996). The policy had explicit objectives for economic empowerment (Kepe et al. 2001), but has been criticised for not considering women's unpaid labour, and work in the informal sector. Critics have also noted that the policy would have been more effective if it was grounded in an understanding of the subtleties and diversity of rural livelihoods, and if it addressed the non-formal and formal sectors in a balanced and integrated way (Turner and Meer 2001).

A South African economic policy that focuses on making rural areas profitable become viable, and on encouraging entrepreneurs, is the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS). This was developed due to concerns about stagnation and decline in rural areas, and rising unemployment (Mahony and van Zyl 2001). It was designed to realise a vision that would '... attain socially cohesive and stable rural communities with viable institutions, sustainable economies and universal access to social amenities' (ISRDS 2000: iv).

Tourism

The vision of the government's Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) is to manage tourism in the interests of sustainable development in such a way that it improves the quality of life of all South Africans. DEAT's approach to achieving this combines integrating tourism growth with sound environmental management, while linking job creation, rural development and poverty alleviation (Matlou 2001).

In 1996 the *White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism* was published. It was developed through a lengthy and inclusive consultative process that explored the advantages and constraints of promoting tourism development. It noted that tourism had largely been a missed opportunity for South Africa, but considered that tourism could provide the nation with an 'engine of growth, capable of dynamising and rejuvenating other sectors of the economy'. It recognised the potential economic importance of tourism due to its ability to generate jobs, labour intensive nature, requirement of a multiplicity of skills, and its potential to bring development to rural areas. The paper also focused on the potential for tourism to generate foreign exchange and create export markets while providing opportunities for linkages across industry.

The White Paper described how the government perceived the roles and responsibilities of different stakeholders in relation to tourism development. It noted that private sector was in a position to promote the involvement of local communities in tourism ventures by establishing partnership tourism ventures with them, and described the functions the state expected the private sector to fulfil (DEAT 1996):

- To involve local communities and previously neglected groups in the tourism industry through establishing partnership ventures with

communities, out-sourcing, and purchase of goods and services from communities (for example, poultry, herbs, vegetables and other agricultural supplies, entertainment, laundry services, etc.);

- To enable communities to benefit from tourism development – for example, communities benefiting directly from new reticulation systems and village electrification programmes developed through tourism investment in rural areas;
- To continuously upgrade the skills of the workforce by continuously providing training and retraining.

The White Paper also reported that many communities and previously neglected groups, particularly those in rural areas, had not actively participated in the tourism industry, although they possessed significant tourism resources. Some of the functions of communities, as perceived by government included (ibid.):

- To organise themselves at all levels (national, provincial and local) to play a more effective role in the tourism industry and interact with government and role players at all levels;
- To identify potential tourism resources and attractions within their communities;
- To exploit opportunities for tourism training and awareness, finance and incentives for tourism development;
- To seek partnership opportunities with the established tourism private sector;
- To participate in all aspects of tourism, including being tourists;
- To support and promote responsible tourism and sustainable development;
- To oppose developments that are harmful to the local environment and culture of the community;
- To participate in decision-making with respect to major tourism developments planned or proposed for the area;
- To encourage the press, particularly the radio and the print media to proactively provide tourism information and awareness to communities;
- To work closely with NGOs to educate communities concerning tourism and engender tourism awareness;
- To sensitise the private sector, tourism parastatals, environmental agencies and NGOs to the importance of communities involvement in tourism development.

A foresighted part of the paper promoted the development of *responsible and sustainable* tourism growth. The key elements of responsible tourism that have fundamental implications for the poor are (ibid.):

- Ensure communities are involved in and benefit from tourism;
- Market tourism that is responsible, respecting local, natural and cultural environments;



- Involve the local community in planning and decision-making;
- Use local resources sustainably;
- Be sensitive to the host culture;
- Maintain and encourage natural, economic, social and cultural diversity; and
- Assessment of environmental, social and economic impacts as a prerequisite to developing tourism.

Although internationally advanced in its promotion of responsible tourism, the White Paper has not been implemented as fully as had initially been hoped. Subsequent to the White Paper, Tourism in GEAR was a consolidated strategy produced in 1997 and provided a framework to implement the White Paper. It emphasized that tourism should be government-led, private sector-driven, community-based, and labour-conscious. Its strategies included the following (DEAT 1997c):

- Aggressively promote entrepreneurship and community shareholding in tourism;
- Sustainable management of natural and cultural resources in relation to socio-economic impacts of tourism;
- Establish a tourist-friendly workforce with consistently excellent service, hospitality and safety;
- Focus investment in underdeveloped areas with tourism potential and those with visitor pressure.

A Tourism Law Reform process is currently underway, which seeks to identify legal obstacles, gaps and changes that are required for tourism development to prosper (Spenceley 2001a). The process has involved active consultation with the private sector in order to ascertain what changes to legislation, or new legislation are required to facilitate economic growth.

In addition, DEAT finalised national Responsible Tourism Guidelines in March 2002, which include targets for the tourism sector in order to enact its policy for responsible tourism. They emphasise the need to address the triple bottom line (economic, environmental, and social) issues that were highlighted in relation to sustainable development at the Rio Earth Summit in 1992. The guidelines were developed through a participatory process, and include guidelines for prioritising opportunities for local communities (DEAT 2002):

- Exercise a preference for business and land tenure arrangements that directly benefit local communities and/or conservation;
- Develop partnerships and joint ventures in which communities have a significant stake, and in which they have a substantial management role (accompanied by appropriate capacity building). Communal land ownership can provide equity in enterprises;

- Buy locally made goods and use locally provided services from locally owned businesses wherever quality, quantity, and consistency permits. Monitor the proportion of goods and services the enterprise sourced from businesses with 50 kilometres (km) and set a 20% target for improvement over three years; and
- Recruit and employ staff in an equitable and transparent manner and maximise the proportion of staff employed from the local community. Set targets for increasing the proportion of staff and/or of the enterprise wage bill going to communities within 20 km of the enterprise.

It is envisaged that tourism industry groups will take the guidelines and develop sub-sector guidelines that are applicable to their business, and that codes of best practice will be derived. Through such a voluntary system, enterprises are likely to achieve market advantage over their competitors by being demonstrably ‘responsible’, and increasing profits by decreasing overheads. By using a mechanism to compile national and sub-sector information regarding enterprises’ achievements in meeting responsible targets, the government will be able to report on the cumulative progress towards a responsible tourism industry in South Africa, and show that the 1996 White Paper is being implemented.

Private sector

The role of the private sector in tourism

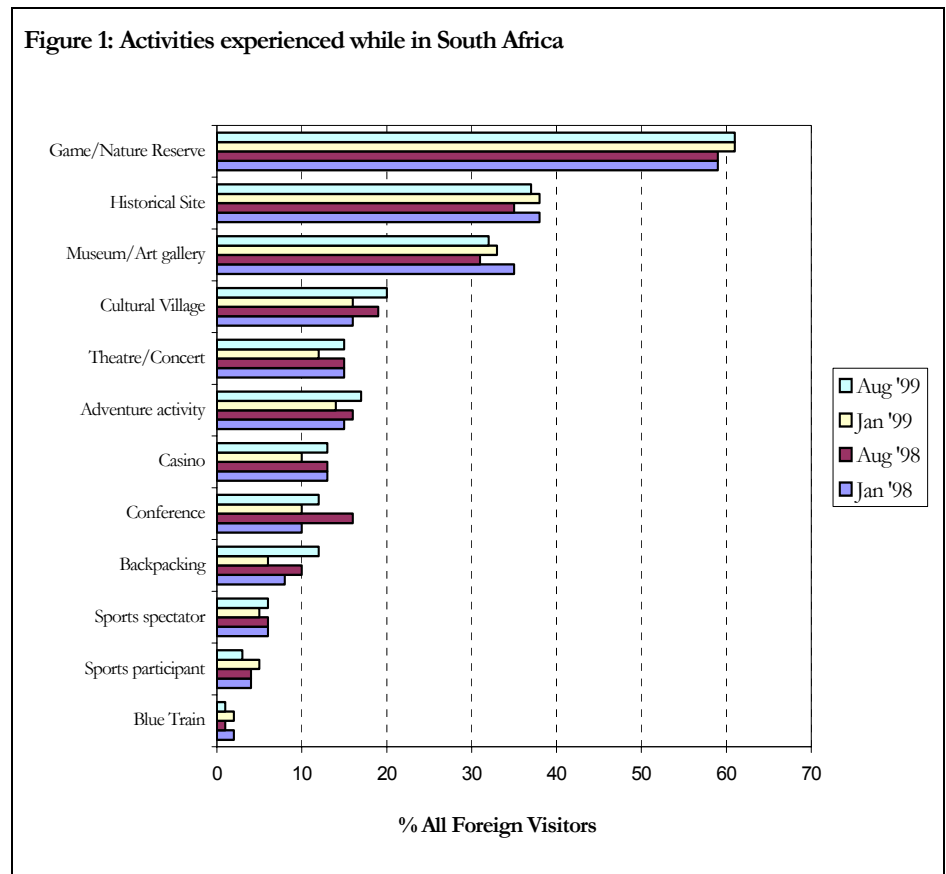
In very general terms, the private sector is oriented towards generating revenue and profit from selling tourism products and services. However, there are indications that the tourism private sector is also playing an increasingly important role in nature conservation and ecotourism in South Africa. Turner and Meer (2001) note that:

- The public nature conservation sector is being increasingly forced into commercial partnerships with the private sector, in the light of reduced public financial support;
- In cases where the rural poor are taking ownership of nature conservation, they frequently join forces with the private sector to develop tourism facilities and operations; and
- Privately owned and operated nature reserves and tourism enterprises are ‘booming’ in South Africa, although their commitment to the rural poor varies from sincere to superficial.

However, there are fears and concerns within parts of the state conservation sector regarding the ‘creeping incrementalism’ of private sector tourism development and the fickleness of the tourism industry. There is also an unwillingness to relinquish control over conservation management of protected areas to parties whose priorities are different (for example, the tourism sector, whose priority is generally profit, or local communities, who may desire natural resources from protected areas) (Spenceley 2001a).

Trends, challenges, and objectives of the tourism private sector

In South Africa there is a clear demand for nature-based tourism (see Figure 1 and Box 3) with around 60% of all foreign visitors experiencing wildlife in a game or nature reserve during their visit.



This sub-sector demand coupled with the increased interest among visitors in placing their money with responsible tourism enterprises is a factor driving increased emphasis on corporate social responsibility and black economic empowerment within the private sector. For example, market research by Tearfund and the Association of British Travel Agents (ABTA) has shown that British tourists place considerable emphasis on the environmental and social responsibility of the companies they choose to take holidays with (Gordon 2001; *pers. comm.* Goodwin 2001).³ In addition, the Association of Independent Tour Operators (AITO) has developed a set of responsible tourism guidelines (AITO 2000), to which its members have signed. AITO’s members therefore have an obligation to their customers to demonstrate that ground handlers they work with are operating in a responsible manner.

³ Citations for personal communications are listed in the References at the end of this paper.

Therefore, potentially enterprises in South Africa that can quantifiably report on their actions that promote sustainability, may afford them market advantage by meeting the demand for responsible holidays. Such operations can also gain market advantage by advertising on responsible tourism websites, such as www.responsibletravel.com.

Box 3: Types of commercial tourism occurring in South Africa

South Africa hosts a diverse array of tourism forms. These include conventional beach holidays around major centres such as Cape Town and Durban, with excellent shopping opportunities in major cities. There are facilities for conferences, exhibitions and sport, in addition to casinos within extensive resorts. The dominant forms of nature-based and adventure tourism in the country include safari tourism, whale watching, white water rafting, hiking, bird-watching, 4x4 trails, bush survival, deep-sea fishing, hunting, and diving. There are also great opportunities for tourists interested in the culture of South Africa with its rich tribal history, plentiful museums, unique archaeological sites and battlefields, and monuments. The most popular activity undertaken by the foreign visitor market is visiting game and nature reserves (61% of visitors in August 1999), followed by visits to historical sites (37%). Adventure activities (for example, scuba diving, mountain climbing, hiking, etc.) are popular with visitors who stay longer than a month, young visitors, and those from Australia and Holland.

Sources: DEAT (1996); DSI (1999a).

Current constraints on private sector operators in South Africa include the international perception of health issues such as malaria and HIV/AIDS, media representation of the high level of violent crime, and most recently, the terrorist attacks against the United States on 11 September 2001. These attacks have had a significant effect on global travel patterns, and it has been predicted that the \$7 billion sub-Saharan Africa earns annually from tourism will shrink dramatically with people flying less frequently, while the weak capital flows to developing countries will dry up as investors seek safer havens (Dynes 2001). However, despite the fact that international airlines had been curtailing global capacity over the year preceding the attacks, not one of the main international carriers serving South Africa curtailed frequency or capacity consequently (save Swissair). This indicates a continuing demand for flights to and from South Africa, and there are actually proposed frequency increases to South Africa on Virgin lines. South Africa may also benefit from being perceived globally as a safe tourism destination and being ‘out of harms way’, and is taking action to sympathetically and tactically market itself internationally, while also encouraging domestic travel (SA Tourism 2001d).

Corporate social responsibility – theory and practice

In relation to the private sector benefiting the rural poor, Hertz (2001) states,

Corporations are not society's custodians: they are commercial entities that act in the pursuit of profit, not ethical considerations. They are morally ambivalent. Often their business interests happen to coincide with society's, but this is by no means always the case.

There is debate about the value of business taking on social responsibility. Milton Friedman, the Nobel laureate, argues that business taking on Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) leads to distortions in the market, disrupts the effective and efficient economic activity of firms, and also interferes with government responsibilities. He also notes that corporations are not generally trained or motivated to represent public interest or to contribute towards community development (cited in Kapelus and Kapelus 2001). Others dismiss CSR as a public relations exercise that detracts attention from inequities in enterprise's core business (*pers. comm.* Ashley 2002). On the other hand, Kapelus and Kapelus (2001) note that the reason for the proliferation in CSR initiatives within the private sector is that enterprises have realised CSR's business advantages. For example, good environmental management decreases costs (for example, with respect to energy use), while good social performance reduces consumer resistance and opposition to corporate efforts.

The extent to which action is taken to address rural livelihoods varies between private operators, depending on their business and ethical objectives. For example, safari operators such as Conservation Corporation Africa have responded constructively towards the HIV/AIDS issue by developing health education programmes among communities neighbouring its lodges. Black economic empowerment and development of emerging Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME) is also being increasingly encouraged by tender requirements from the state for concessions within government-controlled land (for example, in Kruger National Park and the Manyeleti Game Reserve). Also, companies practising significant levels of CSR, such as Wilderness Safaris, have produced ethical policies that are advertised in their brochures (see Box 4, next page).

Currently socially and environmentally responsible activities within South Africa are predominately practised by companies that have their own ethical or marketing incentives to do so (Spenceley 2001a).

Box 4: Wilderness Safaris' policy regarding work with neighbouring communities

Wilderness Safaris understands the need to uplift and empower communities living closest to the areas in which we operate. Wherever possible, we ensure that people from these communities derive benefits from wildlife-based tourism.

We recognised many years ago that communities who live in, or border on, wildlife areas have key conservation roles and undeniable rights.

Wherever possible, we have involved them in wealth generation through integrated tourism projects and by providing employment and business opportunities, transfer of skills and training in decision-making processes.

Source: Wilderness Safaris (2001)

Communities

Community involvement in tourism

The national consultation process that preceded the publication of the 1996 tourism White Paper revealed a number of the concerns and anxieties perceived by community members in relation to their involvement in tourism. These included (DEAT 1996):

- **'Tourism is a white man's thing and not for us'** – tourism was perceived as catering to the predominantly white upper and middle classes, and out of reach of the previously neglected. The majority of South Africans had never been meaningfully exposed to the tourism industry and had not benefited from the country's vast resources.
- **Suspicion and mistrust** – most protected areas were proclaimed without consultation, or the approval, of affected rural communities. Communities bore the cost of reduced access to natural and cultural resources but did not perceive, or receive, any direct benefits.
- **A lack of knowledge and understanding** of what tourism really is. The wider opportunities offered by tourism were not appreciated.
- **A lack of training** opportunities for previously neglected groups in society that effectively limited meaningful participation in the tourism industry.
- **An inability to access finance** to take advantage of entrepreneurial opportunities provided by the tourism sector.
- **A lack of involvement** – the majority of South Africans had not been involved in the planning, decision-making, investment, development or promotion of the tourism industry. Communities had not been involved or consulted in respect of major investment decisions or developments proposed for areas in which they lived.
- **Inequalities** – past inequalities and abuse of power have led to the exploitation of local cultures and community groups.

- **Language barriers** – the English language was the established language of tourism communication, effectively excluding a majority of the population of South Africa (which has 11 official languages).
- **Negative attitudes** - negative attitudes existed within the industry towards community tourism products that were sometimes viewed with scepticism and regarded as inferior. There was often a view that what was white and Western was best. The value of the previously neglected people, their culture and their products often tended to be depreciated.
- **A lack of market access** – local communities lacked access to the lucrative tourism markets as visitors were kept within the hotels and resorts and venture out only to 'sanitised' places of interest. For the local shebeens or the local craft vendor, a visitor sighting was a rare occasion.
- **Barriers to entry** – these were caused by very large companies and corporate structures which control the market. Businesses in South Africa are either very large or very small – a middle segment was only slowly emerging. The cost of capital further prevented many small operators from entering the market.

In addition to these concerns, many rural communities in South Africa must deal with the realities of poverty, and are constrained in their access to employment, health facilities, land and natural resources.

Poverty

Rural communities in South Africa were the unenviable targets of many inequitable apartheid policies, which have had massive consequences for social disparity within the country. The policies have led to a situation where people living in poor rural areas have to deal with high unemployment; poor education; a lack of capacity of health services; limited commercial opportunities; a lack of information; and weak infrastructure. The levels of poverty are also highest in the black population, at over 60%, while only 1% of the poor are white. Half of the population lives under the international poverty line of US\$2 per person, per day (DEAT 1999b). Poor rural communities are seldom in a financial position to turn down opportunities for any form of employment or economic development, even if they are harmful to the environment or their culture. Put in its most simple terms, 'grub first: then ethics' (Brecht 1928).

Employment

Nationally, unemployment is high (37% in 1997), and highest among the black population. Urban drift, among men who migrate to cities and mines for employment, has been particularly damaging to rural women. They suffer from hard labour in agricultural fields, poor access to infrastructure and water, and also bear the impact of HIV/AIDS (DEAT 1996). Despite the reformation of the education system since 1994, approximately 7.5 million people in South Africa are functionally illiterate

(18.4% of the population in 1996) while 19.3% of the population have had no education at all (DEAT 1999b).

Health

Health services in the country are frequently under-resourced and lack the capacity to service demands placed upon them. Many people use traditional healers (for example, 80% of urban black people) (DEAT 1999b). In 1999 South Africa reportedly had the highest prevalence of HIV/AIDS on the continent. It is estimated that of a total population of 45 million South Africans, 4.2 million are infected with the virus (McGeary 2001) and a third of pregnant women in KwaZulu Natal carry the virus (Beresford 2001). Projections for South Africa include a reduction in life expectancy to 40 years by 2010, and a loss of 20% of the work force by 2006 (DEAT 1999b).

Land tenure

Some of the traditional Tribal Authorities that were forcibly removed from land during apartheid (land which then became used to stock wildlife and operate tourism) have lodged official claims for their land. Although the process is long and bureaucratic, some significant claims on areas with direct commercial tourism advantage have been achieved. Communal land administration is spread between institutions including tribal authorities and provincial agricultural departments, but there is uncertainty and there are disputes regarding land tenure (Lahiff 2001). These problems are cited as a major contributing factor in the collapse of the agro-tourism Spatial Development Initiative on the Eastern Cape's Wild Coast (Kepe 2001). A lack of legal security to land can constrain land-based livelihoods, especially in cases when proposals for partnerships with the private sector are put forward (Adams et al. 2000).

Natural resource use

Communal areas in South Africa provide a diversity of wild resources that support land-based livelihoods. These include fuel wood, construction wood and thatch, craft materials, food, and medicines (Shackleton et al. 2000a). In situations where the private sector or the state has access to areas of land that neighbour communal areas, and where the prevalence of wild resources may be higher than on depleted communal land, rural communities can obtain considerable livelihood and commercial advantages through accessing them. Some indications of the value of wild resources to rural people are described in Box 5 (next page).

Box 5: Wild resource use in South Africa

Direct use-values of wild resources can be high: gross values of US\$194-1114 per household per year were estimated across seven studies in South Africa. Cost-benefit analysis revealed that, even for a highly degraded area, the benefits of wild resource harvesting outweighed the costs. In all cases, values of wild resource harvesting have been shown to be within the same range or higher than those contributed by other land-based livelihood activities and state welfare grants.

It has been estimated by the Programme on Land and Agrarian Studies that wild resources such as foods, fibres, and structural materials contribute around R5,000 per year to household income in rural areas, implying that an estimate for the total number of households in rural areas could reach around R15 billion per annum.

Sources: Shackleton et al. (2000b); Fakir (2001).

Although there has been increasing appreciation of the value of land-based livelihood activities and common pool resources to the poor among academics, donors and NGOs, little of this awareness has reached government policy. This has led to rural development, land reform, and agricultural policies that focus solely on monetary aspects of land, and therefore underestimate their value (Shackleton et al. 2000a).

The government and tourism industry have begun to address some of these constraints through various economic and educational programmes, which will be discussed in the next section.

Community-private-state partnerships in wildlife conservation and tourism are opening up new opportunities for rural livelihoods in rural and communal areas. These partnerships, however, may involve trade-offs between one livelihood source and another (for example, game versus livestock). In some cases the benefits accrued at a household level, especially in terms of cash, are low and do not justify the costs (Shackleton et al. 2000a).

In practice, communities do not tend to initiate partnerships with institutionally strong stakeholders in South Africa. Instead partnerships appear to occur in reaction to invitations from others to participate or contribute towards a process. The level of their involvement in tourism development varies with respect to their capacity, opportunities, education, training, and location. Various private operators, conservation authorities, and NGOs are working with rural communities to improve their stake in tourism development in South Africa.

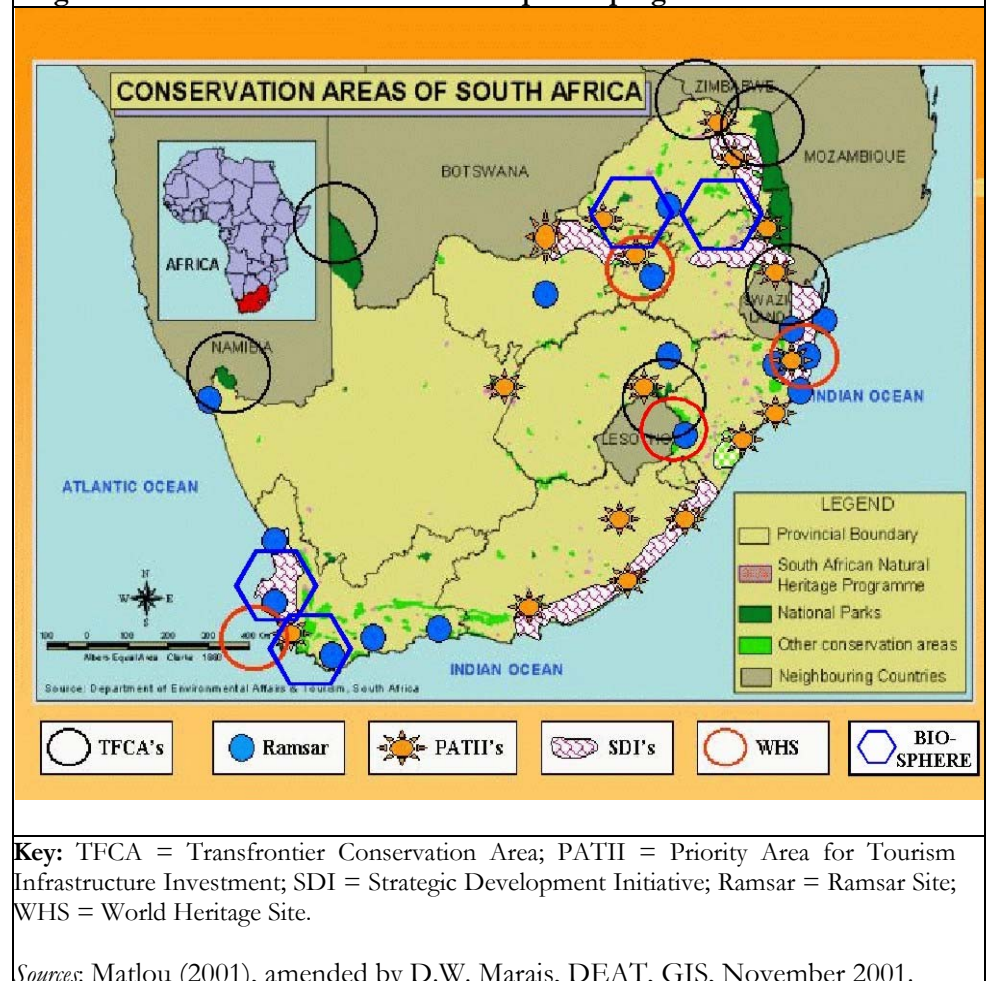
Overview of strategies and programmes

The South African government has engaged in a number of strategies and programmes that aim to stimulate sustainable economic growth based on tourism development. A number of these programmes are related to developing tourism in natural, rural areas, and address the state’s priorities in reducing poverty and promoting opportunities for the historically disadvantaged. Some of these initiatives that address **spatial planning** and **capacity building** are reviewed below.

Spatial planning initiatives

Figure 2 (below) gives an overview of the geographical distribution of programmes related to tourism development in South Africa. Brief descriptions are provided below of the key tourism and conservation programmes currently being promoted in South Africa that address empowerment of the historically disadvantaged and engaging private sector investment. I review four initiatives: Transfrontier Conservation Areas; Spatial Development Initiatives; Priority Areas for Tourism Infrastructure Investment; and UNESCO Biosphere reserves.

Figure 2: Conservation areas and development programmes in South Africa



Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs)

TFCAs are described as relatively large areas encompassing one or more protected areas, which straddle frontiers between one or more countries (World Bank 1996). TFCAs can enhance conservation potential as they provide larger areas in which greater populations of species can survive, and they can provide a framework for ecosystem-based management spanning international boundaries. They can also provide stimulation for socio-economic upliftment and empowerment of marginalized, poor communities to participate in, and obtain benefits from, the sustainable utilisation and management of wild resources.

At the time when this report was compiled, South Africa had one gazetted TFCA – the Kgalagadi TFCA that crosses the border with Botswana. There are also a number at the planning stages, including the Maloti-Drakensberg TFCA, the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou TFCA, the Maputaland TFCA, and the Richtersveld TFCA.

Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs)

Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) aim to draw private sector investment into areas of under-utilised economic potential, and promote spatial and sectoral growth. One of their objectives is to reverse some of the economic damage that was incurred during apartheid while encouraging an export-oriented growth strategy (Kepe et al. 2001). Rogerson (2001) notes that the SDI programme lies within the context of a new policy paradigm, and marks a fundamental change from the spatial planning of the apartheid era.

Some of the SDIs provide context for community control and empowerment in associated tourism projects. There is a great deal of concern that benefits should not be hijacked by the white-controlled tourist enterprises that currently dominate the national tourism economy (Koch et al. 1998; Mafisa 1998; Elliffe 1999; Rogerson 2001). This is promoted through the development of community based tourism projects (Leballo 2000) and SMME development to empower previously disadvantaged communities (Elliffe and Manning 1996).

SDIs in South Africa with a tourism focus include the Wild Coast SDI in the Eastern Cape, and the Lubombo SDI in KwaZulu-Natal.

Priority Areas for Tourism Infrastructure Investment (PATIIs)

The Tourism Infrastructure Investment Framework identified 19 priority areas for tourism infrastructure and investment. DEAT is in the process of finalising an action plan with provinces to attract investment to these areas (Moosa 2000). Some of the investment in these high tourism potential areas has been provided from the Poverty Relief Programme (see below).

UNESCO Biospheres Reserves

Biosphere reserves are areas of terrestrial and coastal ecosystems promoting solutions to reconcile the conservation of biodiversity with its sustainable use, and are internationally recognised within UNESCO's Man and the Biosphere programme. They are built on the notion of zones, and include a core zone without human influence, a reclamation zone, and a stable/cultural zone (Reid 1999). South Africa currently has four biospheres: Cape West Coast, Kruger to Canyons, Kogelberg, and Waterberg.

Initiatives aimed at building capacity

In addition to land-oriented programmes, South Africa also has a number of educational and business related programmes strategies that aim to improve the capacity of the country to capitalise on tourism opportunities:

- The Tourism Enterprise Programme
- Tourism Learnerships and National Qualifications
- Tourist Guide Training
- The International Tourism Marketing Scheme
- The Poverty Relief Programme

Tourism Enterprise Programme (TEP)

The Tourism Enterprise Programme (TEP) assists new entrants into the commercial sector by providing advice and expertise. Financing for the initiative has come from the Business Trust, which has made R66 million available over four years to facilitate the development of small and medium-sized tourism businesses (DEAT 2000d).

Tourism Learnerships and National Qualifications

Tourism Learnerships and National Qualifications are training initiatives spearheaded by the Tourism, Hospitality and Sport Education and Training Authority (THETA). Learnerships are apprenticeships that provide structured learning combined with workplace experience and performance monitoring. They not only allow trainees to work immediately within the private sector, but also engage the industry in training. Over four years, the Learnership Programme aims to train 5,000 unemployed people, and upgrade the skills of another 10,000 in the hospitality workplace (THETA 2000; *pers. comm.* Poultney; THETA, 2001).

National Qualifications allow skills in the workplace to be assessed, and for qualifications to be awarded for work done competently. These are perhaps of most value to those people who are potentially most vulnerable within the industry – those who are illiterate, or cannot speak English, since they involve the assessment of an individual's ability to



physically operate tasks they are trained for, rather than to speak or write about their competence.

Part of the financing for the National Qualifications comes from a levy paid by enterprises of 1-1.5% of their payroll. The enterprises may reclaim their contributions through grants to reimburse their costs of in-service training (Pityana 1997).

Tourist Guide Training

The Tourist Guide Bill affords previously disadvantaged individuals access to training opportunities as tourist guides. It allows people to use indigenous knowledge, rather than formal education, as a basis for becoming a field guide. DEAT has stated that the success of the Bill will be determined by the private sector, which will have to rigorously support the initiative by providing training and job opportunities for all sectors of the population. It is envisaged that these properly trained tour guides will provide tourists with a true perspective about the history of South Africa (Moosa 2000).

International Tourism Marketing Scheme (ITMAS)

The International Tourism Marketing Scheme (ITMAS) aims to partially compensate small and medium businesses for some costs incurred while promoting international tourism to South Africa. Of the four million rand available in the programme, over R1.5 million was spent during 2000 benefiting about 682 entrepreneurs. A further million rand was used to subsidise the attendance of emerging black entrepreneurs at the national travel market, the Indaba, in Durban during 2001.

Poverty Relief Programme

The purpose of the DEAT Poverty Relief Programme is to manage and administer poverty relief proposals and spin-off projects in the tourism and environment sectors, with a special focus on infrastructure investment and product development (such as heritage sites, rock art and conservation). These, in turn, are focused around emerging tourism growth points and corridors. The programme is part of a broader Government project set up to mainly alleviate poverty amongst South Africa's poorest communities. Where possible, this is done in a manner that aims to create long-term sustainable work opportunities. The tourism-related part of the programme seeks to achieve this through improving tourism potential by creating new facilities or infrastructure and by supporting and encouraging communities to provide better services (DEAT 2001g) (see Phumlani Lodge case study).

Summary

The diverse array of spatial planning and capacity building initiatives address some of the constraints and concerns that communities raised during the 1996 White Paper consultation. However, Figure 2 clearly illustrates that in certain regions of the country there is considerable overlap of spatial planning programmes, and there has been a tendency

for stakeholders to work on isolated projects, with a lack of wider vision (DEAT 1999c). The Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park (GSLWP) provides an example of the overlap: The GSLWP is a World Heritage Site, contains a Ramsar site, is part of the Lubombo SDI, includes the proposed St. Lucia-Maputaland Biosphere, and also forms the major focus of the Maputaland TFCA.


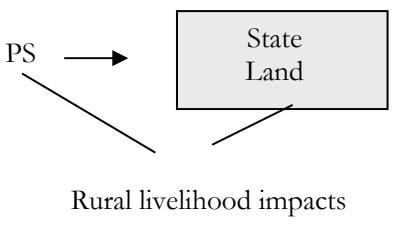
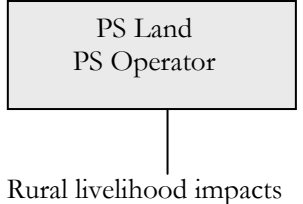
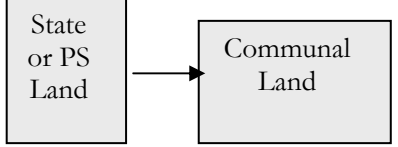
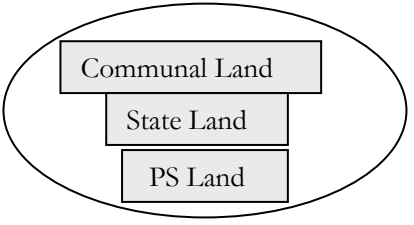
Scenarios and case studies illustrating state, private sector, and community involvement in tourism

The growing interaction of the private sector and rural communities can be illustrated through six different operational approaches:

- Private sector on Communal Land
- Government Land with Private Sector involvement and Community linkages
- Private Land and Private Operators, with Community Linkages
- Community Land Claims and Land Transfers
- Amalgams of Land Ownership Types
- Community Businesses

These approaches involve different elements of land and enterprise ownership, and have been used to investigate the types of processes and interactions between the state, the private sector, and rural communities in tourism, and their implications for rural livelihoods (see Table 1, next page).

With respect to these scenario types, case studies (drawn mainly from South Africa) are used as tools to unpack the main issues, constraints, driving forces, and divergent views. Each of the case studies is discussed with respect to the community benefits and losses incurred, and the extent to which the interests of the community shaped the project. The institutional, political and financial driving forces that influence the case study are described. Also discussed are criticisms that have been voiced, and constraints.

Table 1: Description of scenarios		
Scenario	Spatial illustration	Description
1. Private Sector (PS) on Communal Land		<p>Communal land is used through variable partnerships between rural people and the private sector to develop tourism. Local people benefit from employment, training, and associated business opportunities. The three case studies used to illustrate this scenario are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Phumlani Lodge • Mtentu Estuary fly-fishing • Ndumu-Tembe Wildlife and Tourism Complex
2. Government Land with Private Sector involvement, and Community linkages		<p>Land is owned by the State, and the private sector operates tourism on it through a lease or enterprise operation agreement. Community linkages may be formed through equity in the tourism enterprise promoted by the State, employment in the private sector, or associated business opportunities. The four case studies here are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary • Commercialisation of South African National Parks • Manyeleti Game Reserve • KwaZulu Natal Wildlife and Rocktail Bay
3. Private Land and Private Operators, with Community Linkages		<p>Privately owned land with private sector tourism development. Corporate Social Responsibility programmes may have beneficial implications for rural livelihoods, in addition to employment and business opportunities. The two case studies used here are</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Jackalberry Lodge • Africa Foundation & Ngala Private Game Reserve
4. Community Land Claims and Land Transfers		<p>Through land claims or land invasions, transfer of land ownership from the State or private sector to communities. Communities then may have the opportunity to utilise the land for tourism via community-based tourism, or partnerships with the private sector. The two case studies described are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Daannel Farm; and • The Makuleke.
5. Amalgams of Land Ownership Types		<p>Destinations and planning initiatives that focus over a wide geographical area, and may include areas of communal, State, and private-sector land. Tourism has a strategic focus, and may have employment, business, and natural resource use implications for rural livelihoods. The three case studies are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Great Limpop Transfrontier Park and the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Transfrontier Conservation Area • Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park • Greater Addo National Park
6. Community Businesses	<p>Not necessarily land-tenure dependent.</p>	<p>Individuals or groups of individuals from rural communities develop business enterprises related to tourism and become the private sector. The three case studies described are:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Amadiba Adventures Horse and Hiking Trail • Numbi Gate Curio Stall • Jonopo Cultural Village

Scenario 1: private sector on communal land

There are areas of communal land in South Africa that are very rich in scenic beauty, conservation value, and which have great tourism potential. In some instances, the private sector has engaged with rural tribal authorities in order to exploit the commercial tourism opportunities of the land, to the financial benefit of both parties. Sound and equitable relationships with commercial operators can provide the rural poor with invaluable access to training and education, business development opportunities, and the opportunity to supply the private sector with produce and services. Three examples will be described to illustrate this scenario:

- Case Study 1: Phumlani Lodge (Mpumalanga)
- Case Study 2: Mtentu Estuary fly-fishing operation (Eastern Cape)
- Case Study 3: Ndumu-Tembe Wildlife and Tourism Complex (KwaZulu-Natal)

The Phumlani Lodge case study is described in the most detail, since it illustrates type 1 scenarios very clearly. The other two case studies have been utilised to highlight other important processes and issues.

Case Study 1: Phumlani Lodge, Mdluli Tribal Authority

This case describes a commercial operation in which the Mdluli Tribal Authority has engaged with the private sector in an attempt to exploit the commercial advantage of their communal land, which lies near Kruger National Park's Numbi Gate.

Description

In April 1998 the Mdluli Tribal Authority formed the Mdluli Trust with the assistance of a private sector property developer, Piers Bunting. The aims and objectives of the trust included supporting and uplifting the 29,000 members of the Mdluli tribe with respect to infrastructure and general benefits, making grants and loans available for education, granting and loaning funds for development within the land, and funding and promoting literacy and primary health care (Mdluli Trust 1998). The trustees include Chief Mdluli, Bunting, and a democratically elected member from each of the four villages in the Tribal Authority (Makoko, Bhekiswako, Nyongane and Salubindza) (*pers. comm.* Bunting 2002).

As a trustee, Bunting applied for a Poverty Relief Fund (PRF) grant from DEAT on behalf of the Mdluli Trust, and in September 2000 was granted R6 million to build Mdluli Cultural Village (Olver 1998). The Mdluli Cultural Village consists of Phumlani Lodge and an adjacent entertainment centre, which were constructed less than one kilometre from Numbi Gate. They have been built on an area of communal tribal authority land (Mdluli I No. 640 JU) that was leased to the Trust by the Tribal Authority for a period of 30 years (Mdluli Trust 2002). The lodge opened in June 2001, and consists of seventeen luxury chalets and two

entertainment centres that can provide meals, fresh produce, services of traditional healers, and crafts for sale to tourists. It also provides the potential for community-operated safari and township tour services to make contact with tourists (African Eye News Service 2001; Baker 2001; *pers. comm.* Bunting 2002).

The Mdluli Trust is the 100% owner of Phumlani Lodge, and it entered a five year agreement with the private sector operator African Heritage Enterprises (AHE) (of which Bunting was a director) that allowed AHE to market and manage the lodge and entertainment centre on the Trust's behalf (Mdluli Trust 2000a). AHE is responsible for controlling the lodge finances, human resources, marketing, housekeeping and administration (Bunting 2002).

Local benefits and losses

Proposed benefits that could accrue to the Mdluli community from the lodge include employment, training, potential for development of support services such as guiding, laundry, security, arts and crafts, and entertainment. It should be noted that benefits and losses associated with the lodge at the time of writing this case study (March 2002) were collated at an unsteady stage in the development of the lodge. Therefore readers should be aware that this case represents the status within the first year of operation of the lodge, and bear in mind that many commercial tourism businesses have cash flow problems in their first few years of operation.

Employment: The PRF grant stipulated that at least 35% of local labour had to come from a previously disadvantaged background (DEAT 2000k). In fact, the majority of the 56 permanent staff of the lodge (92%) are from the local community (Langley 2002; Bunting 2001), while the entertainment centre has not yet been staffed and opened. The PRF application that was approved also noted that there would be 21 women, 10 youth and 3 disabled staff employed. In addition, the company that was commissioned to construct the lodge was required to have a 65% local labour component, and this was exceeded at a level of 96% (Bunting 2001). However, at the time of writing, the lodge was subject to an enquiry by the Mpumalanga Tourism Directorate due to non-payment of wages to Phumlani staff by AHE. Although staff had been advised that salaries had been budgeted for nine months of operation (between April and December 2001), the project implementer reported that the turnover was not sufficient to cover full wages between October and December 2001 (Langley 2002). One member of the community also noted that a group of local cultural dancers had been performing for guests without payment, and that community members were being forced to sell property such as cars and furniture to survive.⁴ Additional grant funding has been sought by the project implementer to deal with the current cash flow shortfall (*pers. comm.* Bunting 2002).

⁴ Pooley (2001).

Equity: The Mdluli Trust is the 100% owner of Phumlani lodge and entertainment centre. It also has a 50% share in both the Mdluli Laundry and Mdluli Security companies that were set up in order to service the lodge. It is said that the revenue from the lodge is currently being put back into operational costs but the project implementer predicted that small dividends would be returned to the Trust by mid-2002. The elected Trust would then determine how it would be spent on behalf of the community (*pers. comm.* Bunting 2002). The shareholdings provide the community, through their Trust, with a long-term stake in the tourism development.

Training and empowerment: It is reported that 90% of the local employees have undergone training at the lodge, while 45 members of the construction team received training from the contractor (some of whom the contractor retained as permanent staff) (Bunting 2001). The PRF grant included provisions for a training budget of R325,000 (DEAT 2000k), and two youths received training at Wits Business College.⁵ However, one member of the community noted that only limited, informal training was given to local people working at the lodge, and that no checks were done to ensure they could deliver an appropriate quality of service.

In addition, the community representatives on the Mdluli Trust have been concerned about the lack of training that had taken place to empower them in order to provide them with the capacity to oversee and manage the work of the project implementer. It was determined that their disempowerment had made them unable to approach the Mpumalanga Tourism Directorate for assistance regarding their problems, until the aforementioned non-payment of wages reached crisis level (Langley 2002). They also requested assistance from the Tourism Directorate in dealing with contractual struggles they had with the construction company who were refusing to correct some construction faults (Phumlani Lodge Staff 2002). It was resolved that the Tourism Directorate would fast-track the facilitation of training of the Mdluli Trustees with suitable modules in business and financial management, to ensure empowerment and increased capacity in their roles as trustees (Langley 2002).

Land ownership: The lease by the Mdluli Trust of the land where the lodge has been built has allowed the Trust to cede the lease as security for investments (*pers. comm.* Bunting 2002; Mdluli Trust 2002). The lease allowed the project implementer to raise a commercial loan of R2 million from Standard Bank to finance the construction of five rooms in November 2001 (*pers. comm.* Bunting 2002). Obtaining collateral to secure loans is commonly a problem for community based tourism operations, and therefore the potential to use this land to raise capital is a benefit. However, it should be recognised that the benefit is not without risk,

⁵ Ibid.

and, as with any loan agreements, the collateral (the land) could be forfeited to the bank if repayments were not maintained. This is of special concern in this case given the community trustees' lack of business and financial management training.

Enterprise development: The PRF Business Plan for the lodge stated that five SMMEs would be created in association with the lodge, and twelve others would be utilised (DEAT 2000k). Reports indicate that four SMMEs have been developed so far. In December 2002, the Mdluli Trust established the Mdluli Security and Mdluli Laundry companies in order to service the Lodge (Mdluli Trust 2000b, 2000c). In addition, thatch harvesting and tour operating businesses were initiated in the community as a direct result of the project (Bunting 2001), and a local sewing group was given a contract to make staff uniforms.⁶ Bunting notes that the construction contract did not go out to tender, but was a negotiated contract with an established firm. The construction company commissioned employs Bunting's brother (*pers. comm.* Bunting 2002). This has been a point of contention within the community, given that although local people were employed as labourers, they did not have the opportunity to tender for the whole contract, and that Bunting's family were seen to be benefiting at the expense of the Mdluli tribe. Bunting notes that the PRF grant application required that the construction company was known, and an established contractor was used in order to guarantee that they would work to budget (*pers. comm.* Bunting 2002).

Guiding: Kruger National Park (KNP) has reserved 40 of 100 permits for local communities to conduct open vehicle safaris. However, to date, KNP has received few applications for permits, and those who did apply required assistance, such as financing for vehicles (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach, 2002). There is currently only one commercial private sector operator, Spectra Ventures, conducting tours and adventure activities for Phumlani's guests, and this is not a community-based operation (*pers. comm.* Sieunda, 2002). Since the permits are still available to the community to operate safaris in KNP, there is potential for local entrepreneurs to address the potential market for tour guiding. It appears that capacity building, training, and capital support will be required in order to realise such opportunities.

Driving forces and constraints

Piers Bunting, the private sector implementing agent and trustee, is clearly the driving force behind the lodge development. There are indications that the level of control he has within the trust (and over the project) is considerable, not least because he is the only trustee with tourism and business experience. The community has afforded Bunting considerable control over the project, by making him a trustee of the Mdluli Trust, by agreeing to let him sign leases and shareholders' agreements on the Trust's behalf, and by contracting a management

⁶ Ibid.

company for the lodge of which he was a director. In addition, the trustee status allowed him to raise PRF financing and to stipulate contractors that would be used in the construction of the lodge. Furthermore, the Trust's lease of the land where the lodge is located allowed him to raise a bank loan secured on it. The Trust has authorised him significant financial control over Trust assets and bank accounts (Mdluli Trust 2000d).

The members of the Mdluli Tribal Authority were involved in the establishment of the Mdluli Trust in a process apparently catalysed by Bunting. Chief MZ Mdluli recognised the potential advantages of tourism for the community, and noted, '...our community can benefit from the commercial activities of ecotourism and environmental conservation,' (quoted in African Eye News Service 1998a). The Trust was established after a series of public and community meetings, which culminated in a public meeting held in December 1997, at which 362 members of the Tribal Authority attended along with Bunting and representatives of the Department of Land Affairs, Kruger National Park, and Mpumalanga Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (Acer 1998). The driving incentives for the Trust were to support and uplift the Mdluli tribe through improving infrastructure, development, education, literacy, and health care (Mdluli Trust 1998). In addition to the Chief and Bunting, four trustees representing the four villages of Makoko, Bhekiswako, Nyongane and Salubindza were democratically elected by their communities. It was intended that new representatives would be elected annually. The members of the Trust are non-executive, and therefore do the work voluntarily (*pers. comm.* Bunting, 2002). It appears that there is a need for the Trust to keep the community they represent better informed about the development. A representative of DEAT reflected that, '... some of the trustees ... may have failed to understand well enough what they were involved in, and therefore also failed to properly inform the people' (*pers. comm.* Du Plessis 2002).⁷

Although the community trustees have signed documentation that has provided Bunting with the legal authorisation for the work he has conducted and the control he has, it is clear that they do not feel they have the business acumen to understand or control his activities (e.g. Langley 2002). It appears that the recent non-payment of wages has led to the breakdown in trust between the Trust and the implementing agent, and subsequently to the Phumlani Lodge staff approaching the Mpumalanga Tourism Directorate for assistance. One of the outcomes of the meeting held in January 2002 to discuss the lodge's problems was the request by the Tourism Directorate for a financial audit of the books and construction works (Langley 2002). Subsequently reports submitted by the independent auditors denoted that the accounts fairly represent the financial position of the trust in accordance with generally accepted accounting practice during the construction phase between October 2000

⁷ Chief Mdluli and the community representatives of the Mdluli Trust declined the opportunity to comment on a draft version of this case study.

and June 2001 (Dante Sinclair and Company 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). However, the accountants noted that financial information provided to them had not been complete since the opening of the lodge. At this time the administration and bookkeeping functions had been carried out at Phumlani. In addition, they had not received any information since November 2001. They also noted that the books for Mdluli Laundry and Mdluli Security had been unavailable for audit (Dante Sinclair and Company 2002).

With respect to the wider policies that have driven the Phumlani Lodge initiative, the provision of Poverty Relief Fund financing has clearly been critical. DEAT appears to have appreciated the problems with training and capacity of community members that have led to conflicts over transparency and trust. For example, a representative of DEAT noted, 'The intention is to put more emphasis from the government's side in the future to prevent a re-occurrence' (*pers. comm.* Du Plessis, 2002). It was also evident that the Trust was not made aware of potential financing from the Tourism Enterprise Programme, which has an SMME support programme that can match PRF funding for training within the community (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002). Continued mediation and support from the Mpumalanga Tourism Directorate in the future will also assist the Mdluli tribe.

A wider KNP management decision, that the community had not participated in, posed a potential threat to Phumlani Lodge. KNP proposed to open a major gate at the Albassini ruins as an alternative major entrance point for the Paul Kruger and Numbi Gate. The implications of this development were that visitors that would usually travel through Numbi Gate would be diverted away from the road, and the lodge, and therefore the current location advantage of the lodge to attract customers desiring to stay near the park entrance would be lost. However, social problems around the Numbi area may have influenced the development of the proposals. For example, until mid-2001 the quality of the road to the gate was very poor, and periodically there were incidents of children throwing rocks at tourists. Also, during July and August 2000 there were two incidents of foreign tourists from KNP being hijacked outside Numbi Gate. Although the culprits were caught this led to adverse publicity for the park and the route to Numbi Gate. After discussions between the police and KNP, regular patrols were made along the route, and a diversion sign was placed before the turnoff to Numbi advising tourists to enter the park via the Paul Kruger Gate further north, and therefore not use the road (Spenceley, 2001b). Therefore, this illustrates a situation where antisocial activities towards tourist in the wider community have had the potential to adversely impact on specific economic activities benefiting from tourism.

This case study implies that community trustees have not been empowered with sufficient business acumen or expertise to negotiate agreements in which they were afforded enough information to make the

processes and transactions transparent to them.⁸ It is evident that some members of the community consequently feel they have been exploited (Phumlani Lodge Staff 2002; Langley 2002). However, a DEAT representative noted that,

To date, no evidence of 'exploitation' could be presented and one tends to believe that ignorance and inexperience on the side of some trustees from the community can explain some of the perceptions.⁹

The fast-track training for trustees proposed by the Tourism Directorate may improve their understanding of the operation, but given the policy to re-elect village trustees annually such training will not be sustained within the trust. A permanent, independent observer or mediator may be required in order to re-establish the relationship between the trustees. In addition the employment of experienced bookkeeping staff at the lodge may be required for an extended period until community trainees can be brought up to speed.

Case Study 2: Mtentu Estuary fly-fishing operation

The case of the Mtentu Estuary is similar to the first case study, in that a private sector operator has engaged with a rural community in order to operate from their land. This case differs from Phumlani Lodge case study in that an NGO has facilitated the relationship between the private sector and community partners.

Description

The Mtentu Estuary is located within the Wild Coast SDI in the Eastern Cape of South Africa, and forms the northern border of the Mkambati Nature Reserve (*pers. comm.* McKenzie 2002). In 1997 the NGO Pondo Community Resource Optimisation Programme (PondoCROP) invited the private sector operator UFUDU to visit the area on behalf of the Amadiba Coastal Community Development Association (ACCODA) in order to investigate the possibilities of operating a non-consumptive fly-fishing operation in the Mtentu River. The Mtentu River was declared a Marine Reserve in 1991 (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003), and therefore PondoCROP and UFUDU had to negotiate with the government's Marine and Coastal Management (MCM) directorate and the Eastern Cape Nature Conservation in order to obtain exemption for the operation (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003; Ashley and Ntshona 2003). ACCODA was granted the permit, and UFUDU operated for an experimental three-month period in 1999, followed by a one-off season in 2000. Subsequently, UFUDU initiated a three-year arrangement in 2001 to continue their seasonal operations.

Through ACCODA, the Amadiba community provides UFUDU with use of MCM's fly-fishing permit, and leases them a community campsite

⁸ The Chief and Trustees were provided with a previous draft of this report, but declined the opportunity to comment.

⁹ *Pers. comm.* Du Plessis (2002).

at Mtentu. ACCODA is responsible for providing staff for the camp (who received wage levels negotiated by ACCODA), providing canoes, maintaining a clean camp, and making ACCODA's steering committee members available for regular consultation with UFUDU (Ashley and Ntshona 2003). As a result of being granted the fly-fishing permit, members of the local community now have a role to play in promoting the conservation of marine species.

UFUDU's fishing camp offers tourists the opportunity to experience top quality catch-and-release fly-fishing in a simple setting with high-quality service. They charge R880 per day predominately to a domestic client base of keen fishermen and their families (ibid.). UFUDU's role is to operate the commercial operation in partnership with ACCODA representatives, and to employ local people. The estuary is also the focus of a horse trail owned and operated by ACCODA, which is discussed later.

Community benefits

Lease: The lease fee for the campsite was set at 12.5% of turnover,¹⁰ and in 1999 UFUDU paid ACCODA a lease fee of R15,000, followed by R39,000 in 2000 (ibid.). The lease revenue in 1999 was used by ACCODA to upgrade the campsite by building a storeroom, kitchen, and a large deck. In 2000, the lease payment was allocated to a proposed school in Mtentu, construction of new classrooms at four schools, construction of a livestock dip, and purchase of a soccer kit and equipment for four clubs. The revenue was also reportedly used to fund the King of Pondoland's expenses in travelling to his inauguration by helicopter; for the Queen of Pondoland to attend a wedding in Swaziland, and for the chief of the Amadiba area to visit the King (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003).

The lease of the Mtentu camp during the three-month fly-fishing season has presented some opportunity costs to the Amadiba community. This is due to the fact that the community camp is normally used by hikers on the Amadiba trail, and as a result they must use the second camp site during that period, and the hiking trail shifts to pitching tents elsewhere (Ashley and Ntshona 2003). It is not reported whether this affects the consistency and quality of the hiking trail product.

Employment and curios: Eight community members are employed by ACCODA as staff to work for UFUDU. River guides earn R25 per shift (there are two daily), while the caretaker earns R45 per day, and the caterers and cleaners each earn R35 (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003). Staff also receive meals and training (Ashley and Ntshona 2003), and members of the community benefit from the sales of crafts to visitors. During the three-month season in 2000, the community accrued R46,000 from

¹⁰ Ashley and Ntshona (2003) note that this is relatively high, since 10% is more common where the community provides a tangible contribution, and 5% or less is usual where it is just philanthropy.

salaries and crafts (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003). However, since staff from the hiking trail are often employed at the camp during the fly-fishing season, this tends to leave a seasonal staffing gap on the trail (Ashley and Ntshona 2003).

Fishing: Fishing by subsistence fishermen from the community and by tourists for recreation used to take place without interference, due to the lack of enforcement of government regulations on the reserve that specifically prohibit the disturbance of any marine species in the estuary without a permit (*pers. comm.* McKenzie 2001). Therefore residents who do not benefit directly from ACCODA have not only lost the opportunity to bring individual fishermen to the river in return for tips (Ashley and Ntshona 2003), but have also lost access for subsistence fishing. The private operator has raised concerns that the financial benefits are not spread across the community as this has implications for community perceptions of the camp and fish conservation (*ibid.*).

Driving Forces and Constraints

The main drivers for the Mtentu fly-fishing operation appear to have been PondoCROP and UFUDU. PondoCROP facilitated the development ACCODA through the creation of a hiking trail (see below) when it wanted to shift responsibility for the ownership and management of community projects from itself, an NGO, to the community. The objectives of ACCODA were to promote sustainable development in the area; encourage self-employment; work with local authorities in development planning; and encourage sustainable management of natural resources. Its role is to maintain close communication with the community in order to disseminate information regarding development and to invite comments. The community actively participates in the functions of ACCODA. The group includes members of the tribal authority, representatives of Rural Development Programmes, the Mkambati Nature Reserve, PondoCROP, and three youth members (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003). ACCODA determines how the money from the fly-fishing operation is distributed, and it has not yet addressed priorities of the community, which include the need for a clinic, roads, and clean water (*ibid.*). Through their initial invitation to UFUDU, and their participation in negotiations to obtain fishing permits on behalf of ACCODA, PondoCROP has clearly been a key driver in the process from the start.

The private sector operator, UFUDU, also appears to have played a major role in driving the process. They have engaged with PondoCROP in governmental negotiations for fishing permits, and implement detailed monitoring of fishing activities that are reported to the MCM. They have also entered a contract with the community through ACCODA, which details lease payments, staff recruitment, and the use of the area (Ashley and Ntshona 2003). However, UFUDU reports to be wary of the 'culture of equality in the area', which makes others jealous if someone is promoted. Also, they feel that the reason community-based ventures do

not persist is that there is a lack of commitment from the community, and therefore entrepreneurs need to be identified for ventures to succeed (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003). In addition, UFUDU are concerned that ACCODA's representatives do not regularly attend meetings, despite their management role being seen to reflect shared ownership (Ashely and Ntshona 2003).

Despite the utilisation constraints initially presented by the existence of the Marine Reserve, a window of opportunity for the fly-fishing operation was presented within government by the creation of a new Community Enterprise post within MCM. An individual who strongly supported the idea was recruited to staff this position. Prior to this, an application to MCM submitted after a long process of discussion and consultation, and with supporting data on fish stocks and dynamics, had been rejected. The institutional shift in government was therefore critical in providing the community with the high value asset of the fishing permit (ibid.).

Case Study 3: Ndumu-Tembe Wildlife and Tourism Complex

Like Phumlani Lodge, the Ndumu-Tembe case also provides an example of the private sector engaging with poor rural communities with proposals to exploit the potential of their land. This case is more complex than the previous two case studies due to highly political land claim issues, which has led to some overlap with the fourth scenario that will be discussed.

Description

The Mbangweni Corridor is a five-kilometer wide strip of communal land that lies between the Ndumu Game Park and Tembe Elephant Park on the border of South Africa and Mozambique. A proposal has been put forward to drop the fences between the two parks and the corridor, and so to include 5,000 hectares (ha) of Tembe Tribal Authority's land in an expanded Ndumu-Tembe Wildlife and Tourism Complex. KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Wildlife, the provincial conservation authority, is currently responsible for the management of both Ndumu and Tembe. In the future it is hoped that the complex could also be linked to the Maputo Elephant Park in Mozambique as part of a wider initiative, the proposed Lubombo TFCA (Poultney 2001).

There have been a number of previous proposals to link the two parks. Agents including KZN Wildlife, the Land Commission, NGOs and a number of consultants have promoted various schemes. The commercial safari operator, Wilderness Safaris (WS), initiated the most recent plan for the corridor (ibid.). WS is interested in the area because it operates an exclusive safari lodge in Ndumu. The lodge was established in 1995, at which time WS entered a tripartite shareholding partnership with the community and conservation authority (Poultney and Spenceley 2001).

The role of the community in this instance is proposed to be the investment of tribal land for the purposes of wildlife management and tourism, and direct and indirect participation in tourism products and services. The other stakeholders involved in the Mbangweni Corridor proposals include the following (Poultney 2001):

- The Mbangweni Development Committee, which consists of the son of the ward induna (headman), and five members of the community, elected to advance the development needs of the people in the corridor
- Tembe Tribal Authority
- KZN Wildlife
- Wildlands Trust, a conservation trust
- Consultants with expertise in legal, institutional and technical matters
- Mboza Village Enterprises, a facilitating locally based development agency working on behalf of Wilderness Safaris.

WS has proposed an Economic Management and Development Plan for the Mbangweni Corridor with the objective of creating economic linkages between Ndumu and Tembe. The operator views this as a means to developing a wildlife, heritage, and tourism complex, and suggests that it would improve the economic returns from both existing and new tourism developments. Some of the new attractions and activities that they propose for the corridor include the following (ibid.):

- 4x4 trail camps and trails
- Canoe and fishing trips and horse trails
- Cultural and heritage excursions, including a trail paleo-anthropological trips and excursions to sangomas and to the floodplain
- A possible new camp
- Hunting

In relation to the hunting option, KZN Wildlife currently culls around 2,000 nyala antelope annually within Ndumu, with little financial benefit. Therefore the 'culling' could potentially be operated in the corridor through controlled commercial hunting, which would generate revenue for the community. However, it should be noted that WS believe that wildlife in the reserve is being over-culled (*pers. comm.* Poultney 2001), and therefore lower numbers of animals might be available for community use in the future.

Local benefits and losses

The Mbangweni community has incurred direct losses in access to land and natural resources through the historical formation and growth of both the Ndumu and Tembe reserves.

For example, in 1947 the Natal Parks Board (now KZN Wildlife) extended Ndumu reserve's boundaries to include areas east of the Phongolo River. Poultney (2001) notes that the fencing reduced communities' access to natural resources. River water, for drinking and domestic use, could subsequently only be accessed through three gates, and only by women (as the conservation authority claimed that men would poach the wildlife). The barriers caused people unnecessary hardship and inconvenience, which was exacerbated by women being caught by crocodiles while fetching water. They also lost access to highly productive farmland within the Phongolo floodplain, and were relegated to areas of sand forest with its agriculturally poor, sandy soils. Although good sweet grasses were available for cattle ranching, the lack of access to the river meant that the community had to move their livestock over large distances to the Phongolo floodplain, below the southern Ndumu fence. Similarly, people were not permitted to fish in the pans and in the rivers, but instead were obliged to travel south of the reserve or into Mozambique. Artisanal fishing for both homestead consumption, and in particular for sale to buyers in areas without waterways, had previously been an important livelihood activity. The loss of access to natural resources destroyed animal husbandry, agricultural practises, and floodplain fisheries within the community (ibid.).

In addition, twenty-eight homesteads were removed from the Tembe Elephant Park when it was proclaimed in 1982. Compensatory infrastructure and services that were promised (such as potable water) never materialised for those who were relocated. One of the displaced individuals was interviewed in 1990 and stated:

... it was not so much the moving out of the reserve that angered people since they experienced difficulties in coexisting with the elephants. The elephants ranged through the area up and down into Mozambique and were shot up by poachers and the rebels as part of trade in ecological contraband and weapons. They also plundered peoples crops and generally were a nuisance. It was however rather the broken promises of what they were supposed to receive in return for being moved out of proclaimed area that angered people.¹¹

Two land claims were lodged during the 1990's for the 1,000 ha of land that was lost in Ndumu; one claim was made under the auspices of the Tembe Tribal Authority and the other through the Mbangweni Development Committee (MDC) (ibid.). The reason for there being two land claims for the same piece of land was that the MDC lodged a claim as a representative community structure, while the Kwa Zulu Bantustan government (which administered these areas through the tribal authorities) simultaneously encouraged the Tribal Authority to lodge claims (*pers. comm.* Poultney 2002). The communities, frustrated at the slow processing of their land claim by the State, threatened to invade the game reserve on several occasions.¹² In two very similar attempts to

¹¹ Cited in Poultney (2001: 3).

¹² *Pers. comm.* Pooley (2001).

appease the communities, influential Government officials offered in both 1998 and 2000, to transfer portions of the reserve within the floodplain to the claimants for agricultural purposes. The proposal in 2000 was to allow the community to utilise the 200 ha of floodplain habitat for subsistence agricultural purposes during the five-month rainy season (*pers. comm.* Pooley 2001). However, the proposals raised environmental concerns concerning the potential impacts on the ecologically sensitive floodplain, and also raised debate regarding politicians' activities to bypass the formal land claims process in order to fast-track specific communities interests. These concerns were reflected in a corresponding barrage of media pressure, and both proposals were eventually retracted. The community members were angered that politicians' promises failed to materialise, and this led to confrontation between reserve staff and the affected communities, involving vandalism of park fencing and the arrest of some community members.¹³

The claims were finally settled in 2000, and the community acquired non-occupational title to the area claimed. Of the 150 homesteads within the Mbangweni Corridor, 95 were compensated for the hardship experienced due to the loss of around 1,000 ha of their land and the resources on which they were dependent. Although the Land Commission ordered a development study to appraise various land use options, and various consultants and organisations proposed plans, none have yielded any real benefits to date (Poultney 2001). Poultney (2001) notes that the slow introduction of measures to benefit the community that were agreed to in the award left the corridor as a route for the 'illegal' movement of people and smuggling of contraband goods. This is despite the stronger security presence, with a mounted national defence force unit patrolling the border. He notes that some of the cross border movement is a direct result of the loss of wild resources, as people forage for wild foods and plant crops in Mozambique. Although the land claims have been settled, the people have not regained free access to their land, and may not settle or utilise the agricultural potential of the resources they once held. The non-occupational, non-agricultural claim awarded has not resulted in any real change for the Tembe Tribal Authority, and therefore common objectives could be achieved through the creation of the Complex.¹⁴

WS anticipate that if the Ndumu-Tembe Wildlife and Tourism Complex is realised, local livelihoods will directly benefit from the proposed economic activities within it. The proposed activities include (*ibid.*):

- Restructuring and realignment of the current tourism amenities in both Ndumu and Tembe, with the possible introduction of a local operator and new facilities.
- Broadening the activity base in and around the complex with affected communities to compliment accommodation amenities and create

¹³ *Pers. comm.* Pooley (2001).

¹⁴ *Pers. comm.* Poultney (2002).

new opportunities. Local people could find employment as camp staff (including management) and as guides.

- Reorganisation of gate fees and park revenues on a more profitable and equitable basis.
- Support of community linkages to supply produce and services to facilities in the complex.

WS also argue that the complex would allow the integration of tourism related opportunities from the communal areas around the Ndumu-Tembe area into a tourism-driven local socio-economy. They have also predicted that some of these actions would enable the Mbangweni community to make more productive use of their wild resources, which currently bring in pitiful returns (for example, the controlled hunting of nyala) (ibid.). However, the authorities have not yet addressed the question of how inhabitants of the corridor would be protected from dangerous game in the complex, such as elephants.

In addition, WS have been assisting the Mbangweni community in developing proposals for tourist related development to operate on the land they have reclaimed with non-occupational title. Buffalo breeding, elephant back safaris and a crocodile farm, are all possible forms of enterprise that are under review (Poultney and Spenceley 2001).

Driving forces and constraints

Poultney (2001) writes that the process driving the complex is supported by a convergence of interests. However, these are related to uncomfortable and unclear policies, and also to the community and private sector's need for each other in order to use wild resources more profitably.

According to Poultney (*pers. comm.* 2002), various drivers have spearheaded the Ndumu-Tembe Complex over time. He reports that initially the conservation authority drove the process but, as a result of their long-standing conflict with the community, did not progress. Therefore consultants and NGOs were engaged to facilitate the development. The next driver was the Land Commission, and, in the course of settling the land claim in Ndumu, there were a variety of plans to compensate claimants through non-occupational restoration. The conservation authority then re-entered the process with The Wildlands Trust, and reportedly requested that WS and its facilitator (Clive Poultney of Mboza Village Enterprises) should not try to intervene. However, on failing to move forward, the conservation authority approached WS for assistance. At the most recent meeting with the Wildlands Trust, KZN Wildlife stated that they wished to 'add value' to the process, rather than drive it (*pers. comm.* Poultney 2002).

The motivation of the private sector driver, Wilderness Safaris, is to improve the range and quality of their Maputaland product by developing the destination, thereby making it more marketable. Wilderness Safaris

operates 30 permanent camps in Southern Africa at the top end of the safari market. Their Ndumu operation has been fairly marginal in comparison to its operations in more established wildlife destinations in Botswana, Namibia, Zambia, and Zimbabwe. Maputaland still needs to develop as a coherent tourist destination, but has a more difficult marketing profile than (say) Botswana, with no one unique selling point. Many of Maputaland's attractions are located on communal land and thus, for the destination to grow, there has to be serious synergy between the private sector and communities, in addition to the conservation authority. They anticipate that the consolidation and re-planning of facilities in a more efficient and productive manner will increase camp occupancies and opportunities (Poultney 2001). WS predicts that creating a Big-5 destination in the complex will increase the number of beds filled at Ndumu, which are mainly occupied by specialist birding groups (*pers. comm.* Poultney 2002). Improvement of lodge occupancies would increase the dividends that the community received from its shareholding in Ndumu's Lodge Operating Company (see Figure 3).

The Chairman of WS's Board reports being constrained by the conservation authority's policies, and notes, 'The relationship has been dysfunctional for many years with little adequate communication. Still not working satisfactorily' (McCulloch and Poultney 2001). Poultney (2001) also reports that another operator working in Tembe is ambivalent about participating in the development of the complex in a way that benefits all parties. This has apparently led to problems for WS, who imply that such territoriality further alienates the conservation authority from participating with the community and private sector in developing wild resources for greater economic return (Poultney 2001).

Poultney (2001) notes that the driver within KZN Wildlife was initially an individual called Nic Steel. However, since his death in 1997, politicking and positioning of personnel within the organisation have overshadowed the case.¹⁵ Despite this, the conservation motivation for linking the reserves is to increase the ecological viability of the two parks. This is because during dry years the 130 elephants in Tembe require additional water sources, while in contrast, Ndumu has too much water and too small an area of off-floodplain grazing suitable to support the inhabitant hippos and antelope. The ecological constraints caused by the separation of the two reserves has resulted in high cropping rates of hippo and nyala antelope, and the probability of having to cull more elephant (*ibid.*). In addition, it is reported that the reserves are under threat due to the retrenchment of parks employees, reductions in government subsidies, and the limited benefits flowing to a large community in the vicinity of small reserves (*ibid.*), leading to political pressure to improve benefits to marginalized communities. The community land claim has been settled under terms and conditions more favourable to conservation interests

¹⁵ KZN Wildlife declined the opportunity to comment on this paper, and therefore these reports come from outside the conservation authority.

than the agricultural needs of the people (see also the cases of the Makuleke and Mdluli).

The Mbangweni Development Committee (MDC) represents the community driver in terms of pushing for better returns on the use of wild resources (*pers. comm.* Poultney 2002), and it was the community structure that led the negotiations that reached agreement with the Land Commission, and the recent land claim settlement. Poultney (2001) reports that the MDC's motivation for the complex includes the potential for more profitable use of natural resources, and enhanced livelihood options. However, its commitment to tourism is variable, due to the importance of contraband operations, and the need to farm and fish (*pers. comm.* Poultney, 2002). Chief Tembe also occasionally co-drives the process when he is brought into negotiations by the Land Commission, conservation authority, or private sector operators in Tembe (*pers. comm.* Poultney, 2002). Community participation in the process is also fundamental to ensuring their resource and safety rights in a region that is proposed to become part of the Tembe elephant's range.¹⁶

Political rivalry also reportedly constrained attempts to develop the corridor in the past. Poultney (2001) notes that a proposal developed in 1996 for an ecologically and economically viable wildlife complex failed to materialise due to rivalry between the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the African National Congress (ANC). At a local level this conflict involved developing new structures of local government in which land claims, tourism, and other factors were contested (which had a major influence over the project to create a link between Ndumu and Tembe). At the provincial and national levels, the efforts of Community Resource Optimisation Programme (CROP) Associates to bring the ANC national minister of Land Affairs into the corridor to endorse the project had the opposite affect. His presence actually drew major criticism from the provincial government, and particularly from the provincial IFP Minister of Environmental and Traditional Affairs and Security (*ibid.*).

A combination of the previous apartheid regime's policies allowing forced removal and dispossession of indigenous South Africans for conservation purposes, and the currently slow, bureaucratic and understaffed land claims and restitution process, have been central to the animosities highlighted within the Ndumu-Tembe case. These factors have been coupled with the conservation authority's slow and continuing evolution from governmentally subsidised protection, towards operating more responsible conservation and business relationships with neighbours and the private sector.

At the time of writing, the Ndumu-Tembe Wildlife and Tourism Complex was still at the proposal stage. The strategy developed was underway and, following recent workshops between WS and KZN

¹⁶ It should be noted that no direct correspondence with the community took place in the compilation of this synthesis.

Wildlife, the WS facilitator initiated renegotiations with the MDC. WS perceive that for their commercial operation to be successful, Ndumu has to become a Big-5 destination, but KZN Wildlife contests this option for ecological reasons. In resolving the conflict, one option to be investigated is marketing new elephant-backed safaris, as opposed to all of the Big-5.¹⁷ The Ndumu-Tembe link would reconcile the two different positions, since KZN Wildlife are not opposed to Big-5 in the complex, but argue that Ndumu alone could not sustain them (*pers. comm.* Poultney 2002).

In more recent developments, substantial losses resulting from low occupancies at Ndumu have led WS to seriously reconsider its position, and there is pressure from hard-lined economic planners in the company to pull out. They doubt that they can sustain their losses given the risk of the situation not improving in the near future. On the other hand, agreement between the community and WS regarding an economic link could salvage the situation (*pers. comm.* Poultney 2002).

Summary of issues

The three case studies presented illustrate a range of motivations, driving forces, and constraining political factors that some rural communities in South Africa have faced in cases where they have engaged in commercial operations on communal land. They illustrate that it is not necessarily the community that drives the process, but moreover that institutionally strong private sector organisations and NGOs play a significant role in facilitating and financing projects. However, the private sector or NGO stakeholder may play a fundamental role in catalysing development of new community institutions linked to the tourism development processes (for example, ACCODA; the Mdluli Trust). These institutions provide the community with a framework in which to build their capacity. The differing extents to which local communities have a role in driving and designing tourism enterprises are also clear, and tourism may threaten informal (and illegal) livelihood options (Ndumu-Tembe).

It is interesting that the state has played a variety of different roles between the case studies, including providing financial support (Phumlani Lodge); allowing experimental resource use in protected areas (Mtentu fly-fishing); and providing support and safeguards to communities facing problems with their partnerships (Phumlani Lodge).

The case studies show that poor transparency and communication between stakeholders can derail projects, and decrease the level of trust between stakeholders. They indicate that despite the strength of community tenure where developments take place on communal land, the role of the community as a whole in the process tends to be as landowner and employee, rather than the initiating entrepreneurial driver. This may in part be due to a lack of training and experience in tourism development.

¹⁷ The 'Big-5' are elephant, rhino, buffalo, lion, and leopard.

Scenario 2: Government land with private sector involvement and community linkages

Nature-based tourism in South Africa is frequently operated by the state or by businesses operating on state-owned land (for example, in National Parks and Provincial Reserves). There has been a recent trend towards engaging the private sector in running commercial tourism enterprises on state land, in order that the state can concentrate on biodiversity conservation activities on behalf of the public. In most cases some form of policy seeks to encourage benefits and linkages with neighbouring, host, and affected communities. The case studies here explore the nature of the types of relationships and changes in livelihoods that have arisen, and the types of benefits and costs that have been incurred. They also explore the forces behind state and private sector motivations to involve poor, rural communities in their operations.

The case studies that follow are:

- Case Study 1: Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary, Mozambique
- Case Study 2: Commercialisation of SANParks, South Africa
- Case Study 3: The Manyeleti Game Reserve (Limpopo Province)
- Case Study 4: Rocktail Bay and KwaZulu Natal Wildlife

Once again, the first case is discussed most fully, and the other three are used to bring forward other issues that are considered important.

Case Study 1: Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary, Mozambique

The Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary (VCWS) is located in Mozambique, and has been selected as a key case study given that the private sector tourism developers are South African and the proposal highlights many of the issues involved in 'responsible investment'. The process of development of the sanctuary initially sparked debate between environmentalists and the developers within the media, but their concerns appear to have predominantly been based on assumptions fears surrounding the *potential* impacts of this approach in Mozambique, rather than evidence from *actual* impacts from the development.

Description

The VCWS is located on the Sao Sebastião Peninsular in Mozambique in an area of high terrestrial and marine endemism and biodiversity (*pers. comm.* Dutton 2002) just south of Bazaruto National Park. The size of the land-area of the sanctuary is 22,000 ha, with an estimated further 8,000 ha of marine habitat that extends to the 20-metre bathymetric contour (*pers. comm.* Brown 2002; *pers. comm.* Dutton 2002). The 50-year concession for the sanctuary was awarded in 2000 in response to proposals presented by a consortium called *Santuário Da Fauna Costeira De Vilanculos Lda*, that included shareholdings by South African property developers and the Mozambican Minister for Environment. Prior to the proposal, the state-owned land had essentially operated as a communal

area used primarily for subsistence farming and artisanal fishing by its inhabitants.

The private sector perceives its role as establishing a properly managed wildlife sanctuary through which sustainable and profitable commercialisation of the natural resources can be made, to the benefit of both the company and the local people residing in the sanctuary. The developers are committed to a cumulative investment of around R78 million over five years (EAW 2001). They aim to develop private and commercial sites, including 50 private residences and 100 commercial beds (VCWS 2001; *pers. comm.* White 2002). A 20-bed luxury lodge is currently under construction within the concession (*pers. comm.* White, 2002), and the average price for a residential site is said to be around US\$100,000 (Ryan 2001).

The rural community inhabiting the Mazarette area consists of around 1020 people (EAW 2001). According to the developers, the community will have a number of different roles within the VCWS. For example, it is proposed that they will become 'owners' of wildlife stock that is to be re-introduced into the sanctuary; they will be employees (for example, as labourers, security, field rangers, or commercial lodge staff); and entrepreneurial fishermen, supplying fresh produce to tourists and commercial operations (EAW 2001).

The role of government has been to authorise the development of the sanctuary on state land. It did this in return for the promise of significant commercial investment, rather than for a concession fee (Republic of Mozambique 2001; *pers. comm.* White 2002). A complicating factor is the personal shareholding by the Mozambican Minister of Environment John Kachamila (of 5% in the holding company, East African Wildlife (EAW) Prop Ltd; and 25% in the local holding and implementing company, Santuario Da Fauna Costeira De Vilanculos Lda {VCWS}). In efforts to reduce potential governmental influence over the project as a result of the ministerial investment, both the private sector and the Minister have openly disclosed his interests, and official permission of the Ministers Council and State President has been obtained for the minister to hold the shares. The developers state that his involvement was conditional on his not becoming a director of the company; not being involved in any environmental aspects of the project; and not being able to discuss the Sanctuary at any level of government (local, regional or national) (*pers. comm.* Brown 2002). Other sources report that the minister excuses himself from parliamentary discussions regarding the project (VCWS 2001; Macleod 2001).

Local benefits and losses

It is reported that the local people are mostly subsistence fishermen and small farmers with no formal employment opportunities (Macleod 2001; EAW 2001). In order to help address their socio-economic and educational needs, the VCWS bio-business plan proposes that the

community will receive a range of benefits including employment opportunities; health and school facilities; and revenue from wildlife utilisation and tourist levies (EAW 2001). The government lease grants the private sector authorisation to demarcate areas, to control access, pollution, and the use of resources within the sanctuary (VCWS 2001). This has significant implications for the level of use of wild resources by the local rural community. The benefits that the VCWS propose are as follows:

Employment: Under the lease agreement with the government, the local concession holding and project implementation company is responsible for creating at least 150 jobs (Republic of Mozambique 2001), although the bio-business plan predicts that 275 permanent posts will be required at full project development (Lambrechts 2001). The stated employment policy of the VCWS is to only recruit local people inhabiting the sanctuary, save in instances where suitably qualified or experienced local people are not available, and that each estate owner in Mazarette will be contractually bound to employ at least one service assistant (*ibid.*). The developers estimate that those formally employed will earn an estimated R750 (\$96) per month, which compares with an estimated current per capita income of around R24.76 (\$3.17) per month (*ibid.*). Therefore the proposed income would move nearly 27% of the population above the international poverty line by increasing their income by a factor of 30. In terms of livelihood changes, the local employees recruited would need to make trade-offs between undertaking their conventional work of artisanal fishery and subsistence agriculture, and working within a cash-based economy.

Enterprise development: The VCWS proposes to train local people in sustainable agricultural practices to support their current artisanal fishing, and to replace slash-and-burn agriculture,¹⁸ and small-scale salt production livelihood practices (*pers. comm.* Hugh Brown 2001; EAW, 2001). They also propose to set up micro-enterprises including a chicken hatchery, a retail shop, a fresh produce facility, a mobile grain mill, and to provide basic skills development training (Lambrechts 2001; EAW 2001).

Resource use: Agreements between the local people and the VCWS regarding the use of natural resources such as wildlife, fish, and firewood have livelihood implications in both the short and long term.

Wildlife ownership and utilisation: In order to provide investors and tourists with a terrestrial safari experience to complement the diving, fishing and watersports attractions, the developers propose to stock part of the sanctuary with wildlife including elephant, buffalo, hippo, zebra, waterbuck and nyala. These indigenous species will replace the large game that was eradicated during the civil war (VCWS 2001; Ryan 2001; *pers. comm.* Brown 2002). The VCWS proposes that the local community

¹⁸ The community has agreed with the developers not to practice slash and burn agriculture within the reserve (Administração do Distrito de Vilankulo 2000).

will have full usufruct rights over the wildlife and all other natural resources in the sanctuary, and therefore that any revenue from sustainable utilisation will accrue to them (EAW 2001). For safety purposes, the developers propose that an elephant-proof fence is constructed along the land boundary, in order to keep the elephant away from the local people and their crops (*pers. comm.* White 2002).

The VCWS proposes that once sufficient sustainable numbers of indigenous, endemic, endangered and rare animals species have been reached, the local population will be allowed to remove an annual quota for their personal consumption (VCWS 2001), and an agreement has been made with the community regarding such subsistence hunting (Administração do Distrito de Vilankulo 2000). The developers note that it is likely that harvesting will be undertaken by a professional hunter, who will enter the sanctuary and remove animals on behalf of the community (*pers. comm.* White 2002). Given the safety issues surrounding big game, access to the wildlife areas would have certain constraints. For example, although local people would be encouraged to gather fruit or cut thatch or grass within the reserve, this would take place under the guidance of a Field Ranger (Lambrechts 2001).

Fishing: The developers have approval from the government to control access to the sanctuary, and to use of resources within it (VCWS 2001). In relation to fishing practices, the developers have agreed with the local population that they may continue their traditional subsistence harvesting of marine resources for personal consumption (Administração do Distrito de Vilankulo 2000; EAW 2001). Residents, tenants and visitors within the sanctuary will not be allowed to interfere with local fishermen, at any time (Denys Reitz 2000). However, harvesting by both local people and tourists will be closely monitored, and if deemed necessary, quota systems may be introduced to sustain the fisheries (EAW 2001). Local residents will also have exclusive rights and quotas to harvest crustaceans (for example, lobsters, prawns and crabs) within the sanctuary (EAW 2001). For conservation reasons, the developers report that they negotiated an agreement with people in the sanctuary for a moratorium on hunting endangered dugongs, sea turtles, and dolphins during 2001 (*pers. comm.* Hugh Brown 2001). The developers also propose to donate new fishing nets to the community, since the use of gill nets is deemed the primary reason for the depletion of these rare species (*pers. comm.* Hugh Brown 2001; *pers. comm.* Dutton 2002). The potential for control by the private sector of fishing by setting quotas, net specifications, and species that may be harvested, wields a great deal of power over a core local livelihood activity, and critics have previously raised concerns on this issue (e.g. *pers. comm.* Dutton 2002). The consultative and participative processes that are used between ecologists and conservationists to set quotas will be critical to both local livelihoods and conservation.

Wood harvesting: One fundamental livelihood impact that the sanctuary will have on its inhabitants is the loss of access to their customary source of

fuel: firewood. The community has entered into an agreement with the VCWS that they will not collect or sell firewood from within the reserve, but in return the company will provide the affected members of the community with alternative sources of fuel for cooking and lighting (Administração do Distrito de Vilankulo 2000). Energy efficient stoves will be supplied to the affected people, with provision of economical paraffin wax blocks throughout the 50 year concession period (*pers. comm.* Brown 2002). The agreement, as described by the District Administrator, shows that the local people have accepted the proposal for the livelihood change. In terms of firewood controls in other ecologically sensitive regions in southern Africa, it will be interesting to see how successful the practical application of these proposals become and therefore whether such alternative fuels might be accepted by rural communities elsewhere.

Revenue from the sanctuary: The developers propose that revenue from tourist levies, Mazarette Estate residence levies, and visitor fees will accrue to a Community Development Fund. They estimate that collectively these sources will generate around US\$71,200 per annum, or the equivalent of US\$70 per person (EAW 2001). The VCWS proposes that a community trust will be set up into which wildlife utilisation proceeds and donations will be pooled (Macleod, 2001). VCWS has offered to assist the community with the training and managerial assistance that the fund administrators will require. The community will determine how they wish to use and distribute the money (EAW 2001). However, it is interesting to note that the governmental agreement with the private sector did not include provisions for community equity in the company: an empowerment factor which is becoming increasingly common in South Africa (see, for example, the sections on SANParks commercialisation and Rocktail Bay).

Access and relocation: The proposals for areas of development within the sanctuary put forward by VCWS include sites where local people live. In 2000, representatives of the community agreed with the VCWS that up to twenty families would be relocated during the first phase of the project, with the proviso that they would receive materials to re-build their houses elsewhere in the sanctuary (Administração do Distrito de Vilankulo 2000). The company insists that the relocation of people living within the sanctuary will only occur through negotiated, compensated processes in line with Mozambican law, and only in cases where this is imperative (for example, on development sites) (EAW 2001). Although the developers initially proposed that seven households (44 people) would be resettled to alternative sites of their choice, at the time of submission they insisted that only 12 people will actually be asked to resettle (*pers. comm.* White 2002). In determining the amounts that would be provided in compensation, the company took gazetted government recommendations for minimum amounts that should be provided as compensation for relocation, and then increased them (*pers. comm.* Brown, 2002). Therefore, community members were to be compensated US\$100 to abandon a dwelling, \$65 per salt works, and \$290 per cultivated field, and would be assisted in constructing new homes with

the provision of cement, spades, hammers, pliers and metal buckets (EAW 2001). Otherwise, the VCWS states that access to the area by local resident inhabitants¹⁹ will remain relatively uninhibited by the presence of the sanctuary, on the proviso that they do not settle (EAW 2001).

Education and health: The developers report that the people in the community are currently unhealthy, with eye problems, digestive problems, and there is a high infant mortality rate (*pers. comm.* Brown, 2002). The VCWS obtained donations in order to build a hospital at the edge of the concession. Its location was designed to allow both the inhabitants of the sanctuary and the estimated 6,000 people on the western border to access healthcare (*pers. comm.* White 2002). Three donations of US\$15,000 each were obtained to cover construction costs. These came from one of the South African shareholders, Jordan Properties; the German NGO Deutsche Welthungerhilfe; and the Catholic Church (*pers. comm.* White, 2002). Although staff at the hospital are likely to be paid by the government (EAW 2001), donations of drugs are being sought from pharmaceutical companies by the developers (*pers. comm.* White 2002). The developers also propose to send a doctor to research the health problems in the area and to support a mobile clinic (*pers. comm.* White 2002), and propose to catalyse the launch of a regional malaria control programme (Lambrechts 2001). Early in 2002, 89 local people received free treatment for eye complaints by two ophthalmologists that the VCWS had arranged to visit the sanctuary (*pers. comm.* White 2002).

A problem identified in terms of education in the area was that girls were not attending classes because they had to spend a great deal of time collecting water for their homes. Therefore the VCWS obtained donations from the US Embassy to supply both the school and hospital with fresh water. By storing water at the school, children may come to lessons and then take water home with them once they finish (*pers. comm.* White 2002). The provision of fresh water for the community was one of a number of projects that the VCWS agreed to undertake in an agreement made with community representatives in 2000 (Administração do Distrito de Vilankulo 2000).

It is evident that proposed community benefits are all of a practical tangible nature – but to be able to ensure promises are fulfilled and to influence the course of developments, the community will need power and organisation. Given that this is currently a fairly remote community, dealing with a highly sophisticated operator, in a context that does not provide the community with a legal power base (such as an equity stake in the operation), the challenge of developing a real ‘partnership’ is considerable.

¹⁹ Those who have already been included in the census.

Driving forces and constraints

The VCWS has clearly been driven from initiation by investors. One representative of the VCWS stated that they obtained the concession on the basis of two years of detailed negotiations, and the quality of their track record of wildlife and conservation projects in South Africa (for example, Thornybush Game Reserve) (*pers. comm.* Trevor Jordan 2001). Although motivated by the potential market opportunities and financial returns presented by the Vilanculos concession, the investors also appear to be committed to the development and implementation of programmes which may promote sustainable socio-economic growth and the conservation of natural resources. The developer's commitment is also reflected in the diversity of detailed proposals for uplifting local livelihoods through mechanisms such as employment, training, health facilities, SMME development, and ownership of wildlife resources and their continuing levels of consultation within the community. These proposals go well beyond their legal obligations in Mozambique.

The project has obtained significant political support, and has obtained the written approval for the sanctuary from the Prime Minister, the Ministers Council, the Ministries of Tourism; Agriculture and Rural Development; Finance, and the Government of Inhambane (VCWS 2001). However, despite the claims of the developer that they obtained the concession on merit, it is likely that there will always be a question as to whether the shareholding of a minister could ever be so intimately involved in such a project without raising concerns about conflicts of interests, and without influencing the bureaucratic process. It is, for example clear that the concession area was not put out to tender by the government to other potential investors, nor were the inhabitant communities provided with options for equity within the development company in return for the states' allocation of the use of their traditional land to investors. Both actions would have improved the potential livelihood benefits that could have been obtained by the resident population in the short and long-term.

In terms of the political context for the sanctuary, over the past decade Mozambique's macroeconomic policies have changed radically, and have been re-designed to create an enabling environment for inward investment in the country (such as that offered by the South African developers). In addition, official policies regarding the rights of local communities over land and natural resources, such as the new Land Law, Environment Law, and Forestry and Wildlife Law all seek to recognise, respect, and strengthen the rights of local people to natural resources and land. For example, the Forestry and Wildlife Policy and Strategy (1996) of Mozambique states:

The prospect of lasting peace in association with a new private sector investment code and tax incentives establish the basic conditions and incentives for the participation of the private sector in development activities. In line with these policies the forestry and wildlife administration will: encourage the private sector, which includes both formal and informal elements, to contribute to the national

economy and rural development through participation and management of forest and wildlife resources; . . . encourage potential concessionaires to enter into direct negotiations with recognised communities, and require that tenders for concession allocations incorporate community agreements guaranteeing existing customary rights; and foster a transparent, competitive process for private sector investors (ECCO 1999).

However, there are reports that the implementation of this policy has been weak, and questions have been raised as to whether the strength of customary rights is sufficient in the face of politically supported private investment (*pers. comm.* Ashley 2002). In addition, as the description in Box 6 illustrates, although indigenous communities may have full use rights to land they have occupied for a decade or more, the state may still transfer the right of use to others (such as developers) if they wish.

Box 6: Community rights under Mozambican Land Law

The [Mozambican] Land Law builds on the policy principle that customary rights to land exist and are recognised, by opting to award a right of use and benefit of land [Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento de Terra – DUAT] to local communities (where this occupation was according to customary practises) and to ‘good faith’ occupants (who must have been in occupation for at least 10 years). Although the DUAT is commonly described as being a “full and exclusive land use right” this is not strictly correct, since it is a partial or subsidiary right to the State’s ownership of the land. The State’s right remains the paramount right, manifested through its control and regulation over the acquisition of rights by non-occupants, over the transmission of rights and over other forms of alienation of rights (Garvey 2001). The fact that the DUAT acquired by a local community (or members of it) may be, in fact, a right in perpetuity²⁰ does not alter the fact that it will be the State that transfers rights in the event that a community agrees to make land available for use by others. The community themselves cannot do this, at least not in a way that alienates the land in any way.

Source: Matsimbe et al. (2001).

The community may not have initiated the sanctuary development proposals, but according to the VCWS and the Administração do Districto de Vilankulo the community and its leaders are regularly involved in consultation regarding the project development. The VCWS claim to meet with the entire adult population of the sanctuary (~500 people) to discuss the project every six months (*pers. comm.* Brown 2002), and that the local general manager of the project holds daily meetings with an elected community representative, in addition to weekly meetings with the twelve chiefs from the area (*pers. comm.* White 2002). These 12 chiefs receive a monthly honorarium of 1.5 million Meticaís²¹ (~\$58 per

²⁰ This is implicit where the customary right that is being recognised by the DUAT has such a permanent character and is uncritically accepted by the law itself that puts no time limitations on the DUAT acquired through customary occupation.

²¹ £1 equaled roughly 39,000 Meticaís in March 2002.

month) Brown 2002)²² to attend the meetings, and the developers will provide each representative with a new house (Administração do Districto de Vilankulo 2000).

A project-monitoring Task Force has supported community interests during negotiations with the developers. The Task Force has included representatives of the community and the District Directors of Tourism, Labour, Public Works and Health, the port captain and the port police (*pers. comm.* Brown 2002), while the District Director of Labour and the District Director of Agriculture attended every negotiation between the parties in support of the community (*pers. comm.* White 2002).²³ In terms of formal processes, the Environmental Impact Assessment included a process of public consultation meetings in Maputo, Inhambane and Vilanculos, which were publicised in the Government Gazette (*pers. comm.* Brown 2002). Therefore the local people had potential access to at least one of the consultation meetings at which they could represent their interests. The negotiations and proposed benefits have resulted in the community agreeing not to interfere with the construction in the sanctuary (Administração do Districto de Vilankulo 2000).

The Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) deals briefly with changes in quality of life for local people including, *‘Dealing with undreamed of wealth’* (Lambrechts 2001: 30). This perspective is of concern, because it implies that the process may be raising unrealistic expectations of the sanctuary among local people, and also that they will require management skills to deal with such as dramatic alteration in lifestyle.

During 2001 and early 2002 this project received considerable debate within the South African media, and even led the developers to file a libel lawsuit against one of the critics (who eventually conceded). Criticisms focused on the shareholding involvement of a government minister; implications of private sector control over natural resources of great conservation value; and whether the government could legally create an exclusive marine area. Some of the criticisms appear to have been based on a lack of information, and based on the assumption (and considerable previous Mozambican experience) that the private sector and government would exploit both the local community and the natural resources irresponsibly. For example, initially Antonio Reina of the Endangered Wildlife Trust noted that the community involvement in the project was, ‘... very short and cheap ...’ and that the actions programmed were, ‘... isolated and cosmetic. No process is envisaged ...’ (Reina 2001). However, Susie White representing the VCWS contended that once presented with the proposals for the sanctuary and details of the consultation process, Reina said that there were, ‘... no

²² An amount that was agreed to by the government.

²³ It should be noted that due to financial and logistical constraints, no direct consultation with the community took place during this study, and therefore their perceptions of the extent to which the Task Force and District Directors facilitated the process for them has not been ascertained directly.

problematic issues' (*pers. comm.* White 2002).²⁴ Similarly, the environmental consultant Paul Dutton was initially concerned regarding the ecological implications for the area, and potential livelihood impacts posed by private sector control over natural resources. However, it appears that once provided with detailed information regarding the project EIA and resource management proposals, he intends to work with the VCWS on conservation issues relating to the severely depleted local dugong populations (*pers. comm.* White 2002).

The VCWS has received international endorsement from a World Conservation Union (IUCN) representative who has visited the sanctuary: Frank Vorhies. He notes that it is, '... an important pilot project for bringing conservation into the 21st century ...' and that the decision of the state to set up the sanctuary where the private sector is seen as part of the solution is a bold move (*pers. comm.* Vorhies 2001). The VCWS was recently awarded financial support from the Global Environment Fund (GEF) facilitated by the International Finance Commission (IFC) to undertake detailed assessments regarding the implementation of all of the environmental and social programmes proposed within the bio-business plan (*pers. comm.* White 2002).

It is clear that large-scale proposals such as this pose a very different approach to economic development of the coastal area than the current fishing and subsistence agriculture oriented economy. Given the alternative models at stake, and the inevitable merging of hard-headed commercial goals with socio-economic commitment, they generate considerable controversy. Although the current proposal does not match various South African approaches in terms of legal or practical empowerment of the community and partnerships (see later sections), it moves well beyond previous approaches in conservation and tourism in Mozambique. Whether the fears and concerns regarding power and empowerment are realised will ultimately depend on how the relationship between the developers and the community evolves. The agendas of new stakeholders who are drawn into the process over time will also influence the extent to which the community members can maximise their benefits.²⁵

Case Study 2: Commercialisation of South African National Parks

This example shows how a government parastatal that has controlling access to state owned protected areas has included specified levels of corporate responsibility to local and historically disadvantaged people as a pre-requisite for private sector wishing to obtain concessions within national parks.

²⁴ Antonio Reina declined the opportunity to comment on drafts of this case study.

²⁵ For a less positive account of this initiative see Ashley and Wolmer (2002).

Description

SANParks has undergone a policy shift over the past few years, emphasising the need to move towards financial self-sufficiency. The commercialisation process has allowed SANParks to grant concessionaires rights to use defined areas of land and infrastructure within National Parks with the opportunity to build and operate tourism facilities over specific time periods (SANParks 2001a).

In May 2000, SANParks published the details of the first round of its commercialisation programme to prospective investors and developers (SANParks 2000a). The aim of SANParks commercialisation was to increase the net revenue that commercial activities contributed to SANPark's core function of nature conservation. Its major objectives included the promotion of economic empowerment of the formerly disadvantaged, the promotion and provision of business opportunities to emerging entrepreneurs (in particular local communities adjacent to national parks) and the application of SANPark's environmental regulations and global parameters to all concessions (*ibid.*).

The first round of the commercialisation programme took place during 2000, when thirteen sites in national parks were made available for interested parties to tender for. These included nine sites in Kruger National Park (KNP), two in Addo Elephant NP, and one in each of the Kalahari Gemsbok NP and the Golden Gate Highlands NP. The sites included a mixture of concession areas that had existing facilities, and others that were undeveloped (*ibid.*). Seven concession contracts were agreed in December 2000, which guaranteed SANParks a minimum income of R202 million²⁶ over a 20-year period. Three of the concessionaires were black-controlled consortia; and all of the others had significant percentages of shareholding by Historically Disadvantaged Individuals (HDIs). The average percentage of HDI shareholding in the seven concessionaires, either immediately or contractually bound to be in place within three years, was 53% (SANParks 2001a).

The rights of occupation and commercial use were granted in relation to an agreed set of obligations regarding considerations such as financial terms (for example, concession fees), environmental management, social objectives, and empowerment. Infringement of the rules would incur financial penalties, and could ultimately result in termination of the contract and with the assets reverting to SANParks (*ibid.*).

SANParks implemented a second phase of accommodation concessions during 2001 for a number of the sites that had not received bids during the initial round, and for two additional sites in the Cape Peninsula NP (*ibid.*). Retail and restaurant facilities in nine national parks were also made available to investors during 2001 (SANParks 2001b).

²⁶ In real Net Present Value terms.

Local benefits and losses

The bidding criteria set out by SANParks advised potential bidders on the empowerment criteria that were to be used to evaluate and score offers they received.

Weighting of bids: In all, 20% of the points used to rate the commercial bids were allocated to the evaluation of empowerment plans²⁷, with the remaining 80% allocated to financial criteria (for example, business planning, and financial offer for the concession) (SANParks 2000a, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c). Concession bidders were advised that their empowerment proposals would be evaluated in accordance with measurable criteria that would be weighted during empowerment proposal evaluations:

- Shareholding by Historically Disadvantaged Individuals or Groups (HDI/HDG)²⁸
- Training and Affirmative Action in Employment
- Business and Economic Opportunities for Local²⁹ Communities

The contracts signed by successful bidders required that they provide SANParks with an annual report to quantifiably account for their empowerment activities and achievements, in relation to their bid objectives. In this regard, SANParks reserved the right to impose penalties if concessionaires failed to meet their empowerment obligations, including the option to terminate their contract (SANParks 2001b). Given the realisation by SANParks that not all of the empowerment goals might be achievable immediately, quantifiable goals with time-targets were encouraged. Credit for initiatives occurring within five years were applied to bids (Spenceley *et al.* 2002).

Local resource use: It is interesting to note that the tender requirements and contracts do not mention HDI natural resource use from the concession sites, such as subsistence hunting or access to firewood or medicinal plants. In fact the concession contracts stipulate that no natural resources may be collected or used within any park without written approval from SANParks, including bush-clearing for aesthetic or firewood purposes (SANParks 2000b). Despite this, the Social Ecology division of SANParks encourages the promotion of local communities to take responsibility in ensuring sustainable management of natural and

²⁷ 40% in the case of picnic sites.

²⁸ Historically Disadvantaged Individuals or Groups (HDI/HDG) were defined by SANParks as any organisation or group where the majority ownership or membership is held by citizens of the Republic of South Africa, and individuals who are citizens of the Republic of South Africa who, according to racial classification did not have the right to vote or had restricted voting rights immediately prior to the 1994 elections.

²⁹ The term 'local' was not been specifically defined by SANParks. Within SANParks guidelines for scoring the empowerment proposals 'Communities Adjacent to the National Parks' were defined as 'historically disadvantaged individuals ordinarily resident within the economic sphere of the Park'; although the range of the 'economic sphere' remained undefined (SANParks 2000b).

cultural resources. With respect to this, SANParks is currently facilitating research activities that investigate the ecological potential for local communities to sustainably harvest wood products from the park (*pers. comm.* Louise Rademan 2001), and therefore there is a possibility that this policy may change in the future.

Empowerment offers: A comparison of the proposed HDI shareholdings within the first round concessionaires at Kruger National Park revealed proposals ranging from 7.5% to an effective 68% shareholding by HDIs (Spenceley *et al.* 2002).

HDI shareholding: As an example, in terms of HDI shareholding offers, one of the tenders proposed that just over a quarter of the company equity would be placed within an Empowerment Investment Trust. Its aims were to enable empowerment shareholders to participate directly in establishing and managing empowerment initiatives and processes, with respect to people development, affirmative action, and preferential procurement policies. It was proposed that the Trust would be divided into the following three sections (*ibid.*):

- *Employee Incentive Trust* – To allow HDIs employed within the concession to acquire equity interest in the project and participate in management;
- *Community Empowerment Trust* – To fund nature conservation projects, environmental development, education and training, agriculture, sustainable resource use, and the general development of communities specified by the tender, through the established entity of the Kruger to Canyons Biosphere Reserve Trust; and
- *Ecotourism Empowerment Entity* – To afford HDI entrepreneurs participation directly in the development and operations of the lodge, by encouraging successful and motivated entrepreneurs to participate in development and management of the lodge and related activities.

It should be noted that due to the definition of HDI utilised by SANParks, HDI shareholders were not necessarily the poor or disempowered (for example, one shareholder was a previous government minister, while another was a director of a hotel chain). In other instances shareholders were to be HDI staff working within the concession, while other concessionaires proposed equity for HDI community trust or development groups (*ibid.*).

Training and affirmative action: In relation to the training and affirmative action portion of the empowerment proposals, in four of the eight bids put forward for sites in KNP in the first round, there were predictions that the general manager of the concession would be HDI within five years. In addition four of the bidders specified middle-management positions that would be staffed by HDIs within specific timescales. In some instances bidders specified whether positions would be filled by men or women, or if candidates of either gender were suitable (*ibid.*).



Generally speaking, the bidders proposed a mixture of formal and informal, on-the-job training, was proposed for staff in relation to their position. Some of the training proposed was linked to established programmes such as within the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) and the Tourism Hospitality and Sport Education Training Authority (THETA) frameworks for training in National Qualifications; Field Guides Association of South Africa (FGASA) for field guide training; or to work with the Hospitality Industry Training Board (HITB) and to develop Workplace Skills Plans (ibid.).

Business and economic opportunities for local communities: Four of the bidders in the first round to Kruger National Park completed tables provided by SANParks detailing anticipated revenue for local empowerment initiatives (ibid.). These are shown in Table 2.

Table 2: Comparative analysis of annual anticipated revenue for local community empowerment initiatives

Empowerment Initiative	Tender A	Tender B	Tender C	Tender D
Accommodation in local villages	R900,000	R60,000		
Catering		R160,000		
Construction Contract	R3 200 000 (non-recurring)	R10,000,000	R23,500	
Creche/aftercare				R20,000
Curios	R240,000	R120,000	R5,000 uniforms R3,000 textiles R1,500 beadwork R 800 baskets	R30,000 curios R50,000 beadwork
Environmental education organisation			R16,000	
Food supplies	R40,000	R300,000	R2,000	R40,000 veg. R12,000 fish R12,000 honey
Furniture	R115,000			
Game drives		R50,000		
Laundry services	R84,000	R200,000	R60,000	
Maintenance	R32,000	R120,000	R4,800	
Printing			R2,000	
Recycling				R30,000
Theatre			R1,500	
Transport to and from lodging	R80,000	R350,000		R30,000
Visits to local villages		R50,000		
Waste disposal	R60,000	R100,000		
Totals	R 4,751,000	R 1,510,000	R 120,100	R 224,000
Note: The names of companies tendering have not been included here to protect anonymity of their tenders.				
<i>Source:</i> Spenceley et al. (2002)				

In addition, a number of the bidders gave details of empowerment and social responsibility initiatives that they would implement if they won their preferred concession. For example (ibid.):

- **Food production:** One bidder proposed the development of an irrigated community garden, from which they and other lodges could purchase fresh produce if quality and quantity was suitable. Another bidder proposed the development of a nursery and herb garden, in addition to a re-planting scheme for tree species that were used to carve curios for tourists. Another proposal was made for a community fishing project, where the community could generate revenue from tourists wishing to camp and fish at a community dam.
- **Crafts:** A bidder proposed to enter a contract with a senior and disabled HDI wood carver for branded products for lodge sales.
- **Maintenance/transport:** There was a proposed joint venture between the bidder and local community, which would service all staff transport, building maintenance, road maintenance, and vehicle finance needs in concession. The company would also finance game drive vehicles and eventually take ownership of them
- **Laundry:** A bidder proposed to develop a laundry company that would provide employment, and salaries totalling around R500,000 for local communities. The company was to be community based, with 10% equity held by the Tribal Authority.
- **Recycling:** A hopeful concessionaire had entered negotiations with a national forestry company to assist in setting up a local recycling centre for recyclable paper and cardboard collection. It was proposed that recyclable waste from surrounding companies, villages, could also be collected, and then packaged and sold by the community recycling centre.

Driving forces and constraints

There are no indications that community members have directly influenced, driven or constrained the commercialisation process. For example, although there are regular forum groups between Social Ecology representatives and local community members around KNP, there is no indication that these discussions feed back to SANParks policy makers in terms of social inclusion and corporate responsibility towards local and historically disadvantaged people. A number of the private sector operators tendering for concessions in the first round of KNP's commercialisation took the initiative of undertaking surveys and interviews within neighbouring communities to determine their socio-economic needs and existing enterprise capacity to supply the lodges. Therefore community members had considerable impact on individual proposals that were presented.

The basis of the changes in policy within SANParks to promote empowerment issues within the commercialisation process may have a historical grounding in the opinions of local communities. Since the promulgation of the National Parks Act in 1926, the parks have seen themselves as responsible for nature conservation, rather than as a development agency with a responsibility to neighbouring people. Neighbouring communities had increasingly negative perceptions

towards the park due to law enforcement (anti-poaching) and forced removals of tribal groups from their land in order to enlarge the parks. Subsequent to the un-banning of the ANC in 1990 there was scrutiny of KNP, particularly, by pressure groups and the media. They asked critical questions in relation to why KNP had not been involved in improving livelihoods and reducing human suffering around the park (Marais 1994). In 1993 Dr Derek Hanekom, who became Minister of Land Affairs, accused the park of having no relevance for an impoverished Africa, and even proposed that it should be abolished to make way for a more productive land use (Marais 1996). Subsequently a meeting took place between KNP and members of the national media, to which the entire top management of KNP was invited. The meeting allowed the media to comment on public perceptions of the park. They reported that the park was seen as a playground for the white rich people only; that its staff considered animals more important than people; that it killed innocent people; and that the KNP chased people from their land (Marais 1994). The following quote indicates some of the feeling:

During the 60's Skukuza people use to hit us and take away our curios. There was a ranger called Thyus, who used to call the police to hide in the bushes and then chase us away and hit us ... Our forefathers graves are now in Skukuza ... Skukuza destroyed our mango trees, because they wanted to stop people from knowing that anyone had lived there.³⁰

The severity of the accusations and perceptions of the park led to a paradigm shift within KNP, and the slow and painful progression from a protectionist approach to conservation, towards a more inclusive attitude of corporate responsibility. For example, the SANParks 1998 Corporate Plan indicates the basis for the social responsibility clauses that are found within the commercialisation tenders. The Plan states that one of the roles of the Commercial Development and Tourism division is to, '... achieve a sound commercial return on services rendered'. In order to make this viable financial return, one of the major issues highlighted is to utilise opportunities presented by commercial development and privatisation as a means of changing the revenue-generating formula of the organisation. Within this, a recommendation is made to work with SANPark's Social Ecology unit in order to

Establish relationships with local communities in order to encourage their participation in the provision of services which will be both socially and economically beneficial to the respective communities.³¹

In relation to this, one of the objectives of the Social Ecology unit is to develop and nurture good relationships with communities adjacent to the park, and to take full account of local cultural values and resources in park development and management. On the ground this entails developing mutually beneficial partnerships between the parties, and

³⁰ Nyongane community elders, quoted by Botha and Venter (1994).

³¹ SANParks (1998b: 24).

integrating cultural perspectives in the management, educational and interpretation programmes of each park. One of the actions proposed in order to achieve this objective, and which related directly to socio-economic development of local communities, was denoted within the Corporate Plan (SANParks 1998b: 16-17):

Assist Commercial Development and Tourism Division in identifying opportunities for commercial operations through franchising, subcontracting, community-driven enterprises, joint ventures, apprenticeships and employment. Options for economic participation will include the production of crafts and curios, the provision of guides, fresh produce and merchandise, cafeterias, restaurants, bakeries and other food outlets, laundry services, cleaning services, refuse handling, shops, garages and filling stations, and the development and management of accommodation facilities. (SE 1.8)

The empowerment principles applied to the private sector concessionaires are complemented by SANParks economic empowerment policy, which itself prescribes to preferentially purchase from black empowerment companies, SMMEs, emerging entrepreneurs and especially local communities adjacent to national parks (SANParks 1998a).

The commercialisation process did not incorporate a level of consultation with local communities that might have allowed greater incorporation of opportunities for existing empowerment ventures. For example, when SANParks announced the sites that were available for commercial operators to tender, a number of the interested parties in the Makuleke contractual park concession, in the north of KNP, dropped their expressions of interest (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002; Mahony and van Zyl 2001). This either indicates that SANParks considered itself to be in commercial competition with the Makuleke (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002), or that it overlooked wider implications of the timing of the commercialisation. Similar problems were faced by the Mdluli Tribal Authority in relation to the commercialisation of Daannel (described later).

Policy changes at government and institutional levels, coupled with financial constraints, led directly to the commercialisation of tourism infrastructure and services within SANParks. Like many other conservation agencies in the world, SANParks has had to adapt to declining state subsidies. Since the post-apartheid democratic elections in 1994, the South African government's resources have increasingly been reallocated amongst many competing needs, with a bias towards the more immediate social needs of the electorate (SANParks 2001a). The post-apartheid government has recognised that it should not operate tourism business itself as it has done in the past, but that it should rather provide an enabling environment to stimulate private sector involvement in the tourism industry (Mahony and Van Zyl 2001).

At the time of writing, SANParks were in the process of developing an assessment method to determine whether or not the concessionaires fulfilled their empowerment objectives. However, although there is provision within the contracts for SANParks to impose penalties on concessionaires if they do not meet their empowerment obligations, there is no process for implementing this procedure as yet.

Case Study 3: The Manyeleti Game Reserve

Similar commercialisation activities to those described above have been seen in provincial government activities in South Africa. The case of the Manyeleti Game Reserves serves to illustrate another example of the use of planning gain to force linkages between the private sector and poor rural communities.

Description

The Manyeleti Game Reserve (GR) lies in Limpopo Province, and is bordered by Kruger National Park, the Sabi Sands and the Timbavati Associated Private Nature Reserves. The provincial government realised that it was not fully exploiting the commercial potential of the existing camps within the reserve, and it therefore decided that the commercial camps would be put up for tender once existing contracts expired. It was hoped that this would generate increased revenue for nature conservation management.

The Western boundary of the Manyeleti GR is the only area where community homesteads and villages exist. The area is densely populated, and consists of homesteads surrounding Gottenbug, Dixie, Seville, Utha, Thorndale, Welverdiend. Welverdiend alone has an estimated population of 7-10,000 people (Spenceley 2000).

Local benefits and losses

The tender requirements from the Limpopo Provincial government specified a number of benefits and linkages that tendering parties should address. These included preferential employment for local people; local SMME opportunities; local community equity in tourism operations; inclusion of black-owned companies in the operational structure or consortium; and ensuring sustainable development of the neighbouring communities. Bidders for the concessions were encouraged to include the following (DFEAT 1999):

- Plans to strengthen the local economic base and minimise leakage out of the area;
- Investment planned and managed to ensure maximum sustainable economic impact in terms of job creation, out-sourcing of non-core services, training, capacity building and the creation of SMME opportunities and support;
- Direct and indirect benefits in the short-, medium- and long-term for communities;

- Community involvement in the development process, planning and decision-making;
- Encouragement of community based equity sharing in tourism and related operations;
- Capacity building processes at a local level;
- Environmental awareness for communities to act as a deterrent to poaching and activities that would impact negatively on tourism;
- Community access to zones of the reserve.

Institutional development: The provincial government established a section 21 (non-profit making) company between the community, private sector and government. The government noted that this would comprise representatives from six surrounding communities and adjacent local councils and traditional authorities. It would act as a legal entity to transparently and accountably transfer benefits to the community, and would facilitate tourism development and sustainable resource management outside the reserve. It was proposed that each of the six villages considered 'local' to the reserve would set up an association or trust to co-ordinate its needs and to elect representatives to the section 21. Together they would define the community and to prioritise the needs with respect to short-, medium-, and long-term (DFEAT 1999).

Land claims: The commercialisation process fitted within the context of the national land reform programme, and the Manyaleti tender documentation stated that a number of land claims on the reserve had been received by the Commission on the Restitution of Land Rights. Although at that time none of these had been gazetted, the rights of land claimants were acknowledged. It was noted by the government that in the event of a successful land claim, the state would engage with the claimant to ensure that benefits flowing from the concession were allocated to the claimants in accordance with the nature and extent of their land rights. However, there would be no material change regarding the rights of the developer and/or current conservation use of the land (DFEAT 1999). This implies that the commercialisation process would not adversely influence the ultimate success of land claims lodged by neighbouring communities. However, it appears that successful land-claimants would have to negotiate trade-offs in terms of the type of land use and access to the area. Similar scenarios to those experienced by the Mdluli Tribal Authority, the Tembe Tribal Authority, and the Makuleke, described below, could develop.

Driving forces and constraints

Government determined which of the communities in the vicinity of the Manyaleti GR would be included in the consultation process prior to the call for tenders, which had implications for those that would benefit from the commercialisation. Affected communities, councils and local traditional authorities were those that were considered to be in the 'front line' with the reserve, in addition to land claimants. The communities were selected through intensive interaction with relevant stakeholders

including provincial government, transitional local councils, chiefs, headmen, communities, current operators and reserve staff. Consideration was also made as to whether there was any material contribution from the community with respect to land that was to be incorporated (DFEAT 1999).

According to the Manyaleti tender documentation, extensive discussions then took place with the stakeholders from the six villages identified within the Mnisi and Amashangaan Tribal Authorities, in order to establish a representative community structure. It was reported that the community had been frustrated at the inactivity surrounding the development of its neighbouring tourism asset, and was willing to enter partnership with the government and the private sector. It was reported that the community recognised the value of the tourism and environmental resources and was committed to the optimisation of socio-economic benefits arising from an improved utilisation of facilities (DFEAT 1999).

The driving force for the process, from a provincial government perspective, was the financial situation within the Manyaleti GR. Prior to the new commercialisation phase, the park was reportedly unable to finance conservation management of the reserve, to provide fuel to supply rangers vehicles nor to maintain fencing between the reserve and neighbouring communities. The Limpopo Province authority recognised that their reserves were under-utilised in terms of economic potential, and acknowledged that there were private sector organisations interested in adding value to them. In addition, they formally recognised that it might not be possible to retain these areas in their natural condition without the support and participation of the communities closely affected by the reserves (DFEAT 1999).

As described previously, the commercialisation process fits within the context of the national land reform programme. In the event of a successful land claim, the state proposed to engage with the claimant to ensure that benefits flowing from the concession were allocated to the claimants in accordance with the nature and extent of their land rights (DFEAT 1999).

Case Study 4: KwaZulu Natal Wildlife and Rocktail Bay

A different form of benefit system has been seen within KwaZulu Natal Wildlife (KZN Wildlife) Maputaland Coastal Forest Reserve, where the private sector operator Wilderness Safaris has leased Rocktail Bay.

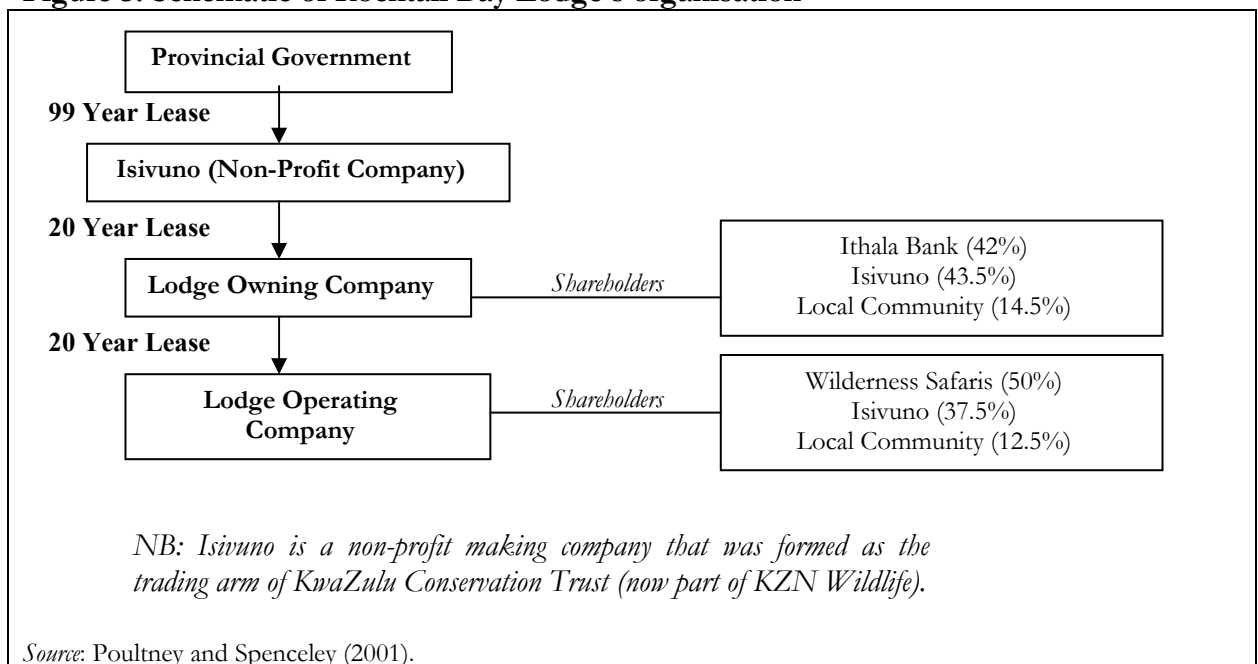
Description

Rocktail Bay is situated by the Indian Ocean on the northern coastline of KwaZulu-Natal, within the Maputaland Coastal Forest Reserve and the Greater St Lucia Wetland Park, a proclaimed World Heritage Site.

The private sector lodge operator, Wilderness Safaris (WS), has managed the lodge since it opened in 1992. They operate Rocktail Bay as a small, luxury coastal lodge with opportunity for fishing, diving, snorkelling, sea turtle tours and beach activities. The majority of its clientele are foreign tourists.

The local kwaMqobela community is a business partner in Rocktail Bay. There is a tri-partite ownership structure of both the lodge-owning and lodge-operating companies, in which local communities in each case have a share, as shown below in Figure 3. Dividends from the shares are paid to a community trust, whose members are elected by the community. Local people are employed to work at the lodge, while some operate services that support Rocktail Bay (Poultney and Spenceley 2001).

Figure 3: Schematic of Rocktail Bay Lodge’s organisation



The provincial conservation authority, KZN Wildlife is the landowner, lessor of the lodge, and also business partner in the operation, through Isivuno.

Local benefits and losses

Equity dividends: Revenue distributed to the community trust between 1996 and 1991 from the Lodge Owning Company totalled R120,000. The dividends have been used to finance developments at two village schools, to purchase materials to improve the roads, and to fund a number of educational bursaries. Theoretically, if the dividends had been distributed evenly among the members of KwaMqobela, each person would have received between R13 and R20 per year (ibid.).

However, there are overly high expectations of what the lodge dividends can provide for the community. For example, the Trust speaks of providing electricity and improving roads in the area, but the amount of money that would be needed to finance such projects far exceeds what they are likely to receive from their dividends. To be accomplished, such infrastructural improvements would require government-level investment of millions of rands. Therefore the community does not currently appear to have sufficient capacity or understanding to be able to evaluate the sustainability of potential projects (Spenceley 2001a).

Employment: The lodge operates a policy of only training and employing people from the immediate local area for all but management positions. This has led to twenty-nine permanent jobs for people from the local villages of Mqobela and Ngwanase, and the assistant manager is local (Poultney 2001; Poultney and Spenceley 2001). The lodge has promoted the role of women, and 62% of the local staff are female. The 29 employees (1.9 % of the community) benefit from an average wage of R15,800 per year. Each of these staff members supports an average of 5.4 relatives, implying that cumulatively 10% of the community is indirectly supported by Rocktail Bay wages. Local employees have all opened bank accounts to receive their wages (ibid.).

The recruitment process for new staff is very equitable, and entails the lodge manager approaching the community leader (Induna) of either Mqobela or Ngwanase regarding candidates. The Induna puts the names of interested people in a hat, and draws a selection of them at random. The lodge manager interviews those chosen, and the most suitable person is selected (ibid.).

It is important to highlight the financial and livelihood significance of employment from Rocktail Bay in comparison to the equity share, since approximately *fifteen times* as much money was distributed by the lodge to the community through wages than through share dividends between 1996 and 2000 (£162,000 Vs £10,500 respectfully) (Spenceley 2001a). Additionally, interviews with the staff indicate that at least 34% of their wages is re-spent directly within their community. This money was used to support wider family members; to build houses; pay school fees; and even to employ further community members (Poultney and Spenceley 2001).

Enterprise development: The lodge has stimulated local economic development of a taxi business (for the transportation of its staff) and also a community-policing forum; which improved the safety of the area for both guests and the community. Cultural displays by a local Sangoma (a traditional healer) Performing Arts Group have allowed a Sangoma Training School to subsidise promising students, and also to speed up the training process by financing the purchase of vital ceremonial materials (ibid.).

Institutional development: Mqobela Community Development Trust is an institution that was created from the outset of WS's tourism concession. The role of women in the Trust has been promoted, and half the committee members are female. When an idea is put forward regarding a project for which the Trust money can be used, the Development Trust committee approaches the established ward Development Committee. This is a committee that has been elected to assist with development and the introduction of infrastructure in the area. Development Committees are not statutory bodies but were established as voluntary associations to bring about development (ibid.).

However, there have been concerns that the Trust committee did not have sufficient understanding of financial matters to be able to manage the funds. It was alleged that members of the initial Trust committee had been embezzling funds, and had purchased items without prior agreement from the Community Development Committee or the village members. This had led to a group within KwaMqobela rallying support to oust the whole trust, and elect a new committee. The new committee have noted interest in attending training courses in bookkeeping in order to facilitate their work (ibid.).

Natural resources: WS is not in a position where it can control the natural resources within the reserve, and therefore cannot allocate them for sustainable local community use. Local community use of natural resources would therefore need to be negotiated directly between the conservation authority and the community. At the time of the assessment, a quota system was being devised by KZN Wildlife under the 1998 Marine Living Resources Act to allow sustainable use of fisheries and inertial resources within the reserve around Rocktail Bay, but tree felling for homestead construction was still prohibited (ibid.).

Despite this, Rocktail Bay has improved the local perception of one wildlife species in particular, through commercial activities with the community. 'Hippo tours' were initiated for Rocktail Bay guests, where members of the local community were used to guide guests to where hippos live in pools in around their village. Previously, the hippos had been considered a great pest to the villagers as they would destroy crops, but now they are tolerated because the tours generate a fixed monthly fee for the community, and money per tourist if hippos are seen. This initiative has benefits including increasing awareness of the value of biodiversity conservation in rural areas by generating a regular income for local guides (ibid.).

Very recently a resource development and management plan has been submitted by the communities and WS in a joint-venture to develop camps along a 30 km stretch north and south of Rocktail Bay, and intend to maximise the return from wild resources. The development includes the construction of five new camps within the Coastal Forest Reserve which are proposed to be built through a shareholding agreement with the Mqobela and Mpukane communities. It is proposed that the

community will own 20% of the lodge owning company, while receiving 49% of the rentals. In terms of direct employment, individual staff earn over twice the average homesteads yearly earning (5.4 people per homestead), R 6,000, which will directly benefit an estimated 648 people (19% of the larger catchment population) (Poultney 2001).

Driving forces and constraints

The local community reportedly worked with a consultant contracted on behalf of Isivuno when the equity proportions were allocated. However, it is believed that it was the consultant who proposed the share allocations, and that the community (who did not provide any capital to secure the equity) did not have any control over the size of their share. Therefore it was the conservation authority, effectively, which drove the proposal for a community equity share, and made the lodge intrinsically pro-poor (Poultney and Spenceley 2001). The community Trust committee members control the revenue received from equity dividends, but as previously mentioned, they require training in financial and business management to utilise the money effectively and transparently.

Some debate has recently arisen between the community that directly neighbours Rocktail Bay (Mpukane) and KZN Wildlife. This community was uninterested in entering a partnership arrangement with the lodge when the project was initiated and therefore the benefit system incorporated the people of Mqobela instead. The new diving operation at Manzengwenya is even closer to the Mpukane community than the lodge, and the community have approached KZN Wildlife and stated that they now wish to access some of the benefits (*pers. comm.* Porter 2002).

It is interesting to note that although the conservation authority set the scene for community benefits through their shareholding arrangement in the concession, the private sector operator perceives that it is now driving community issues at a faster pace than KZN Wildlife is comfortable.³² WS is actively promoting additional financial benefits for itself and the community through commercial growth, but they have faced some obstructions from KZN Wildlife in this aim (for example, in lengthy negotiations to establish a new diving site, in 2001). WS note that through product diversification they may increase occupancies, and therefore increase turnover and so increase the dividends that the community trust receives through their share in the Lodge Operating Company (Poultney and Spenceley 2001).

Wilderness Safari's company strategy to employ local people, encourage local provision of services, and enhance the community share in the partnership, has allowed the local people to shape the operation of the lodge in some respects. WS have lobbied to increase the share of the Lodge Owning Company owned by the community, and has sourced

³² A number of KZN Wildlife staff approached declined the opportunity to comment on draft versions of this case study.

funds from the Africa Foundation³³ to buy out the bank's share (*pers. comm.* Poultney 2001). However, despite the receptiveness of Wilderness Safaris to local economic development, there has actually been little entrepreneurial activity surrounding the lodge. Local community members could benefit further from opportunities presented by tourism if they were to produce fresh produce and crafts that could be utilised at the lodge. Such initiatives would increase their sustainability and turnover if they tapped into the demand from other lodges and market outlets in the area too. WS has engaged the services of Clive Poultney (who has extensive experience working with the rural people in the province) to work with the communities neighbouring Rocktail Bay and to facilitate the opportunities for their socio-economic development. Proposed projects within the community include a community garden and a campsite for backpackers (Poultney and Spenceley 2001).

Summary of issues

All four case studies relating to this scenario have described instances where the state has devised systems of bringing private sector investment and experience into protected or fragile conservation areas. Their driving motivation throughout has been to generate revenue for conservation, and to generate opportunities for socio-economic development for poor, disadvantaged neighbouring communities. Since the state holds the land tenure, it has the power to impose certain social development and empowerment obligations on the private sector. This has occurred through equity in the lodges (Rocktail Bay) and wildlife (Vilanculos) and through preferential allocation of bids to those with strong empowerment and capacity building proposals (SANParks commercialisation; Manyaleti). The cases show varying levels of community involvement and drive in the process.

The case of Vilanculos also highlights the problematic and contentious issues regarding political interests in potentially highly profitable tourism operations. Despite the political and management safeguards that have been imposed on the ministerial involvement, there is likely to always be a question as to what extent this involvement facilitated the development, and whether a conflict of interests has arisen. The extent to which concerns are, or are not, assuaged will depend on the process and impacts that take place during the implementation of the development plans.

In both the Vilanculos and Rocktail Bay cases, the private sector has driven the level of community involvement within a state context that has prioritised it. The developers in each case have worked, and continue to work, to drive the state and generate donor support for varied programmes aiming to promote improved livelihoods of the poor, beyond what is specifically required by their landlords. Both provide equity for their respective neighbouring communities: wildlife ownership

³³ See case study on the Africa Foundation and Ngala Private Game Reserve.

in the case of Vilanculos, and company ownership in the case of Rocktail Bay.

In the case of the Manyaleti GR and SANParks commercialisation processes the state has driven potential private sector concessionaires to detail specifically how they aim to address community development, with preferential regard for bids with the most significant benefits. SANParks goes further, to the point of requiring annual reports on progress, and the facility to apply penalties if operators do not work to their targets. The critical driving force for both of these programmes has been revenue generation, to finance conservation in subsidised protected areas.

Scenario 3: private land and private operators, with community linkages

A substantial proportion of the nature-based tourism that operates in South Africa occurs on privately owned land. There are a number of internationally renowned luxury safari lodges situated in private game reserves, especially around Kruger National Park and in KwaZulu-Natal. Some of these have developed relationships with neighbouring communities that provide financial, educational, business, and employment opportunities. These partnerships have generally developed from a corporate responsibility standpoint, rather than due to any legislative requirements placed on the private sector.

This section explores two cases in which a private sector operator has initiated programmes to benefit rural communities neighbouring lodges. The examples illustrate the use of very different project development processes and consequently variable sustainability of benefits to the rural communities concerned. The examples are:

- Case Study 1: Jackalberry Lodge, Thornybush Game Reserve (Limpopo Province)
- Case Study 2: The Africa Foundation and Ngala Private Game Reserve (Limpopo Province)

Case Study 1: Jackalberry Lodge, Thornybush Game Reserve

Jackalberry Lodge is one of seven commercial lodges within the Thornybush Game Reserve, and provides an interesting example of an operation with a diverse range of economic activities based on the natural and wildlife resources within the reserve.³⁴ It provides illustrations of internal and external political processes and institutional arrangements that impact on the commercial success of the area, and on neighbouring communities.

³⁴ It is also interesting since one of the shareholders of Jackalberry Lodge is also involved in the implementation of the Vilanculos Coastal Wildlife Sanctuary in Mozambique.

Description

The Thornybush Game Reserve is located in Limpopo Province, and has developed from a single property of 1640 ha in 1955 to over 10,000 ha in 2001 (Jordan 2000). All of the land within the Thornybush GR is privately owned, with consortia of individuals and companies holding the title deeds of the properties within the reserve. Photographic safari tourism occurs across all of the properties within the Thornybush GR. There are no fences within the reserve demarcating landholdings, and reciprocal traversing rights for the purposes of game viewing have been negotiated across the properties.

Jackalberry Lodge is a 10-bed lodge that has been operated within the Thornybush GR since 1996. Its rates range from R1,650 to R1,950 per bed/night, and although it mainly caters for foreign tourists, 21% of its clientele are from South Africa (Spenceley 2001c).

The reserve is bordered on the southern side by a main road to the Orpen Gate of KNP, and the rural Traditional Authority Land of the Minisi tribe (*ibid.*). The neighbouring Timbavati Community has a dense population of around 11,200, but a very low level of employment (3% in women, 15% for men; *pers. comm.* Mhlongo 2001). Poverty is prevalent, and there are problems of water availability, poor schooling and facilities, and poor transport (Spenceley 2001c).

Local benefits and losses

Jackalberry Lodge and the Thornybush Game Reserve have both formally and informally provided a number of benefits to the neighbouring Timbavati Community over the past few years. Benefits have taken the form of traditional donations that have been orchestrated from a top-down approach, and driven from the private sector's identification of community needs. A summary of financial benefits to the community from the lodge can be found in Table 3.

Education: Educational benefits within the Timbavati Community that have been provided by Jackalberry Lodge include a computer centre, infrastructural improvements to schools, and environmental education:

Computer Centre: the general manager of Jackalberry Lodge initiated the idea for the Pfukani Computer Centre in 2000. He conceptualised a self-sustaining business centre where students could be trained in computer literacy and a few basic programs (Godding 2000). Management brokered the arrangement with certain members of the community (Relly with Koch 2002), but there was no general public consultation within the community to evaluate interest. A school within the Timbavati Community was upgraded, and computer equipment donated by one of Jackalberry's shareholders. Once two members of the community had received training as lecturers at the nearby Welverdiend Computer

Centre³⁵ classes were initiated (Anon 2000a). The project was well motivated, and was an initiative that could benefit the livelihoods of certain individuals by providing technological skills that could allow them to gain employment and escape poverty.

However, a recent report indicates that the Phumlani Computer Centre is no longer in use and the project has 'fallen apart' (Relly with Koch 2002). The facility has been moved from the community to the nearby field station of Wits University. This failure has been attributed to a lack of community awareness and buy-in to the centre (ibid.). The lack of awareness was illustrated in a survey of 314 members of the Timbavati Community, where only 12 people (4% of the sample) mentioned that the computers were benefits that had come from the reserve (Spenceley 2001c). The lesson has been a valuable one for the management of Jackalberry, who have been made more aware of the protocols involved in providing community assistance through the tribal structure (Relly with Koch 2002).

Education infrastructure: The lodge has made infrastructural improvements to a primary school in the Timbavati Community by completing the construction of a half-built classroom, and proposes to use spare wire from the reserve to fence the village schools (Godding 2000).

Environmental education: Together, the members of the Thornybush Game reserve finance local students from six rural schools to attend 2-3 day environmental education courses at the neighbouring Ilkley Environmental Centre. The reason that the private operators are keen to provide this benefit is to allow local children, '... to experience the wonders of nature' and see what is on the other side of the electric fence (Godding, Undated). The students are taught about fencing, culling, spoor identification, and replanting trees that are used for firewood. They also develop a community project, work on erosion control, or do bush clearing. In 2001 the reserve financed eight local schools to participate, at a cost of R12,000 per school (*pers. comm.* Godding 2002). However, since the reserve cannot finance all students in the area, the Environmental Centre itself finances the attendance of remaining pupils, effectively by using overseas students to subsidise them (Spenceley 2001c).

Bursaries: The new Southern Cross Wildlife School in the neighbouring town of Hoedspruit has been spearheaded by Jackalberry's manageress. There are plans to assist disadvantaged and handicapped children to attend the school through providing bursaries (Nature Based Schooling Systems 2001). Bursaries for local children are proposed once the school is adequately financed and established (Relly with Koch 2002).

³⁵ An initiative facilitated by Ngala Private Game Reserve: the next case study.

Table 3: Financial contributions by Jackalberry Lodge to community projects

Project	Annual Contribution	Source of donations	
		Tourist Donations	Enterprise revenue
Ilkley School contribution	R 9,486		R 9,486
Computer Centre	R 3,706		R 3,706
Entertainment, chief, indunas	R 3,000		R 3,000
Wildlife College (Show)	R 2,000		R 2,000
Theatre Group (5 trips)	R 1,500		R1, 500
Community Tourism Rally	R 1,500		R 1,500
Theatre group gratuities	R 1,000	R 1,000	
Total	R 22,192	R1,000	R 21,192

Source: Adapted from Relly with Koch (2002).

Natural resources: The lodge does not appear to provide a significant beneficial impact to local livelihoods in terms of the access of local people to natural resources, save some access to fuel wood during bush clearing operations, and subsistence poaching. The limited distribution of these resources was illustrated during the survey in the Timbavati Community in March 2000. 24.3% of the sample noted that they could use wood from the reserve, while 2.2% said they could get meat, and 1.1% said they could access water from the reserve. However, the majority, 60.5%, did not think that they were permitted to use any resources from the reserve (Spenceley 2001c).

Wildlife utilisation and anti-poaching strategies: The private operator does not endorse wildlife utilisation in the reserve that occurs on a 'poaching' basis. Anti-poaching operations on the Thornybush GR are co-ordinated by an external commercial anti-poaching company, Protrack. In an effort to reduce local poaching, the company engaged in proactive negotiations with the Indunas of the Timbavati Community. An arrangement was made so that if Protrack caught a poacher on the property, they would be taken to the Induna with their catch. The Induna would then be obliged to give Protrack one goat in return. However, if Protrack did not find any incidences of poaching over a set period of time, then Protrack would give a goat to the Induna as reward (*pers. com.* Barkas 2001). At the time of the study the initiative had just been established, (Spenceley 2001c), and therefore it was not determined whether the arrangement to capitalise on commercial interests and traditional authority and control had produced any effect.

Problem animals: One of the potential costs faced by the Timbavati Community due to living in proximity to the Thornybush GR is the risk and damage that may be caused by wildlife emanating from the reserve. However, the majority of the sample stated that they actually did not have any problems with wildlife emanating from the reserve (69.4%). Of those who had encountered problems, there had been reports of a lion that tried to kill a person (reported by 2.7% of the sample), that their

stock was killed (4%) and that wildlife damaged their crops (4%). The problems were reportedly infrequent and had not happened for a long time, but it was significant that they occurred around harvest time. A small proportion of the local community also reported to be in fear of dangerous game (*ibid.*).

Employment: Generally speaking there was little employment with tourism companies in the area for the people of the Timbavati Community, although 27 of Jackalberry's staff (66%) were recruited from within 20 km of the enterprise. Staff also benefit from a 2.5% turnover share in the lodge, in an attempt by management to share in the success of the lodge and create incentives for good work (Relly with Koch 2002).

Interestingly, the anti-poaching company has a policy to persuade subsistence poachers that are caught to work with them, and to provide them with sufficient incentive from regular wages to stop them from poaching. Poachers are not deployed to work in areas near their homes, which means that they are not laid open to manipulation or danger from their home community (*pers. com.* Barkas, 2001).

Entrepreneurial development: In the community survey there were no reports of local ownership or investment in tourism from the Timbavati Community, and few products and services utilised at Jackalberry Lodge were purchased there (Spenceley 2001c). It was recently calculated that only 0.2% of lodge expenditure went to historically disadvantaged entrepreneurs (Relly with Koch 2002).

In between 1994 and 1995, the Thornybush Game Lodge worked in a joint venture with the Independent Development Trust (IDT) in a bush-clearing project. This was a scientific, educational and job creation project with the local communities of Acornhoek and Bushbuckridge, and over 100 jobs were created for the needy. Financial contributions made by the Thornybush GR towards this were over R1 million (Spenceley 2001c).

The development of the proposed Southern Cross Wildlife School will utilise local labour during construction of the facilities, while self-help programmes will be provided to assist the establishment of small businesses. There are also draft proposals from the lodge for a range of potential future projects that aim to improve the livelihoods of local people. These include options to improve their craft skills, to improve water availability, maintain the clinic, and there are proposals for a vegetable farm in the community (*ibid.*).

Land: Although 78.3% of the community sample reported that they had always lived in the village, and 73.9% were actually born there, 45.9% were aware that that some members of the Timbavati Community had previously been moved away from their homes against their will in order to make way for tourism developments or conservation areas. The Mnisi Tribal Authority has lodged land claims on portions of the land within

the southern Thornybush GR, but these have not yet been settled.³⁶ If the claims were to be settled in favour of the Tribal Authority, this would clearly have significant implications for both the reserve and the community (ibid.). It is not known to what extent the land claims have affected the relationship between Jackalberry Lodge and the community in terms of providing more benefits.

Driving forces and constraints

It is clear that the General Manager of Jackalberry Lodge is the driver for community development initiatives within Thornybush, and is pushing for improvements to be made. In one report he notes that this is because,

*... by assisting and/or empowering [disadvantaged communities] ... they will have a vested interest in protecting the reserve and ... view the reserve as an asset to their region ... it is a chance to give something back to our immediate neighbours who see little or no benefit from the reserves to the north.*³⁷

The GM's drive is supported by the policy within the reserve constitution, which notes that the reserve should, '... promote betterment of human resources in the region – assist in the upliftment and education of the local communities' (ibid.).

Although motivated by the best of intentions, the benefits that have been available to the Timbavati Community have not been linked to responsibilities, and have been achieved through a 'top-down' rather than 'bottom-up' approach. This is in part because the resource rights and power to exploit or distribute benefits of the tourism at Jackalberry rests with the private sector. For example, there are no formal or regular forums between the game reserve and the local communities, although ad-hoc meetings occur when desired by the parties concerned. Periodically there are informal discussions and indications of a good relationship between Jackalberry Lodge and the tribal authority. This is indicated by the fact that Chief Mnisi opened the computer centre in November 2000, and that he and his wife have been guests at the lodge. In addition, when the Chief requested assistance from the lodge to assist with the ploughing of a field, in August/September 2000, help was provided (Spenceley 2001c).

It is interesting that the community has not approached the lodge in order to help address the problems they perceive as most significant in their lives; those of water availability (34%); poverty (28%) and unemployment (18%). Interestingly, local problems of educational facilities and health (aspects addressed by the lodge) were less heavily emphasised by the sample (6% and 2% respectively) (ibid.). Therefore, it appears that the majority of projects that are addressed by Jackalberry Lodge and the Thornybush GR reflect the private sector's perception of

³⁶ Interestingly, none of the sample noted that they had once lived in the reserve.

³⁷ Godding (nd).

what is required by the community, and also what resources are available to them to provide the people with.

Local perceptions of tourism in general appear to be mixed. A third of the people interviewed in the community in 2001 noted that it had good economic impacts by providing jobs, reducing poverty, and allowing them to sell things. However, a significant proportion of the community sample indicated that benefits from tourism emanating from the reserve were insufficient to make up for the problems encountered with wildlife (49.1%). In addition, it appears that the benefits had not provided incentives for conservation of the reserve and its wildlife (55.5%). It is interesting to note though, that when asked, 37.4% of the sample did not know what they *would* need to make up for the problems they encountered! Some members of the community suggested that the problems could be addressed through more meetings and discussion (9.1%), compensation (9.1%), more protection (6.7%), improved opportunities (6.3%) and environmental education (2.8%) (ibid.).

It is clear that there are many problems in the community, but it is highly unlikely that Jackalberry Lodge would be able to address all of them, given their turnover and capacity. Jackalberry Lodge is a small enterprise, does not have dedicated personnel who can work to raise funds, and work with neighbours to promote rural development. However, given their enthusiasm and existing efforts to provide their neighbours with benefits, there is potential to engage more fully with the community in a more participative manner to begin addressing their livelihood needs.

Case Study 2: The Africa Foundation and Ngala Private Game Reserve

The Africa Foundation provides an interesting example of community benefit system. It has developed from a corporate responsibility initiative of a single safari operator, to an independent organisation that may assist a multitude of private-sector operations in developing positive rural livelihood programmes.

Description

The Africa Foundation has evolved from the non-profit organisation arm of the private sector safari company Conservation Corporation Africa (CCA), into an autonomous body (Africa Foundation 2000, 2001). Initially called the Rural Investment Fund (RIF), the fundraising body was established in 1990 as a catalyst to facilitate international financial support for responsible, consultative community projects in rural Africa (Africa Foundation 2000), focusing on projects in communities around CCA lodges. It has become an independent body and may channel its expertise from community development initiatives associated with CCA lodges to a multinational level with other conservation areas and tourism partners (Africa Foundation 2001). It obtains its financial support for its programmes from donations sourced from philanthropists, corporations, trusts and tourists. The financial support is not channelled from tourism revenue nor equity in the tourism products.

The process by which community projects obtain support from the Africa Foundation is as follows (Spenceley 2000):

- Projects must be initiated by members of the community neighbouring the tourism enterprise and must benefit the community;
- They must address types of projects predetermined by the Africa Foundation such as small business development, cultural development, regional infrastructure, or capacity building and training;
- Proposers from the community must show that the projects are economically, socially and environmentally sustainable. This is in order that the projects continue once the donor funding ceases;
- Members of the community must work in partnership with the Africa Foundation and contribute to the process (for example, by supplying labour or materials);
- The proposal is reviewed by an Africa Foundation regional manager and presented to the Foundation's Trustees;
- If approved, the regional manager is allocated the budget and oversees project implementation.

Therefore the regional manager is responsible for accounting for the money that is allocated to the project, and must ensure that it is spent effectively.

The Africa Foundation has channelled support through Ngala Private Game Reserve (PGR) to its neighbouring community, and is used here to illustrate the range of benefits that communities may access. Ngala PGR is privately owned by the South Africa National Parks Trust (SANPT), and the land is managed by South African National Parks (SANParks) as part of Kruger National Park (KNP). The reserve is adjacent to KNP and is unfenced from it. The SANPT has leased the lodge and exclusive traversing rights on the reserve to CCA since 1992. Ngala PGR operates luxury, high-cost and low-density tourism, and it is predominately foreign tourists that can afford the US\$450 per person per night fee (Spenceley 2000).

Local benefits and losses

Ngala PGR neighbours the village of Welperdiend, which is populated by around 10,000 people, and lies within the Mnisi Tribal Authority. Between 1998 and 2000 this community benefited from projects that had a total investment cost of £33,200. This is equivalent to £1.18 per-head of the population per year. The money was used in the following projects (Spenceley 2001d):



Education: Educational support has been provided through infrastructural development, bursaries, and through training in environmental issues, health and sport.

Infrastructure: Infrastructural improvements were made at two schools in Welverdiend. The Mhlahle High School Computer Centre was opened in 1999 and was provided with R10,000 worth of renovations while a number of computers were donated. A 6-month course initially trained 29 students to be proficient in word-processing, and 30 students were to be funded during the year 2000 at a rate of R1,000 each. In addition, R25,000 was raised to renovate an old church and create a Junior School Media Centre (Spenceley 2000).

Bursaries: In 1999 four applicants from Welverdiend received Community Leaders Educational Fund (CLEF) bursaries worth over R32,000. These students were funded for courses in travel, tourism management and business. Students supported are required to return to their community for up to two years after their training, in order to assist their community or give motivational talks. One member of the community has been provided with a hospitality bursary from Moët and Chandon. The bursary includes enrolment in a hotel management course and opportunities to work in Moët's vineyards in France, and gain experience working in participating restaurants in France and the USA (ibid.).

Environmental education: Bush Schools and Conservation Lessons for pupils from local junior schools have been financially supported, and benefit from access to the experience of rangers and the reserve. The schemes were designed to fit in with local natural science school curricula. Between 1998 and 1997 British Petroleum sponsored 150 local students and teachers to attend the 3-day, 2-night Bush School programs, at a cost of R90,000 (ibid.).

Health education: An HIV/AIDS awareness project financed a group of youths from Welverdiend to write, produce, and publicly perform an informative play that reflected local HIV/AIDS issues and concerns. This was facilitated and conceptualised by the Human Resources Health Systems Development Unit, the Adolescent Health/HIV Programme at Wits University, and an NGO that works engaging youth in issues of sexuality and gender through drama groups called ADAPT (ibid.).

Sport: Ngala has worked with a sports-NGO to provide cricket training to the children in the village (ibid.).

Employment: The Africa Foundation does not deal with lodge management aspects that address employment and recruitment, but two of the 98 staff members at Ngala at the time of the assessment were from Welverdiend. In year 2000 interviews were conducted with 168 members of the Welverdiend community, and the majority of the sample reported that tourism had not so created more jobs for the people of Welverdiend (89% responses), although most of them wanted to be involved with

tourism companies (69%). The community believed that most people obtained jobs in tourism companies through relatives and friends (63% responses), which was fairly accurate in terms of Ngala's recruitment procedures. Of the 31 people in the Welverdiend sample who reported being employed, only 4 worked in the tourism industry. 63% of those employed had a salary below R1,000 per month, while 14% earned between R1,001-2,000 and 14% earned R2,001-3,000 (ibid.).

Enterprise development: In terms of stimulating local economic development, the lodge has donated waste food to support a local pig farmer in Welverdiend. It also provided seed-credit to facilitate the purchase of a vehicle for a taxi driver from Welverdiend who has since been paid on a regular basis to transfer Ngala's staff to and from the lodge. In terms of future projects, the lodge proposed to investigate the potential to develop local craft-making skills in order to sell local produce in the lodge curio shop, in co-operation with an existing capacity building NGO (ibid.).

There was an overwhelming perception within the community sample that local businesses did not benefit from tourism (94% responses), and did not supply the industry with goods or services (86%). Problems with local businesses included a lack of customers because of poverty and inadequate access to tourists, and that it was difficult to make money and to expand. The community predominantly noted that tourists did not purchase goods from the village (75% responses), and neither did safari companies (80% responses). Only small amounts of food and drink and handcrafts were actually purchased. There were no specific purchasing policies at Ngala that focused on stimulating entrepreneurial activities in the local rural areas. Although purchases are preferentially made through local agents, these enterprises were located within established local towns rather than the rural communities such as Welverdiend. Welverdiend does not currently have the quantity or quality of agricultural and craft products that are needed by the lodge, nor any dialogue with the managers to initiate and develop such a system (ibid.).

Natural resources: Although there is currently no access to natural resources on the reserve by local communities, staff at Ngala PGR have been working with the land managers from SANParks to promote the involvement of local people in the discussion of land management activities at formal meetings. These discussions are also promoting the sustainable utilisation of natural resources such as wood from bush-clearing activities, and water from dams (ibid.).

With respect to human-wildlife conflict, most of the problems reported during the Welverdiend survey in 2000 arose from baboons and elephants raiding crops in harvest times between February and May (37% responses), lions killing livestock (44%) and corridor disease (*Theileriosis*) spread by buffalo to cattle (10%). For example, in 1999 a pride of 19 lions were destroyed after they killed at least 32 cattle in the local communities, the majority of which were owned by people in

Wolverdiend. Due to flood-damaged fences in early 2000, a number of buffalo broke out of Kruger National Park. Villagers attempted to snare them, and during this time they came into contact with livestock. The ensuing outbreak of corridor disease caused the death of over one hundred head of cattle, and farmers were requested to kill their remaining livestock. Therefore it was perhaps not surprising that there was a poor perception of wildlife by the majority of people (76%) during the survey (ibid.).

Despite the development projects provided to the people of Wolverdiend through Ngala and the Africa Foundation, the majority of 168 members of the Wolverdiend community interviewed in 2000 presented negative perceptions of tourism. For example, 63% of people interviewed did not believe that the benefits from tourism were sufficient to offset the costs, and 88% thought that tourism companies did not respect them. Also, 94% of the sample reported either a bad relationship or no relationship with tourists, while 89% reported poor working relationships with tourism managers. Despite this, there were positive impressions regarding the opportunities that tourism presented. For example, 48% of the sample believed that they could potentially gain employment through tourism, while 9% envisaged tourism presenting opportunities for development projects. Other potential advantages reported were money, water, hospitals, environmental education, roads, and a reduction in poverty and crime. Some also noted that tourism presented opportunities for them to learn about different people and cultures (ibid.).

Driving forces and constraints

Although neighbouring communities did not initiate the Africa Foundation, they have fundamentally contributed towards the way in which it operates. Through the successes and failures of various projects over the past decade, the organisation has learned by trial and error the types of processes and measures that are required to produce successful results.

For example, prior to the RIF's involvement (the Africa Foundation's predecessor), Ngala's management initiated two projects that aimed to improve the livelihoods of the people of Wolverdiend. One was a water project, which proposed to channel excess water from dams in the reserve to the community, which would then be used to irrigate a community garden. The other was a brick-making project, where the community could have generated income through selling bricks made at the enterprise. Sadly both projects failed, apparently because the community had not been sufficiently involved in the planning and conceptualisation of the project to take ownership, and therefore it had not taken any responsibility for the success of the initiatives. This has led to the policy within the Africa Foundation that only projects initiated by community members, and in which the community plays an active part in the development, are eligible for financing through the fund (ibid.).

There have also been project failures in cases where the financing for a particular project has been handed to members of the community, without suitable auditing safeguards. This has led to instances where funds have not been channelled into the projects they were intended for. The result has been that the regional Africa Foundation manager retains control of all cash allocated to a project, and purchases materials, equipment and labour as required. Although this does not allow community members the opportunity to learn the skills of financial management, or accountancy, it does cover the obligations of the charity in the short-term by allowing it to account to donors with respect to how their money was spent (ibid.).

It is clear that individuals driving projects from the community and approaching the Africa Foundation for support are critical within the process, and without them there would be no projects to support. Although the community as a whole may benefit from certain initiatives (for example, the computer centre) individual community members drive specific projects forward. In addition, the staff of the lodges and the Africa Foundation liaise directly with the communities and assist them in creating viable, sustainable project proposals that are 'attractive' to funding.

From the perspective of the private sector, the main overall driving forces for these processes appear to be a mix of corporate responsibility and market advantage. In part, the benefit system was initiated by CCA in order to build relationships with neighbouring communities, and decrease any potential threat that might be forthcoming from poaching or land issues. By providing sufficient benefits to local rural people, the commercial operations are more likely to remain 'safe'. In addition, before the more independent nature of the Africa Foundation, CCA was afforded considerable market advantage by tourists who wanted to experience a 'feel good' holiday, where the enterprise they visited was benefiting the community. Representatives of the company are frequently invited to discuss the programme at international conferences and workshops and showcase their work.

The fact that the benefit system does not impinge on the private sector operator's profitability, given that financing for projects comes from donations, has led to some criticism of the system. It is felt that the operations should support communities from tourism revenue and through providing equity and control, rather than by distributing other people's money. However, in the absence of equity arrangements and as long as enterprises are transparent regarding how the community projects are financed (for example, that tourists are not led to believe that the money they pay for their holiday supports CSR) then perhaps the commitment and proactive activity towards improving the livelihoods of the rural poor is rather more important than debating the ethics of who should pay for it.

Involvement of the people of Welverdiend in the management of Ngala GR is an objective that has formally been laid out in the management plan. One of the objectives of the plan is

*To involve the Welverdiend community, and other local communities, in the management of Kempiana, and to allow participation in the benefits emanating from Kempiana in the form of environmental education, or direct physical benefits from sound management actions.*³⁸

The plan specifically denotes that labour intensive management activities such as bush clearing, should provide local people with employment and resources, such removed vegetation. The plan also states that local people should be included in management meetings regarding the reserve's activities.

Ngala's land is currently managed by a Management Committee, which advises the Standing Committee for Nature Conservation of SANParks. According to the 1997 draft management plan for the reserve, the committee was supposed to include two members of KNP, a representative from Ngala or CCA, a representative of the Southern African Wildlife College (which is located on the reserve), and two members of the Welverdiend community. However, it was reported that SANParks would not endorse a plan that gave the community members voting rights on its conservation-management plans. Therefore the plan was amended in 1999 to note that the community members would have observer status, and therefore not be allowed to vote on issues pertaining to the management of the reserve (ibid.). Therefore the institutional policies of SANParks have apparently constrained the level of involvement of the local community in Ngala's land management, and until the draft plan is approved by SANParks head office, the community representatives will not be admitted to the committee.

Then of course there are the financial drivers; be they corporate donors, charities or tourists. Their donations ultimately support the Africa Foundation and allow community projects to be financed. The reliance on donations is a constraint of the system, since the benefits are linked to the motivating actions of staff and the generosity of donors, rather than regular dividends that would be forthcoming from equity in the company (as in the case of Rocktail Bay). It is also possible that the policy of benefiting the people of Welverdiend would not continue if another operator were to take over from CCA in running Ngala PGR, and which did not have such a close relationship with the Africa Foundation. This is potentially a long-term constraint of the way that the benefit system is arranged, since the benefits are not an intrinsic part of the lodge management or business structure.

In terms of financial control, it is the Africa Foundation board that ultimately determines whether or not community-initiated projects

³⁸ Pieterse (1999).

receive funding. The level of control of local beneficiaries over the types of benefits therefore depends on their capacity and willingness to cooperate and contribute towards the process with the Foundation, and to demonstrate the sustainability of the project. Although the system incorporates important safeguards to minimise the probability of fraud on the community side, and that unfeasible projects are not financed, it also means that the community does not have the freedom to control and spend money intended for their use as they may wish. It is also the case that without equity in the company, the community is reliant on the good will of the Africa Foundation to facilitate their development, and with little power of decision-making in the process (Spenceley 2001d).

Summary of issues

It seems that the corporate responsibility shown by these private sector enterprises towards their neighbouring rural communities has not been catalysed by government incentives or subsidies. In relation to the wider economic context, companies may gain market advantage in being *seen* to be altruistic towards the neighbouring rural poor communities. In addition, building a good working relationship with local communities may decrease future costs, and current incidences of poaching of wildlife.

The drivers in both cases are staff in the lodges, and in Ngala's case include members of the community and the Africa Foundation. Jackalberry's traditional and conventional form of generating community benefits is to some extent constrained by staff commitments, in terms of the time and funds required to run a lodge and manage the reserve. The programmes at Ngala have not encountered such constraints since a dedicated fundraising and project-managing body was developed around a series of lodges to promote rural community development. The issues of equity, preferential employment, and purchasing from local communities have not been addressed by either of the lodges, and their interactions with the community primarily occur on a project-by-project basis. Project success in the long-term appears to be directly related to the active participation of local communities from the conception stage, through the development phase, and eventual operation.

Scenario 4: community land claims and land transfers

Some countries with a colonial history had policies that allowed the relocation of indigenous people with little or inadequate compensation. Many have had to deal with the complexities of land-redistribution after independence. South Africa provides a clear example of this: the apartheid policies of European colonists forced large numbers of people to leave their land and move to 'homeland' areas, which resulted in intensive use of natural resources and a high density of people living on a relatively small proportion of the land. In addition, forced removals from areas that subsequently became protected areas alienated people from the concept of conservation.

The post-apartheid, democratically elected government of South Africa has implemented a programme of land reform in order to re-allocate land to its rightful owners. This programme has seen instances of successful land claims by the rural poor for areas situated within government owned protected areas, or on private land where nature-based tourism occurs. This scenario explores two examples in which the livelihoods of the rural poor may have altered as a result:

- Case Study 1: Daannel Farm, Mdluli Tribal Authority (Mpumalanga)
- Case Study 2: Makuleke Land Claim (Limpopo Province)

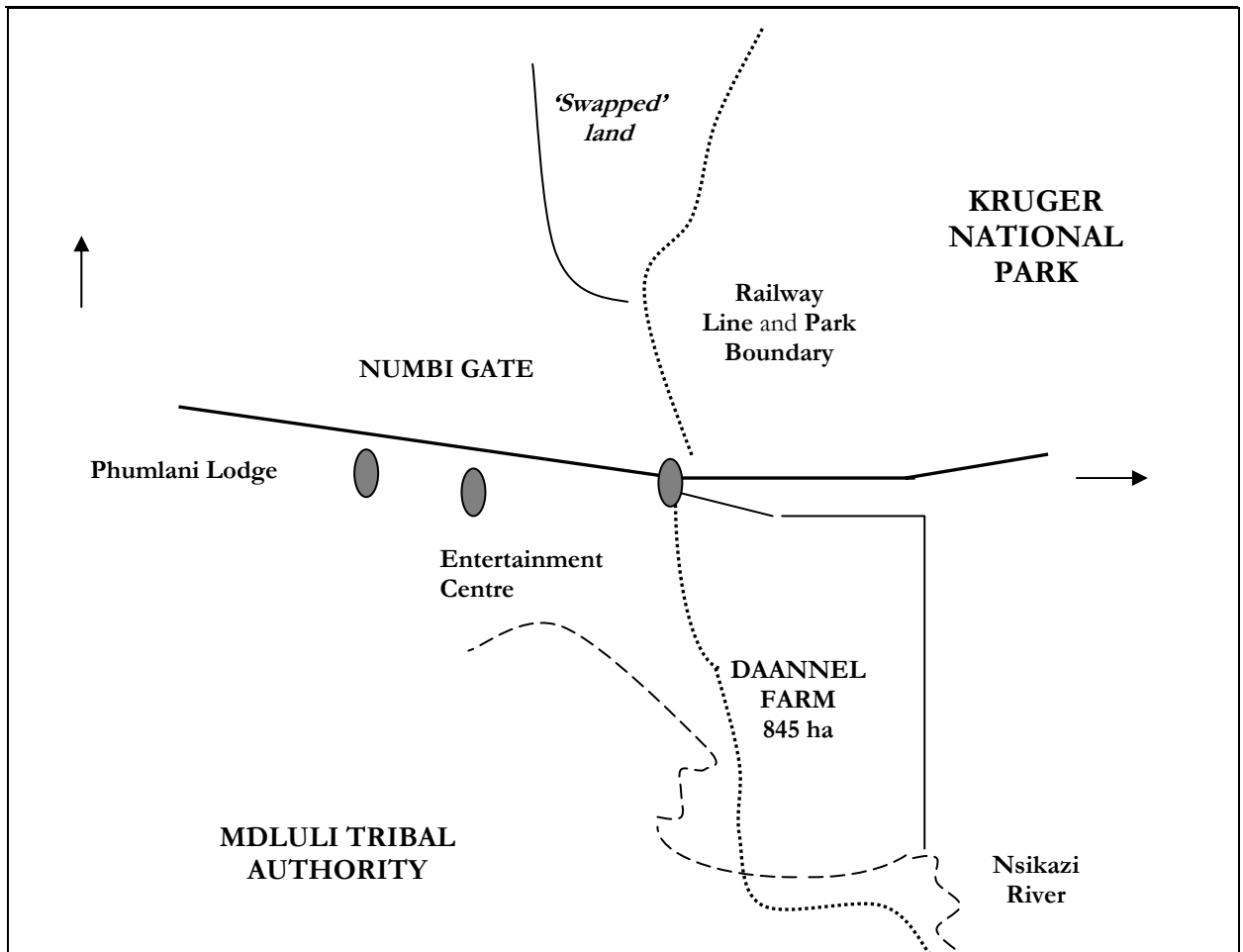
Case Study 1: Daannel Farm, Mdluli Tribal Authority

The case of the Daannel Farm illustrates some of the difficulties of initiating and progressing tourism where complex political and financial agendas of both the public and private sector may not always facilitate development. It depicts some of the successes and difficulties that a community has encountered in attempts to make economic use of their land. The Mdluli Tribal Authority (TA) was previously discussed in relation to the Phumlani Lodge, which was built on their communal land. This case study looks at their attempts at tourism development on land claimed back from inside Kruger National Park.

Description

In 1969 a railway line was built from Kaapmuiden to Phalaborwa that ran along the western side Kruger National Park (KNP), to the east of the Mdluli Tribal Authority (See Figure 4, next page). However, the farm Daannel (33 JU), an 845 ha portion of the Mdluli Tribal Authority's land, lay to the east of the proposed railway line. The park authorities considered that the railway line was generally the most practical and identifiable western boundary for the Park (Anon 1998a), and at this time, South African National Parks (SANParks) requested that Daannel be designated part of the National Park (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002). SANParks proposed that a larger area of KNP that lay to the west of the railway (and therefore would be cut-off from the rest of KNP) could be de-proclaimed and used by the Mdluli tribe in exchange for Daannel (*ibid.*). However, the Department of Land Affairs did not gazette the request, and although KNP report that 'everyone' agreed to the swap (*ibid.*), the original negotiations between KNP, the Department of Bantu Affairs and the Department of Transport did not include people of the village of Makoko (within the Mdluli TA) (Kruger National Park 1994a). Despite the lack of formal agreement to the land exchange, the railway was constructed and the Mdluli TA lost access to Daannel, due to the presence of the railway and a fence constructed by KNP along the new park boundary. Subsequently members of the Mdluli TA began to occupy the 2,500 ha area of KNP that had been cut off to the west of the railway, while SANParks began to manage Daannel as part of KNP (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002).

Figure 4: Schematic map of the Daannel farm 33 JU



In 1992, KNP received a letter from the Department of Land Affairs stating that Daannel was to be returned to the Mdluli tribe. Numerous meetings and consultations were held between the parties through the Lubambiswano Forum³⁹ (Marais 1995), and KNP recognised that the loss of access to Daannel had deprived the tribe members of an important natural source for grazing their cattle (Kruger National Park 1994b). KNP stated that although they had administered the land for 30 years, ‘all parties’ had always recognised that Daannel was state land, and that it fell within the jurisdiction of the Mdluli TA. The Minister of Land Affairs gave permission for the ownership of Daannel to be transferred from the State to the Mdluli Trust, and on 29 June 1994 the board of KNP formally acknowledged that they had no claim to ownership of Daannel (Anon 1998a). On the same date as KNP’s acknowledgement, Chief Mdluli wrote to KNP’s Executive Director regarding Daannel to request that, ‘... the control and supervision ... be placed under [KNP’s] conservation staff ... [and be] performed in terms of the National Park Act, as applicable to the Kruger National Park’ (Mdluli 1994).

³⁹ A forum group that exists between SANParks social ecology group and the neighbouring rural communities to discuss park/neighbour issues.

Community benefits and losses

Tourism development: Despite a series of attempts to do so over the past 8 years, the Mdluli TA has not yet been able to develop tourism on Daannel. Since 1994 a number of private sector constortia have engaged with the Mdluli TA and have put forward proposals to develop commercial tourist accommodation enterprises on the Daannel farm that would benefit the community. In each case the Mdluli Trust was to act as lessor of the property to the consortium for a period of 99 years, and was to hold equity of 10% in the development company concerned (Anon 1998b). In the case of one proposal for a 120 bed Hilton Hotel, members of the Mdluli tribe were also due to benefit from placement within 50% of the proposed 132 jobs that would be created (Introprops 41 {Pty} Ltd 1997). They were offered first option on business opportunities such as the provision of fresh produce, laundry services, entertainment, maintenance contracts and curios (African Eye News Service 1998a). However, the proposals were eventually dropped due to KNP's refusal to allow game drive vehicles from the hotel to traverse the wider KNP. The Director of KNP stated that game drives could only take place on the Daannel, but that such activities in the wider KNP could not be considered at the time due to the ongoing commercialisation process in KNP. All potential operators were being asked to tender for the right to run concessions in the park with traversing rights attached (Mabunda 2000). With allocations only to traverse the 845 ha area of Daannel, investment for the initiative could not be found, and the proposals went on hold. Another obstacle arose over the size of the proposed developments: the third proposal in 1998 was for a 60-bed hotel and two 20-tented lodges, but both KNP and the Mpumalanga Parks Board considered that a 40-bed development was the largest development that Daannel could support (Freitag and Macgregor 1998). Opposition to the development from KNP was on environmental grounds and in relation to the business feasibility of the development (Freitag and Macgregor 1998). In the case of tourism development, the community has not made losses or benefits in relation to socio-economic development or their livelihoods. However, considerable time, effort and expectations for the tourism potential have so far come to nothing.

Guiding: As previously mentioned Kruger National Park has reserved 40 of a total 100 available permits to conduct open vehicle safaris to local communities. KNP received few applications for permits, and those who did apply required assistance, such as financing for vehicles, which was not available from KNP (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002). This remains a potential future benefit, as the permits are still available to the community to operate safaris in KNP. However, it appears that capacity building, training and capital support will be required to take advantage of this opportunity.

Natural resource use

Thatching grass: Subsequent to the hand-over of the rights of ownership, there were discussions between Chief Mdluli and KNP regarding the potential to harvest thatching grass from the farm. It was agreed that KNP would organise and control the cutting operations in a responsible, transparent manner in consultation with the TA. The TA would receive R5,000 as royalties to a trust, and also the equivalent of 5% of the thatching grass harvested (Kruger National Park 1994c). This transaction took place, and over the subsequent three years Chief Mdluli received 10% of the annual harvest, in addition to royalties that increased annually. The harvest has not taken place since 1997, but in total R33,900 has been accrued by the Chief from the harvests to date (*pers. comm.* Visagie 2002). It is not known how this revenue was distributed within the community, as the payments were made prior to the establishment of Mdluli Trust. People from the Mdluli TA have also been employed to cut grass, both on Daannel and within the wider KNP (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002).

Water: The community requested access to use water from the Nsikazi River (which lies to the south of Daannel) for their livestock. However, KNP was reluctant to allow cattle to directly access the river due to the risk of foot and mouth disease transmission with wildlife (Kruger National Park 1995). It was also reluctant to allow sufficient water to be extracted to irrigate areas of the TA due to the volumes that would be required (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002). However, KNP state that they negotiated with the community and installed a pump on the river in order that water could be extracted for cattle (*ibid.*). The community was given the responsibility to take the initiative and contact the Departments of Agriculture and Works to arrange for pumps, pipes and maintenance (Kruger National Park 1994b). In addition, KNP put in boreholes with hand-pumps and trained people how to use them, but KNP report that the pump and borehole equipment was stolen or sabotaged by people from outside the park (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002). In 1995 KNP facilitated a meeting with the Department of Works in order to address the water needs of the region, and several boreholes were drilled in the region by SANParks, while others were facilitated by KNP with funding from the forestry company, SAPPI (Marais 1995).

Human-wildlife conflict: KNP does not to pay compensation for stock or cattle loss caused by wildlife emanating from Kruger (Marais 1995). Dangerous and rare game including Wild Dog (personal observation) have been found within the Mdluli TA, and pose a threat to human life, property and livestock. Compensation is not paid by KNP as the law stipulates that that once wildlife leaves the national park it becomes the responsibility of the provincial government's Parks Board. Therefore the Mpumalanga Parks Board is responsible for dealing with human-wildlife conflict outside the national park. However, their inaction, irrespective of its legal basis, has led to some animosity with the community.

Contractual National Park: In August 2000 the Mdluli TA requested that a Mdluli-Kruger National Park contractual agreement be drawn up for the Daannel farm. Initially SANParks stated that potential contractual parks must be of at least 15,000 ha, provide a significant contribution to biodiversity conservation and demonstrate a mutually beneficial relationship between both parties (Mabunda 2000). However, the Directorate of KNP relented and agreed in 2001 that Daannel could become a contractual national park (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002). The proposed change in status of the area will allow an agreement to be drawn up in which SANParks' anti-poaching staff may patrol the area (they do not have remit to do so under the current arrangement) (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002).

Driving forces and constraints

It appears that the Chief MZ Mdluli and the community have been fully involved in the range of attempts to exploit the commercial and natural resource potential of the tribe's reinstated land. Chief MZ Mdluli was reported as saying that he did not want to fence the area off from KNP, but wished to allow animals to roam freely. He said, 'For over 100 years the land has been devoted to wildlife and nature and our community can benefit from the commercial activities of ecotourism and environmental conservation' (cited in African Eye News Service 1998a). The participation by the rest of the tribe is illustrated in the course of the establishment of the Mdluli Trust. This only took place after a series of community meetings were held during 1997. They included (Acer 1998):

- Meetings held in the four villages within the Tribal Authority of Makoko, Bhekiswako, Nyongane and Salubindza during May;
- A public meeting in June where representatives of the four villages, House of Traditional Leaders, the Lowveld Escarpment District Council, Department of Land Affairs, Kruger National Park, Mpumalanga Department for Environmental Affairs and Tourism, and the developer Team Development Concepts;
- A public meeting held in December, which 362 members of the Mdluli tribe attended. At this meeting the community discussed the potential to establish the Trust in order that the community could lease the Daannel farm to a private sector development company for 99 years. It was proposed that the Mdluli Trust would hold 10% of the development company's shares, and that the receipts from the Trust and the company would be used to benefit the Mdluli tribe and the community.

Although the Chief appeared to work closely with the private sector in preparing applications for the various developments, it appears that the community has had little influence in pushing its proposals forward to fruition.⁴⁰ It is possible that the community may have been persuaded, incorrectly, by private sector developers that a hotel development was the

⁴⁰ Chief Mdluli declined the opportunity to comment on a draft version of this report.

most viable and profitable land use option for Daannel. Alternative economic options for commercial land use that were put forward by KNP for the farm, such as breeding rare species (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002) were not pursued. It would be interesting to know if a scenario had arisen where a private sector driver had been found to push forward the rare-species breeding option, rather than the hotel development, whether it would have succeeded – for both commercial reasons and because it was a suggestion from KNP.

This case study demonstrates several constraints that prevent the community from realising the commercial value of their land, particularly the different objectives and procedures of the stakeholders involved. KNP is focused on its environmental procedures and internal commercialisation process. For example, in a letter from KNP to the TA regarding a contractual park application, it was noted that the application process depended upon the successful compliance with each stage of the development process, which could not be short-circuited or hurried. It was also presumed that the community and their private sector developers were becoming frustrated since they were ‘... concentrating on the business opportunities rather than only the conservation considerations of a national park’ (Mabunda 2000: 2). KNP has facilitated economic benefit to the TA by harvesting thatching grass, employed local labourers, and has also facilitated the installation of water pumping equipment from the Nsikazi river for cattle. However, SANParks wider commercialisation policy has confounded a series of plans for the community to develop tourism on the land.

The private sector involvement in various hotel proposals has not been fruitful in this case. The private sector Trustee of the Mdluli Trust, Piers Bunting, stated that the hotel proposals were on hold since international hotel groups are not currently interested in investing in South Africa. Instead they prefer to enter projects without investment risk, where they simply hold an operating contract for a tourism enterprise. He noted that this is in part due to a volatile currency and a current lack of domestic spending on tourism (*pers. comm.* Bunting 2002).

Thus the restoration of their land inside Kruger to the Mdluli Community has apparently opened up commercial options for Mdluli tribe, but given the bureaucratic and political context, it has not yet led to any significant tangible benefits.

Case Study 2: Makuleke community, Limpopo Province

The Makuleke case differs from the Mdluli case in terms of both the legal basis for the land transfer and the extent of the area concerned. What is also noticeable is the amount of support that the Makuleke have had in terms of media coverage and capacity support from other parties. They have been significantly more successful than the Mdluli people in engaging with SANParks to exploit their land commercially through tourism development, but have similarly faced political hurdles with some of their proposals.

Description

The Makuleke people were compensated for their removal in 1969 from 24,000 ha within Kruger National Park, through the restitution of their land and the creation of a contractual park (Elliffe 1999). An agreement between the Makuleke and SANParks was made in 1998 to return the ownership and title of the land to the people, although the land remains committed to wildlife conservation within the park (Steenkamp 1998). The area contains up to two-thirds of KNP's biodiversity and reportedly some spectacular landscapes, and a range of cultural and heritage assets (Elliffe 1999). Interestingly, SANParks also benefited from the restitution, by expanding KNP to include 3,000 ha of Makuleke land containing the ecologically valuable Banyine Pans that had previously lain outside the park (Steenkamp and Grossman 2001).

The contract that governs the incorporation of the Makuleke land in KNP enables them to make sustainable use of specified natural resources (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002).

Local benefits and losses

Land and wildlife management: A Joint Management Board, which includes equal numbers of representatives from the community and KNP manages the Makuleke contractual park. The Makulekes are required to table their commercial plan at the joint management board and they always seek consensus with SANParks. There is a deadlock-breaking mechanism for contentious issues, but once procedures are exhausted the Makuleke may proceed without SANParks approval for activities. All commercial projects require an EIA, and therefore SANParks is able to lodge objections to proposed developments on environmental grounds (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002). The terms of the contractual park mean that the community may financially benefit from commercial activities on their reinstated land.

Wildlife utilisation: It is interesting to note that conflict arose between the Makuleke and SANParks regarding the commercialisation of the land when the Makuleke proposed a commercial hunt of two elephants and two buffalo. Media coverage of the 'controversial' plan coincided with plans for a forthcoming conference for the Convention on the International Trade on Endangered Species (CITES). South Africa wanted to apply to sell off KNP's ivory and elephant hide stockpile, but the news of the hunt placed their proposal at risk due to lobbying from animal rights groups. The issue was very sensitive at the time (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002), and a senior SANParks official reportedly informed the Makuleke that it was 'illegal' to hunt elephant and that they were to cancel the elephant safari (Steenkamp and Grossman 2001). However, the CEO of SANParks stated publicly that the Makuleke did have the right to hunt elephant on their land and after a series of negotiations the elephant hunt was allowed to take place (Steenkamp and Grossman 2001). The following year further when KNP noted that the Makuleke

could hunt elephant and buffalo, but not nyala or eland (Steenkamp and Grossman 2001). KNP state that nyala and eland are not abundant in KNP and they are actively trying to breed the rare eland (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002). KNP also contested proposals to hunt hippo from a river population of less than ten (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002). The issue was eventually resolved through the mediation channels of the contractual park (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002). The hunt of two elephants and two buffalo in 2000 generated around \$57,000 for local development projects, and the game meat was distributed among the Makuleke villages (Koch 2001b).

Employment and concession fees: There are concerns that the current concentration on hunting by the Makuleke is a reflection of the slow development of photographic safari tourism on the land (*pers. comm.* Gertenbach 2002). Despite this, the Makuleke are working with the private operator, Matswani Safaris, to develop a luxury 24-bed lodge, a tented-camp and a museum. Projections indicate that when running at 60% occupancy the lodge will pay an annual rent of \$75,000 to the Makuleke community, and around \$150,000 to the people through wages. It is estimated that the Makuleke will obtain around \$400 per family through the initiative, which is significant in relation to the average annual wage of around \$750 (Koch 2001b).

Training: The developer proposes to undertake a major vocational training programme before the lodge opens, in order to prepare local tour guides and hospitality staff to take up positions in all management levels of the lodge (Anon 2001). Other training programmes for the Makuleke have included the following (Anon 2001):

- 26 students trained in conservation management, tourism and business skills;
- 7 Makuleke residents received specialist training as safari guides;
- 2 students trained to store and interpret GIS mapping data from Cybertracker wildlife monitoring in the park;
- The Executive committee of the Makuleke Communal Property Association have undertaken a leadership training programme.

Turner and Meer (2001) suggest that the cohesion of the Makuleke has been the most important factor in their success to date. The cohesion is apparently built on an inter-generational alliance between the traditional authority and a 'progressive' elected political grouping.

Driving forces and constraints

The Makuleke have worked with a support network of interested individuals who dedicated themselves to promoting the Makuleke's land claim and supporting their development. The Makuleke welcomed assistance from the 'Friends of Makuleke', as it was perceived that they had no ulterior motives. They also receive support from NGOs such as TRANSFORM and the Group for Environmental Monitoring (which

helped to build capacity and stimulate debate and awareness of community conservation initially) (Turner and Meer 2001). Turner and Meer (2001: 26) suggest that Makuleke's success has the following basis:

Favourable land policy created space for the Makuleke to act on their [land] claim, but it was the privileged access to information and influence through Friends of Makuleke that enabled them to short circuit the cumbersome restitution process and reach a settlement. The Makuleke were also able to build on the policy precedent set by the Richtersveld National Park, and by the evolution of policy within SANP. [They are also] the group that has done most to draw women into their leadership structures.

There is a sense that the Makuleke understand the limitations of nature-based tourism in promoting socio-economic development. Turner and Meer (2001) indicate that the major economic potential presented by irrigation infrastructure constructed by the former political regime near their existing villages at Ntlaveni may have influenced their decision to remain residing outside the park. They indicate that there is actually potential for their irrigated lands outside the park to earn more than tourism, if crops are properly developed and marketed. If this was the case, then the enlightened understanding of the community regarding the value of irrigated agriculture and the limitations of tourism development may have significantly shaped the course of their involvement in the park. However, it appears that the irrigation system is not currently functional and an alternative view for their lack of occupation within a remote area of park was that they had become established within the Ntlaveni villages outside KNP (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002). There is concern that there are high expectations for tourism to deliver and less effort is being placed on village-based development than tourism (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002).

There is a joint authority that the Makuleke and SANParks have formed, which deals with the management of the contractual national park. This is reportedly the best functioning joint management system in South Africa since it involves real, rather than token, involvement by the Makuleke people. The negotiations are genuine and at least once the activities of the Makuleke have pushed the joint management board into a deadlock that had to be resolved through mediation (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002).

Summary of issues

In both the Mdluli and Makuleke cases, the community has regained title to land that was lost during apartheid, and has been managed within Kruger National Park. In one instance a joint management committee between the parties now manages the land management issues of a contractual park (Makuleke), while in the other the community has afforded SANParks permission to manage the land as part of the national park (Mdluli). In both cases the established conservation body has played a significant role in both providing opportunities for revenue generation by communities (for example, harvesting thatch on Daannel) and in

hindering commercial proposals (for example, hunting by Makuleke; tourism development on Daannel). The conservation authority has been consistent in prioritising its conservation interests over pro-poor agendas in instances where the two conflict.

In terms of community drivers, it seems that advisors, NGOs, the private sector and the media – all external from the community – play a considerable role in pushing land claims through the bureaucratic process. However, the support provided to the Makuleke has been far more significant than that given to the Mdluli tribe. This may be because it has been seen as a more interesting land transfer case, potentially because of its location within a proposed Transfrontier Conservation Area, its size, and the generation of a joint management committee.

In each of the cases, the land has been transferred from state owned protected areas to areas of communal tenure run by tribal authorities. Another similarity between them has been the constraints faced by the communities in dealing with conservationists; be they private individuals or members of state run conservation agencies.

Scenario 5: amalgams of land ownership types

The previous scenarios discussed have dealt issues as they relate to tourism based on land owned by the state, the private sector, or communities. This section deals with wider destination issues, where there is an amalgam of land ownership types. The mixture creates interesting dynamics and interactions in terms of how the rural poor gain access to land and economic opportunities, and constraints they face.

The cases that have been used to illustrate the process here are as follows:

- Case Study 1: The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park and the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Transfrontier Conservation Area, Mozambique/South Africa/Zimbabwe
- Case Study 2: The Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park, World Heritage Site (KwaZulu Natal)
- Case Study 3: The Greater Addo National Park (Eastern Cape)

Case Study 1: The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park and the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Transfrontier Conservation Area

Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCAs) are described as relatively large areas encompassing one or more protected areas, which straddle frontiers between one or more countries (World Bank 1996). They are promoted as a means to enhance the conservation potential for an area by enabling larger populations of species to survive and promoting ecosystem-based management spanning international boundaries. They also provide a means to stimulate commercial investment and potentially to empower previously disadvantaged communities to participate in, and

obtain benefits from, the sustainable utilisation and management of wild resources (Wolmer 2003).

The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park has been selected here to illustrate the processes at play in a developing transboundary system. It reveals the wide range of stakeholders involved in the process who may have different motivations for the area, but together have produced a synergistic drive towards implementation. It also shows an example of where the rhetoric of community involvement and upliftment has not always been equivalent to reality.

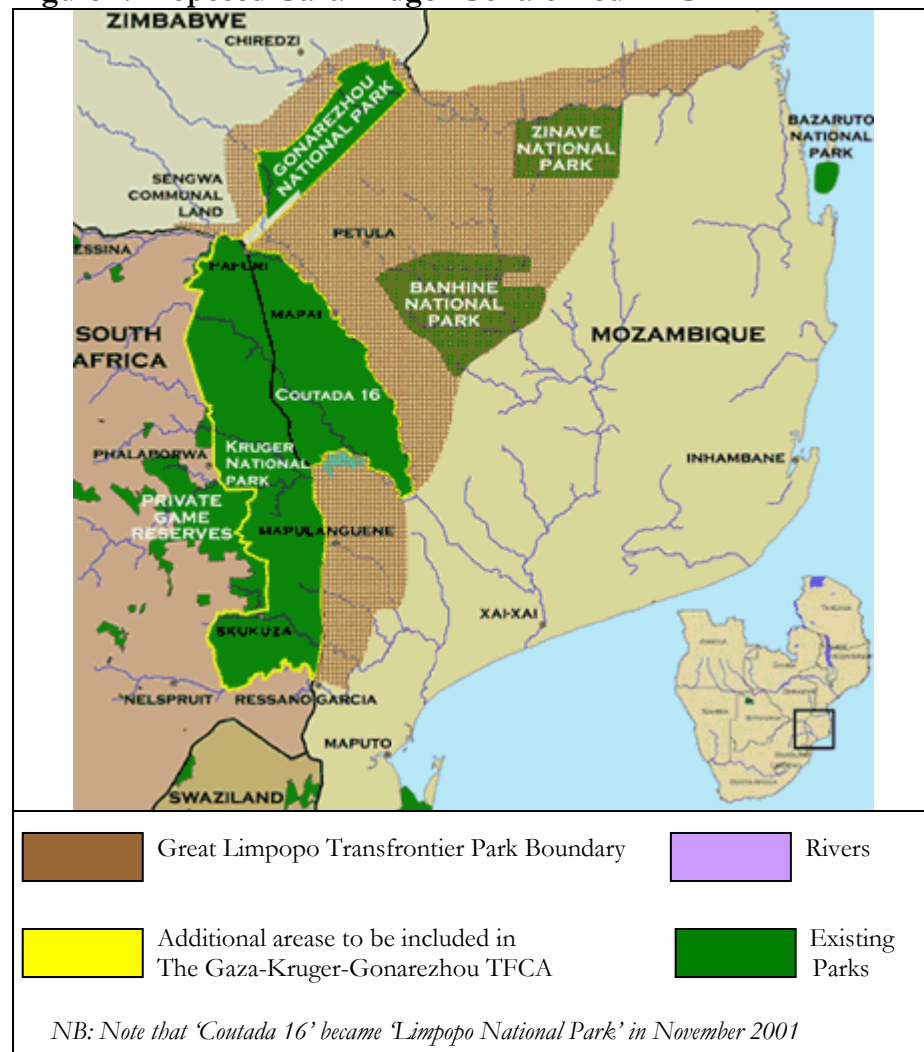
Description

The Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park includes state, communal, and private land from within three southern African countries; Mozambique, South Africa and Zimbabwe. It includes two national parks in South Africa and Zimbabwe (Kruger and Gonarezhou) and a new national park in Mozambique, Limpopo NP (which was a hunting concession called Coutada 16 until November 2001). It also contains the Makuleke contractual park in KNP, and areas in Zimbabwe that were recently invaded by war veterans. It has received political advocacy at ministerial level, in addition to high-profile financial and logistical support from protected area authorities, banks, IGOs and NGOs. It is described as an area that, ‘... will be a world class ecotourism destination, with extensive private sector involvement, but managed to optimise benefits for biodiversity conservation and economic development of local communities’ (Codex 2001).

A memorandum of understanding was initially signed by ministers responsible for wildlife in Zimbabwe, South Africa and Mozambique during October 1999 to establish the Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou Transfrontier Conservation Area (GKG-TFCA) (Codex 2001) over an area covering around 99,800 km² (DEAT 2000b). Following protracted negotiations, an agreement was signed by ministers from the three countries in November 2000 to develop the TFCA, and in October 2001 a smaller core area of around 35,400 km² within the TFCA was re-named the Great Limpopo Transfrontier Park (GLTP) (Braack 2001b). The GLTP was proposed to consist of a core area of state owned land (although including a corridor of communal land linking KNP to Gonarezhou and the Makuleke region of KNP) which will be fully integrated and allow the free movement of animals and people. The TFCA will act as a ‘buffer’ area around this, and will additionally include land with different levels of conservation status, including the National Parks (for example, Zinave and Banhine in Mozambique), private game reserves, hunting concession areas, and community managed natural resource areas in the three countries. The reason given for creating the core GLTP was the realisation that extensive human settlements within the proposed TFCA area could not meaningfully be integrated into the core Transfrontier Park (DEAT 2000b). A map of the area constituting the GLTP and the proposed GKG-TFCA is shown in Figure 5.

There is currently widespread poverty, illiteracy, poor infrastructure and few revenue generating opportunities within the rural communities within the proposed TFCA area (DEAT 2000b). The co-ordinators of the TFCA have therefore proposed that local communities would benefit from involvement in Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes in the interstitial areas (DEAT 2000b). However, there has reportedly been a lack of clarity at political and planning levels regarding the role of local people and potential alternative forms of involvement have been emphasised so far (for example, tourism partnerships, SMME involvement in infrastructure development) (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002). This has been coupled with little meaningful consultation and involvement by local people in the planning process.

Figure 1: Proposed Gaza-Kruger-Gonarezhou TFCA



Source: Peace Parks Foundation (2001).

Local benefits and losses

Although the GLTP is still in the planning stages, the area presents opportunities for a wide range of community livelihood benefits. These include (BSP 1999; Metcalfe 1999; Reid 1999):

- Freedom for pastoralists to range across traditional areas, unrestricted by colonial borders.
- Reuniting tribes that were split across border during colonial times, allowing the renewal of cultural ties and traditions.
- Strengthening of marginalized groups.
- Peace and good relationships with neighbouring cross-border communities through increased contact and co-operative natural resource management.
- Improved social security and welfare through more valuable natural resources and firmly devolved community-based property rights.
- Improved livelihoods through diversified, income-generating, land-use options (i.e., may achieve more optimal land-use value), such as tourism; outsourcing of small business opportunities by the public sector due to infrastructure developments; increased access to resources for harvesting; improved employment opportunities.
- Improved collaboration with government and the private sector. Improved working relationships with state authorities can be beneficial to coordination and co-management. It can also raise the status of periphery communities and help to advocate their interests effectively with improved recognition. The private sector can present opportunities for communities to enter joint-venture arrangements from which communities can learn and benefit.
- Richer cultural and social environment, with potential for cross-border contact with family and relatives. Many ethnic groups have been separated by imposed international boundaries, and transfrontier linkages could forge stronger ties and relationships.
- Improved resource conservation and protection, with joint management of key resources and collaborative intelligence to reduce commercial poaching, in addition to increased conservation awareness.
- Improved training and capacity, and learning through sharing experiences. They can compare and contrast experience, which can encourage best practices to be used in a rapid learning process. Funding for training for conservation and business management may also be available from donors supporting the process.

Participation: Until very recently, local communities living around the GLTP had been afforded minimal participation in a predominately top-down planning process. This had led to a potentially dangerous situation in Limpopo NP in Mozambique. An estimated 15,000 people inhabit the park, and a management unit was established to consult and liaise with these people, to ascertain the different potential options for their involvement (Braack 2001a) and options for protecting their stock from

game (Peace Parks Foundation 2001). In order to decrease the ecological pressure of an overpopulation of elephants in Kruger NP without resorting to culling, it was proposed that 1000 of KNP's elephants be relocated to populate Limpopo NP. Due to the very real danger posed by elephants living amongst people, this activity was supposed to be associated with the consultation and agreement of people living there, and also the fencing off of their property where necessary (Braack 2001a). However, the initial relocation of 25 elephants during October 2001 was not preceded by adequate consultation with the communities by the Mozambican government, and the people are now reportedly living in fear. One stakeholder reported that the inhabitants perceived the arrival of the elephants as their eviction notice, and felt that their government had betrayed them (*pers. comm.* Johnson 2002).

Employment: In terms of employment for local people at this early stage in the development process, there will be direct employment within the area for local people trained as field rangers. Initial training has been undertaken by a group of locally-recruited people from Limpopo NP at the Southern African Wildlife College (SAWC) near KNP (Braack 2001b), and the best thirty candidates will be deployed (Malilangwe Trust 2001). There has been little formal involvement of the private sector to date in terms of proposing commercial tourism initiatives associated with the area. However, it is possible that the state may afford the private sector preferential access to concessions in relation to the extent of their empowerment proposals – as was recently been seen during the commercialisation process in SANParks.

Enterprise development: There has been some criticism of the rhetoric regarding improved and expanded opportunities for tourism for local communities in the GLTP (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002). As yet there has been no clear indication that rural people will have access to better tourism sites than they do already. It has also been noted that most of the joint ventures in South Africa and Zimbabwe so far have occurred *in spite* of the TFCA, and there is no indication of how their performance will improve with the GLTP. In addition, there is concern that the high speed of implementation of the park may mean that potential opportunities to outsource business around infrastructure provision to rural communities will be overlooked.

Informal trade: Although at a governmental level, enhanced policing of previously remote areas is potentially advantageous in terms of reducing illegal labour migration, poaching, smuggling and rebel activity (Wolmer, 2003; Duffy 1997), there are fears that increased control will interfere with the traditional livelihoods of the rural poor. For example, they may face constraints to the movement of livestock and access to traditional grazing areas. In addition, both legal and illegal informal trading and labour migration between the three countries may be limited (Wolmer, 2003). In Zimbabwe, labour migration, remittances and transborder trade are reportedly the mainstay of many livelihood systems, and carry more importance than resources such as wildlife and ilala palm (Wolmer,

2003). Although TFCA policies could potentially support the cross-border movements of goods and people and therefore enhance livelihoods dramatically, it is likely that borders will only be open to wildlife and tourists: indicating the central focus for the area by policy makers.

Resettlement: The extent to which people may be resettled outside the TFCA, to make way for wildlife and to ensure their safety, is currently unknown. Although some reports have stated that the TFCA will require no resettlement, others have described a 100-km by 40-km wide elephant-proof corridor that may be constructed from Kruger to Gonarezhou. This corridor would potentially affect around 20,000 people within the Sengwe Communal Lands through which it would pass. There are differing reports as to whether residents in the corridor have indicated support for this (compare, for example, Macleod 2000 and Wolmer 2002). It is also uncertain whether Limpopo NP will be fenced, and whether the inhabitants there will also be encouraged to relocate (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002).

Conversely, the Zimbabwean government 'fast track' land transformation has led to recent land invasions in areas of Gonarezhou National Park. Despite ministerial endorsement of the transfrontier park, land tenure issues within the core Zimbabwean portion of the TFCA have become complicated. Some of the Shangaan families that were evicted from Gonarezhou when the park was designated in 1975 have reportedly been encouraged to re-occupy it by the Governor of Masvingo. In addition, the Agricultural and Rural Extension Department (Agritex) has been demarcating the land, and has pegged out 520 plots for new inhabitants. There is apparently free movement of cattle within the wildlife area, and there are great concerns regarding the transmission of foot-and-mouth disease between wildlife and livestock (Sharman 2001). The spread of foot-and-mouth has implications for the sustainability of both wildlife and pastoral landuses, but some note that this has often been used a convenient argument for maintaining the status quo (*pers. comm.* Wolmer 2002).

Resource use: It is hoped that the generation of profits from wildlife and participation with the private sector will stimulate rural development in these areas. It is also hoped that there will be indirect benefits from the TFCA in terms of providing incentives to local communities to conserve wildlife, and manage other inter-related natural resources (DEAT 2000b). There has not yet been any clear indication as to whether the people living within Limpopo NP will be allowed to harvest resources, or to hunt (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002). In addition, there is some concern that there are no mechanisms to decentralise transboundary natural resource management (Wolmer, 2003) from the government wildlife departments. It has been noted that communities will require ownership rights and management control over land if they are to practice any nature conservation or ecotourism outside the core protected area (Turner and Meer 1999), and this issue has not yet been addressed.

Driving forces and constraints

The TFCA has attracted a wide diversity of players working from a range of different interests. These include radical environmentalism, conservation biology, neoliberal economic agendas, and donor/NGO funding prerogatives (Wolmer 2003). As Box 7 shows below, the agenda and drive to create TFCA has changed over the past few years from its initial conservation oriented objectives, and this has affected the interest of different players.

Conservation and social development NGOs such as CESVI, African Wildlife Foundation (AWF), World Conservation Union (IUCN) and the Southern Alliance for Indigenous Resources (SAFIRE) have been working with the inhabitants of the Zimbabwean communal lands likely to be affected by the TFCA. The Save Valley Conservancy and the Malilangwe Trust community outreach programmes have discussed opportunities of wildlife and culture-based ecotourism development in communal areas, and resettlement areas of the lowveld (Wolmer, 2003). There is a risk that with the involvement of such powerful role players in the process, the interests of local communities and the poor will be overridden by national and institutional interests (BSP 1999).

Box 7: Paradigm shift in TFCA drive and priorities

Originally, TFCAs were specifically intended to safeguard ecosystems and biodiversity disrupted by national borders. However, in recent years the concept has been expanded to one of combining integrated ecosystem conservation and socio-economic development models. This paradigm is a shift from being a state-drive activity to being more based in society, and particularly at the local levels, where a variety of different stakeholders are encouraged to play more proactive roles in the management of natural resources. The intention is to encourage the formation of alliances between different stakeholders such as government departments, the private sector, local communities and non-governmental organisations.

Source: DEAT (2000b: 2)

An example of the wider institutional issues comes from the example of USAID. It appears that in the late 1990s, USAID Regional Centre for Southern Africa underwent a strategic refocusing of its role in supporting SADC (*pers. comm.* Johnson 2002). There was waning interest in CBNRM operations such as CAMPFIRE in Zimbabwe, and the organisation was asking what the regional development and natural resource management priorities were (Wolmer 2003). TFCAs therefore allowed USAID to provide a new channel for their continued work, by facilitating regional co-operation of shared natural resources management (USAID 2001, cited in Wolmer 2003), and allowing space to apply lessons from CBNRM on a larger scale (Katerere et al. 2001). Other donors could use

also the TFCA route to channel money into Zimbabwe, where they were politically unable or unwilling to do so (Wolmer 2003).⁴¹

In terms of the role of local communities in driving the process, there has actually been minimal participation of inhabitants and neighbours of the TFCA in many areas (Wolmer 2003; Koch 2001a). An illustration of the lack of public awareness was highlighted during extended interviews held with nearly 1100 members of four communities neighbouring KNP between June 2000 and April 2001 that found very little awareness of the proposed TFCA, nor of its potential implications for their livelihoods. Only 11% of the sample had heard of the TFCA, and in the Mdluli Tribal Authority, less than 1% of the community could describe in general terms what it was (Spenceley 2000; 2001b; 2001c; 2002).

Some progress is now being made to rectify this short-fall, and in April 2001 a community working group was held at the Southern African Wildlife College, financed by the Ford Foundation, GtZ/TRANSFORM, and the African Wildlife Foundation. The workshop was convened in order to discuss the creation of an organisation that could represent South Africa communities affected by the TFCA during planning, and which would interact with the technical committee that had been set up to plan the area. It was decided that each of the areas already covered by KNP's community fora would nominate four delegates to sit on a working group.⁴² It was also agreed that a consortium including the social ecology unit of KNP, and NGOs including the Africa Resources Trust, the African Wildlife Foundation, and Mafisa with GtZ/TRANSFORM, would provide a technical team to support the working group (Koch 2001a). Similar efforts had been made to set up similar organisations in Mozambique and Zimbabwe, but have not yet made equivalent progress (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002). Subsequently a joint meeting of community representatives from all three countries was held at the SAWC in June 2001. The purpose of the meeting was firstly for the communities who were affected by the TFCA to meet each other, to discuss the implications of the Transfrontier Park for communities, and to discuss ways of engaging in the planning process. One method of ensuring input to planners was by way of participating as formal Working Groups within each country that would interact with the National Interdepartmental Committees (Braack 2001a). The most recent tri-nation community workshop took place in November 2001 at Malilangwe in Zimbabwe. It was convened to allow communities to share experiences on progress, to come to a better understanding regarding their opportunities, to look at the way forward in terms of community issues, and to finalise the formation of a tri-nation working group (Malilangwe 2001).

⁴¹ These concerns have been in the light of Zimbabwe's political crisis, the collapse of the tourist industry and highly publicised farm invasions with associated poaching, burning, tree-felling and ploughing up of land (Wolmer 2003).

⁴² These delegates would be from the area covered by the forum, not just members of the forum groups.

There are specific constraints with regard to the GKG-TFCA and the GLTP. For example, there are criticisms of the process itself and the way in which power, drivers, and control are being used. There are accusations that South Africa is dominating the TFCA process, and has taken control of a concept that was initiated by Mozambique in 1994 and that the other countries interests are being subordinated (*pers. comm.* Koch 2002). For example, the government of Mozambique appears to be concerned that it has not had the capacity nor intra-governmental coordination to adequately prepare for international meetings, and that some decisions taken regarding the TFCA have not been in the national interests of the country (*pers. comm.* Johnson 2002). This was illustrated by the initial relocation of elephants to Limpopo NP: there was ecological advice that species smaller than elephants should be moved initially, and it was recommended that local people should be adequately consulted and protected from introduced wildlife prior to its relocation. However, these concerns were over-ridden, apparently by the desire to create a high-profile media event, which included the participation of Nelson Mandela, and coincided with Anton Rupert's birthday.⁴³

It is not known to what extent evolving governmental land reform priorities and activities in Zimbabwe will facilitate or hinder the TFCA process, and what associated trade-offs there will be for rural people's livelihoods in the short and long-term. However, it appears that donors and the Mozambican and South African governments are unsure as to whether Zimbabwe will honour its agreements given the current political context, and at the time of submission of this paper they were pursuing a more bilateral agenda (Wolmer 2003; *pers. comm.* Johnson 2002).

Case study 2: The Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park

The Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park (GSLWP) is a World Heritage Site (WHS), and shows another example of an amalgam of land-tenure types, in an area contained entirely within one country.

Description

The GSLWP is situated on the northeastern coast of KwaZulu-Natal and extends around 280 km from the Mozambican border in the north, to Mapelane south of the St. Lucia estuary (Taylor and Castis 2000). Again, the area is an amalgamation of state conservation areas, state forestry, communal land, and private land, managed by a centralised authority.

The primary objective for the GSLWP is optimal commercialisation underpinned by sound conservation management. The area has a great diversity of factors that are conducive to commercial development through tourism. These include unique and unspoiled natural assets such as rivers, lakes, bushveld, beaches, estuaries, mountains and plains; abundant rare and threatened species of wildlife, marine life and flora;

⁴³ Anton Rupert is a South African tobacco magnate who is president of WWF-SA, and the founder and chair of the Peace Parks Foundation (Sayagues 1999).

existing and planned world-class Big-Five game viewing; year-round sunny and hot climate with a warm-water coast (DEAT 2000i).

At present the area attracts approximately 500,000 tourists per year, and provides 11,200 beds, of which most are privately or government owned. Through the intervention of the Lubombo SDI (within which the WHS lies) and the establishment of the GSLWP Authority the plan is to kick-start the economy of the sub-region over a 10-year period. By 2010 projections are for an increase in tourist numbers to 1.4 million, the bed numbers to 18,700, and foreign currency earnings to R850 million a year. With careful conservation and resource management it is predicted that the Lubombo SDI will create 9,000 jobs during the development of infrastructure and 4,000 permanent jobs (DEAT 2000i).

At government and institutional levels, the DEAT set up a business-oriented authority under the new World Heritage Convention Act of 1999. Its purpose was to balance conservation of the Park, in partnership with the conservation manager KZN Wildlife, and optimal commercial development. Other partners such as the Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) (which runs through the WHS) and Tourism KwaZulu-Natal (the provincial tourism authority) are currently working with the Authority, DEAT and KZN Wildlife to invite tourism developers to tender for concessions within the GSLWP (Taylor and Castis 2000).

Local benefits and losses

A core objective of the GSLWP is the alleviation of poverty and the empowerment of historically disadvantaged communities (DEAT 2000i). Poverty and underdevelopment are prevalent within this very rural area, and co-ordinated tourism development is seen as a mechanism to unleash the economic potential of the region. Since the Lubombo SDI protocol was first signed in 1998 a number of accomplishments have been achieved that have benefited local communities. These include (DEAT 2000j; Pers Comm. Porter 2002):

- The provision of 11 key access roads serving 160,000 people;
- A R40 million malaria control programme;
- A R2.8 million crafts programme to build capacity and give marketing support to 2,000 crafters;
- Land claim settlements on the eastern shores and Sodwana State Forest have been settled.

A GSLWP Cultural programme was initiated in 2001, and is funded by the government Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (DACST), aiming to teach craft skills, photography, dance, music, and story telling. The training programme, however, has not been easy, and has illustrated the importance and difficulties of training in a co-ordinated and directed way that deals with actual levels of literacy, and managing expectations of the rural poor (*pers. comm.* James 2001).

Some have raised doubts as to whether the GSLWP can fulfil its economic potential through tourism. For example, the area has less than 50% occupancy of current beds, and the statistic of 500,000 tourists per year includes both accommodated *and* day visitors. Questions have also been raised whether future development within the WHS will be done at the expense of peripheral private sector activity, and how the rights of South African citizens to access the area will be ensured (*pers. comm.* Porter 2002).

Driving forces and constraints

The driving forces in obtaining WHS status for the area appear to have emphasised enhanced protection for the conservation resources in the area coupled with sustainable socio-economic development opportunities for the rural poor. In the late 1980's and early 1990's there was a battle between conservationists and a mining company, Richard's Bay Minerals, which applied for rights to mine the titanium-rich dunes along the coast in 1989. Following a public outcry, and the largest petition ever compiled in South Africa, the government undertook an EIA of the mine. The EIA was the most extensive ever undertaken in the country, and took four years to complete. The assessment concluded that mining development would have caused 'unacceptable damage' to the unique St Lucia wetland system, which was considered a 'very special asset for the nation' (Barker 1997). As an alternative to mining, it was suggested that the area could make more sustainable economic gains from tourism development.

It is hoped that the WHS status of the area will boost regional tourism, and that this will have knock-on economic benefits for the rural poor. Although over recent years rural communities in the area have become increasingly involved in discussions and negotiations regarding business opportunities and access to natural resources with individual private sector (for example, Phinda, Rocktail Bay) or provincial game reserves (for example, Mkuze, Hhluwe/Umfolozu), they were not significantly involved in the discussions regarding the creation of the GSLWP. They have been considered, especially in line with government policies towards black empowerment and improving the opportunities for historically disadvantaged people, but the achievement of WHS status is more related to the conservation diversity and value of an area than socio-economic development.

Constraints to the GSLWP appear to predominate on the human resources side, in that although a core objective of the WHS and the SDI is rural socio-economic development, the facilitative policy and planning context is not supported by sufficient training and capacity building to allow the poor rural communities to take advantage of benefits proffered by tourism (*pers. comm.* James 2001). There is a great need for investment in this region if the potential for poverty alleviation and rural development is to be realised.

Case study 3: The Greater Addo National Park

The Greater Addo National Park (GANP) shows that the objectives of policy are not always easy to implement on the ground given capacity levels and divergent interests.

Description

Addo National Park is located in the Eastern Cape, 72 km inland from Port Elizabeth. Addo's conservation and tourism management is undertaken and co-ordinated by SANParks. There are proposals to expand the park, in order to create the GANP and to increase both the conservation and potential tourism value of the area. The plans include (Spenceley 2001a):

- To expand the current conservation area and incorporate six of the seven terrestrial biomes represented in South Africa. Habitats will range from arid and semi-arid Karoo to coastal forest, and will even include an area of marine reserve. The GANP will create a unique conservation area within this ecological transition zone.
- To incorporate contractual parks with neighbouring landowners, where the inclusion of their land makes a significant ecological contribution.
- To reap the benefits from increasing tourism in this expanded protected area through partnerships between SANParks, local communities, provincial conservation authorities, regional tour operators and investors.

Local benefits and losses

There is a perception that little has been achieved in terms of community involvement or economic development, as yet (Turner and Meer 1999), and it appears that the initiatives that have begun have not had sufficient business planning. For example, a craft stall at the park entrance was constructed for local people to sell their wares. However, the transport costs involved in reaching the park gate from their villages of Paterson, Valencia and Nomathamsanqua made it uneconomical for people to use, since the returns from crafts were so small (Urquhart 2000). There were collaborative efforts with neighbouring communities, such as the Nomathamsanqa community of Mayibuye Ndlouvu, where a Trust was established to encourage community based conservation development projects, but so far there has been little progress (Turner and Meer 1999)

Driving forces and constraints

The drivers of the process are terrestrial ecologists from the University of Port Elizabeth who initially conceptualised the GANP, and also SANParks, who have staff dedicated to the expansion process. Reasons for little progress on community development associated with the GANP appears to be a lack of capacity and commitment on both sides, and the perception that conservation authorities wish to design poor people

happy, ‘... on the other side of the fence, and failing to engage with the greater but more necessary challenges of starting to share management and benefits with them’ (Turner and Meer 1999: 75).⁴⁴

Summary of issues

Each of the case studies presented illustrates amalgamated areas that were initially promoted for conservation reasons – either to expand the diversity of included ecosystems; to enhance the range available for large mammals such as elephants; or to avoid a threat of alternative, unsustainable development deemed more damaging than tourism. In each case, the community involvement in the processes and actual socio-economic development of local rural people has come to the table late in the day. The involvement of communities might therefore be perceived by some as more to do with political correctness, than due to real concern for the active participation and involvement of the rural poor throughout the programme development and implementation. However, the real value of the amalgam areas will be determined if the priorities for economic development are manipulated to provide practical opportunities for the rural poor.

Scenario 6: community business

The process of rural people engaging in commercial enterprises, so that they actually *become* the private sector, has few successful examples so far in South Africa. However, there are a number of key emerging initiatives that are being driven by local communities, or with facilitating institutions, to exploit the potential commercial advantages of tourism.

The examples provide here are as follows:

- Case Study 1: Amadiba Adventures Horse and Hiking Trail (Eastern Cape)
- Case Study 2: Numbi Gate Curio Stall, Skukuza Alliance (Mpumalanga)
- Case Study 3: Jonopo Cultural Village

Case study 1: Amadiba Adventures Horse and Hiking Trail

The Amadiba Adventures Horse and Hiking Trail is an example of an initiative where an NGO, Pondo Community Resource Optimisation Programme (PondoCROP), has initiated and facilitated the development of a community organisation and a community-run tourism enterprise, but proposes to take a back seat to allow the community to control the project. Through this process, the community group has evolved *into* the private sector operator.

⁴⁴ SANParks representatives coordinating the development of the GANP declined the opportunity to comment on the draft of this case study.

Description

The Amadiba Adventures Horse and Hiking Trail was initiated in 1998 when PondoCROP approached the community with the idea (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003). The trail was proposed in order that people could use the assets they already had (for example, horses) to attract tourism revenue. The 23 km Horse and Hiking trail runs predominantly on communal land from the Mzamba river to the Mtentu river in the Eastern Cape. Tourists leave their vehicles at the Wild Coast Sun hotel and walk from there with a guide to the start of the trail 2.4 km away over the Mzamba river. On the first day they ride horses and canoe to the Kwanyana campsite where they stay overnight, and on the second day they ride on to the Mtentu campsite (PondoCROP 2001, cited in Ntshona and Lahiff 2003).⁴⁵ The tourists are generally on low budgets or are families of international tourists, and it is estimated that the trail is currently running at 20% of its potential capacity (Ashley and Ntshona 2003). Depending on the length of trip tourists request, the return trip from Mzamba to Mtentu takes between four and six days, and the cost is R1100 or R1380 respectfully. Additional recreational activities that are available to tourists in Mtentu include canoeing in the Mtentu river, hiking to Mkambati Nature reserve, and visits to see Sangomas (traditional healers) (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003).

During three months of the year, the Mtentu campsite is not available for use by the Horse and Hiking Trail, since the community leases it out to a private sector operator, UFUDU, for fly-fishing trips. During this time the hiking trail shifts and pitches tents elsewhere.

Local benefits and losses

The trail is designed to benefit the staff members and also the surrounding Mgungundloubvu area. Eventually it aims to benefit the broader Amadiba region.

Employment: The trail is operated by 23 staff (Ashley and Ntshona 2003). Six of these staff members are employed at the Kwanyana camp, and twelve others at Mtentu. They are paid a rate calculated on a per day, per tourist basis, with the camp managers, river guides and tour guides paid R15 /tourist/day, while caterers, cleaners and tent owners receive R5 /tourist/day. Along the length of the trail, the horses used are sourced from different villages, in a system that allows payment and use of horses to be spread around the area. Horse owners are paid in relation to the distance their animals travel (for example, R30 for the 11 km between Kwanyana camp and the Mtentu river; R20 for the 6 km between the Mzamba and Mnyameni rivers) (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003). Horse owners are expected to maintain their horses in good condition for use on the trail (ibid.).

⁴⁵ See section regarding the use of the Mtentu campsite in the UFUDU fly-fishing operation.

Ashley and Ntshona (2003) report that from a local perspective, the jobs on the trail are not considered ‘proper jobs’, based on the perception that jobs entail regular salaries and working away from home. There is no intensity of competition for jobs, despite the high unemployment levels in the area.

Tourist levy: R5 /tourist/day is supposed to be channelled from the tourist’s payment into a trust fund managed by the Amadiba Coastal Community Development Association (ACCODA). This is envisaged for use in community development initiatives, but the money collected from guests has generally only been sufficient to cover salaries, and so money has not yet entered the trust. The late payment of bills by tourists appears to have caused the problem, in addition to unpredictable discounts given to guests who have complained about the health of horses, or who have had personal belongings damaged during their trip (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003).

Institutional development: Amadiba’s institutional arrangements have changed a number of times since the proposals were initially discussed. PondoCROP initially worked with the community directly to initiate and operate the project, but the need to shift ownership and the operational management decision making necessitated the development of the Amadiba Steering Committee (ASC). Institutional management has been a key issue between the stakeholders over the course of the project. During this time responsibility for the programmes has been passed from the ASC, through the ACCODA, to a management committee. As the organisational structures have evolved, this has resulted in more representation from area Reconstruction and Development Programmes (RDP), the Tribal Authority, nature conservation in Mkambati Nature Reserve, and youth (Ntshona and Lahiff 2003).

ACCODA’s role has been to maintain close communication with the community in order to disseminate information regarding development and to invite comments. They initiate development programmes and protect natural resources. Its objectives include (ibid.):

- to promote sustainable development in the area;
- encourage self-employment;
- work with local authorities in development planning;
- sustainable management of natural resources.

The management committee was formed to look after the day-to-day operation of the trail because of the increasing responsibilities of ACCODA, and PondoCROP continued to deal with the financial administration and marketing (ibid.). However, management problems caused by a lack of experience and capacity have led to problems including jealousy, rivalry, local politics, and alleged misappropriation of

funds that have created financial shortages for the project. Other problems reported have included the following (ibid.):

- lack of accountability and transparency of money tourists pay;
- confusion over accounting procedures such as capital depreciation (which has been directly deducted from staff salaries by PondoCROP);
- quality of horses (for example, one group of tourists refused to pay for horses when they found they had sores beneath their saddles);
- complaints from horse owners regarding the length of the trail;
- school children missing lessons to fetch horses for tourists on behalf of their fathers;
- behaviour of staff, including a case of drunkenness resulted in suspension of the staff member.

Since these concerns relate to management-related issues, rather than fundamental problems with the trail concept itself, they could be remedied through re-designing the way in which the management systems work in a transparent and participatory way. This is not a unique problem among community-based enterprises. Despite the operating problems, the institutional development has allowed the community to become involved in other ventures, including the UFUDU fly-fishing partnership.

Driving forces and constraints

PondoCROP, the NGO, was the initial driver for the concept of the trail, and also in motivating and driving the community towards the project and developing appropriate community institutions. They also promoted the transfer of the project management from themselves to the community group; an action that is likely to occur in May 2002. However, the perception of staff members is that PondoCROP are actually becoming more actively involved, and gaining more control, rather than decreasing their input, and they are still actively involved in the project, particularly from an administrative stance. The community fears that they will never become owners of the project, and refer to PondoCROP staff as the project managers, rather than the community association (ibid.).

In terms of the community drivers, reports indicate that initially some members of the community were resistant to the initiative, as they were concerned about land dispossession in the process of establishing the trail (something which has been common in relation to illegal cottages owned by outsiders) (ibid.). However, through a number of meetings between PondoCROP and the community, confidence was built that their landholding would not be affected. There were also initial concerns that nothing positive would be gained if the community owned the trail, while others thought the idea was unfeasible (ibid.).

It is reported that staff are now hesitant to voice concerns they have about ACCODA as they do not wish to lose a source of revenue. Before the most recent re-structuring of the project, staff interviewed appeared to be happy that the project brought them cash income (something unavailable to them otherwise). They played only a small role in the development of the new structure, and subsequently there was uncertainty and fear of the project being dispossessed (ibid.). Eventually, the management committee that was dealing with the day-to-day management of the trail was disbanded. Shortages of money going into the community trust were attributed to their inefficiency and alleged embezzlement although the problem appears to have been a lack of transparency and accountability (ibid.).

Case study 2: Numbi Gate Curio Stall, Skukuza Alliance

The Skukuza Alliance is a local community initiative that supports rural handicraft development in Mpumalanga by upgrading capacity and training communities around KNP. Numbi Gate curio stall is an example where the state has facilitated the development of a community enterprise that has become private sector.

Description

The Skukuza Alliance evolved from the amalgamation of three regional artisan groups that KNP helped establish, including the Salubindza Original Art Association (Marais 1994). Their objectives were to ensure economic independence of participants, increasing job opportunities, and promoting South African art (Njobe et al. 1999). KNP helped build capacity in the organisations by exposing them to different marketing and management techniques (Marais 1994). The Skukuza Alliance initially had 69 members, but grew to 500 by 1998. It established a partnership with KNP's Social Ecology unit, the Department of Economic Affairs in Mpumalanga, and Seagrams SA (Pty) (Social Ecology 1998). A curio shop at Numbi Gate was opened in May 1997 through a partnership of SANParks and Skukuza Alliance (SANParks 1997).

Local benefits and losses

The community benefits from the curio shop at Numbi Gate by improved access to potential customers; tourists entering and leaving Kruger. Visitors to the park must stop at the gate in order to purchase entry permits, or to have them checked once leaving. Therefore the stall is located in an environment that is perceived as 'safe' (for example, within the park, with gate guards around), and where tourists are perhaps more likely to stop and browse than they would be outside the park. Location is often a key factor in retail success. The shop makes R9 - R15,000 per month, depending upon visitation to the park, and this revenue is predicted to support more than 600 families (Thwala 2000a). Given that the majority of 29,000 members of the adjacent Mdluli Tribal Authority are unemployed, this revenue can be significant in enhancing local livelihoods (Spenceley 2001b).

Curio artists have benefited from training that was paid for by the private sector company Seagrams and was facilitated by KNP. The training resulted in benefits that included (Mhlongo nd):

- Increased earnings of participants collectively from R2,000 to R40,000 per month;
- 10% of sales paid back into the project, while the remaining is divided among the artists;
- Marketing of products, with fixed prices and competitive products;
- Quality standards in relation to product and customer care;
- Increased diversity of size and types of articles produced; and
- Accounting and stock control, with supply and demand of products monitored professionally.

The alliance has expanded and some artisans were invited to exhibit wares at the National Trade fair in Cape Town, and at the Mpumalanga provincial arts festival in Secunda. The chairperson of the Alliance was sponsored by the provincial department of Arts and Culture to travel to the International Trade Fair in Australia. Sales of products took place internationally, both in Australia and the United States, through the National Arts Council (Mhlongo 1999).

The artisans face constraints in terms of the availability of materials with which to make their crafts. The long distances are travelled by women to obtain materials that are relatively expensive. Carvers also have to travel far to collect suitable wood and therefore faced transportation-cost problems (Rogerson and Sithole 2001). Allal and Chuta (1982) found that middlemen and moneylenders controlling the supply of raw materials to the crafts people were exploitative and could control the costs of resources. Wasteful processing and lack of working capital also created difficulties (FAO 1987).

The weather can present problems for the stall occasionally. For example, during the substantial February 2000 floods there was a subsequent drop in the tourism trade in KNP. The flooding made some of the roads in Kruger inaccessible, and destroyed a number of bridges. During this time, some of the sculptors broke away from the Numbi Gate stall, and began to sell on the road just outside the gate and began undercutting the curio stall prices. However, this went against an agreed understanding inherent in the construction of the stall: there would be no other curio trade on the Numbi Gate road (Spenceley 2001b).

Despite the facilitation of the stalls development by KNP, there are cases where interactions with individual personnel have caused conflict. For example, the relationship between the curio stall and the adjacent Numbi Gate managers has not always been easy. In June 2000 it was reported that the managers were complaining about smoke from a fire, and noise from an axe and radio. The deterioration in the relationship made

working conditions difficult for the curio stall workers. The problem was so serious that the group planned to close the stall and move outside the park (Thwala 2000a).

In addition, the wider KNP management proposal that the community had not participated posed a potential threat to the stall. As was previously mentioned KNP proposed to open a major gate at the Albassini ruins as an alternative major entrance point for the Paul Kruger and Numbi Gate. An implication of the proposal was that visitors that would usually travel through Numbi Gate would be diverted away from the entrance, and the curio stall, and therefore the current location advantage of the stall to attract passing customers would be lost. It now appears that Numbi Gate will not be closed, but the scenario shows how fundamentally wider KNP decisions could affect the stall (Spenceley 2001d).

Driving forces and constraints

The curio stall idea initially came from the community during one of the Lubambiswano Forum meetings, where the need for a stall near to the Numbi Gate was put forward. Through the regular quarterly meetings between the Social Ecology unit of KNP and the Lubambiswano Forum, the idea developed and gained approval in KNP. Since the opening of the gate in 1997, the Forum groups have continued to allow the Numbi Gate Alliance members to voice concerns they have regarding the stall to KNP. These allow discussions over pricing, quality, marketing, access, transport, wages and training to take place regularly.⁴⁶ The Numbi group also agreed to initiate a R50 joining fee for carvers and to develop a constitution to guide it in 2000 (Thwala 2000b). Although the Alliance has recorded important achievements, it is apparently not yet functioning as a true partnership (Njobe et al. 1999), and extensive institutional support is required to address the support needs of different groups of handicraft producers and traders (Rogerson 1999b).

Both the provincial government and the Social Ecology unit have helped to drive the process forward by providing capital financial support for the stall (Mhlongo, Undated). The Alliance also has basic funding support from a private sector donor (Mafisa 1998a). Seagram has provided financing for the training of artisans (Mhlongo nd).

Case study 3: Jonopo Cultural Village

Built on communal land with capital from the proprietor in 1992, the Jonopo Cultural Village in Qunu is reportedly the only cultural village in South Africa both owned and managed by a black person (Rogerson and Sithole 2001). The village receives 600-1000 visitors per month, who each pay a R5 entrance fee to see cultural demonstrations and purchase crafts. Although management training and publicity support from two NGOs

⁴⁶ Interestingly, it has been found that there are divisions of labour of men and women within the handicraft industry, with men tending to dominate the wood-craft sector, while women do the majority of grass and basket weaving (Rogerson and Sithole 2001).

was utilised during development, the owner refused a joint venture proposal from a local businessman on the grounds that it would compromise her control over the business, while not necessarily increasing profits. However, applications by the owner for grants to state and non-governmental tourism bodies to help improve facilities have been denied on the basis that she is an individual entrepreneur and their policy is to only allocate funds to community-based groups (Jansen van Veuren 2001).

Summary of issues

The three case studies described here are perhaps the most divergent of any presented within this paper. The first was driven by a committed NGO to promote socio-economic development of a community followed by trying to relinquish management control to the community. The second was promoted by the community, and heavily facilitated by the state park authority over an extended time period, in relation to institutional policies to generate local economic development. Finally, the third concerns committed, driven individual who has utilised NGO support when required, but refused private sector investment when incongruent with her objectives. In all three, the community entrepreneurs have made progress in 'becoming the private sector' although they have encountered obstacles. They also note the important role of training, capacity building and suitable support.

Lessons learned

The seventeen case studies presented within this report collectively reflect a striking diversity of successes, failures and developing processes. The variation in drivers and motivations working towards or against initiatives is diverse, as is the relative importance of land tenure. There are clearly many facilitative policies and programmes in South Africa that, on paper at least, promote the progression of historically disadvantaged people. However, implementing the policies has not been straightforward, and there are clear examples where policy and practice diverge.

Growing interaction of the private sector and local residents in nature-based tourism

The case studies illustrated that over the past decade there has been a major shift in South Africa in terms of the types of interactions between private sector operators and local residents in nature-based tourism. A diversity of interactions is evident, ranging in the extent to which they promote integrated community benefit and involvement. The range and number of operations examined in this paper indicate the increased emphasis within commercial operations that fundamentally incorporate local residents, and that pro-poor initiatives and corporate social responsibility activities have become more common. The scene has

changed considerably from when the government owned and operated tourism facilities for the benefit of white people, and the government and private sector could exploit the discriminatory apartheid policies to obtain cheap labour or to forcibly relocate people out of conservation areas. The post-apartheid state has played a major role in designing and implementing policies and programmes that facilitate black economic empowerment. These have included initiatives that encourage private sector to form quantifiable economic linkages with the poor in order to gain preferential access to wildlife and natural resources.

Overview of the six scenarios and case study findings

The six land-related scenarios that were used to explore the case studies provided a useful framework to illustrate the key issues (see Table 4):

Table 4: Key issues arising from the different scenarios

Scenario	Spatial illustration	Description
1. Private Sector (PS) on Communal Land		Communal land is used through variable partnerships between rural people and the private sector to develop tourism. Local people benefit from employment, training, and associated business opportunities.
2. Government Land with Private Sector involvement, and Community linkages		Land is owned by the State, and the private sector operates tourism on it through a lease or enterprise operation agreement. Community linkages may be formed through equity in the tourism enterprise promoted by the State, employment in the private sector, or associated business opportunities.
3. Private Land and Private Operators, with Community Linkages		Privately owned land with private sector tourism development. Corporate Social Responsibility programmes may have beneficial implications for rural livelihoods, in addition to employment and business opportunities.
4. Community Land Claims and Land Transfers		Through land claims or land invasions, transfer of land ownership from the State or private sector to communities. Communities then may have the opportunity to utilise the land for tourism via community-based tourism, or partnerships with the private sector.
5. Amalgams of Land Ownership Types		Destinations and planning initiatives that focus over a wide geographical area, and may include areas of communal, State, and private-sector land. Tourism has a strategic focus, and may have employment, business, and natural resource use implications for rural livelihoods.
6. Community Businesses	Not necessarily land-tenure dependent.	Individuals or groups of individuals from rural communities develop business enterprises related to tourism and become the private sector.

Table 5 compares the models in terms of types of local benefits, losses and limitations, and what caused the private sector and community interaction.

Table 5: Comparative analysis of benefits, losses and driving forces

Scenario	Types of local benefits	Losses and key limitations	What caused the PS and community interaction
1. Private Sector (PS) on Communal Land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Improvements in capacity • Revenue • Lease agreements • Employment • Equity • Institutional strengthening • Diversity of opportunities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variations in the limiting or facilitating role played by 3rd parties (e.g. conservation authorities / NGOs) • Limited control by communities over PS/NGO where lacking business capacity and experience 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opportunities initiated by PS/NGO and endorsed by community. • Community interest to earn revenue from their asset. • PS desire for attractive sites and product diversification. • Long-term PS game plan • Variable extent to which PS drives the process • NGO support and drive
2. Government Land with Private Sector involvement, and Community linkages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Plans for large investments in community by PS • Improvements in capacity • Revenue • Employment • Product development • Service supply • Equity • Institutional strength • Participation • Diversity of opportunities • Variable access to wild resources • Guarantees of support 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Variation between South Africa and Mozambique in the extent of state empowerment prescriptions applied to PS and level of PS control over wild resources • Gap between plans and implementation • Social concerns may lose out to growth/investment/revenue priorities • Limited decision making role of communities • Variation in level of facilitation by state during life-cycle of initiative 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pressure for community linkages from post-colonial government to redress historical imbalances • Power of state in applying prescriptions to drive empowerment, promote economic linkages between PS and the poor, and livelihood benefits. • Application of commercialisation policy with tangible social criteria • Private sector need/wish to demonstrate socio-economic contribution • National parks and provincial reserve policies • Little decision-making role in setting types of benefits and linkages state sets.
3. Private Land and Private Operators, with Community linkages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project funds for communities • Infrastructural improvements • Educational opportunities • Health education/ improvements • Enterprise development • Access to natural resources (variable) • Limited local purchasing (case specific) • Community benefits depend upon PS capacity and mechanisms of implementing support. • Awareness of tourism benefits generally low within large communities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PS retains control • No community control of funds • Larger companies have better capacity to form beneficial linkages with local communities • Donations/initiatives linked to what PS can obtain • PS facilitates easily implementable or supportable benefits • Support may not address fundamental social and economic development needs of community • Community dependent on good-will and drive of PS • Community capacity limitation • Variable community involvement in initiating, developing and managing benefits (passive vs. active) • Emphasis on quick-fixes 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • PS may be motivated by need to reduce risk from land claims/agricultural expansion • Individual drivers – in communities and PS • PS commitment to social development needs of local communities, and learn from experience the processes that improve success rate of CSR. • Emphasis on ‘attractive’ projects (to obtain financial support initially and address market appeal)

Table 5: Comparative analysis of benefits, losses and driving forces (... continued)

Scenario	Types of local benefits	Losses and key limitations	What caused the PS and community interaction
4. Community Land Claims and Land Transfers	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ownership over tourism asset with commercial potential • Decision-making role as owner, negotiating power • Infrastructural improvements • Educational and training opportunities • Enterprise development • Access to natural resources (variable) • Local purchasing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Regaining controlled resource and commercialisation rights within conservation areas, but not rights to re-settle: heavy constraints of conservation conditions • Bureaucratic obstacles to commercial development • Lack of local capacity/expertise • Need for trust and trustworthy partnerships with PS • Slow to deliver benefits 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The condition (or decision) to keep the community land within the wildlife/tourism estate. • Opportunity to exploit wildlife resources. • Recognition that earning revenue from it requires private investment, expertise and capacity • Communities commercial development of regained land facilitated by PS and NGOs • NGO facilitation of PS linkages • Direct approach by PS to community • State prescriptions in financing arrangements
5. Amalgams of Land Ownership Types	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Growth node for the whole area • NGO support for community involvement • Potential for full range of tourism and resource use benefits (direct and indirect) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community integration implicit in policy, but implementation slow or absent. • Talk of benefit exceeds practice (but developing processes) • Limited consultation and communication not participation • Loss of land, access to natural resources • Displacement and threats to safety • Top-down processes • Politicking and power plays between stakeholders may derail process • Informal cross-border resource use and trade may be constrained • Communities lack coordination, organisation, capacity and expertise to engage equally with other stakeholders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Combination of conservation interests to secure land with high biodiversity and commercial interests to invest • International politics for cross-border co-operation • National and institutional drivers • International media, tourist and conservation interest regarding ambitious proposals • Integrated development planning • Private sector opportunity for access to 'new' product
6. Community Businesses	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Infrastructural improvements • Educational and training opportunities • Enterprise development • Control 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capacity • Expertise • Business acumen • Understanding of wider tourism market and forces • Location critical • Wider community problems (e.g. crime) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • NGO / state facilitation • Community institutional and capacity development • Donor seed-funding

It was interesting to note, regarding Table 4, that just one rural community could present a number of initiatives that fitted within different scenarios, such as the Mdluli Tribal Authority in Mpumalanga. This community presented examples of the interaction of Private Sector on Communal Land (Phumlani Lodge); Community Land Claims and Transfers (Dannell Farm); and in Community Businesses (Numbi Gate

Curio Stall). In other cases it was more difficult to tease apart the different scenario examples (for example, Ndumu-Tembe Wildlife and Tourism Complex).

Overall driving forces

The stakeholders promoting and driving private sector-community interactions vary dramatically between the different cases. They are sometimes:

- The State: Fulfilling political and social obligations to generate opportunities in socio-economic development for the historically disadvantaged by promoting private sector-community linkages (for example, Central and provincial government {Poverty Relief Fund, SDIs, TFCAs} and state conservation agencies {SANParks; Manyeleti GR; KwaZulu Natal Wildlife and Rocktail Bay}).
- The Private sector: Either with obligations to provide benefits to rural communities through concession arrangements, or driven by corporate social responsibility, market advantage, or ethical tendencies to do so (for example, Ngala PGR; Jackalberry Lodge; Vilanculos; Wilderness Safaris; Phumlani Lodge).
- NGOs: Geared towards uplifting the rural poor and improving their opportunities (for example, PondoCROP; Africa Foundation; Friends of Makuleke).
- Rural communities: Working to uplift themselves, and utilise the resources that they can obtain from the state, the private sector, and NGOs (for example, Amadiba community (Horse and Hiking Trail) Mdluli Tribal Authority (Numbi Gate Curio Stall, Daannel Farm, Phumlani); Mnisi Tribal Authority (Jackalberry Lodge and Ngala PGR).

The driving forces that appear to have played a part in increasing the role of the private sector in controlling access to natural resources within the case studies include:

- Market forces: Demand from the international and domestic market for exclusive nature-based tourism activities provides the private sector with commercial advantage if they gain control over natural resources.
- Diverse commercial activities: It is not only photographic tourism that can be used to generate revenue from wildlife areas. The private sector can spread commercial risk by operating additional activities on the land, such as hunting; breeding and live capture of game; corporate team-building exercises; and harvesting natural resources. Control over natural resources is critical.
- Financial pressure on the state: Increasingly, state-run conservation areas concessions are being turned over to the private sector. This is being done as the state realises it does not have the capacity or expertise to operate commercial ventures fully, and that a more effective division of labour is to promote private sector enterprise

that is geared towards generating sustainable revenue from natural resources. In such cases the state frequently requires the private sector to work within environmental and social caveats that they prescribe.

- New opportunities: New and attractive areas of protected areas that have been transferred to the community from the state or private sector, and that the new landowners wish to develop commercially and become shareholders. This allows communities to either engage with established private sector operators or to become the private sector themselves, with support from facilitators.

As within the case of the conservation sector, there are many private sector entrepreneurs who become involved in this sector because of a love of nature, and a desire to help conserve wildlife and habitats. Often the private sector are provided with assistance from conservationists, or seek expertise from ecologists, in order to guide their management of natural areas, and mitigate any adverse impacts.

Market research addressing demand in originating markets shows that tourists are increasingly motivated to select holidays on the basis of ethical and environmental policies and practices. Given the importance of the foreign market to South Africa, the interest of tourists in destination-based social programmes will probably become an increasing motivation for enterprises to demonstrate initiatives that uplift the poor. However, implementing such objectives can be constrained by political and economic forces (for example, controlling political processes in TFCAs; concerns regarding creeping incrementalism in state conservation areas; return of some, but not total, land rights to land claimants).

Types of private sector - community interactions, benefits and losses

Control dynamics between private sector and communities

The scenarios and case studies have shown that control over interactions, benefits and losses is predominately held by the state or private sector. Ownership of land provides the strongest and most stable position for the rural poor to work from. If they have the rights to operate as they wish on the land, then they may seek partnerships with the private sector or NGOs to facilitate the development of commercial tourism enterprises (for example, Phumlani Lodge; ACCODA; Ndumu-Tembe Wildlife Complex). Secure land tenure affords the rural poor with control and power over decision making. In addition, in cases where communities have regained access to land that they lost through historical political agendas, it is also state control and prescriptions that have allowed them regain tenure - often with prescribed limitations and restrictions on land use (for example, Daannel Farm; Makuleke).

Control dynamics in specific private sector operators and communities vary in relation to the isolation of the community (for example, what

other opportunities do they have aside from the operator?) (for example, Vilanculos and Rocktail Bay). In part this may mean that communities have no option but to accept whatever benefits the private sector offers. Frequently, arrangements are made between one community, and one private sector operator client, and in any commercial enterprise there is always an inherent risk in only having one client!

Education, and particularly business experience, are key elements that can afford rural communities more control. In instances where direct partnerships develop between the private sector and communities, trust and transparency in arrangements is critical, and there can be problems where this fails, even temporarily (for example, ACCODA; Phumlani Lodge). Business acumen is critical for communities who want to develop an understanding and control over the commercial processes they wish to engage in, and ensure that they are not exploited.

Training may be time-consuming within a community that has not historically had access to educational opportunities. Capacity building may be costly, and the practicalities of running a profitable business (or at least one which breaks even) must be considered realistically. In such instances, capacity support and facilitation from independent agents, such as NGOs or state departments, may be available to facilitate training and capacity building among HDIs. Formal qualifications also afford the rural poor with more freedom to choose their place of work, and to be promoted within companies. Therefore state incentives for companies to apply formal training through Tourism Learnerships and National Qualifications affords people enhanced capacity, opportunities, and control over their careers.

Employment and entrepreneurial development

Private sector tourism development does not exist in isolation. It requires staff at all levels to operate the facilities, and also requires a wide variety of products and services to support its operations. Finding suitably qualified and experienced local staff can be a distinct advantage for the private sector, since they may be retained for longer within the company given that their families and homes are nearby. Therefore, through necessity of the private sector, rather than specific pro-poor activities, tourism based in rural areas may generate local economic growth.

There are proactive ways in which the tourism private sector may support local employment and entrepreneurial development, outside their direct commercial requirements by

- creating purchasing agreements through responsibility to fulfil lease agreements or ethical responsibility, relationships with rural entrepreneurs, SMMEs, services and labour (for example, SANParks concessionaires),

- mediating between communities and the state, and brokering deals to promote local socio-economic development (for example, Wilderness Safaris at Ndumu and Rocktail Bay),
- providing environmental and agricultural education, training and equipment to enhance sustainable utilisation of natural resources in existing livelihood practices (for example, Vilanculos; Jackalberry Lodge; Ngala PGR),
- improving access for local communities to tourism markets, and exploitation of commercial opportunities (for example, Skukuza Alliance; Phumlani Lodge; Mtentu Estuary; Commercialisation SANParks; Manyaleti GR).

In South Africa access to capital for the rural poor to initiate tourism enterprises, or entrepreneurial activities that directly work with tourism enterprises, is very difficult to obtain. Donations from NGOs or corporate sponsors are sometimes available to provide seed funding for commercial initiatives (for example, from the Africa Foundation), while some private sector facilitation and expertise has allowed communities to raise capital based on their existing resources (for example, Phumlani). Facilitating linkages with the private sector while building capacity and business understanding are critical to improve the opportunities of success for the rural poor (for example, PondoCROP; Friends of Makuleke).

The commercialisation of SANParks forced private sector concessionaires to tangibly address local entrepreneurial development and empowerment initiatives that they will actively support, and to transparently and quantifiably declare the level of their support and progress. Several of the bidders for concessions in Kruger National Park undertook surveys in the local communities to evaluate capacity and skills to support their operations with products and services. These and other private sector enterprises may be receptive to purchasing goods from local people and encouraging their development. If they can find ways to communicate their needs to the community in terms of product diversity, quality, quantity and regularity of supply and then help the emerging enterprises to reach such requirements, then the barriers to entry in the market may be reduced.

Equity and revenue

Land and infrastructural ownership provides rural communities with the most powerful form of equity (for example, Phumlani Lodge), and potential to obtain lease payments from the private sector for use of the resources.

In instances where the state has allowed the private sector to access state-controlled conservation areas, it has been able to impose requirements or preference for arrangements with community equity, employment and progression in companies (for example, SANParks; Manyaleti; Rocktail Bay). Therefore, in an interesting shift, the state is increasingly providing

communities with an enabling environment in which they can obtain more control within the private sector, and increase their capacity. The state has used a carrot rather than stick approach to facilitate access to commercial equity by marginalized people.

In the case study examples where the private sector and local communities have shareholdings in the tourism enterprise or its resources (for example, Rocktail Bay; SANParks concessionaires), revenue was accrued through dividend payments, or through the commercial exploitation of the resource. In addition, initiatives to place levies on top of tourist's holiday prices are used to pay for community projects and programmes (SANParks concessionaires; Vilanculos). The NGOs could also work to channel donations from corporations and tourists into community development projects (PondoCROP; Africa Foundation).

Projects

Targeted socio-economic support has been channelled through private sector operations to poor rural communities in a number of the case studies. These have included channelling investment and infrastructure into a rural area to improve health, access, and education (for example, Jackalberry Lodge; Vilanculos; Ngala PGR). The projects have been financed by generating donor support (for example, Africa Foundation; Rocktail Bay; Phumlani Lodge) and by channelling tourism revenue (for example, Jackalberry Lodge; Vilanculos).

The level of control that communities have over projects varies both between and within development programmes. The community may act as project initiators (for example, Africa Foundation), project managers (Jackalberry Lodge); financial managers (Rocktail Bay), or simple beneficiaries in good neighbour relations (Jackalberry Lodge; Rocktail Bay). The long-term sustainability of a development project appears to be directly related to the level of control that communities have had during the life cycle of the initiative.

Evolution of processes

Arrangements between stakeholders may evolve and adapt over time. Relationships between the private sector and communities may improve as trust is built, and confidence grows (for example, Wilderness Safaris; Vilanculos; Jackalberry Lodge). The way in which partnerships are arranged, and the power relationships may also change over time (for example, Rocktail Bay community equity; Makuleke).

In other instances, the way in which benefits are accrued by communities from the private sector may change from initially receiving donations to engaging in business relationships (for example, Ngala's donations of school bursaries vs. business linkages with local taxi drivers). Also, the corporate system of channelling benefits from the private sector to communities may change – as has occurred in the case of the Africa

Foundation. The Africa Foundation has evolved from a charitable arm linked to one private operator providing cash donations to communities – into an independent body that can work with a range of private sector enterprises, and which requires the communities to take responsibility for projects and ensure their sustainability.

Most recently, the institutional realisation that community empowerment and training takes time has been appreciated within SANParks. Understanding that new concessionaires within national parks might not be able to achieve all their empowerment proposals immediately, they gave provision for time-weighted empowerment activities to take place within five years.

Factors shaping the significance of benefits

There are several factors that influence the significance of net benefits to the poor in the case studies examined:

- Degree of community land tenure (for example, free or limited access)
- Community mobilisation
- Equity (for example, ownership; shareholding)
- Level of freedom of access to natural resources (for example, controlled harvesting; opportunistic and penalised resource use)
- Access to finance (for example, capital through which to raise loans; seed-credit; legal institutions such as Trusts)
- Education and business skills (for example, Phumlani Lodge; community businesses)
- Provision of facilitative and supportive environments (for example, through policies and programmes such as SANParks commercialisation; Poverty Relief Funding; Tourism Enterprise Programmes; NGO support; Mpumalanga Tourism Directorate)
- Transparency and communication (for example, Mdluli TA; Makuleke; TFCAs)
- Individual and institutional drivers (for example, Kevin Godding; Trevor Jordan; Chief Mdluli; Clive Poultney; Piers Bunting; Wilderness Safaris; DEAT; KZN Wildlife; SANParks; PondoCROP; Africa Foundation)
- Relative influence of limiting factors (for example, finance; institutions)

Lessons regarding the role of policy

Many of the case studies have highlighted gaps between policy and what actually occurs on the ground. There may also be conflicting priorities and agendas that influence implementation of policy. Some examples include policies that

- allow commercialisation of natural resources, while activities are halted due to wider political issues (for example, Makuleke and elephant hunts in relation to CITES),
- stipulate integration of community participation and socio-economic development within policy, but implementation only occurring late in the process (for example, Greater Limpopo TP; Greater Addo NP; Greater St. Lucia Wetland Park),
- facilitate socio-economic development of neighbouring rural communities, while engaging private sector commercialisation programmes (for example, allowing tourism development on Daannel but not with guided access to the wider KNP, as constrained by a wider commercialisation process),
- promote transboundary natural resource management, while allowing land invasions within proposed protected areas (for example, Great Limpopo TP),
- institutionally require to promote conservation while generating revenue, but are slow to take advantage of enabling activities (for example, potential community hunts of nyala instead of culls in the Ndumu-Tembe Wildlife and Tourism Complex).

In some instances, policy and programmes have clearly encouraged the private sector to form mutually advantageous commercial linkages with communities. In other instances however, the private sector has developed beneficial and co-operative arrangements with the poor on their own initiative. Then there are also unfortunate instances where conflicting or competing objectives constrain linkages, and hinder implementation of well-intentioned policy.

Conclusions

This paper set out to examine how changes in institutional arrangements and policies could affect poor people's livelihoods, and their access to natural resources. It used land-related scenarios that were illustrated by seventeen case studies in South Africa, Mozambique and Zimbabwe to explore these themes, and to determine what processes were important in promoting benefits for the rural poor.

It is clear that the end of apartheid, and the re-entry of South Africa into the global market, has shaped the policies and programmes that are now seen. Policy makers have two primary goals: to promote the country itself on the global stage and encourage investment and trade, but also to transform the legacies of an inequitable past in order to reduce the extreme disparities in capacity and opportunities that citizens face. It is likely that the transformation of South Africa's society to one where there truly are equal opportunities for all will take years, but already the progress and tensions in achieving these objectives are evident. This paper has shown that in at least seventeen case studies, there is growing

private sector investment in tourism, and increased interaction between the private sector and communities. The roles assumed by the state, market and residents have shifted completely. The intention of government to redress inequalities and benefit the poor is one objective in a powerful amalgam of political and commercial forces. However, the rural poor wishing to access tourism opportunities still face many constraints and limitations.

There are certain limitations and constraints to the lessons that can be learned from this collection of case studies. They were drawn from across South Africa (in the main) to illustrate the types of processes that had been influenced by state and institutional policy, but were not selected at random. They were selected on the basis of prior knowledge by the author; relevance to the topic under discussion; and time and budget constraints. The availability of information and perspectives that shaped the report were fundamentally influenced by the willingness of stakeholders to contribute towards draft case studies. For example, the Vilanculos and Mdluli case studies went through several complete iterations, but the lack of input of some of the critics and key stakeholders critically shaped the outputs presented here. In addition, whatever stage of development the case studies examined were at, the information collated here presents only a snap-shot in time regarding the interactions and relationships that are at play. Therefore conclusions regarding processes that can be synthesised and extrapolated from these scenarios to other case studies have clear constraints and limitations. Given the complexities inherent in evaluating the implications of policy for livelihoods, extrapolation regarding specific policy formulation is risky in relation to this study. Apparently this challenge has deterred authors in the past from drawing out the broader policy implications of research findings, and therefore they have usually generalised about the policy process (Shankland 2000).

The extent to which rural communities were involved in the process of policy formation, planning and enterprise development, and the level to which their interests were represented varies considerably. The weight of their input certainly appeared to depend upon the level to which processes existed for them to contribute; with access to and information of individuals and groups who could facilitate their involvement. In making the processes more responsive to the needs of the poor, it is critical that the state and the private sector constructively design practical mechanisms to incorporate their interests. Such mechanisms must be geared to cope with the limitations of the poor – in relation to access to communication, language abilities, education, and understanding of market and policy processes. Only through proactively engaging the rural poor in the policy design *and* implementation will the programmes that ensue be reflective of the needs of the poor, and sustainably improve their livelihoods.



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