

**DEVELOPMENT AND PRO-POOR TOURISM: THE LIVELIHOOD  
STRATEGIES OF AMAZIZI IN NORTHERN DRAKENSBERG, KWAZULU-  
NATAL**

**By  
Sibonginkosi Godfrey Mazibuko**

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**Promoter  
Professor Lucius Botes**

**And**

**Co-Promoter  
Professor Gustav Visser**

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## **DECLARATION**

I declare that the thesis, which I hereby submit for the degree Philosophiae Doctor (Development Studies) at the University of the Free State, is my own work and has not previously been submitted by me for a degree at another university. I declared that, to the best of my ability, all sources used and quoted have been carefully acknowledged. I am aware of the university policy and implications regarding plagiarism.

SIGNATURE.....

Date.....

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## **DEDICATION**

To my mother, Nomusa and my children – Phumlile, Khululiwe, Mthandeni and Mmanthuba.

Without them, my life would be empty.

## ABSTRACT

The primary purpose of this study was to investigate and analyse the livelihood strategies of AmaZizi, and to identify the constraints preventing the initiatives of the people of AmaZizi --- which is adjacent to the Royal Natal National Park (RNNP) in the northern Drakensberg of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa --- from taking an active part as entrepreneurs in the local tourism economy and derive socioeconomic benefits from such participation. Using the sustainable livelihoods approach, this investigation was done by examining the capital assets people possessed that could help them become active participants as entrepreneurs in the local tourism economy instead of being limited to wage employment. In order to answer the research question, the following objectives were posited:

- To analyse the livelihood strategies of AmaZizi
- To contribute to the understanding of the sustainable livelihoods approach
- To determine the extent to which AmaZizi participated in the local economy
- To identify the constraints/barriers acting against local initiatives among the people of AmaZizi
- To determine opportunities for integrating local communities into the first economy
- To provide key information about the availability of resources which could be of benefit to in the area

The sustainable livelihoods framework provided a tool to determine sustainability, not only of lives, but also of the production process in the study area. This framework enabled the research to be people-centered in that it enquired into the capital assets that could be used to escape poverty and unemployment. The framework proved a critical tool, because it queried the assets people possessed and the way in which they could use these assets to better themselves.

Pro-poor tourism was considered, as the local people in the study area should have been able to benefit greatly from local tourism. This proved to be an elusive point, however, as many people depended on state social grants and remittances. Although handicrafts had served as a safety net,

this had not really alleviated poverty. Wage employment could be obtained from time to time, but it was not sufficient; moreover, it was unsustainable as it had no long term benefits. Consequently, the poor became even more vulnerable in the long run, as the temporary jobs carried no pension benefits, for example.

The research argues that pro-poor tourism as a strategy against poverty is unlikely to be of any consequence if not supported by relevant pro-poor policies. Without policies, pro-poor tourism will merely remain a poverty alleviation strategy; a mechanism to provide a safety net against poverty.

The dissertation is structured as follows:

While Chapter One introduces the study, Chapter Two discusses the literature that informed the study. Chapter Three looks at the conceptual model, namely the sustainable livelihoods approach, on which this research is based. Chapter Four deals with the methodological issues and Chapter Five presents the findings of the study. Chapter Six discusses the role of both the institutions of the public and the private sectors as key players in shaping the outcomes of people's livelihoods as presented in the sustainable livelihoods framework. In Chapter Seven, the emphasis is on the role of pro-poor policies and state intervention in the economy in order to benefit the poor.

## KEY TERMS

Development; AmaZizi; northern Drakensberg; poverty; unemployment; pro-poor tourism; conservation; rural development; economic development; land reform; tourism; participation; capital assets

## ABSTRAK

Die primêre doel van hierdie studie was om die lewensbestaanstrategieë van AmaZizi te ondersoek en te ontleed, en om die struikelblokke te identifiseer wat die inisiatiewe van die mense van AmaZizi --- wat langs die Royal Natal National Park (RNNP) in die noordelike Drakensberge van KwaZulu-Natal, Suid-Afrika, geleë is --- belemmer het en hulle verhoed het om as entrepreneurs 'n aktiewe rol in die plaaslike toerisme-ekonomie te vervul. Die volhoubare lewensbestaan benadering is in hierdie ondersoek gevolg om te vas te stel oor watter kapitaalgoedere die mense beskik het wat hulle in staat kon stel om aktief as entrepreneurs deel te neem aan die plaaslike toerisme-ekonomie. in plaas daarvan om van loonarbeid afhanklik te wees. Ten einde die navorsingsvraag te beantwoord, is die volgende doelwitte gestel:

- o Om die lewensbestaanstrategieë van AmaZizi te ontleed
- o Om by te dra tot 'n begrip van die volhoubare lewensbestaan benadering
- o Om te bepaal in watter mate AmaZizi deelgeneem het aan die plaaslike ekonomie
- o Om die beperkinge/struikelblokke wat plaaslike inisiatiewe deur die mense van AmaZizi belemmer het, te identifiseer
- o Om vas te stel watter geleenthede daar bestaan het om plaaslike gemeenskappe by die eerste ekonomie te integreer
- o Om deurslaggewende inligting oor die beskikbaarheid van hulpbronne waaruit die gebied voordeel kan trek, te verskaf

Die volhoubare lewensbestaan raamwerk is gebruik as instrument waarvolgens volhoubaarheid bepaal kon word; nie net van lewens nie, maar ook van die produksieproses in die studiegebied. Volgens hierdie raamwerk kon die navorsing mens-gesentreerd wees, in die opsig dat kon kyk na die kapitaalgoedere wat gebruik kon word om uit armoede en werkloosheid te ontsnap. Die raamwerk het gedien as kritiese instrument, omdat dit navraag gedoen het na die bates wat mense besit het, en na die wyse waarop hulle hierdie bates kon gebruik om hulself te verbeter.

Toerisme ten gunste van die armes (*pro-poor tourism*) is oorweeg, aangesien die plaaslike bevolking in die studiegebied in groot mate deur plaaslike toerisme bevoordeel sou kon word. Dit was egter moeilik om te bepaal, aangesien baie mense afhanklik was van maatskaplike toelaes en geldsendings. Hoewel kunstvlyt as veiligheidsnet gedien het, het dit nie werklik armoede verlig nie. Loonarbeid kon van tyd tot tyd verrig word, maar dit was nie voldoende nie; hierbenewens was dit nie volhoubaar nie, aangesien dit geen langtermynvoordele ingehou het nie. Gevolglik was die armes op lang termyn selfs nog meer kwesbaar, aangesien die tydelike werk byvoorbeeld geen pensioenvoordele verskaf het nie.

Die navorsing voer aan dat dit onwaarskynlik is dat toerisme ten gunste van die armes as strategie sal slaag, tensy dit gesteun word deur 'n relevante pro-arme beleid. In die afwesigheid van 'n beleid sal toerisme ten gunste van die armes slegs 'n armoedeverligtingstrategie bly; 'n meganisme wat dien as 'n veiligheidsnet teen armoede.

Die verhandeling is soos volg saamgestel:

Hoofstuk Een dien as inleiding tot die studie, en Hoofstuk Twee gee die literatuurstudie weer. Hoofstuk Drie kyk na die volhoubare lewensbestaan benadering, waarop hierdie navorsing gegrond is. Hoofstuk Vier behandel die metodologiese kwessies, en in Hoofstuk Vyf word die bevindinge van die studie voorgelê. Hoofstuk Ses bespreek die rol van beide openbare instellings en die privaat sektor as sleutelrolspelers in die wyse waarop mense se lewensbestaan gevorm word, soos voorgestel in die volhoubare lewensbestaan raamwerk. In Hoofstuk Sewe val die klem op die rol van beleid ten gunste van die armes en staatsingryping in die ekonomie ten einde die armes te bevoordeel.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ANC	African National Congress
BBBEE	Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment
CAMPFIRE	Communal Area Management Programme
CBNRM	Community-Based Nature Resource Management
CBOs	Community-Based Organisations
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CDOs	Community Development Organisations
CLaRA	Communal Land Rights Act
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research Council
DA	Democratic Alliance
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DFID	Department for International Development
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
DWAF	Department of Water Affairs and Forestry
EPWP	Expanded Public Works Programme

FAO	Food and Agricultural Organisation
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HSRC	Human Sciences Research Council
IDP	Integrated Development Plan
IFP	Inkatha Freedom Party
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ISRDS	Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy
KNP	Kruger National Park
KPAs	Key Performance Areas
KZN	KwaZulu-Natal
LaL	Learning about Livelihoods framework
LED	Local Economic Development
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
Nadeco	National Democratic Convention
NCS	Nature Conservation Services
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organisations
OLM	Okhahlamba Local Municipality
PGIEP	Policy Guidelines for Integrating Environmental Planning
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
RNNP	Royal Natal National Park
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Programmes

SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SL(A)	Sustainable Livelihoods (Approach)
SMMEs	Small, Medium, Micro Enterprises
SPSS	Statistical Package for Social Sciences
Stats SA	Statistics South Africa
STD	Sustainable Tourism Development
SWOT	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats
TENP	Tembe National Elephant Park
TFCAs	Trans-frontier Conservation Areas
UNCED	United Nations Commission on Environment and Development
UNCHD	United Nations Conference on Human Environment
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
UNWSSD	United Nations World Summit on Sustainable Development
USA	United States of America

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## CHAPTER 1

### SETTING THE SCENE: AN INTRODUCTION

*It is now accepted that tourism's impacts, both positive and negative, are most apparent at the level of the destination community (Timothy 2002:149).*

#### **Introduction**

This study provides an analysis of the livelihood strategies of the people of AmaZizi in the northern Drakensberg region of KwaZulu-Natal, an area characterised by high levels of unemployment and poverty. Using two approaches, namely the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA), and the strength-based approach, this study investigates the extent to which the people of AmaZizi participate in the local economy, as provided for by the tourism industry. It also highlights the barriers that could prevent them from playing an active role in this economy. Based on the capital assets of the people of AmaZizi, this study examines the opportunities that exist for the inclusion of local communities in the formal tourism economy, including its spin-offs. Rogerson and Visser (2004:3) as well as Eagles and McCool (2000:195) point out that tourism can be used as a "vehicle for development". Tourism can contribute to productive employment, increased educational levels and improve access to other services such as health and housing. In this regard, this study employs the concept of pro-poor tourism (PPT) as an approach that could be adopted by the local people of AmaZizi in order to benefit from the local tourism industry. As will be pointed out, PPT is not a kind of tourism, but rather an approach (Ashley 2006:24) that the poor can avail themselves of in order to participate in the tourism industry.

To this end, the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA), as used in this study, provides an opportunity to evaluate the capital assets of the AmaZizi community. Unlike the needs-based approach, which determines what the poor need, the sustainable livelihoods approach uses the strengths of the poor as a starting point for development activities. What do the poor have at their disposal that they can use to escape from poverty? To answer this question, the sustainable livelihoods approach advocates the use of strength-based tools to fight poverty. The strengths of the people of AmaZizi were investigated in

order to comprehend the extent to which they can actively participate in the local economy, which is largely tourism-based.

The approach of pro-poor tourism (PPT) was adopted in order to involve local community members, not only as wage earners but also as entrepreneurs, with a view to giving them the opportunity to progress from the second (informal) economy to the first (formal) economy. Although this study by no means claims tourism to be a panacea for poverty and unemployment among the people of AmaZizi, it does propose that tourism offers increased opportunities for the poor and unemployed in this region to advance economically.

Without knowledge of the capital assets of the people of AmaZizi, it stands to reason that it would be difficult to determine how they could become involved in the tourism economy. The sustainable livelihoods approach provides us with a tool to estimate these capital assets and to assess their potential for sustainable livelihoods in the area under study.

It would be misguided to believe that all the people of AmaZizi could be directly involved in tourism as entrepreneurs. This study shows, however, that many economic opportunities have arisen as a result of tourism in the northern Drakensberg. Unfortunately, the local people have not taken full advantage of such opportunities. It is here that PPT is considered to be of value, as local people can use the spin-offs of tourism to engage in their own businesses, which should enable them to employ even more people from their community. This could, to some extent, contribute towards reducing the levels of unemployment.

Apart from the area of the northern Drakensberg, tourism appears to be the fastest growing economic sector worldwide (Sharpley 2002:4). Many developing countries, especially those endowed with a favourable natural environment, view tourism as their economic engine. Sharpley (2002:14), for example, points out that tourism contributes no less than 11% to the Gambia's gross domestic product (GDP), while 25% of the labour

force is employed in the tourism sector in Cyprus and Ireland. Similarly, Visser (2005:267) and Sharpley and Telfer (2002:1) respectively indicate that tourism is the fourth largest industry in South Africa and one of the biggest industries in the world. In the light of this, it is not surprising that tourism has come under scrutiny in the developing world and South Africa in particular. Tourism is seen as offering opportunities to alleviate the problems of poverty and unemployment which have become so prominent in South African rural areas.

Employment opportunities are now considered to be a logical outcome of tourism (Relly 2004:372). Generally, rural communities adjacent to tourism areas employ survivalist strategies, which serve mainly as safety nets against poverty (Ashley 2006:20). However, this study aims at exploring the nature of potential opportunities for communities to become involved without necessarily being employees. Such opportunities should enable rural communities to become profitable and viable, in this way escaping poverty.

Using the strength-based and sustainable livelihoods approaches, this study investigates what the people of AmaZizi already have that could be developed for their own benefit. The strength-based approach is based on the assumption that every group of people possesses assets that can be exploited to some extent. In this regard, development first examines what people have and then looks at how such assets can be profitably employed. The advantage of being acquainted with the strengths of people is that it prevents them from becoming too dependent on external resources.

Using the sustainable livelihoods approach, five forms of capital assets were identified, namely human capital, physical capital, financial capital, natural capital and social capital. All these types of capital were essential in order to ensure a sustainable livelihood, as defined in this study. This study also looked at the ways in which the people of AmaZizi earned their living, for example from remittances, state social grants, waged employment and handicrafts, which were their main forms of livelihood. Specifically, the aims of this study were:

- (1) to analyse the livelihood strategies of AmaZizi

- (2) to contribute to the understanding of the sustainable livelihoods approach
- (3) to determine the extent to which AmaZizi participate in the local economy
- (4) to identify the constraints/barriers acting against local initiatives among the people of AmaZizi
- (5) to determine opportunities for integrating local communities into the first economy
- (6) to provide key information about the availability of resources which could be of benefit to the people in the area

### **Background to the area under study**

#### (a) Geographical position

The area of AmaZizi is a communal area under the chieftaincy of *Inkosi Mthetho Miya*. It is situated approximately forty-six (46) kilometres from the rural town of Bergville in KwaZulu/ Natal, South Africa. The town, surrounded by white-owned commercial farms producing mostly maize, is situated on the banks of the Uthukela (Tugela) River, with its source inside the Royal Natal National Park (RNNP). AmaZizi<sup>1</sup> lies at 28.44'S and 29.32'E adjacent to this beautiful Royal Natal National Park, southwest of Bergville and at the foot of the Drakensberg. The area falls under the Uthukela District and the Okhahlamba Local Municipality (OLM). The provincial map (Figure 1) shows the municipalities, including the OLM, which are situated in this province. The area of AmaZizi (AmaZizi Tribal Authority) falls under wards 6 and 7 with a total population of 16, 014 (2007/08 IDP Review), as indicated in figure 2. The area varies between 1 402 and 2 743 metres above sea level.

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<sup>1</sup> AmaZizi refers to both the name of the area and the people in that area.

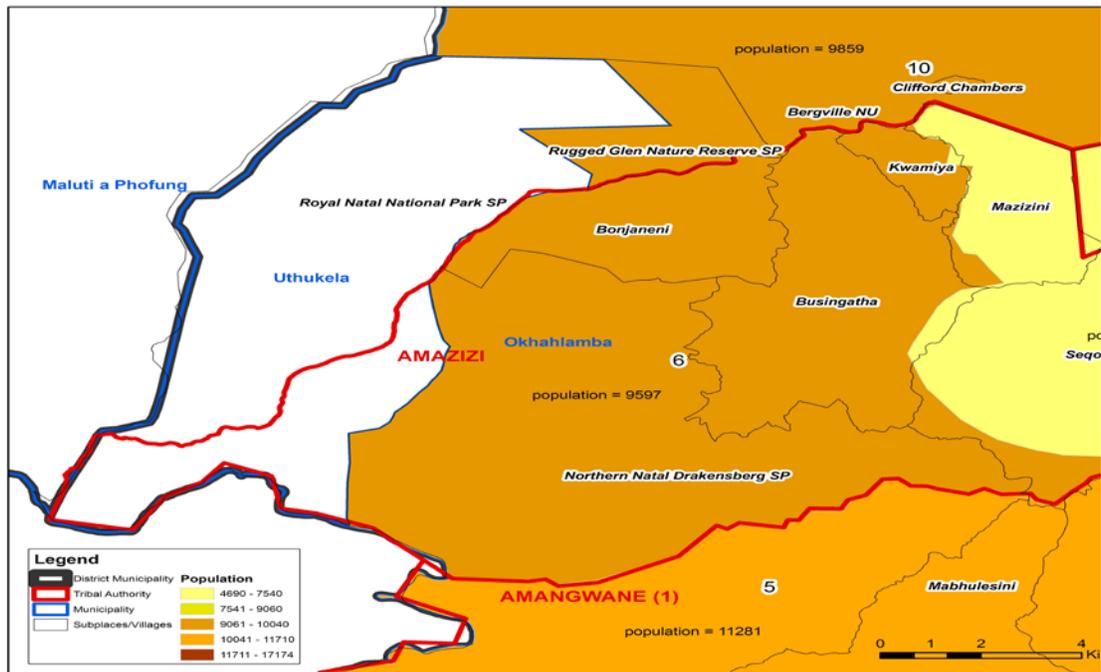


FIGURE 1: Map of AmaZizi

(Source: Okhahlamba Local Municipality (OLM), Bergville)

(b) Ecological background

An ecological (bioresource) unit is defined as an area within which factors such as soil type, climate, altitude, terrain and vegetation show greater homogeneity than other areas. It is this kind of uniformity that enables one to speak of the northern Drakensberg. Generally speaking, the northern Drakensberg is characterised by a moderately restricted growing season as a result of low temperatures and severe frost in winter. However, it has the potential for good yields over a range of adapted crops, although with limited growing periods. Only 43.85% of the soil is suitable for commercial farming, as the soils are shallow and drainage is poor. In addition, 40.3% of the even and gently sloping areas are too rocky, and 19.5% are too steep for farming. This leaves less than 5.2% as arable land. Crops with a good potential to grow in this area are maize, potatoes, soya beans, cabbages and carrots. The vegetation consists primarily of grassland and very isolated areas of forests. It is a summer rainfall region, with an annual mean of 1 198 mm rainfall and 13.7°C temperature (Botha 2008:5 and 6).

(c) Historical background

Although this is not a study on the history of the people of AmaZizi, their history cannot be ignored. History gives us a basis for understanding the circumstances of any group of people. The AmaZizi as a people are an integral part of the broader South African society. As a people and as a geographical area, the AmaZizi have experienced both the good life and the harsh realities that all South Africans, especially Africans, have faced through the ages. The story of the AmaZizi is told by Pearse (1989:26-39) in his book *Barrier of spears: drama of the Drakensberg*. These people once lived a life of peace and harmony among themselves and with their neighbours and nature. Their children were raised to value the virtues of personal cleanliness and respect, among other things. They led a very relaxed life, which, as Pearse points out, ultimately led to their demise.

Since their settlement at the feet of the magnificent Ukhahlamba (Drakensberg) Mountains in the early 1200s (Pearse 1989:26), they have been the victims of various regimes. During the period of what is usually referred to as *Imfecane* in South African history, the people of AmaZizi suffered greatly as they fought and lost against other Nguni tribes (Pearse 1989:33). At one stage they were forced to live in caves, as their "enemies" destroyed their crops and livestock in an attempt to force them to surrender. This led to their cohabitation with the San people, who occupied the greater part of the Ukhahlamba mountains at the time. They learnt to hunt and gather food just like the San people did, and intermarriages took place between the two tribes (Pearse 1989:27). When their enemies retreated, the AmaZizi returned to rebuild their shattered lives.

For a long time, the AmaZizi lived under the Ukhahlamba Mountains, growing crops and grazing livestock without limits, though they did avoid encroaching on the land of their neighbours of AmaNkwane until the arrival of white people in the area. Once again, the newcomers were bent on occupying the land that the AmaZizi considered to be theirs. This came to symbolise what turned into decades of political and economic subjugation of indigenous peoples, not only in the AmaZizi, but in South Africa in general. This historic situation of dominance is not unique to the people of AmaZizi. Tao (2006:1)

states the following with regard to indigenous people and newcomers, with specific reference to Taiwan:

*Historically, there has been an unbalanced relationship between indigenous people and non-indigenous people throughout the world. A majority of the contact between these groups has been characterized by the exploitation of indigenous people for the benefit of the dominating non-indigenous groups. As a result, indigenous people have struggled in their search for poverty reduction, cultural survival, self-determination, justice and equity...*

A walk with an elder of the AmaZizi enabled the researcher to identify one of the graves of an ancestor of the AmaZizi. The Royal Natal Hotel was built on the ground where one of their leaders, Magangani, had his homestead, and his grave is still visible. The people of AmaZizi still refer to that part of the Park as kwa-Magangani (Magangani's place). This was verified during a meeting with the *inkosi* and his councillors, where it was also pointed out that the tribe still visits the graves of its people inside the Park, and that there is a clear understanding that they can go there anytime they wish to, bearing in mind that the area is no longer in their possession and that it is a protected area with specific rules governing activities that can take place there. The tribe has taken this on board and seems to be satisfied with the arrangement.

The whole area of the northern Drakensberg was surveyed in 1884. Farms, state land and the so-called native reserves were demarcated. The RNNP itself (see fig 2), which is referred to in this study as the anchor of tourism in that area, was proclaimed on 19 September 1916, covering, among other areas, the magnificent amphitheatre, Mount-Aux-Sources and The Glen. Today, the Park covers an area of 7400ha. The name "Royal Natal National Park" was bestowed on the Park after a short visit by the British royal family in 1947 (Pearse 1989:134 and 141; Greyling and Huntley 1984).



FIGURE 2: Provincial map of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa  
 (Source: [www.kzninvestment.co.za](http://www.kzninvestment.co.za) [accessed on 13/03/2009])

When the Royal Natal National Park (RNNP) was established in 1916, the people of AmaZizi had to move again; they subsequently settled in the area where they are today (Pearse 1989:139). Although Inkosi Mthetho Miya (grandson of Magangane) and his elders state that the Royal Natal Hotel was built on the same spot where Magangane, is buried, Pearse (1989:36) alleges that it is Sidinane, also of the AmaZizi, who is buried there. Whatever the case may be, today the tribe has an agreement with the Park to visit the graves of its ancestors in that area.

Following the 1913 Land Act, which forced African people into a mere 13% of the country, the AmaZizi were further subjected to apartheid's misguided betterment scheme (Christiansen 1996:372) during the 1960s, which once again forced them to settle on what was left of their land. Originally, the people had settled on the slopes of the Drakensberg. Above them, the land was reserved for grazing, and below them the land was used to grow crops. The betterment scheme resulted in land degradation due to overcrowding, not because the people were many, but largely because the land on which they were settled was inadequate to accommodate the increasing population. The betterment scheme, as will be explained in chapter 6 of this study, resettled all African people onto agricultural land, thus resulting in food insecurity, as farm land was turned into residential land. The story of the AmaZizi is part of the history of land dispossession under colonialism and apartheid in South Africa.

### **Poverty and unemployment**

The study area (Figure 1) is defined as the area of AmaZizi in the northern Drakensberg outside the rural town of Bergville. This area is adjacent to the conservation area of the Royal Natal National Park (RNNP). In South Africa today, it is common knowledge that people who reside near such conservation areas are mostly victims of forced removals at the hands of the previous colonial and apartheid regimes in order to establish parks. These areas are usually characterised by high levels of poverty and unemployment, resulting in dependency on the natural environment for survival (Foggin and Münster 2004:455; Eagles and McCool 2000:43), in spite of the fact that promises of jobs were made when they were removed. In this regard, there have been many attempts to determine how best to make these people's lives more bearable.

Rural poverty and unemployment have become South Africa's twin evils. They have contributed to unsustainable communities and unsustainable service delivery in urban areas, as people flock to towns and cities in search of better livelihoods (Nel 2005:253). However, South Africa's problems are largely historical. For example, in spite of the opportunities provided by the conservation areas at their doorsteps, the South African rural people adjacent to conservation areas, such as the people of AmaZizi in the northern

Drakensberg, could not access them because of the discriminatory laws that prevented participation by Africans in what has come to be referred to as the first economy, a concept popularized by former State President Thabo Mbeki when he introduced the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA) in 2006. In these areas, the African populations could only wait for the few exploitative manual employment opportunities that trickled down from time to time or access the natural resources that they still had peripheral to the (first economy) tourism industry. Besides this, it can be argued that the colonial and apartheid regimes deliberately underdeveloped the people adjacent to the conservation areas to the level of objects of exoticism, in order to attract tourists. Alternatively, they served as cheap labour reservoirs and dumping grounds for those things that the industries had no need for (Ferguson 1994:18; Rodney 1972:233).

### **The choice of the sustainable livelihoods approach**

Attempts at improving the lives of people adjacent to conservation areas have tended first to involve methods that focus on their needs and then to decide what to do for them. This study, however, takes a different route. It investigates what the people have that they can use to better their own lives – it examines the strengths or capabilities and assets they possess that they can employ to ensure sustainable livelihoods. As found in the study area, the jobs that are currently offered to the people fail to meet the requirements of sustainability because these jobs are mostly seasonal, contractual and without long-term benefits such as pension funds and medical schemes. In this regard, this study does not deal with welfarism where the state is the major provider.

There are many development theories (models and approaches) that attempt to explain development problems but, as Edwards (1993:77) asks: “Why is so much that is said, written and spent on development having so little effect on the problems it seeks to address?” While there may be no straight or correct answers to this question, the researcher agrees with Edwards' (1993:78) statement that: “It is impossible to understand real-life problems unless we grasp the multitude of constraints, imperfections and emotions which shape the actions of real people”. The aims of this study are to come to

an understanding of the livelihoods of the people of AmaZisi, to identify their capital assets, to comprehend the constraints that prevent them from participating in the local economy, and to investigate the role of institutions in the AmaZisi area. In order to obtain these objectives, the sustainable livelihoods approach is regarded as the most appropriate.

Yamin, Rahman and Huq (2005:7) have the following to say about sustainable livelihoods approaches:

*These arose from dissatisfaction with top-down, narrowly defined poverty reduction efforts which ignored the different resources rural poor people used to stay out of poverty and failed to take into account the complex interplay between these strategies and local institutional and social factors. The SL framework provides a holistic tool to identify how a wide range of assets are used in multiple ways by individuals and households in developing countries to deal with insecurity, shocks and external stresses. SL put people at the centre of development, within a context of external vulnerability ...*

The sustainable livelihoods approach was chosen for this study because it offers better opportunities for understanding what people can do with specific capabilities or assets. This study makes it clear that capabilities exclude labour power, because this is already used by people to earn their living as paid wage labourers in the local tourism industry. This study further investigates the role of institutions – both formal and informal – in shaping the people’s livelihood choices. This is critical, especially in the context of South Africa with its history of economic, political and cultural exclusion and oppression of the majority of its population. In the face of globalisation, the role of institutions becomes even more critical as the country enters the international economic arena after many years of isolation. This study argues that as a developing country, South Africa can ill afford to dispense with policies that favour the poor. It does, however, point out that such policies should not be antagonistic towards the capital of business.

Scoones (2009) explains that the sustainable rural livelihoods approach provides a framework for "analysing complex processes which require in-depth qualitative understanding of power, politics and institutions. It is a multi-disciplinary approach with emphasis on coping, adaptation, improvement, diversification and transformation strategies". Linking the SLA to tourism, Tao (2006:5 and 6) states the following:

*The livelihoods approach, however, places the interests of local people at the centre and emphasises the multiple interactions between the various factors which affect livelihoods and the various consequent livelihood outcomes. Such an approach enables the researcher to incorporate tourism as one possible component of development, particularly for indigenous people, and explores how positive development impacts can be expanded and negative ones can be reduced ... The approach is different from that reported in the majority of tourism literature which focus only on tourism. Development impacts – particularly as assessed by planners and consultants – are often narrow assessments of local benefits focusing on little more than job creation and cash income. Conservationists usually come from another perspective, concentrating upon environmental matters. The perspectives commonly overlook the fact that all human development and economic growth are ultimately rooted in livelihoods – not in jobs per se but in the diverse range of activities that people engage in in order to make their living.*

In this regard, the sustainable rural livelihoods framework is well suited to an analysis of the living conditions of the people of AmaZizi.

### **Structure of the study**

Chapter 2 reviews the literature that informed this study. Although much of this consists of literature that addresses the needs of the poor, the emphasis in this study is on the strengths of the poor – in other words, identifying the assets and constraints existing among the people of AmaZizi. Central to this chapter are the forms of tourism, which are presented in order to understand the best ways of empowering the poor. The forms of

tourism that are addressed in this chapter are (1) pro-poor tourism, (2) community-based tourism and (3) sustainable tourism. As will be seen, there are similarities between these concepts, although they do differ in some respects.

Chapter 3 examines the theoretical model that informs this research, namely the sustainable livelihoods approach, using the United Kingdom's Department for International Development's (DFID) framework. The chapter explains the paradigm shift in development thinking represented by this approach in as far as it enquires into the assets rather than needs of the poor. The principles of the approach, as well as the forms of capital assets, are discussed, and the framework itself is presented. A brief critique of this approach is provided at the end of this chapter.

Chapter 4 deals with the methodological issues related to this study. It addresses the aspects of research methodology that are commonly encountered in studies such as this one.

The key objective of this study is to investigate and analyse the livelihood strategies of the people of AmaZizi. To this end, chapter 5 presents the findings of research conducted in the study area of AmaZizi in the northern Drakensberg, and focuses on the people of AmaZizi themselves. It presents the findings as they relate to their assets and livelihoods. It should be kept in mind that it is difficult to determine alternatives for the people if their present conditions are not understood, and this chapter forms the basis on which any recommendations are made.

Chapter 6 discusses the role of institutions as key players in shaping the outcomes of people's livelihoods. It looks at current policies such as the local economic development (LED), Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) and land reform policy. These policies are addressed from the historic point of view in relation to contemporary practices. In terms of the SLA and framework, this chapter is critical because the institutions and processes are the factors that finally determine the livelihood strategies which individuals and groups pursue. Existing institutions and structures play an

allocative role in any particular society. Access, for example, to education (human capital), credit (financial capital) and land (natural capital) are determined by structures above the local level, and consequently determine the outcomes of those livelihoods.

In addition, chapter 6 presents the findings on the views of the business community in the northern Drakensberg. This section was included in order to present a different view regarding the strengths of the AmaZizi, namely that of the formal business community, on how the people of AmaZizi could participate in the tourism industry and its spin-offs in order to reduce poverty and unemployment in this region.

Chapter 7 provides a critical analysis of pro-poor tourism as a poverty alleviation strategy. It argues that this concept has the potential not only to alleviate poverty, but also to lead to economic development if properly implemented. This chapter also emphasises the role of pro-poor policies and argues that without such supportive policies, pro-poor tourism itself is unlikely to succeed. Consequently, this chapter makes a case for the role of state intervention in the economy in order to benefit the poor.

In conclusion, chapter 8 summarises the findings of the study and discusses the relationship between tourism and poverty alleviation. The empirical contribution of the sustainable livelihoods approach (and the framework) in helping understand the conditions of AmaZizi is also indicated.

## **Conclusion**

This introductory chapter has briefly indicated some of the issues that this study will address. In addition, it has provided a background to the history of the people of AmaZizi as far back as the 1200s. This understanding is deemed to be crucial to understanding who the people of AmaZizi are. No claim is made here that this history covers all the historical periods in the lives of the AmaZizi. It does, however, provide some insight into who the AmaZizi are and where they come from. In the following chapters, an attempt is made to present the findings of the study, including its literature review, as clearly as

possible. Efforts were made to ensure that this study's results meet with the established standards of scientific investigation in the social sciences.

Before moving to the next chapter, it is important to note that this study was limited by its objectives, with the result that some areas that could have enriched it could not be addressed. Also important to point out is the fact that, as a fast growing industry, an increasing number of recent studies in tourism are being published. This study on AmaZizi could not accommodate them all. However, during the course of this study, a few areas were identified as requiring further investigation. These areas were:

1. The actual size of the tourism industry in the northern Drakensberg is not known. Knowledge regarding the number of tourist beds, for example, could help determine the potential of this industry to accommodate local people
2. The value chain of the handicrafts requires investigation. This point is important in order to understand the actual beneficiation that can be accrued from the handicrafts
3. The possibility of an alternative form of land tenure besides the current communal system, which tends to be a barrier to capital accumulation, should be investigated
4. The extent to which the newly created Ministry of Rural Development provides for better livelihoods among the rural poor and in the study area of AmaZizi in particular should be examined
5. The extent to which the newly announced macroeconomic policy of the New Growth Path (NGP) will impact on people's livelihoods particularly in the study area of AmaZizi needs further investigation.

## CHAPTER 2

### TAKING STOCK: A LITERATURE REVIEW

*People can and generally do remain indifferent to ideas that do not threaten the status quo or the established body of knowledge. But they are instantly galvanized into attention and action when some genuinely new ideas and vital influences appear on the scene (Novack 1971:56).*

#### **Introduction**

The examination of international experiences informs local conditions, without necessarily transplanting them as a blueprint. Poverty and unemployment, for example, are global issues, but conditions under which they occur differ greatly; the same applies to the solutions. What works in one part of the world does not necessarily work in another part of the world. At the same time, as Kepe (2001:4) indicates, tourism cannot be regarded as a panacea for poverty and unemployment. As tourism is, however, counted among the largest industries, for example second in Thailand (Laverack and Thangphet 2007:173); second in Mexico (Wise and Waters 2001:6) and fourth in South Africa (Visser 2005:267), one must concede that tourism can make a meaningful contribution to alleviate the twin evils of poverty and unemployment.

The literature considered here is mainly the literature that examines ways in which tourism can be made to work for the poor; in other words, how the poor can exploit the tourism industry to their own advantage. This researcher is, however, engaged in a study on how the poor themselves can be their own liberators. As indicated earlier, poverty is mainly measured in terms of lack, or lowness, of incomes. The question which usually arises from the literature requires an answer as to how best tourism can benefit the local communities. Asking the question this way has the connotation that, among other things, people become passive recipients of the tourism trickle-down effects of economic activities.

This study takes a different approach in that it inquires into what people have – their capabilities or assets – that they can use to their benefit. The study will therefore employ

the strength-based approach. From this perspective, one firstly assumes that tourism has benefits that can be exploited, and secondly that people have the means and/or capabilities to exploit that tourism. It is frustrating to repeatedly come up against the commonly held notion (Dyer, Aberdeen and Schuler 2003:93) that tourism is not and cannot be regarded as a panacea for poverty eradication and that unemployment cannot be over-emphasised. In fact, there is no one particular economic activity that can be raised to such levels. Tourism can only contribute so much to the abovementioned problems. The net can only be cast as far as it goes. Moreover, tourism, like all other business activities, is concerned with earning profits; poverty issues usually take a back seat.

The kind of thinking outlined above is informed by a number of issues. Firstly, development is not something that can be done for people; people develop themselves. Again, this reasoning assumes that people have the capabilities to do things for themselves. In fact, it can be argued that if people can survive centuries of oppression and land dispossession, then they have the strengths to also improve their conditions. Secondly, equity does not happen on its own. Policies that promote equity are meaningless if those that are supposed to benefit from it are passive recipients. The reasoning here is that equality, from which equity derives, does not come on a silver platter; it is something that must be achieved. Lastly, one has to consider the policy environment. The way in which policy is conceived and implemented determines the outcomes. In a situation where the state is a passive regulator of the economic environment, dominant classes will continue to dominate the economy, serving their own interests while the poor continue to scavenge on the periphery of the economy. Where the state is active, the contrary happens.

These issues will be addressed in conjunction with the policy environment, which is critical to successful implementation of any attempt at economic development. Consequently, the literature that is used here is the literature that will lend support to this argument.

This chapter is structured in the following manner. Firstly, the concept of sustainable development is discussed. This brief discussion traces the origins of the concept from 1972 through its development until 2002. Each epoch is characterised by major events in the form of international conferences.

Secondly, the chapter discusses tourism within the context of sustainable development. There is a general call for the tourism industry to ensure local sustainable development by supporting the Local Agenda 21 processes in communities. The call is made mainly because tourism has a potential negative impact on local communities. This negative impact may come in the form of degradation of the local biological diversity, interruption of local cultures regarding customs and lifestyles, the spread of infectious diseases and changes in local labour markets (UNCSD 1999). Here, three forms of tourism, namely pro-poor tourism, sustainable tourism and community-based tourism are identified. These forms of tourism are considered only as examples of how local people take part in tourism-related activities.

Thirdly, the policy environment is considered. Hall and Jenkins (1995:1) refer to tourism as a “major economic, environmental and socio-cultural force on a highly political phenomenon”. As tourism is one of the largest industries in the world and the fourth largest industry in South Africa, it is evident that policy will play a huge role in this industry. To this end, existing policies relating to tourism and how these policies are conceived should be investigated.

### **Sustainable development**

Environmentalism and the birth of sustainable development can be traced from the first United Nations (UN) Conference on the Human Environment, which took place in Stockholm in 1972. Though sustainable development as a concept was never specifically raised, the Conference was a follow-up to the 1972 Club of Rome report, which warned against trends in population growth, food production, resource use and pollution. The term itself was first used in 1980 by the International Union for the Conservation of

Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN). The concept, however, was limited to ecological sustainability (Baker 2006:18).

The concept was taken a step further by the UN Commission on Environment and Development leading to the Brundtland Report of 1987. Brundtland clarified the link between the social, political, economic and ecological concerns about development (Baker 2006:19). Despite abuse and misuse of the term (Butler 1996:11), there has not been a definition of sustainable development that is not somehow based on Brundtland's view of sustainable development as "development that seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future".

Although, the Brundtland report makes no reference to tourism, it has to be remembered that the report only set out to provide a set of guidelines which nations have to work out on their own and use in their policies where relevant. Conservation was never conceived in terms of creating employment, but that does not mean that it cannot be made to contribute to job creation. In fact, tourism is highly related to conservation. As pointed out here, tourism can hardly survive without conservation. Eco-tourism, for example, depends on the existence of sound conservation areas and policies. Links between environment, technology, economic, social and political issues are made very clear in the Brundtland report (Baker 2006:25). The report shows that sustainable development cannot be achieved without changing the social conditions in which people live. Consequently, sustainable tourism cannot be separated from sustainable development, which Brundtland (1987) defines as development that "seeks to meet the needs and aspirations of the present without compromising the ability to meet those of the future".

Since the 1970s, the term "conservation" has changed several times. It has been called "nature preservation", and at some stage "nature protection". Because all these terms relate to the environment, they are important within the realm of sustainable development. Conservation has tried many times to fit in with the times, as popular calls for the inclusion of communities grew but still failed to be participatory. Especially in South Africa, nature conservation areas are in many instances a representation of land

dispossession which greatly affected the lives of the indigenous populations. With changing times, nature conservation came to be labelled "participatory conservation" and "community based nature conservation" (CBNRM). This meant that the previously excluded communities were allowed some benefits from these areas. The benefits ranged from job opportunities to beneficiation in the form of handicrafts. The raw materials for the handicrafts were harvested from inside the conservation areas on an arranged basis or through "theft" (Dumalisile and White 2002:105; Zulu 1996:116).

Currently there are two sides to conservation. On the one hand there is the view that conservation leads to development; on the other hand there is the view that development will lead to nature conservation. In the first view, sustainable development is only an environmental concept. It regards national parks, for example, as the single most important way of preserving biological diversity. This way of thinking does not allow interaction between human beings and their natural environment; it advocates strict control measures against people adjacent to protected areas. These measures have only served to alienate local communities and finally breed contempt, as people become hostile towards nature conservation attempts (Hattingh 2001:6; Barrow et al 1993:1; Brandon & Wells 1992:557; Abel & Blaikie 1986:740).

The second view regards sustainable development as including economic, social, and political lives of the people. This view holds that problems of conservation do not spring from biological diversity, but from the socio-political-economic spheres in which people live. This means that the protection of the environment is but one of the many objectives of sustainable development. Accordingly, environmental protection is important for as long as it contributes to improving the quality of life of the people. Consequently, the natural environment cannot be separated from the other environments within which people live. The first view, namely that conservation leads to development, fragments nature and loses sight of the fact that there is no autonomous science functioning separately from the political economy within which it is practiced (Child 2004:64; Nkosi and Abbot 2002:307; Sandlund *et al* 1992:17; Shiva 1989:14; Abel and Blaikie 1986:736).

Instead of mere environmental pristinity, conservation stands to benefit greatly from tourism. Lindberg, James and Goodman (2003:205 and 206) point to a number of benefits that can accrue to conservation areas if tourism is promoted in those areas. These authors categorise the benefits as follows:

(a) Educational

The attitudes of visitors can be changed to favour and support conservation efforts through educational programmes within the conservation areas. Also through participation in academic research activities within these areas, visitors are exposed to the value of conservation areas. In this case, tour operators can be of great help by encouraging their clients to participate in such research activities.

(b) Political support

Because governments also benefit from the revenue generated by tourism, they are more inclined to support conservation areas. Visitors themselves are also likely to form lobby groups to protect areas of interest.

(c) Financial support

Since tourism is seen as a major contributor to the alleviation of poverty and unemployment, there is a strong likelihood that governments will financially support conservation, particularly in economically depressed areas. Tourism provides alternative sources of livelihoods for the local people, such as employment and revenue-sharing programmes. If conservation areas play a constructive social role, they are more likely to be supported by governments through parliamentary grants to advance their work. Conservation areas also stand to attract international donations if they do a good job on conservation.

Butler (1996:11) accuses the Brundtland report of making no mention of tourism in the context of sustainable development. This accusation seems misplaced. The Brundtland report refers to issues of food security, jobs, energy, water, conservation of natural base and so on. To expect this report to have mentioned each economic sector by name is not

really fair. The author's view here is that by mere reference to economic issues and the natural resources, tourism is adequately covered. After all, the Brundtland's Commission was not a commission on tourism; it took an holistic view of issues relating to and affecting the environment and what we have come to refer to as sustainable development issues. In fact, the ladder of sustainable development constructed by Baker et al (2006), shows that sustainable development covers a very wide field of social, economic, political and environmental aspects, which can be applied equally to policy institutions, business organisations and environmental bodies.

Baker's ladder (see Table 1) classifies sustainable development into several models, namely ideal model, strong sustainable development model, weak sustainable development model and pollution control model. Each model is based on normative principles which become the key criteria in determining the nature of the model, for example whether it is an ideal model or a weak one

TABLE 1: The ladder of sustainable development: the global focus

Model of sustainable development	Normative principles	Type of development	Nature	Spatial focus	Governance	Technology	Policy integration	Policy tools	Civil society – state relationship	Philosophy
Ideal model	Principles take precedence over pragmatic considerations (participation, equity, gender, justice, common but differentiated responsibilities)	Right livelihood; meeting needs not wants; biophysical limits guide development	Nature has intrinsic value; no substitution allowed; strict limit on resource use, aided by population reductions	Bioregionalism; extensive local self-sufficiency	Decentralisation of political, legal, social and economic institutions	Labour-intensive appropriate, Green technology; new approach to valuing work	Environmental policy integration; principled priority to environment	Internalisation of sustainable development norms through on-going socialisation, reducing need for tools	Bottom-up community structures and control; equitable participation	Ecocentric
Strong sustainable development	Principles enter into international law And into governance arrangements	Changes in patterns and levels of consumption; shift from growth to non-material aspects of development; necessary development in Third World	Maintenance of critical natural capital and biodiversity	Heightened local economic self-sufficiency, promoted in the context of global markets; Green and fair trade	Partnership and shared responsibility across multi-levels of governance(international, national, regional and local); use of good governance principles	Ecological modernisation of production; mixed labour and capital-intensive technology	Integration of environmental considerations at sector level; Green planning and design	Sustainable development indicators; wide range of policy tools; Green accounting	Democratic participation; open dialogue to envisage alternative futures	N/A
Weak sustainable development	Declaratory commitment to principles stronger than practice	Decoupling; reuse; recycling and repair of consumer goods; product life cycle management	Substitution of natural capital with human capital; harvesting of biodiversity resources	Initial moves to local economic self-sufficiency; minor initiatives to alleviate the power of global markets	Some institutional reform and innovation; move to global regulation	End-of-pipe technical solutions; mixed labour- and capital-intensive technology	Addressing pollution at source; some policy co-ordination across sectors	Environmental indicators; market-led policy tools and voluntary agreements	Top-down initiatives; limited state-civil society dialogue; elite participation	N/A
Pollution control	Pragmatic, not principled approach	Exponential, market-led growth	Resource exploitation; marketisation and further closure of commons; nature has use value	Globalisation; shift of production to less regulated locations	Command and state-led regulation of population	Capital-intensive technology; progressive automation	End-of-pipe approach to pollutionmanagement	Conventional accounting	Dialogue between the state and economic interests	Anthropocentric

(Source: Baker [2006

The criticism of the Brundtland report has led to many other views with regards to environmental issues that have a bearing on tourism itself. These views are summarised in table 2.

TABLE 2: Views on sustainable development

View	Contributor	View point
Technocratic	Carley and Christie 1992 and Gilpin 2000	- a strictly conservationist position is not possible; - growth is essential - there is a need for maximum exploitation of resources for growing populations;
Populist	Trainer 1990 and Escobar 1995	- critical of Brundtland's report; - reject Western affluence as model for development; - call for attention to social, cultural and environment development - promote self-sufficiency and other knowledge systems.
Marxist	Pepper 1993	- Rejects capitalism as mode of development; - Poverty a result of unequal distribution of resources.
Deep ecological	Shiva 1989	- Calls for new consumption ethics; - Regards present development as responsible for degrading nature and women; - Rejects Brandtland's report; - Considers role of religion
Co-evolutionary	Norgaard 1994	- Sees West as uncaring; - Environmental damage not new but since Industrial Revolution - Importance of culture in development critical

(Source: Treurnicht [1997:65-67]).

The above table represents various perspectives on what sustainable development entails. Take, for example, the technocratic view as represented by Gilpin, namely that sustainable development is misplaced because there is no knowing whether or not future generations would need the present resources, since the future cannot be predicted. Gilpin (2000:89-112) argues that:

*...in years to come cities may be underground, all wastes productively recycled, transport so revolutionarised as to eliminate death and injury, productivity so great poverty has been eliminated, and the working day reduced to two hours. The challenge may be to combat boredom, and reflect on the barrenness of a falling population...*

In relation to tourism, Butler (1996:14) raises issues similar to those raised by Gilpin. Butler argues that tourism as it currently exists is a Western concept and that the industry is dominated by the West. While in the short to medium term the situation is likely to remain so, in the very long term there is no saying where it will grow, the rates at which it will grow and the impact it might have. These are the views that represent the extremism of the technocratic view. In fact, the various views are a reflection of the complexity of the concept itself. Estes (1993:8) explains that the concept "sustainable development" means different things to different people. The approach in this study is that within the foreseeable future, tourism is likely to benefit from the existing resources; for the current as well as for future generations. The study is also based on the belief that if the environment is properly taken care of and if people are satisfied, it will continue serving as a tourism attraction for as long as humanity continues to care. There is no reason to believe otherwise.

Besides the use in of sustainable development in environmental management, it is also employed in various disciplines such as sociology, political science, economics, education, philosophy and religion. As a result, the concept tends to mean different things to different people. Gasper (2004:25) and Harris (2000:6) propose that the use of the concept of sustainable development is both positive and evaluative. Gasper (2004:25) alleges that this makes the term "seductive – having connotations of unfolding of a necessary path of progress with ideas of necessity, influenceable change and fundamental improvement and thus making it difficult to define". Adams (1993:218) refers to sustainable development as:

*[a]... flag of convenience under which diverse ships sail ... it is this catholic scope that goes a long way to explain its power and popularity as a term in debates about development. One drawback of this, however, is that within the rhetoric there is no agreed and clear theoretical core.*

The 1992 Rio de Janeiro Earth Summit should be seen as a direct consequence of the Brundtland Commission. This Summit finally laid down a clearly defined agenda for sustainable development. The first principle of Agenda 21 reads thus:

*Human beings are at the centre of concerns for sustainable development. They are entitled to a healthy and productive life in harmony with nature.*

Agenda 21 (Chapters 3, 26 & 28) addresses nature conservation/ protection and the role of local government as important aspects of sustainable development in relation to livelihoods of the poor. Evident in this regard are the two sides to nature conservation. One is that conservation leads to development, and the other is that development will lead to nature conservation. The first view takes sustainable development as an environmental concept pure and simple. It regards national parks as the single most important manner of preserving biodiversity. This way of thinking does not allow interaction between human beings and their environment, with the result that it advocates strict control measures for people adjacent to protected areas. To this effect, benefits to the poor are seen as secondary to pristine environments (Hattingh 2001:6; DFID 1999; Barrow, Bergin, Infield and Lembuya 1993:1; Brandon and Wells 1992:557; Abel and Blaikie 1986:740).

The idea of a pristine environment is beautifully captured by Honey (1999:340-344), who points out that the Kruger National Park (KNP), for example, existed as an island; it took the view that conservation was only concerned with wildlife and ecology – issues of social welfare were left to others. The creation of this Park took place at the expense of the African population adjacent to it; these people were turned into poor workers to clear bushes and build roads. To this end, Honey (1999:340-344) states that the KNP was

*...built through forced relocations, protected with military techniques, financed through heavy government subsidies, and run with political and social blinders ... most luxurious and racially exclusive playground in the world ... today among the bitterest legacies of apartheid.*

The second view approaches sustainable development in a holistic manner, to include the economic, social and political lives of the people. This view holds that problems of conservation are not simply rooted in biological diversity, but also relate to the socio-political-economic spheres in which people live. This means that the protection of the environment is but one of the many objectives of sustainable development. Accordingly, environmental protection is important for as long as it contributes to better quality of life of the people. Consequently, the natural environment cannot be separated from the other environments within which people live (Child 2004:64; Nkosi and Abbot 2002:307 Sandlund, Hindar and Brown 1992:17; Shiva 1989:14; Abel and Blaikie 1986:736).

The difficulty of not only understanding sustainability, but also of implementing it, became evident at the 2002 UN World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) in Johannesburg. Nonetheless, participants agreed "on the importance of including a wide range of economic and social actors in the promotion of sustainable development" (Baker 2006:67). It is evident from this that sustainable development is no longer seen only as an environmental issue, but as an issue that covers a wide range of areas affecting humanity.

It is instructive to see the development of the concept of sustainable development as a guide to economic exploitation of the environment. In the author's view, sustainable development should be interpreted as saying that there are limits to everything beyond which human lives are negatively affected. Nature can be exploited positively to a certain point; then the returns begin declining. Baker (2006) uses the Kuznets curve to explain this situation. The curve initially rises positively from left to right, reaches the optimal point then begins to fall. It is before the optimal point (see arrow) that action is required because beyond it, the returns are negative (see figure 3).

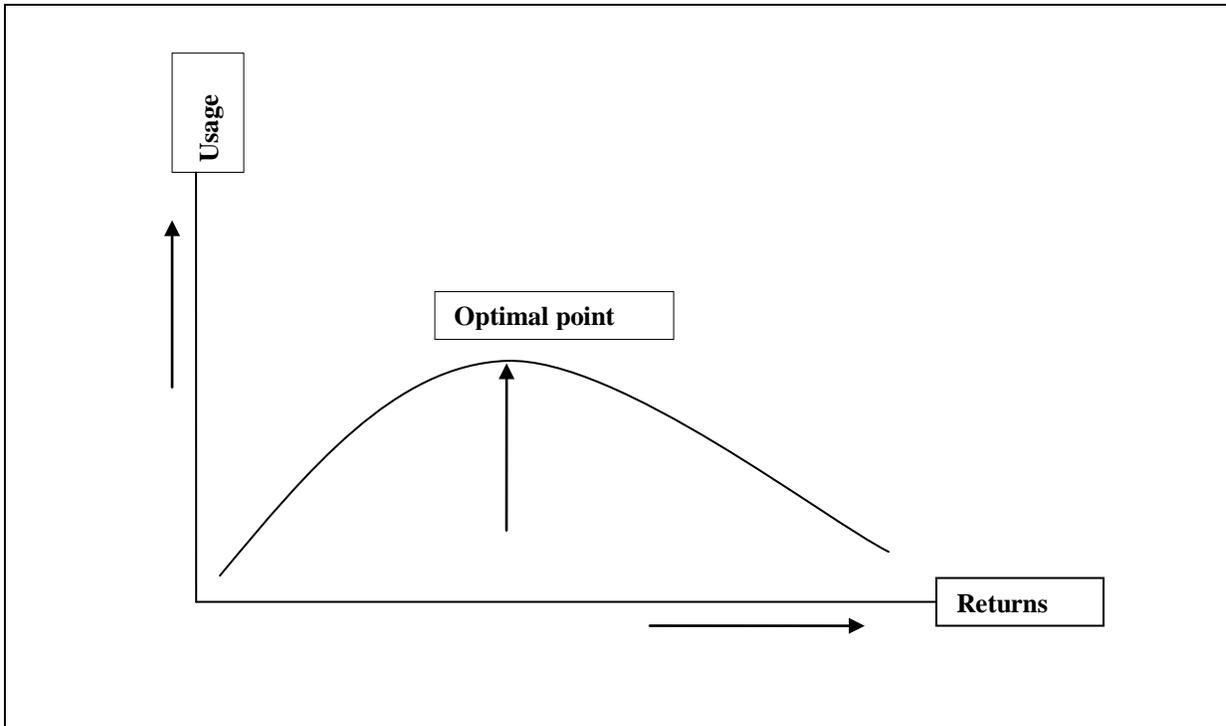


FIGURE 3: Kuznets curve (adapted)

The Kuznets curve can be applied to tourism and sustainable livelihoods alike. If the industry disregards its product regarding the environment and its people, in the long term the returns decline (see arrow to right). This supports the argument that sustainable tourism should bring about sustainable livelihoods.



### **Tourism within the context of sustainable development**

As shown above, sustainable development is normally associated with the Brundtland (1987) study which led to a “new” awakening in terms of environmental considerations. The concept of sustainability has broadened, however, and sustainability is no longer limited to environmental issues. In this study the term "sustainability" will be used to refer to a situation where the multiplying effects of tourism contribute to the improvement of the quality of the lives of the poor through the creation of a sustainable socio-economic environment.

The first definition to be considered here is the one that sees tourism as an activity that people undertake for pleasure. According to this definition, when people are in a particular place with the purpose of earning incomes, they cannot be classified as being involved in tourism. Slee et al (1997:71) define tourists as people who visit a place or places other than their usual place of stay for more than 24 hours, but for less than a year. This definition excludes people like students, soldiers, migrant workers and diplomats, and can be considered as a tight definition in the sense that it considers tourism an activity that is by no means work related.

The advantage of this definition of tourism is that it is uncomplicated. People who visit a place for profit are not tourists, and people who visit with the sole purpose of spending their money and their time (without personal enrichment as the objective) are tourists. However, such a strict definition excludes many people who combine leisure and labour. This definition will not accommodate someone who, for example, visits the country for business but spends a free weekend climbing the Drakensberg Mountains instead being confined to a city hotel room. Many people combine their business trips with leisure activities. It is also common for spouses to join one another on business trips with the purpose of spending a weekend together away from home. In this author's view it is a miscalculation to discount people like these as tourists. Although their visits are motivated by business, their leisure time is spent on tourism. Besides this, there are those people who strike business deals while on holiday. Modern living actually makes it very difficult to draw a clear line between holidays and business trips. While on business, people also enjoy holiday time, and while on holiday, business deals may be struck.

Tourism is also defined in terms of the nature of the activity people engage in while touring. Swarbrooke *et al* (2003:40-50) categorise tourists as hedonists, explorers and adventurers, mercenaries, pilgrims, traders, settlers and colonisers, seasonal migrants, missionaries, sex tourists, ecotourists, student exchange tourists, hunters, travel writer adventurers and cultural tourists. Is it really possible to compartmentalise people in this way? An ecotourist, for example, could also visit other places along the way, such as cultural areas or brothels. He or she may even go scuba diving. While tourism can be

compartmentalised to a certain extent, it is really difficult to pin down what people do and see when they are away from home.

In 1993 the United Nations Statistical Commission adopted a somewhat broader definition of tourism. According to this definition, “Tourism comprises the activities of persons traveling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes” (World Travel and Tourism Council 2002). This definition allows for the inclusion of many other activities or reasons for people to travel outside their own environments as long as they do not stay for longer than a year. At the same time, this definition can be seen as a compromise in the face of the difficulty of defining the concept.

In their turn, Mowforth and Munt (2003:94-95) refer to forms of tourism which they call "new" tourism. Included in their list are pro-poor tourism, sustainable tourism, community-based tourism and ecotourism. These authors define these different forms of tourism as follows:

***Pro-poor tourism** ... captures the emerging development consensus on poverty reduction by generating net benefits for the poor. Set to become the developmentalists' favourite; packed with the most up-to date technical development-speak. Proponents argue that pro-poor tourism puts the poor at the centre of analysis, focuses on tourism destinations in the South and is particularly relevant to conditions of poverty.*

***Sustainable tourism** concentrates on environmental issues – relabeled from ecotourism. Although pro-poor tourism advocates would agree with much that sustainable tourism stands for, the overall objective of sustainable tourism is not to primarily reduce poverty, though this may happen as a result of sustainable tourism development.*

*Community-based tourism seeks to increase people's involvement and ownership of tourism at the destination end. Initiates from and control stays with the local community. Has some resonance in the other types of tourism (sic).*

### **Pro-poor tourism (PPT)**

The DFID (1999) explains that pro-poor tourism is specifically concerned with unlocking opportunities for the poor in tourism, although benefits to the non-poor are not ruled out. Therefore, pro-poor tourism is not a different sector of tourism; it is merely concerned with how tourism can be used to benefit the poor people.

As indicated above, this study aims at finding ways in which local people can benefit better from tourism in their areas. It also investigates what local people themselves can provide or possess that can assist them to capture a share of the tourism market. It is common knowledge that local people derive jobs from the tourism industry. They gain employment in numerous positions that may be permanent, temporary or seasonal. In the next few paragraphs, attention will be paid to those assets that people possess and the activities that local people can engage in without being in the employ of the tourism industry. This thinking is aligned with the strength/asset-based approach proposed in this study. In terms of this approach, poverty is addressed by looking at what the people already have that can be built upon. In this case, the focus of sustainability shifts to sustainable livelihoods through tourism for the local people. The studies that have hitherto been executed have identified labour, natural resources and cultural lives of the poor as ways of involving them in tourism. However, the rising tide of poverty in tourism areas is proof that the benefits from this involvement are minimal and fail to provide sustainable livelihoods.

Ashley *et al* (2006) show that the tourism industry can link with the local farmers to supply agricultural produce to the hotels. These authors point to the following advantages of sourcing produce locally:

- Local purchases can provide fresher food

- Transport costs are lower
- Market opportunities for local farmers and increased incomes
- Tourists are exposed to local products

To ensure the success of this exercise, and also to address questions of quality, reliability, health and safety, as well as perceptions of inferiority, Ashley *et al* (2006) suggest that the parties do the following:

- Help farmers to improve production and delivery standards
- Offer seasonal foods in hotels
- Ensure communication between chefs, hotel managers and local producers
- Provide training on required standards
- Ensure a balance between demand and supply

Involving local farmers in tourism in this way has many advantages. Not only does involvement raise the income of the farmers, but the local population also stands to benefit in terms of job spin-offs that are likely to be created. This kind of involvement further reduces the chances of the local people becoming dependent on the tourism industry only. Farmers will learn to expand their market because the tourism industry cannot be expected to buy all their produce. In addition to what tourism can do for the local people, Altman (2001) points to the willingness shown by retail business in the Zululand Municipality District to buy food that is produced locally if available. Mahony and Van Zyl (2002:92) refer to a similar situation where local people supply fresh produce and fish to the Umngazi River Bungalows in Port St John on the Transkei Wild Coast.

The community can use the land for its own benefit as a group. The common practice is for private companies to establish partnerships with the local communities. However, if a community has clear and secured land rights, investors are more easily attracted than when there are no such rights (Mahony and Van Zyl 2002:90). It should be pointed out here that ownership of the land is fundamental to poverty alleviation. Land provides the

basic asset for the poor to improve their conditions. This point is strongly related to the question of power relations and capital endowment, as discussed in this study. It also determines the level at which people can participate in tourism activities. In this regard, a number of studies which support this argument have emerged (see eg Papageorgion and Turnbull 2005; Kats and Lu 2001; Sjaastad and Bromley 2000; De Soto 2000).

***How the poor participate and how government can intervene***

There are a number of ways in which the local poor communities can take part in tourism. Recognising that the poor can never be able to make any impact in the tourism industry by themselves, government involvement becomes crucial. Some of the ways in which a government can intervene are shown in Table 3. It must be noted here that government involvement does not necessarily mean state monopoly, but should involve active facilitation for the poor to benefit from the industry. The state should be able to support and provide incentives to the private sector instead of being hostile to it. At the same time, the state should be able to punish the private sector if it refuses to co-operate. While not anti-private sector, policy should be pro-poor. It is meaningless to speak of pro-poor tourism in the face of a "night watchman state". The state should find a balance between pro-poor policies and programmes and the interests of the private sector.

TABLE 3: Role of government in pro-poor tourism

What the poor can do	What government can do
Sell handicrafts	Help improve quality
Establish food supply chains	Provide storage and transport, apply BBBEE <sup>2</sup> policies
Act as tour guides	Offer training and capacity building
Take part in festivals, exhibitions and local events	Provide information centers
Provide camp sites	Provide water and sanitation
Provide laundry services	Provide water, electricity, BBBEE legislation
Carry out waste disposal	Provide land fill sites
Offer after care services	Provide training on child minding
Organise cultural activities	Build community centers
Secure construction contracts	Offer training, licensing, BBBEE legislation
Offer taxi services	Licensing, financing, BBBEE legislation

(Source: Ashley, C. Available at: [www.propoortourism.org.uk](http://www.propoortourism.org.uk))

The International Council on Local Environmental Initiatives (1999) summarises the interaction between local governments and tourism as follows:

- As providers of social services, builders of economic infrastructure, regulators of economic activity, and managers of the natural environment, local authorities have many direct instruments at their disposal to influence development
- Tourism is one of the many external forces influencing the direction and options for local development. The question of whether tourism can be sustainable – that is, whether it can contribute to local sustainable development – is rightly addressed in the context of the Local Agenda 21
- A truly legitimate and practical discussion on sustainable tourism must take place in and with the communities that are being influenced by tourist industry development. It must create accountability of the industry to local-defined development visions

<sup>2</sup> The Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment Act 53 of 2003 was promulgated to promote economic transformation and participation of the previously excluded groups in South Africa.

- The true proof of “sustainable tourism” will be the sustainable development of local communities that serve as tourist destinations. It is time for the sustainable tourism debate to focus on this challenge ... and to increase the positive contribution of tourism business and consumption activity to local sustainable development.

Today there are many attempts to involve local communities in conservation in order to assist their development. The involvement varies from area to area and is known by different names. For example, the Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife refers to their own involvement with communities as "social responsibility". In many other areas it is referred to as "Community-Based Natural Resource Management", especially where wildlife is involved. Whatever it is called, the objective is always to involve adjacent communities in conservation.

Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife provides a particularly relevant example of how the communities adjacent to conservation areas benefit from tourism. Visitors to conservation areas are charged an entry fee. A rand from each entry fee is set aside for the benefit of the communities. By the end of June 2005, the Royal Natal National Park, for example, had more than a million rand in the fund that caters for the area of AmaZizi. Money does not go directly to communities, but through their representatives they can request funds to assist them in a variety of activities. A community can request, for example, that a crèche be built or that school classrooms in the area be extended. The people of Okhombe, one of the villages of AmaZizi, benefited from this scheme in 2002 when a fence was erected to prevent livestock from going astray into the fields or enter the conservation area. Such funds are available to all communities in all conservation areas that are under the control of Ezemvelo KZN (Scherl *et al* 2004).

Used appropriately, such funds can benefit the communities greatly. A crèche, for example, provides women with a place where they can leave their children safely while they pursue their livelihood strategies. If used economically, such a crèche can also be used to cater for the children of visitors in the area while parents go hiking or engage in

other activities available to them in the area. In this way, local women can get themselves employed. Opportunities such as these are not created overnight, however. Local people need information and training before they can provide services of this nature.

Participation in tourism by the local populations has other benefits beyond employment. Lindberg *et al* (2003:111-118), for example, point out how ecotourism has benefited the local people in China's conservation areas, which happen to be populated mainly by the poor. The authors mention the following benefits:

- Improvement in transport services
- Access to new industries
- Revenue for local government to improve local social services
- Enhanced support for conservation areas
- Better links between conservation and development

The Kwai (Botswana) and the Nya Nyae Conservancy (Namibia) have Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programmes that are aimed at benefiting the local poor communities. In these two cases, local people entered into partnership with safari companies, which allowed them to sell their annual wildlife quota through auctions to safari hunters. This resulted in their incomes being similar to and some in cases higher than wages paid locally (Spencely 2008:161-165).

The community adjacent to the Pilanesberg National Park was forcefully removed from their land to make way for the Park. Proclaimed in 1979, Pilanesberg was built on the land where people had made a living for centuries. In the light of their forceful removal and the fact that they were not allowed to participate in park activities, the communities never accepted the Park. It took a democratic government and new management to change the Park's management attitude. Today, the Park employs many local people in its hotels and other conservation opportunities. The community has set up a Community Development Organisation (CDO) that manages the funds contributed by the Park. The funds are collected and allocated in the same way as the Ezemvelo KZN's community

levy. The Pilanesberg Park management agreed to contribute ten percent of the entrance fees to the local community fund. These funds have since been used to bring water into the village, build a school classroom and clinic, and to develop a cultural village as well as a community-owned game park (Honey 1999:352-355).

The Makuleke people near the Kruger National Park (KNP) and other communities in that vicinity, the Mdlulis and the Mhingas, have successfully made their mark in the tourism industry by forming partnerships with conservation agencies (the Community Private-Public Partnerships – CPPP). But this happened only after they had won their land back through the land claims court as prescribed by the South African legislation that governs land restitution, redistribution and tenure. The communities have established lodges and bursary funds which benefit many through employment and access to education opportunities (Ramutsindela 2004:113-116).

Madikwe, in the Northwest province of South Africa, provides another example where communities have gained access to the benefits provided by tourism. Ashley (2006:27) points to a situation where the local people own a lodge, although this may be an exception. In many instances, people in South Africa who are made out to be owners, in reality are mere workers. A lodge could be built on communal land and this is said to provide a fifty-fifty ownership. Upon closer inspection, the lodges turn out to be owned by outsiders – local people merely provide cheap labour. The traditional leaders are the ones who reap the benefits of the land through taxes paid to them by the lodge owners. This situation needs careful analysis when tourism in South African communal areas comes under scrutiny. Local people working in the lodges have to be interviewed as well as lodge owners to gain a balanced view, as owners frequently conspire with the local traditional leadership against the local people.

For example, situations<sup>3</sup> where collusions with local tribal leaderships occur have been obtained in the KwaZulu-Natal province. The chiefs of Mathenjwa and Tembe concluded

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<sup>3</sup> While working on another unrelated project in northern KwaZulu-Natal, the researcher came across these situations. In particular, the people of Tembe adjacent to the Tembe National Elephant Park, had been

agreements with private business owners in the names of their subjects. Because these areas mainly resulted from land restoration through land claims courts, chiefs and their councillors formed holding companies and became shareholders in returned land at the expense of their subjects. The local people are kept in the dark and have to settle for jobs that are chiefly seasonal and low paying. A similar situation exists along the Wild Coast in the Eastern Cape, where there is open hostility towards the local traditional leadership (Kepe 2001:64). Some people see these leaders as having forsaken their land in the first place before benefiting as shareholders in the tea business ventures that are presently being created. There is unhappiness about the fact that government takes the word of the leaders at face value without consulting ordinary residents. Community leaders lack accountability and transparency in rural areas (Scherl *et al* 2004; Kepe 2001:61; Honey 1999:366).

Employment and access to natural resources are therefore the main benefits that the local people derive from conservation areas. Ramutsindela (2004:107 and 108) points out that there is actually no clear definition of what is meant by "benefits to the local people", and refers to this condition as:

*...the tendencies of reducing local black people to a common denominator ... standardization of benefits ... and community expectations to the same logic ... benefits from protected areas remain differentiated along class, race and property rights.*

Ramutsindela argues that definitions depend on *who* defines the benefits and for *whom*. Since conservation areas were mostly established without the participation of local people, benefits came to be defined in the terms laid by the creators of these areas. The benefits of a conservation area are difficult to pinpoint if local people are only allowed to

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struggling to get their land claim settled for a long time. The ten-member committee was becoming frustrated, as they did not even have the money to visit Pietermaritzburg on a regular basis to pursue their claim. The researcher took it upon himself to one day ask the regional land claims commissioner's officials about the claim. The officials pulled out the relevant file and showed the researcher that the claim had long been settled in favour of the community, represented by its traditional leadership. The researcher never passed this information to the committee members for fear that this could lead to conflict of some kind.

hunt, visit graves, and gather wood and medicinal plants –things they have always obtained from the same area. In this regard, therefore, the people who define benefits are the people who wield power. Otherwise, as Ramutsindela (2007:11) says, “the native could be erased in favour of pristine nature” whereby natives are “denied significant opportunity to enter the tourism market ... the opportunity to hunt, gather fruit, graze livestock or cut grass for thatch or fodder” (Goodwin, Kent, Parker & Walpole 1998:63).

### ***Labour***

Labour can be an asset possessed by people in a specific area. People in poor communities may have certain skills such as painting or weaving, and construction workers can be sourced from within local communities (Macleod 2004:10; Mahony & Van Zyl 2002:91-92). If, for example, a hotel needed renovation or had to carry out routine maintenance on its buildings, it could hire local labour instead of contracting outsiders at a higher cost. Labour is usually the most easily available asset, although skilled labour may not always be available locally.

Some tasks do not really need any formal qualification, as they may merely be an extension of domestic work. These tasks can be turned into profitable ventures for the local people. Macleod (2004:110; Mahony and Van Zyl 2002:92) mention tasks that may open opportunities to poor women, for example. Such tasks could include cleaning, child-minding, washing and ironing (laundry). Local women could be contracted to provide these services, thus allowing the tourism establishment to concentrate on its core activities. Even so, it should take responsibility for the satisfactory delivery of the services it outsources.

### ***The role of handicrafts***

The ability of the local people to produce handicrafts (Ashley and Roe 2002:73) of distinction using locally available natural resources, is another asset that has frequently allowed local communities to benefit from tourism. This could be expanded to include cultural activities (Van Veuren 2004:139) and furniture manufacturing. Tourism establishments could allow crafters to sell their products on the premises. Local residents

could open their own curio shops where they could sell their handicrafts to visitors on an independent basis. In the northern Drakensberg, for example, many crafters operate outside tourism areas exposed to the elements. Instead they could be allowed to trade better by having their own shops within the premises.

Although benefits such as employment and income opportunities are derived from handicrafts, these only serve as safety-nets against destitution, as pointed out by Rogerson (see Makhado 2004:21). Many crafters earn incomes under the poverty line of R640.00 per household consisting of a single member (CSIR 2006). To this effect, Altman (2001) questions putting a lot of effort into craft programmes that seem to yield so little. Altman advocates expenditure on programmes that “will lift residents out of poverty and subsistence like small farmer support”. Her argument targets the general situation around conservation areas in South Africa. Local people are mainly selling handicrafts; Altman argues that this is not sustainable, and advocates the creation of sustainable employment in these areas. The two main schools of thought revolving around this issue are the dualist approach and the petty commodity production approach (Rogerson 1985:10). The first approach supports the continued selling of handicrafts in the informal sector, while the latter advocates the development and inclusion of handicrafts into the formal sector.

### *Culture as an asset*

The importance of culture in tourism cannot be underestimated. The ability to give cultural performances, for example, is a common asset that people possess. Local people come to perform, for example, in the hotels on particular days and at particular times. Cultural villages can also be promoted (Van Veuren 2004:134-160; Ashley and Roe 2002:73). The difficulty with this is that currently the performers’ only remuneration comes in the form of tips given by audiences. Many performances happen in the open where everybody gathers to watch, but no one is compelled to pay. It would be better if these performers found a venue where they could charge a specific entrance fee. Alternatively, the hotel could make the entrance fee to these performances part of their

tour packages, on the understanding that the performers be paid an amount agreed upon at specific times.

### ***Transport***

Wilson (2003:187) points to the need for transport in tourism areas; taxi services provided by locals could, for example, be used to carry tourists to various places of interest. This arrangement would have the advantage that the taxi operators, as locals, usually have a deep-seated knowledge of their area. By providing taxi services, local operators could become part of the supply chain of the tourism industry. Wilson also mentions the problems that are frequently experienced in the taxi industry, such as conflicts over routes, fights with bus operators and unrestricted issuing of licenses. These are indeed real problems. In South Africa taxi operators are constantly involved in conflict situations, but it must be said that the government is actively involved in trying to bring this industry into line and compel taxi operators to provide services of acceptable standard. Regulating the taxi industry will take some time, however, as it was operated as an informal sector in the past. The recently introduced recapitalisation programme in the taxi industry could lead to it becoming one of the best transport services in the country.

### ***Local knowledge***

Local people could also serve as independent tour guides, using as an asset their knowledge of the local tourism places (Ashley and Roe 2002:73). With some added training, they could take the tourists to places of interest in their areas by, for example, linking up with hotels. Tourists staying in local hotels could arrange with such tour guides to take them out to visit specific places. Tour guides would be able to determine their charge rates without being dependent on the hotels for payment. Tourguiding is in fact receiving much attention these days in South Africa.

Used with the asset-based approach, pro-poor tourism has the potential to provide a better life for the poor. Taking the assets that the poor already have and looking carefully at where and how these can be utilised, opportunities can be found. One such key asset the

poor possess is their labour power. The use of this asset needs to be redirected. Presently it is poorly paid, as Mowforth and Munt (2003:215) have indicated.

### **Sustainable tourism**

According to Mowforth and Munt (2003:97-104) and McKercher (2003) sustainability in tourism is based on specific principles, namely environmental/ ecological sustainability, social and cultural sustainability, economic sustainability, educational sustainability, and local sustainable participation. Mowforth and Munt (2003:106) also point out that the principles of sustainability

*...are not absolute and immutable. In any tourism analysis there is a need to examine the questions of who is stating the principles, priorities and policies, who will benefit from related action and who will lose ...*

To this end, sustainable tourism can be beneficial if it is interpreted as sustainable tourism development.

This statement is of critical importance, especially in the light of Adams' (1993) pronouncement that sustainability is a flag of convenience under which every ship sails. When one speaks of sustainable tourism, one needs to be explicit in terms of whose sustainability is referred to. McKercher (2003) agrees with this argument, stating that in fact, "sustainable tourism seeks to achieve the best balance between economic and social and environmental costs". In tourism, sustainability is used as a guiding philosophy for specific reasons, such as the following:

- A community's resources, its culture, traditions, shops, leisure facilities et cetera represent the core base for tourism
- Tourism represents one of the few economic opportunities available to remote communities
- Tourism can provide an incentive to conserve natural and cultural assets.

Butler (1996:13-14) states that it is possible to talk about tourism within the context of sustainable development: tourism that takes into account the socio-economic environments of the people. This tourism can be defined as:

*Tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such a scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such a degree that it prohibits the successful development and well being of other activities and processes.*

According to Wilson (1996:75) sustainable tourism development is based on seven principles, namely:

- Do not exceed carrying capacity
- Maintain biodiversity
- Minimise depletion of non-renewable resources
- Promote development which maintains natural wealth
- Encourage equitable distribution of costs, benefits and management responsibilities
- Allow effective participation of local communities and other interest groups in decision-making processes
- Encourage others to help promote sustainability.

The seven principles of sustainable tourism (development) are concerned with improving the quality of life of the local people, and encompass specific areas such as economic sustainability, environmental sustainability, social sustainability and cultural sustainability. All these forms of sustainability relate to improving people's lives and ensuring subjective well-being of local people (Wilson 1996:75-76).

The tourism industry should be sustained for as long as it also serves the interests of the local people. The great part of this industry operates in areas where the populations live

in abject poverty. Tourism further draws on the resources of the very poor: the land, forests, water, their culture and labour. Speaking of tourism, protected areas and local communities, Eagles and McCool (2000:188) note that:

*In many cases, these communities struggle with a changing economic base, one moving away from resource commodity production. Other communities face widespread low incomes that they desire to raise. For some communities that have traditionally relied on natural resources now gazetted within a national park or protected area, tourism represents an economic incentive to the community for protection of these areas.*

In South Africa, nature-based tourism areas are located mainly where the poor live (Foggin and Münster (2004:455). Examples are the Kruger National Park and the Tembe National Elephant Park, where the communities finally settled the issue by going to the Land Claims Courts. In such cases, to speak of environmental protection at the expense of the people is tantamount to assisting in the worsening of poverty. Worsening poverty in tourism areas should be seen as a future reflection of tourism itself. Disregarding the plight of the poor has the potential to lead to degradation of the very environment that attracts visitors and keeps the tourism industry alive. The poor are likely to exhaust the forests and wildlife, not because they are against tourism or nature, but because they have to survive. They need fuel and food. Therefore, for its own survival, sustainable tourism should go hand in hand with sustainable local livelihoods.

Sustainable tourism is also associated with the school of thought that regards sustainable development as primarily a matter of protecting the biodiversity of areas and only secondary to livelihoods. In this regard, Johnston (2003:115-130) alleges that sustainable tourism is concerned with the sustainability of the environment rather than the sustainability of human lives. The negative exploitative experiences of the local people are not the main concern of sustainable tourism. As a result the local people's rights and freedoms, which are considered key to self-determination, are not usually respected. Because sustainable tourism is simply about biodiversity, it ignores the fact that people

see development as related to land – many indigenous cultures make strong connections between the land and emotional and spiritual needs (DFID 1999; Johnston 2003:115-130).

Johnston (2003:120) also points out that the seasonal employment taken by the poor in, say, popular ecotourism areas, is not sustainable. People taking up these jobs only enjoy short term benefits, as they spend so much of their time working in tourism that their own food production declines. In the process, as they lose touch with the land, they also lose skills and knowledge that are essential for the survival of their own generations.

There is some merit in Johnson's argument. There are many examples of this in South Africa. Many indigenous populations were forcefully removed from their ancestral lands during the colonial and apartheid eras to make way for conservation areas, with promises of development and employment opportunities. Having lost their means of living, people were forced to depend on the poorly remunerated short term jobs offered by the conservation areas. Today, the glaring poverty around these areas is sufficient evidence of the policies and power relations that existed at the time. Bernard and Kumalo (2004); Child (2004); Fabricius and Koch (2004); Nkosi and Abbot (2002) as well as Cunningham (1988) present detailed accounts of how indigenous peoples interacted with nature, especially in South Africa.

In this study, it is argued that sustainable tourism should also bring benefits to the host communities living in the relevant areas. There need not be any losers; by applying the principle of participation, a win-win situation can be created – or at least the foundations of such a situation can be laid. Interactive participation, self-mobilisation and connectedness are all forms of participation that are well-suited to sustainable tourism for the local communities. These types of participation allow local people to determine how available resources are used, and also give them control over the use of such resources (Mowforth and Munt 2003:215).

Shifting from the need-based approach, which examines what people need, to the strength-based approach, which examines what people have that can be built on (Arefi 2004:492), tourism has the potential to benefit the poor in the northern Drakensberg. This does not mean that tourism is the panacea for rural poverty; rural people have multiple livelihood strategies. To quote Kepe (2001:78): "...opportunities in new ventures such as tourism are likely to supplement, rather than replace, existing economic activities".

Sustainable tourism is also accused of being exclusively interested in the preservation or protection of the natural environment and of neglecting the livelihoods of the local people (Johnston 2003:118). This implies that sustainable tourism has no relation to sustainable development when it comes to the socio-economic conditions of the people. As indicated earlier, the natural environment cannot be separated from the other environments that affect human lives. The environment exists to serve the interests of the human race. At the same time, the human race is conscious of the fact that its survival is dependent on the environment and as such it should protect it. There is therefore interdependence between the people and the environment – a point Ferreira (2004:290) raises when she says that "the world is becoming more economically, politically and ecologically interdependent". If the concept of sustainable tourism concerns the natural environment only, it is hard to understand for whom the environment is being protected. On the other hand, the concept of sustainable development requires that people take consciously from the environment. Interpreted this way, sustainable tourism misses the point in as far as sustainable development is concerned. Due to its limited applicability, Sharpley (2002:332-334) regards sustainable tourism development as a barrier to development.

Although the conditions are changing for the better in the areas under the KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Services (NCS), Foggin and Münster (2004:452-465) and Altman (2001) point to a situation that existed between local people and the Nature Conservation Services together with the Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife in KwaZulu-Natal. According to Altman, the NCS excluded people completely from its activities. It believed in "protection" and "conservation" as opposed to sustainable development. The NCS essentially excluded people from using the land and its resources which originally

belonged to them. What Altman says about the NCS points to the fact that some conservationists have a different view of what sustainable development is. The poverty around conservation areas is evidence of this. Lindberg, Tisdell and Xue (2003:117-118) ascribe this problem to the fact that, in many instances, the senior staff in conservation areas are trained in natural sciences like biology and ecology, while they have to deal with issues that are both social and political. This means that they are often unprepared for the actual "world" of their work.

### **Community-based tourism (CBT)**

Closely related to pro-poor tourism is the concept of community-based tourism. This approach to tourism aims to promote participation by local people in tourism that takes place in their areas (DFID 1999). In this sense, it may be viewed as a component of pro-poor tourism. Both concepts, though in varying degrees, are concerned with how the local poor populations take part and benefit from tourism in their areas. Under normal circumstances, community-based tourism is associated with the local people engaging in the informal sector that depends on the main tourism in that particular area. Such informal activities include handicrafts, taxi services, (Swarbrooke 2003:187) as well as visits to the beer halls and local seers. In order to benefit local people, they will have to be allowed to work as tour guides in these situations.

The Mountain Institute (2000) refers to community-based tourism as a concept that is used to describe a variety of activities that encourage and support a wide range of objectives in economic and social development and conservation. According to The Institute, the objectives of community-based tourism can also include cultural conservation, community and/or gender empowerment, poverty alleviation, and income generation. In their turn, Child and Lyman (2005:5), and Khanal and Babar (2007:2) describe community-based tourism as tourism that is managed and run by the communities themselves. Community-based tourism empowers local communities, as it assigns rights and allows for democratic participation in the economy. The communities make management decisions and profits directly go to them.

The Mountain Institute and Khanal and Babar consequently describe community-based tourism as a visitor-host interaction that includes meaningful participation by both parties, and generates economic and conservation benefits for local communities and environments. The Institute states that community-based tourism can and should encompass a range of activities that collectively contribute to improved conservation and development. At one end of the range there may be community-owned and managed lands used for tourism purposes with collective decision-making arrangements over the management and development of tourism. At the other end there might be a private tour operator who has made an agreement with a group of community-based entrepreneurs to use their services and products such as guides and lodges. In some cases community-based tourism may be a brand new activity introduced to an area and community where an intensive planning effort is needed to identify market opportunities and options.

According to Khanal and Babar (2007:2) and The Mountain Institute (2000) community-based tourism is considered for the following reasons:

- The search for more effective strategies for conservation and development. Policies based on strict enforcement and protection to conserve natural resources have not always been successful, and neither has top-down centralised decision-making and management of the development process. From an environmental and economic perspective, if local people are not involved, it is likely that over time, the resources on which tourism depends will be destroyed and the investments lost
- A moral perspective that argues that management by local people accompanied by devolved decision-making is more preferable since it can be more accountable and sustainable in the long-term
- Commercialisation, monopolisation and accumulation of benefits from tourism among relatively small numbers of beneficiaries. There has been and continues to be increasing concern that benefits be more widely distributed, especially since the costs are often borne by local communities in the form of restricted or loss of access to resources at the sites

- In other cases, community-based tourism may focus on value-addition, building upon natural and cultural assets, adding to existing activities resulting in increased revenues and incomes to local communities and incentives to conserve resources. An example might be training local guides in natural history to accompany trekkers – adding value to the trek by providing local guides whose incomes will partly depend on the continued presence and conservation of the features that they are promoting.

A number of factors determine the extent to which local people benefit from tourism, as pointed out by Child and Lyman (2005:8) and The Mountain Institute (2000):

- Expanding the information and ideas that community groups and tourists have access to
- Adequately assessing the viability of different ecotourism ventures in regional and national tourism markets
- Improving the legal rights that communities have, particularly with regard to revenue sharing and concession arrangements; addressing issues of land tenure
- Providing the institutional and financial resources necessary to advance community-based ecotourism enterprise development
- Economic, social and political relationships as well as ecological and physiographic factors found in any particular area.

One model considered internationally as a good example of community-based tourism for rural development is Zimbabwe's Communal Area Management Programme (CAMPFIRE). Although CAMPFIRE concentrates on communal wildlife management, its principles could be applied beyond the sphere of wildlife. The programme allows local communities to manage and benefit from the wildlife that is obtained in their areas of residency. Incomes are derived mainly from sport hunting. CAMPFIRE is also regarded as a variant of the Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) programme, which is operative in many countries in Southern Africa, including South Africa (Honey 1999:84-86; Taylor 2006:9).

However, Metcalf (1993) criticises CAMPFIRE as being no different from other practices in the tourism industry. According to Metcalf, CAMPFIRE does not promote ownership of local resources, as the Africans taking part in CAMPFIRE are mainly porters, guides, artisans and waiters; rarely are they managers or entrepreneurs. Dyer et al (2003:84) point to a similar situation in Australia where they argue that the Aboriginals benefit very little from communally-owned ventures.

Similarly, CBNRM could be seen as a way of perpetuating sectarian interests and continued exploitation of local resources (wildlife), while the locals continue living on the margins. CBNRM is a technique used to address the land issues among the dispossessed through the concept of community-private-public partnerships (CPPP). It gives local people a false sense of ownership while actual power lies elsewhere. It is for this reason that Ehrichs (2002:3) accuses the practice of CBNRM as not being concerned about power relations at local level. CBNRM regards local communities as homogenous and has no regard for individual interests. The fact that the land is actually leased out to those who had always possessed it does little to change master-servant power relations. Power relation issues remain thorny, even among the locals themselves. It is always easy for local elites to appropriate benefits for themselves, because CBNRM is concerned with groups only; individuals play a secondary role. While praising how good the situation is in the KNP, Collins and Snel (2008:98) unwittingly reveal the very dark side of these partnerships. Apart from the so-called "benefits" the Makuleke people received from their partnership with the South African National Parks (SANParks), the local chief moved into a new house and received a new car from SANParks. On the surface these seem like simple gifts, but the situation reeks of bribery. These issues have direct implications for pro-poor tourism. To what extent can the poor make their voices heard in situations of unequal power relations at local level? In development practice it is common knowledge that very poor and marginalised groups hardly benefit in situations where power is wielded. In principle, CBNRM is a good concept, but in practice it is not as noble as it is sometimes made to appear. In this regard, the SL framework may not be very helpful.

Referring to specific cases in Malaysia, Din (1997:154-156) explains the treatment the poor receive from those with power. The "near empty promises" of great benefits to locals, including employment, are made when people are removed from their areas to make way for conservation areas. Because the poor are usually illiterate, chances of complaints are zero. As a result, the reviews are done in the towns far from the beneficiaries and sometimes the review committee members have direct interests in those projects. Din refers to the usually promised benefits as "pain-killers" on the part of the poor locals – while the available jobs are far from satisfactory, the poor at least have something.

Participation, including the formation of the small, micro and macro enterprises, has its own problems. Mazibuko (2007:159); Ashley (2006:17); Baker (2006:44-45) and Dyer *et al* (2003:84) refer to a number of issues that may prevent the poor from participating in the tourism industry. Ashley in particular mentions at least six countries (Ethiopia, Kenya, Mozambique, Rwanda, Tanzania and Uganda) where cases of constraints to participation have been observed, including the following:

(a) Lack of information

The poor usually do not have the information to help them make sound decisions. Participation requires that people be well informed about issues that relate to business decision-making and particularly what tourism is about.

(b) Legalities

Setting up a business requires following of formal procedures. The completion of many official forms can pose a problem to the poor, who in many instances have very limited levels of literacy and sometimes have no formal education at all. Legal requirements to start a business can simply serve as red tape against the poor.

(c) High interests rates

Starting a business requires capital, which the poor do not have. In this case, they may be required to borrow money from financial institutions. The high interest rates,

however, act as a hindrance. These rates make capital expensive and place a burden on the poor that they cannot sustain in the longer term.

(d) Land title deeds

Especially in the South African situation, local communities live on communal land where they have no title deeds. If they possessed title deeds, they could use their land as collateral to secure capital.

(e) Excessive competition

While competition is encouraged, excessive competition is not healthy for the small business activities run by the poor. Handicraft stalls are a case in point. The products they sell tend to be of poor quality, unoriginal and of similar design, with the result that tourists simply do not buy.

(f) Credit and collateral

Although there are very minimal entry requirements into the tourism industry at the level of local tourism, there is still a great need for sustainable capital. However, for the poor it is difficult to obtain credit without security. Financial institutions require collateral up-front, which the poor do not have.

(g) Time

Many people in positions of authority find that participation takes up too much of their time. Organising and educating communities require extended periods of time they bear fruit. As result participation is limited to the first three forms of participation as shown in Table 5.

Besides this, local people cannot afford to be paid late, which usually happens in the case of big business. Hotels, for example, can pay their suppliers after a month or two because they have the capital and do not have to depend on prompt payments.

(h) Quality and quantity of products/ services

Local products and services may fail to meet the quality standards required by the tourism industry. Moreover, the lack of capital may act as a constraint to production in order to meet the demand of the industry, even at local level.

### **Ecotourism**

Browder and Rich (2004:7), Fennel (2003:3) and Visser (2003:58) refer to ecotourism as tourism that occurs in natural areas; it involves activities such as hiking, birdwatching, horseriding and wildlife photography. Laverack and Thangphet (2007:173) define it as "responsible travel to natural areas which conserve the environment and improve the welfare of the local people". These authors point out that within the realm of sustainable development, ecotourism attempts to strike a balance between the natural environment, the economy and the society.

The value of ecotourism in addressing the questions of poverty and unemployment lies in involving the local communities in profit-sharing (as in the case of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife discussed above) and joint-venture undertakings. Communities can get involved in the formation of the small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) to provide, for example, basic accommodation and transport. Such initiatives contribute to poverty alleviation and unemployment reduction in many ways, including skills transfer and capacity-building as local people learn business leadership and managerial skills (Rogerson 2003:108; Thomas & Brookes 2003:4; Duffy 2002:104-106).

De Motts (2004:207) argues that the current practices around nature conservation areas have little regard for local communities. For example, the roles of communities are not adequately addressed in the systems of contractual<sup>4</sup> national parks as practiced in the sphere of the Transfrontier Conservation Areas (TFCA). Referring to the arrangement between the South African National Parks and the Makuleke community near the Kruger National Park (KNP), De Motts argues that the concept of contractual parks mainly serves to expand the areas under conservation without incurring excessive expenses in

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<sup>4</sup> Refers to contracts entered between local people as owners of land and parks to continue operating.

acquiring the land. This argument differs considerably from the views expressed earlier, namely that the Makuleke experience is a model to follow in order to benefit people adjacent to conservation areas.

Duffy (2002:100-104) alleges that ecotourism has the potential to reinforce stereotypes. The cultural aspect of ecotourism tends to re-enact and commodify the traditional experiences of local people. To this end, Duffy argues, ecotourism perpetuates social divisions in the host communities. Furthermore, poor communities with no basic sewage and reliable water supplies are severely handicapped when it comes to participation in tourism.

Duffy's argument is applicable to many rural parts of South Africa, especially where the African populations reside. Principally as a result of historical political oppression and economic exclusion, African rural areas have been subjected to excruciating social neglect. These areas lack many of the social services which are taken for granted in most civilised nations. The fact remains that these circumstances could essentially exclude African rural communities from certain opportunities that could better their lives. It is obvious that social services in these areas are sorely needed to make upliftment of these populations possible and bring their precarious existence to an end.

Table 4, compiled by this researcher, provides some features of the various forms of tourism. The table shows that there are many similarities between the various forms of tourism. To varying degrees, for example, they all provide job opportunities to the local people.

TABLE 4: Summary of the features of various forms of tourism

<b>Pro-poor tourism</b>	<b>Sustainable tourism</b>	<b>Community-based</b>	<b>Ecotourism</b>
-economic opportunities for locals	- main concern with natural environment	- economic opportunities for locals	- pristinity is the concern
- good for community participation	- local livelihoods are secondary nature conservation	- economically empowering	- very limited job opportunities
- it is empowering	- encourages community participation in nature conservation	- moral obligation to benefit locals	- conservation primary purpose while livelihoods are secondary
- enquires into people's assets	- not concerned with rights to land	- encourages collective decision-making	- concern about carrying capacity
- creates self-employment	- limited economic opportunities	- land rights recognised	- highly sophisticated
- opportunities for economic independenc	- concerned about land carryning capacity	- while it is about conservation, poverty, receives great attention	- very limited local participation
- promotes improvement of infrastructure	- host communities to benefit		- no link to broader human life
- leads to economic development	- partnership between parks and locals communities		
- leads to improved quality of life	- emphasis on education		
- encourages entrepreneurship locally	- need for harmony between nature and people		
- poverty is the key concern			

(Source: Researcher)

### **The policy environment: South African initiatives**

Visser (2003:116) draws attention to the White Paper on Promotion and Development of Tourism (1996), which represents South Africa's tourism policy at the national level. To this effect, this chapter will draw extensively from that legislation. The White Paper states that tourism in South Africa will be based on the following principles:

- Tourism will be private sector driven
- Government will provide the enabling framework for the industry to flourish
- Effective community involvement will form the basis of tourism growth.
- Tourism development will be underpinned by sustainable environmental practices
- Tourism development is dependent on and the establishment of cooperation and close partnerships among key stakeholders.

- Tourism will be used as a development tool for the empowerment of previously neglected communities and should particularly focus on the empowerment of women in such communities
- Tourism development will take place in the context of close cooperation with other states within Southern Africa
- Tourism development will support the economic, social and environmental goals and policies of the government.

At a macro level, South Africa has instituted extensive measures to draw previously economically excluded people into the tourism industry. Rogerson (2004:327 and 521 ) points out that in South Africa, the tourism industry had been dominated largely by whites, while blacks were systematically excluded and disempowered to ensure the supply of cheap labour. Legislation was necessary to correct such systematic exclusion. This came in the form of the Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) Act 53 of 2003. The objectives of the Act are:

- Promoting economic transformation in order to enable meaningful participation of black people in the economy
- Achieving a substantial change in the racial composition of ownership and management structures and in the skilled occupation of existing and new enterprises; increasing the extent to which communities, workers, cooperatives and other collective enterprises own and manage existing and new enterprises and increasing their access to economic activities, infrastructure and skills training
- Increasing the extent to which black women own and manage existing and new enterprises, and increasing their access to economic activities, infrastructure and skills training
- Promoting investment programmes that lead to broad-based and meaningful participation in the economy by black people in order to achieve sustainable development and general prosperity

- Empowering rural and local communities by enabling access to economic activities, land, infrastructure, ownership and skills
- Promoting access to finance for black economic empowerment.

There are many means to achieve these ends, ranging from simple transfer of share ownership into black hands, to employment equity and affirmative action measures and training and skills development initiatives, to measures designed to support new business development in the form of small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs) (Rogerson 2004:330-331). To this end, the report by Letsima Consulting and Infonomics (2000) mentions several examples of successful initiatives to transfer ownership of tourism companies to black South Africans, namely:

- **Avis** entered into a successful long-term joint venture with a black entrepreneur, Elizabeth Tryon, to develop Sizwe Car Rental. Avis provided ongoing skills transfer and funding for growth, training and market development
- **Protea Hospitality Corporation**, the holding company of Protea Hotels, sold 18% of its shares to a consortium of black companies that include Basebenzi Investments (the investment vehicle of the Federated Allied Workers' Union), Hoyohoyo Hotels and Resorts, Popcru Investment Holdings, Siphumelele Investments and two private shareholders. Though not much information was available regarding this deal, no problems have been reported
- **The Don Group** has been black-owned and managed since 2000. The group, noted for its operational excellence, has since shown a steady annual growth
- **Tsogo Sun** operates casinos in Nelspruit, Witbank and Montecasino (Johannesburg). Fifty percent (50%) is owned by Southern Sun and 50% by Tsogo Investment Holdings, a group of black investors including Fabcos, the National Council of Trade Unions and the SA Clothing and Textile Workers Union. The empowerment purchase was funded via a R300 m loan and was recently estimated to be worth R600 million

- **Airport Company of South Africa (ACSA)** set aside 9% of its total shares for allocation to employees through, among other things, a management incentive scheme, and
- **City Lodge Hotels** launched an Employees Share Trust in 1995, in terms of which all employees who had been with the company for a year or more became shareholders.

Entry into the tourism industry is not without constraints. South Africa (1996), Forstner (2004:500-508) and Letsima and Infonomics (2002) point to the following factors as constituting barriers against entry into tourism for the emerging tourism businesses:

- Perception that affirmative procurement targets compromise service quality
- Higher costs associated with the need to monitor performance and provide capacity-building and support to small business
- Danger of contract failure due to non-performance
- Black businesses lack finance and skills required for success
- Difficulty in solving the problem of fronting
- Large companies that stifle competition
- Market and marketing in tourism is highly demand-driven
- Lack or poor roads and communication infrastructure in rural areas make it difficult to conduct business.

The extent to which tourism is seen as an economic driver, especially for local economic development, is evidenced by the government's establishment of the Local Economic Development Fund (LEDf). This fund aims to finance and promote entrepreneurship among communities and thus uses a bottom-up approach to development (Rogerson 2004:399-404).

### **Local participation: a key to sustainable livelihoods**

Critical to the practice of development is the extent to which the local communities take part in development activities. According to Mowforth and Munt (2003:215) participation

is a function of local circumstances such as power relations and the way in which participation is understood. To this effect, these authors provide the six levels of participation known as the Pretty's typology, which include the following: passive participation; participation by consultation; bought participation; functional participation; interactive participation; and self-mobilisation and connectedness. In terms of this typology, participation can be ranked from passive observation of development activities to the highest level (the last two types) where the local communities take, retain, control and determine how the available resources are used. Power to make decisions is therefore an asset that determines what happens or does not happen. The typologies are shown in table 5.

TABLE 5: Types of participation

<b>Typology</b>	<b>Characteristic of each type</b>
1. Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened. Information being shared belongs only to external professionals.
2. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions. Process does not concede any share in decision-making, and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
3. Bought participation	People participate in return for food, cash or other material incentive. Local people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
4. Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve their goals, especially reduced costs. People participate by forming groups to predetermined objectives.
5. Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and formation or strengthening of local groups or institutions. Learning methodologies used to seek multiple perspectives and groups determine how available resources are used.
6. Self-mobilisation	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems. They develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over resource use.

*(Source: Mowforth and Munt [2003:215])*

The importance of power relations is critical. Power is an asset that can be used either to bring about development or to constrain development. Even in "simple" communities power relations play an important role. To this effect, Hall (2003:99) states the following:

*Communities are not the embodiment of innocence; on the contrary, they are complex and self-serving entities, as much driven by grievances, prejudices, inequalities, and struggles for power as they are united by kinship, reciprocity, and interdependence. Decision-making at the local level can be extraordinarily vicious, personal, and not always bound by legal entities.*

The so-called community is therefore seen as a group of individuals with diverse backgrounds and different self-interests. Butcher (2003:33) also refuses to see a community as a homogenous grouping of people and refers to the concept of a community as a “myth”, because people have divergent interests at any given time. Botes (1999:24 and 26) while defining a community as “a group of people, interaction among people, common values and norms, a designated geographical area and a target population of intended beneficiaries”, agrees that the term is very “ambiguous, elusive and deceptive”. Given these views, to simply bundle these groups together and refuse to see their different individual interests is tantamount to suppression and therefore contrary to the principles of sustainable development. At the core of the community existence, therefore, is the question of power relations. Those that wield more power are likely to steer the course of development efforts to suit their own interests. In a situation like this the target of development, namely the poorest of the poor, lose out, because it is this group within any given society that lacks the power to even influence decisions on matters that affect them.

Wight (1998:87) mentions a recent shift from seeing tourism as limited to the physical environment only to broader and more balanced approaches. This view recognises the role of the local communities. The attitudes and feelings of local people have become critically fundamental in planning tourism. As indicated in table 5, community participation ranges from public information to information feedback, consultation, and joint planning to own initiatives. Participation by local people ensures that approaches are collaborative, thus reducing instances of conflicts.

The types 5 and 6 of participation shown in table 5 are what Baker (2006:43) terms "democratic participation" as opposed to "elite participation". Democratic participation means that local people take a very active role in decision-making processes and can actually initiate some of the actions – they become real owners. Elite democracy, on the other hand, comprises a situation where "experts" or interest groups represent people in decision-making bodies. There are no face-to-face structures where ordinary people meet, except during mass public meetings that are called from time to time. There is very limited interaction with the people.

Participation is not without its problems. Baker (2006:44-46) rightly points out that decisions on who will participate, how they will participate, and on what basis they will participate cannot be ignored in this debate. Secondly, participation has the potential to lead to demagoguery among those chosen to represent people. There is always a chance that narrow, selfish interests will pop up among representatives. Thirdly, what is referred to as "community interests" in many instances only include the interests of a section of the total community. The word "community" is simply used for convenience. People in every situation have different interests. Environmental issues may not necessarily be of interest to everyone in any particular locality. For example, some may find tourism desirable because they need jobs, while others may find it a "nuisance", as it interferes with local cultural values.

Gender also plays an important role in how participation is understood and foreseen. When an area is declared a conservation area, for example, men usually obtain jobs. Women, however, may be burdened with finding alternative sources of fuel, wood and water, as formerly available resources are suddenly fenced off inside the conservation area. Participation therefore has to be gender sensitive, and women's needs should be given high consideration. To this end, Baker (2006:45) states that a gender-blind policy towards sustainable development is "an empty gesture". It deserves mention here that some males are also affected when conservation areas are declared, as those who make a living from stock farming, for example, are faced with reduced pastures.

Slee, Farr and Snowdon (2003:76-84) state that participation in tourism is associated with self-determination. People could be self-employed in the local economy by, for example, providing rural bed and breakfasts, farm self-catering accommodation and caravan camp sites. Local people determine what they want to engage in and have the resources at their disposal. In the final analysis, the point Slee et al are making is that tourism can be regarded as sustainable if the local population takes an active part in it. This also implies that such people have access to and control over the assets, as the principle of self-determination requires.

Since power also determines who makes decisions, it follows that the choices of those without power are limited. To this effect, Sen (1999:290-291) points out that freedom of choice is a criterion of development. Empowerment and participation in making decisions and choices are not just means to development, but should be seen as “constitutive parts of the ends of development in themselves”. If people are barred from participating in decision-making, they have no choice in what happens, with the result that there is no development. The notion of empowerment is vital. It is all about how to leverage the abilities of the deprived and marginalised. Empowerment is much more than merely transmitting information to participants; it is a process whereby people, organisations and communities gain mastery over their affairs and find solutions without being patronised. In this regard, empowerment epitomises the interface between participation and power.

### **The allocative role of power**

Power is an asset that is critical in development. Possession of power, or the lack of power, determines what happens or does not happen at any given time and situation. Those that have power will tend to receive the most benefits, because they can take command of situations and in many instances development activities come into an area through them. They become gatekeepers and directors of where help should go, but at the same time suck the benefits for themselves (Moyo 2009:56; Green 2008:88, 90, 224 and 227).

Power cannot be seen in isolation to institutions that exist within any "community" or society. In fact, power is usually exercised within institutions that become dominated by some people and turn them into vehicles for self-aggrandisement (Green 2008:91; Guest 2004:13). Rural areas represent those areas where power imbalances are simply too obvious to ignore. Here, rich or better-off families tend to dominate decision-making institutions. It is their voices that are heard in the corridors of power above the local level. Spence (2005:360) notes that it is not that policy changes cannot be effected, but rather that the poor have no political strength to influence the course of processes. Power therefore represents an asset that can either be used to channel development to particular areas of society or not.

In her study conducted in the Zululand Municipality District, Altman (2001) closely investigated the role of politics in development activities and the influence politicians have in determining the course of development. Her findings show that the top-down approach used by politicians overrides the interests of local people. Owing to the political distrust aroused by this state of affairs, the efforts of the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDI) have not yielded the expected results. This yet again points to the crucial role power plays in tourism. Honey (1999:84) quotes two experts in tourism as saying that

*(T)ourism is not just about escaping work and drizzle, it is about power, increasingly internationalised power ... (F)or local people involved in immediate livelihood struggles in the Third World, such as protecting against illegally obtained title deeds to land and permits to start hotel construction or violation of environmental regulations, the issue of power is central, although this has been sidestepped by mainstream critics of tourism.*

### **Withering away of the state**

At this stage, one should briefly address the Marxist philosophy of a "withering state" (Lenin 1976:19-27). This study also stresses the role of the state and consequently the importance of pro-poor policies. It is the view of the researcher that the state will be with us at least for the foreseeable future. Even if things change, the state will not disappear –it

will only take a different form and shape dictated by existing conditions. In fact, it is inconceivable to even speak of governance without a regulating (read governing) structure – of whatever nature. In the foreseeable future and for as long as people have interests in any aspect of their lives, there will be a necessity for rules and consequently a structure to determine and enforce those rules. The state will therefore keep changing form to suit even the interests of the state beyond proletarianism. This argument is also applicable to globalisation, which has created great inequalities among and within nations (Pasha 2002) where its proponents speak of "governance without government". For as long as the state exists in whatever form or shape, governments will also exist in a form and shape determined by the state, and their involvement in the economy cannot not be wished away.

This researcher takes the view that capitalism produces economic inequalities that result in social inequalities. As a result, left alone, the capitalist economy may not as be able to diminish such inequalities. It is here that state intervention is required – not necessarily to dictate to business, but to help create an environment which ensures that economic benefits are distributed equitably. Without state intervention, the capitalist economy may not be able to address the social conditions which are for the majority deplorable. Take the case of minimum wages as an example. It is hard to imagine a situation in which capital business on its own will care whether workers make a decent living or not. Individual capitalists may care, but as a collective competition for better profits reigns supreme in big business.

One of the main themes of this study is the argument that the success of pro-poor policies depends to a large extent on the role the state plays in the economy, especially in a developing country like South Africa. As every part of society becomes exposed to the conditions of globalisation, development planning has an even greater responsibility to concentrate on local economies through the policies of decentralisation (Rogerson 2009:9). State intervention at whatever level is a fact that cannot be wished away.

## **Conclusion**

This chapter was concerned with the ways in which local communities benefit and/or can benefit from tourism. The literature reviewed was related to what people themselves can do, that is, to the assets they possess that they can exercise in tourism apart from being low wage workers. The intention was never to demean the value of job opportunities made available to local people by the tourism industry, but to point out how that value could be increased by encouraging people to be more entrepreneurial.

Four forms of tourism were addressed in this chapter, namely sustainable tourism, pro-poor tourism, community-based tourism and ecotourism. There is clear evidence that communities can play a meaningful role in all these forms of tourism, albeit in varying degrees. A South African situation was presented, showing efforts towards making the poor active participants in the tourism industry. It was pointed out that these efforts were not limited to participants in cities, but that communities adjacent to conservation areas were taken into account. In the case of the latter, divergent views were highlighted – while some people are of the opinion that adjacent communities are benefiting, others feel that more effort is needed. In the next chapter attention will be given to the sustainable livelihoods approach as the theoretical framework for this study. That chapter is also linked to chapter 5, which presents the empirical findings of this study.

## CHAPTER 3

### THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: SUSTAINABLE LIVELIHOODS APPROACH

*Why is so much that is said, written and spent on development having so little effect on the problems it seeks to address? (Edwards 1993:77)*

#### **Introduction**

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to explain the development of the sustainable livelihoods approach within the framework of development thinking. It will be shown that this approach is not something new as such, but only reflects progress in thinking. The approach grows from a rich understanding in development thinking over time and it should be seen as representing a kind of paradigm shift. The chapter further focuses on apartheid South Africa as a point of reference with regards to the functioning or non-functioning of the forms of assets that are seen as critical in the fight against poverty.

Understanding the SLA and the framework that is applied will give us more insight into the capital assets (second area of the Framework, Figure 4) of the community in the study area of AmaZizi. The framework will show that capital assets do not exist in a vacuum, but that they are dependent upon other factors in order to be successfully utilised. Such factors are to be found in the first and third areas of the framework (see the Framework in Figure 4). To this effect, it is important to consider, for example, the cultural and environmental elements of the framework (first area) as influencing possession of assets. In turn, these assets are determined in the third area of the framework. The capital assets of AmaZizi are presented in chapter 5, while the role of institutions is discussed in chapter 6 of this study. The third area of the framework is crucial, because that is where the nature of livelihoods pursued is determined. The outcomes of livelihoods (the last area of the framework) are therefore the result of a number of linkages. Consequently, the success of pro-poor tourism as envisaged in this study can be seen as an outcome of (1) policies pursued; (2) assets possessed; and (3) the context in which these are found.

This chapter concludes with criticism of the sustainable livelihoods approach, as it does not take external factors into account. In this researcher's opinion, external factors are part and parcel of the development arena in poor countries. External factors play a major role, as they determine policies poor countries need to follow if they hope to ever receive outside aid. Although these policies are not always to the advantage of poor countries, there are no viable alternatives. In the face of this, developing countries have been compelled to adopt and implement policies determined by external factors, even though they have not always benefited the poor.

### **Definition**

The sustainable livelihoods approach is not a theory, but a way of doing things in a particular manner. It does not prescribe procedures to be followed, but provides a possible framework and/or guidelines that can be followed to benefit poor communities. The framework does not define a sustainable livelihood, but indicates parameters along which such a state can be visualised. It does, however, explicitly states what makes a livelihood sustainable by referring to specific capital assets that households should have. The key advantage of the approach is not that it defines defining poverty, but that it clearly states the aim of achieving lasting improvements of livelihoods, using the indicators and resources that people do possess. De Satgé (2002:2) refers to the framework as a world-view, which of course is one of many. Since the appearance of the DFID framework, which is used in this study, many other similar frameworks modelled along the same lines have emerged, as described by De Satgé (2002:4-15), who also mentions the CARE framework (which uses Chambers & Conway's definition), the UNDP framework (which like the DFID framework focuses on strengths), the Learning about Livelihoods (LAL) framework (which analyses both the micro and macro environments), and the Oxfam framework (which also uses Chambers and Conway's definition). The last framework mentioned by Satgé is the Policy Guidelines for Integrating Environmental Planning into Land Reform (PGIEP). This framework was developed by the South African Department of Land Affairs in conjunction with the Danish funding agency DANCED and it relates to South Africa's land reform programme.

Although broad and encompassing, the objectives of the DFID sustainable livelihoods approach can be described as promoting the following ([www.nssd.net](http://www.nssd.net) [accessed on 28/03/2011]):

- improved access to quality education, information, technology and training
- better nutrition and health
- a more supportive and cohesive social environment
- better access to basic and facilitating infrastructure
- more secure access to and better managed natural resources, and
- policy and institutional environment that supports multiple livelihood strategies and promotes equitable access to markets

The sustainable livelihoods approach also provides basic principles for poverty-focused initiatives. These principles are the following (*Allison & Horemans 2006:758; Khanya-aiccd-org* [accessed on 11/08/2009]):

- *People-centredness*. Attempts at poverty alleviation should focus on what people have – their strategies, environments and abilities to adapt
- *Participatory and responsive*. Beneficiaries should be the main actors in identifying and prioritising their needs
- *Dynamic*. Support provided to the poor should take into cognisance the fact that livelihoods are not static but determined and influenced by many other factors
- *Multi-level*. Understand that poverty is multi-layered and cannot be addressed only at one level. Institutions and processes need to be considered. Strategies should be able to link the micro and macro levels
- *Holistic*. Because of the dynamism of poverty, strategies should be holistic and not only be confined to few particular areas of lives
- *Sustainability*. Attempts at development should aim at ensuring sustainable environments including economic, natural environment, institutional and social.

True to its principles, the livelihoods approach moves away from what Chambers (1997:42) calls reductionism – reducing the complex and varied to the simple and

standard. This is easy enough to do in the physical sciences, but in development reductionism as a method is problematic because the conditions are diverse, dynamic and uncontrollable. Seeing part of the picture is not good enough; one has to see the whole picture. Chambers (1997:45), like Sen (1999:93-95), points out that deprivation and poverty cannot be explained only in terms of lack of income and wealth. These factors also manifest themselves in social inferiority, physical weakness, disability and sickness, vulnerability and physical and social isolation, which when taken together represent the poverty trap. The livelihoods approach captures this insight; it takes into account the various forms of capital required to enable people to lead meaningful lives, or as Sen (1999:293) puts it “to lead lives they have reason to value and to enhance the real choices they have”.

To this end, the DFID defines sustainable rural livelihoods as follows (Carney 1998:4; Scoones 1998:5):

*A livelihood comprises the capabilities, assets and activities required for a means of living. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, while not undermining the natural resource base.*

The livelihoods approach moves away from the point that the poor have (or should have) specific assets or capitals that they can use to escape poverty. This differs from, for example, the needs-based approach, which examines what people need. To this effect, the following five forms of capital, also called assets, are seen as essentials in addressing poverty. It has to be kept in mind, however, that the sustainable livelihoods approach focuses more on people than on assets (Flora and Flora 2008:50; 84, 117, 175 and 206; Carney 1998:3 and 7; Scoones 1998:7-8):

- *Financial capital* consists of incomes, access to credit and any other financial means. Financial capital is a very versatile form of capital. Having money, for example, means that a household can afford to do things such as going to a doctor, buying enough food, sending children to school and so on. Financial capital

should not be limited to monetary capital, but it should be seen as referring to assets that can be converted to liquidity. A household that has access to financial capital is therefore better placed to achieve well-being than otherwise

- *Human capital* consists of education, skills, knowledge, health, values, leadership capacity, interpersonal skills and labour. Changes in human capital are likely to have tremendous effects on all other factors that count as assets. Poor education, for example, can have long-lasting effects on individuals, families and nations (as was the case with Bantu education in apartheid South Africa). Leadership has effects on how resources are utilised in families, individuals and the nation as a whole. At a household level, human capital is most likely to differ, since household sizes are never the same or equal. The size of a household is one of the determining factors in the decision on which livelihood strategies to pursue.
- *Natural capital* consists of land, water, biological diversity. Lack of access to productive land, for example, may greatly compromise the livelihoods of some families. The same goes for natural resources. Due to their conditions of poverty, poor households may find themselves degrading the natural environment to such an extent that even the soil nutrients can never be recovered. Degradation of natural capital happens much more easily in areas inhabited by the poor. Poverty forces people to deplete resources by, for instance, repetitively ploughing steep marginal soils, or by "destroying" natural forests in their need for fuel.
- *Physical or built capitals* are livestock, machinery, communications, infrastructure and housing. Without proper road infrastructure, for example, people struggle to reach markets. Poor housing and lack of safe water-supply could force people to spend most of their time collecting water from afar, either for building their homes or for other domestic uses. Such situations remove people from engaging in productive activities. Improved physical capital, therefore, has a huge supportive role to play in rural development.
- *Social capital* refers to the ability to socialise with other people by, for example, joining local organisations, accessing information and/or enjoying any form of social support from family or friends. Social capital is also closely related to social groups or class. It manifests itself in reciprocity and mutual trust. Networks

are created and in the case of the poor, these networks also provide a way of absorbing sudden financial shocks such as funeral costs. Friends, family and/or club members are always at hand to help. Social capital also goes to the level of politics, which plays a big allocative role in society.

The capital assets of AmaZizi are addressed in chapter 5 of this study. In that chapter, figure 8 shows the capital assets represented by access to land; figures 9 and 10 present physical assets expressed as farming equipment; figure 11 addresses the social capitals as expressed by participation in local groupings; figure 12 shows human capital as represented in the levels of education; and figure 13 presents the financial assets in terms of sources of income.

Important as they are, assets also exist within a particular context of vulnerability. The framework refers to trends, shocks and cultural practices as influencing livelihoods. Trends refer, for example, to stocks of resources, population density, technology, politics and economics. Shocks could be in the form of job loses, conflicts and climate, while cultural practices are concerned with the effects culture has on how people manage and choose their livelihoods (Carney 1998:11). Understood within the vulnerability context, the way in which assets are used is the function of societal structures as represented by levels of government, the private sector, as well as processes in the form of policies and institutions. These structures and processes in turn determine the kind of livelihood strategies people adopt, for example, livelihoods that are natural resource-based, non-natural resource-based and based on migration. While structures set and implement laws and policies which affect service delivery and trade, processes embrace laws, policies, and norms and determine how structures function. The strategies have effects on incomes received, the well-being of individuals, improved food security and less vulnerability. Diagrammatically, this explanation is presented in figure 4.

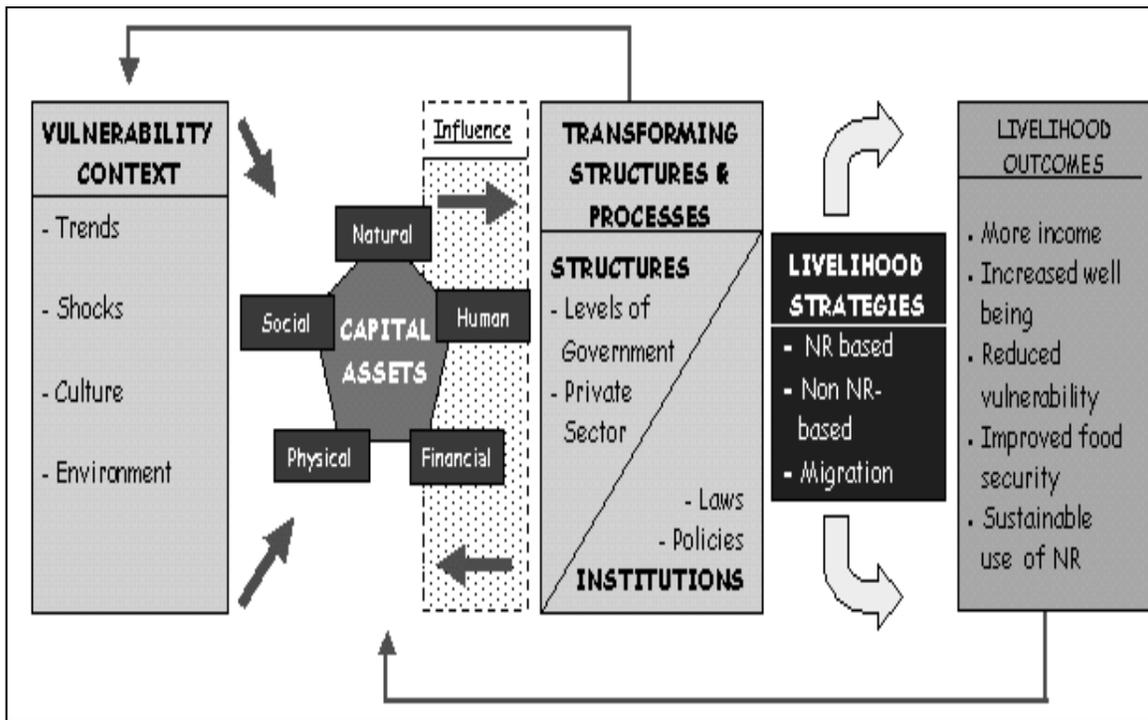


FIGURE 4: Sustainable rural livelihoods framework  
 (Source: DFID [1999:1])

People’s livelihoods and availability of assets are fundamentally affected by critical trends and events, as presented, for example, by the policies for tourism development, by shocks and seasonality over which they have no control. The capability to pursue whatever livelihood strategy depends on the assets that people have. This equally applies to tourism. We may choose to regard people’s strengths as in their cultural dances and land, or concentrate on their lack of financial means to participate by providing accommodation. The framework helps us to understand how best, for example, tourism can be aligned with existing livelihood strategies. The framework further provides a method to analyse and understand the impact of structural institutions, since these are fundamental in determining how assets are utilised to achieve the nature of desirable outcomes, namely sustainable livelihoods (see the livelihoods outcome area in Figure 4).

The value of the livelihoods approach is evident in the past South African context of apartheid administration. How, for example, the African people in South Africa used their capital assets, was largely determined by discriminatory political institutions of the time (and this has had long-lasting effects to the present day). The 1913 Land Act, for example, determined people's access to land. While the white population had access to and/or control or ownership of 87% of the land, the African population was restricted to using only 13 % of the land. They could not take ownership of this land, but lived in Bantustans under the governance of chieftaincies. This resulted in overcrowding, unsustainable subsistence farming on marginal land and lack of access to sustainable land-based livelihoods. Overcrowding and cultivation on marginal lands led to untold compromising of the natural base, which according to the livelihoods approach definition, should have been preserved for future generations. According to Zulu (1996:239 and 251), the apartheid discourse led to the creation of a dual economy, with the rural subsistence economy servicing the first or formal economy run by white people through labour supply by other racial groups, particularly black African people.

Human capital was also heavily controlled under the apartheid discourse. It has since been recognised that Bantu education represented one of the most formidable pillars of the apartheid system. The policy of Bantu education, introduced in 1953, ensured that the African population received inferior education in order to make them serve the interests of white supremacy. This was pronounced by its architect, H. F. Verwoerd, when he declared in parliament that Bantu education was designed to keep natives in their place of serving the white population. In his own words, Verwoerd declared: (Omond 1985:80):

*Native education should be controlled in such a way that it should be in accord with the policy of the state...If the native in South Africa today in any kind of school in existence is being taught to expect that he will live his adult life under a policy of equal rights, he is making a big mistake... There is no place for him in European community above the level of certain forms of labour.*

The importance of education as part of human capital as depicted in the livelihoods approach has a long history. Dore (1971) and Fägerlind and Saha (1989), (see also Mazibuko 2000:13) explain, for example, that while the British Industrial Revolution cannot be ascribed to formal education in particular, the Japanese industrial development was a direct consequence of the emphasis placed on formal education. To this end, education as a form of human capital is as fundamental to the development of a country as it is to the development of individuals in society. Because human capital includes health as well, Sen (1999:295) rightly points out that education and better health care have effects on freedoms that people enjoy, and just economic prosperity.

Financial assets as determinants of sustainable livelihood were also severely restricted under the apartheid discourse. Wages for the African people were highly controlled under the Wages Determination Act. Through this Act wages for Africans were kept below those of other racial groups, thus ensuring that Africans would remain in perpetual poverty and not attain the same levels of well-being as their white counterparts in the same country. Also because the Africans had no property that they could call their own, they could not even qualify to obtain credit from financial institutions, which toed the government line of excluding Africans from the general economy. Without proper education to provide them with skills, Africans turned to petty trading and hawking, petty production such as beer-making and handicrafts, child-minding. A few of them managed to scrape together enough money to buy cars to serve as taxis (May 1996:13).

Ownership of physical assets was also restricted. Africans were limited, for example, to a certain number of livestock that they could keep in the Bantustans. The number of houses or huts that they could construct was also limited through the betterment scheme that provided limited residential areas in so-called rural villages, forcing people to live in clustered areas. Ploughing fields were reduced, as the betterment scheme forced people to settle in what they formerly used as fields to produce food. The result was the threat of food insecurity as people ran out of cultivation space.

At a social level, apartheid forced social exclusion on people. Different racial groups were forbidden to interact by law except at their places of employment. In this regard, social capital was badly affected as people could not benefit from each others' experiences. The Group Areas Act, for example, determined where different racial groups should reside, while the Mixed Marriages Act controlled people's lives even in their bedrooms by banning inter-racial marriages.

In terms of the livelihoods framework, deprivation of certain rights by law or policies determines how people earn their livelihoods. Judging from the apartheid examples provided above, it is clear that without land, with poor education and with limited physical assets, people were forced to earn their living through migration and remittances. This state of affairs still persists in present-day South Africa. African livelihoods outcomes are reflected largely in their dependence on subsistence food production, their reliance on natural resources to produce handicrafts, for example, and not engaging in commercial production.

The livelihoods approach shows that both public and private structures as represented by government and related structures have tremendous effects on livelihoods. Policies, legislation and institutions determine how structures function in terms of service delivery, trade and participation in the life of a society. Structures can either be obstacles, or they can aid access to sustainable livelihoods by making assets equally available to all people. The livelihoods outcomes as represented by improved food security, well-being and incomes, among others, all depend on the democratic functioning of the institutions that govern society. The apartheid discourse was used here to illustrate the effectiveness of institutions and policies in allocating resources in either the best or the worst interests of the country's citizens.

### **Background to the sustainable rural livelihoods approach**

Although the sustainable rural livelihoods approach is credited to the British Department for International Development (DFID), the definition of the framework can be traced

back to the work of Chambers and Conway (1992). The DFID has modified the definition offered by Chambers and Conway, probably to suit its needs.

As mentioned above, the livelihoods approach cannot be called a theory or model because it neither explains any phenomenon nor describes anything. As a framework, a way of seeing the world, the sustainable rural livelihoods approach only offers a perspective on the phenomenon and recognises patterns. It is this recognition that may finally lead to a model or theory. The approach recognises, for example, that people have many capabilities, possess various assets and engage in numerous activities to earn their living.

Because the sustainable rural livelihoods approach is strength-based rather than needs-based, it does not inquire into what needs to happen; it focuses on how things should (or must) happen. In this case, things should happen in accordance with the assets that people possess. According to this approach, development should begin with what people have and evolve to higher levels. Because things happen within particular contexts, the livelihoods approach recognises that, for example, institutions and processes should be clearly defined. Borrowing from Sen's (1999) concept of freedoms, the approach states that people should have freedoms (or rights) to choose in order to pursue the lives they value. According to Sen, individuals (or groups?) need rights and opportunities to advance their capabilities. It is at this point that the sustainable rural livelihoods approach coincides with Sen's capability approach. Put differently, what capabilities do people have to pursue the kind of lives they value? This is tantamount to asking what assets people have that can help them lead fulfilling lives. Like Sen's capability approach, the sustainable rural livelihoods approach goes beyond the limits of monetary income to determine poverty. The sustainable livelihoods approach takes incomes as part of the "package" and not the sole determinant of poverty.

A fulfilling or valuable life may be considered as one in which an individual (or group) considers their well-being as enhanced or improved. Thus the approach is normative in nature; there is no telling what well-being entails in any particular circumstance. Well-

being therefore becomes relative to prevailing conditions in any one particular society or community. People consider themselves better off in relation to others around them. One can postulate that individuals who have spent their lives on an island by themselves cannot speak of another life, as they have never experienced anything else. They cannot tell whether their lives are good or bad until they meet other people and see lives different from theirs.

It is never easy to make clear-cut statements about the origins of any ideas. Ideas develop over time and in many instances they overlap with other existing ideas and understandings. Theories also go through the same patterns. Ellis and Biggs (2001:437) indicate that the ideas about rural development can be traced from the evolution of the concept of development itself since the 1950s. Until the 1960s, modernisation dominated development thinking. In the 1970s it was state intervention, in the 1980s market liberalisation – the Washington Consensus – and in the 1990s it was participation and empowerment. The current decade is dominated by the idea of sustainable (rural) livelihoods. Ellis and Biggs (2001:437) do point out, however, that the ideas of the sustainable livelihoods approach are present in all the other ideas, particularly those that dominated the 1980s and the 1990s.

While all the other ideas on rural development focused on agriculture as a priority to rural development, the sustainable rural livelihoods approach does not. The sustainable livelihoods approach recognises the fact that people engage in a variety of activities for their livelihoods. None of these activities can be regarded as supreme to others. People receive income from activities that are removed from agriculture and in fact remittances and transfers have come to play major roles in the lives of many so that in sub-Saharan Africa between 30% and 50% of rural households derive their incomes from sources other than agriculture (Ellis and Biggs 2001:445; Ellis 1998:53).

The modernisation theory advocated that the poor should adopt and follow in the footsteps of the developed world in terms of economic growth to eradicate poverty. With the realisation that “copy-cattin” the West was not being helpful, governments in the

developing world felt that they should take an active part in the development of their economies. This exercise failed to deliver; corruption came to the centre stage instead. Third World countries struggled to break free from economic stagnation and failure. As a result the World Bank and the IMF intervened with structural adjustment programmes (SAPS) in the 1980s. The SAPS advocated free trade and called upon the poor countries to follow the route of liberalisation. While there were some indications of economic growth, these never filtered down to the rural poor. Poverty and unemployment continued to grow unabated.

The situation led to the realisation that the poor lacked empowerment and that they were, in fact, not participating in their own “liberation”. Thus "participation" and "empowerment" became buzz words in the 1980s and 1990s. Throughout these times, it was becoming evident that agriculture alone was not going to solve the problems of poverty. The non-farming sector equally needed attention. These areas include infrastructure, markets and market information, ethnic conflicts, the HIV/AIDS pandemic and other diseases and the adverse effects of globalisation (Mwabu 2001:6). Realisation therefore grew that rural people did engage in various activities to earn their living, but that there were obstacles to their being able to achieve well-being. It became clear that people needed to lead sustainable lives, which in turn depended on many other factors, as explained in the vulnerability context above. A sustainable livelihood as an outcome is a function of a number of factors such as rights and freedom, transforming social structures and access to assets. Without these, well-being and leading a life one values were out of the question. Referring to previous attempts at development, Chambers (1999:1) has this to say:

*Many of the hopes of earlier decades have faded and many beliefs have been challenged and changed. The visions of the 1950s and 1960s for a better world with full employment, decent incomes, universal primary education, health for all, safe drinking water, a demographic transition to stable populations and fair terms of trade between the rich and poor countries, have in no case been realised.*

In this regard, the livelihoods approach represents a particular paradigm shift as ideas about development evolve. In this case, Chambers (1999:9-12) and Chambers and Conway (1992:35-36) point to five key words that have become critical in development thinking, namely:

- well-being (experience of good quality of life)
- livelihood security (adequate flow of food and cash, assets to off-set risks, shocks and meet contingencies)
- capability (what people are capable doing and being)
- equity (income distribution, opportunities and including human rights and gender equity), and
- sustainability (ability to recover from stresses and shocks and applying long term perspectives to policies and actions).

Thus sustainable livelihoods together with capabilities are means to an end, which is well-being, while equity and sustainability are mainly principles. In summary, to achieve well-being, one needs livelihood security, capability, equity and sustainability. These five words are very much used in the livelihoods approach. Chambers (1999:210) points out that, the livelihoods approach attempts to put the poor first. It enquires into what the poor people have. It builds on their strengths and empowers them where they lack power. Above all, the livelihoods approach recognises the fact that the poor are not blank slates waiting for the developer to write on for the first time.

Chambers and Conway (1992:36) define a sustainable livelihood as follows:

*A livelihood is sustainable which can cope with and recover from stress and shocks, maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, and provide sustainable livelihood opportunities for the next generation; and which contributes net benefits to other livelihood at the local and global levels and in the short and long term.*

The five capital assets referred to in the livelihoods approach are also reflected in Sen's (1999:5) assertion that freedom is central to development. Sen states that people's achievements are influenced by their having economic opportunities, political liberties, social powers and the enabling conditions of good health. In short, achievement is a function of assets possessed, including the functioning of institutions. Combined with Chambers' five key words in development, it is clear that the livelihoods approach represents a certain way of thinking; it has obviously evolved from particular paradigms, as Chambers (1993:9) puts it:

*At any time there have coexisted a range of vocabulary, concepts, and values, some considered old-fashioned, some current, and some avant-garde. So it is to be expected that the frontier words of the mid-1990s, such as accountability, ownership, stakeholder and transparency will be followed and perhaps superseded by others.*

Explaining the development of new paradigms, Chambers (1993:2-11) points to three areas that can be seen as determinants or drivers of paradigms, namely:

- *Changing reality.* In contrast to physical sciences, reality in social sciences changes all the time and at more rapid rate. For example, changes in population growth lead to changes in how people derive their livelihoods as well as their social relations
- *New ideas derived from experiences.* Changes are informed by reality, action and experience. The poor have many different ways of earning a livelihood – doing different things at different times of the year. Therefore, diversity and complexity characterise the lives of the poor more than those of the rich. These factors represent drivers for change among the poor and in the field of development as compared to anomalies, measurements and reductionism in physical sciences
- *Tolerance of competing ideas.* Development requires tolerance of competing ideas. It needs to be recognised that the indigenous technical knowledge is more valid and useful than that of the outsiders. The new paradigm represents reversal of thinking in development that the poor come before the rich, women before men, children before adults and experts become learners.

Chambers (1993:2-11) alleges that the livelihoods of the rural poor are better understood by the poor themselves than by outsiders. Outsiders can only learn in those situations and provide whatever assistance they can, but they can never be masters of these situations. How to maximise their well-being is best understood by the poor given their assets, including the opportunity to do things their own way. In this regard, the new paradigm recognises the multi-dimensional nature of poverty. Furthermore, whenever changes occur, the affected will be the ones to first notice the changes in their environment. Capital assets are also subject to be affected by, for example, climate change. To this end, Flora and Flora (2008:47) observe that:

*Global climate change will have major impacts on natural capital as changes in water regimes and humidity increase pests. It will affect human capital through health threats brought about by changes in food production, access to freshwater, exposure to vector- and water-borne diseases, sea-level rise and coastal flooding, and extreme weather events. Such extreme weather events as longer and more severe drought and more intense rain and snow have implications for soil erosion and water quality ...*

### **Critiquing the sustainable livelihoods approach**

For the purposes of this study, a few points of criticism must be raised against the livelihoods approach, mainly to highlight what the approach does not address. Granted, it is possible that these points are “hidden” somewhere in the “mist” of the approach. Nonetheless, they are not visible to the student or practitioner, so their mention here may help to enrich the approach and make it more meaningful when applied to development.

While the livelihoods approach mentions shocks and trends, it implicitly refers to those shocks and trends that originate from within the country. In this sense, the approach assumes that the country’s inhabitants should be able to deal with these either as natural occurrences or as humanly created conditions. The first point of criticism that can be raised against the approach is that it does not explain how people should deal with situations that are created by international structures which national governments have no means to resist. Cases in point here would be the powers of institutions like the IMF and

the World Bank. Through their Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs), these institutions have managed to impose economic control over the indebted poor states. Common among the conditions imposed are the liberalisation of local economies, privatisation of essential services and removal of subsidies on essential foodstuffs (Maloba 2007:105-107). Poor countries may find these policies unpalatable, and may not regard them as the best policies for the majority of their people, but may not be in a position to resist adopting them.

Similarly, local people have little power to resist trans-national corporations (TNC). These companies are at times so powerful that they are able to steer the policies of their host countries in a particular direction. Very poor countries tend to not oppose these companies, but to support them to such an extent that their actions can be seen as undermining local state sovereignty.

Liberalisation has often brought rising food prices in its wake (De Satgé 2002:19). Local inhabitants cannot afford to pay more for food, as their poor economies have no way of competing against the strong economies of rich countries. As developing economies are forced to open up, foreign goods flood local markets, depressing, for example, local agricultural products in the process. Poor countries rely heavily on agricultural products, so when foreign subsidised agricultural goods enter the country, unsubsidised local produce is perceived as being expensive, with the result that it loses its market. Consequently, local small producers are squeezed out and jobs are threatened.

Privatisation of essential services like education and health care forces the poor to drop out from schools as they cannot afford to pay rising school fees and school uniforms, and to resort to, for example, polluted water sources as clean water becomes expensive. They do not have the resources to pay for health services, with the result that perfectly curable diseases become killer diseases among the poor. Economically, business enterprises that were formerly state-run become private concerns and people lose their jobs, as profit becomes the main focus. The poor get pushed to the periphery of the national economy. They become petty traders and hawkers in efforts to make ends meet. At its worst,

privatisation tends to increase the problems of equity (Ramanadham 1995:5; Wiltshire 1987:75 -76).

In many instances people turn to natural resources for sustenance, particularly the rural poor. The natural resource base becomes degraded not because the poor are ignorant, but because they have to survive. Their day-to-day struggle is so overwhelming that they cannot be bothered by the future as well.

Today developing countries are judged on issues such as good governance, among others, in order to qualify for aid. Burdened with the colonial injustices as represented by land ownership, developing countries find themselves in situations where the majority of land is owned by a minority of people, while an overwhelming majority of people live on marginal lands and informal settlements. Many countries today have to contend with unworkable land policies (Moyo 2000:47). They find it hard to redistribute the land, because it is mainly owned by former colonial masters who are unwilling to part with their colonial fortune. The governments of developing countries are also not in a position to force people to sell their land, as they may be regarded as being undemocratic and disrespectful of the rule of law. No matter how hard the poor shout, there simply is nothing the national governments can do.

De Satgé (2002:18-20) quotes several authors as saying that, among other things, the framework conveys a sense of accommodating the world as it is. The framework does not pose any challenge to the status quo of poverty and inequality. By accepting that the poor should use what they have to escape poverty, the framework romanticises poverty. Johnson (2009:1) argues that the SLA fails “to deal with processes of economic globalisation, power and politics, changing environmental conditions and the lack of a long term vision for rural economies”. The key point here is that the poor usually have no meaningful means to help them escape their poverty unless distributional policies in favour of the poor are implemented.

These are but a few of the shocks that are externally induced. They have severe effects on the lives of the poor; in fact, they make lives unsustainable. Livelihoods are not sustainable on their own; their sustainability is heavily reliant upon whether the means themselves are sustainable. The livelihoods approach does not tell us how the poor should behave under these conditions.

Morse, McNamara and Acholo (2009:12) also point out that the framework fails to address the issues that influence policy makers. In terms of the arguments in this study, this failure has severe implications for pro-poor tourism, which also requires relevant pro-poor policies. The pursuance of pro-poor policies is highly dependent on the availability of state resources. Because the framework analyses people's assets, it should be able to do so within the context of their world. Here, their world is mainly governed by outside forces. How are the poor to deal with large trans-national organisations in tourism such as the Conservation Corporation Africa (CCA), for example? Pro-poor tourism requires that local people have total control of their conditions so that they are able to decide what to do with their assets. To this end, the SL framework could be found lacking.

## **Conclusion**

In this chapter, a few issues were raised with regards to the sustainable livelihoods approach. Although it has been pointed out that this is not a theory as such, but a framework on how things can be made to work better in development, the approach is defined by specific objectives and principles. As such, it can be used as a theoretical model in development. In fact, it was shown that this approach represents evolution and/or a paradigm shift in development thinking – that is, focusing on the assets that people have as well as the institutions that play a role in shaping people's lives. With reference to the forms of capital that define the approach, the era of apartheid South Africa was used to illustrate how institutions can stifle development instead of promoting it. Criticism was based mainly on the fact that the approach fails to explain the external factor, which is fundamental to development in the developing world. Shocks such as those represented by global economic recessions affect the poor and yet the SLA fails to address such situations as well as the effects of globalisation on local environments. In

the next chapter, which looks at the livelihood strategies of the people of AmaZizi, the framework will be applied.

## CHAPTER 4

### METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

*... no matter what our beliefs, and no matter what the outcomes of our studies of policies, in the hands of politicians, bureaucrats and policy interests, the intended outcomes of our research may alter drastically as others place their interpretations on research methods and findings (Hall & Jenkins 1995:3).*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter details the procedure the researcher followed when conducting the study. The chapter provides details of the methods employed to execute the study, the place where the study was conducted, the time when the study was conducted, the procedures followed to access the data and subjects, a description of the population and sample, brief notes on the role of fieldworkers and the protocol that was followed to obtain access into the area itself.

#### **Key principles: validity, falsification and parsimony**

In conducting this study, the researcher was always conscious of the three critical principles of the social sciences, namely validity, falsification (or falsifiability) and parsimony. Levine (1996:10) explains these principles as follows:

- *Validity in the scientific sense requires that conclusions be more than computationally correct. Conclusions must also be “sensible” and true statements about the world*
- *Falsifiability requires that there be some sort of evidence which, had it been found, your conclusions would have had to be judged false, and*
- *Parsimony is the analyst’s version of the phrase “Keep It Simple.” It means getting the job done with the simplest tools, provided that they work .... In the sciences we favor simple ideas with maximum effect.*

How one achieves this depends largely on the questions that were asked in order to obtain the required answers. The objectives of the study as well as the methods used to execute it are fundamental in this regard. Saville (2008:85 and 86) argues that validity refers to

the "extent to which researchers are studying what they think they are studying and that items on a questionnaire ... measure the construct they are supposed to measure".

According to Berg (1995:5) validity could also be ensured through triangulation: "...the use of multiple data gathering techniques to investigate the same phenomenon". As a contested terrain, Pierce (2008:74-75) contends that in the social sciences validity involves three stages, namely:

- **Internal empirical validity:** Assessing the extent to which the conclusions are fairly drawn from the data collected
- **Internal theoretical validity:** Examining whether the theoretical propositions have been fairly drawn from the chosen theory
- **External validity:** Examines the strength of the relationship between the research, the wider literature and the "real world".

Falsification (or falsibility/ falseifiability) is a contextual concept. Statements are either true or false based on a particular context. To reach the conclusion that a statement about the world is false or true depends on the researcher's ability to understand the context in which things happen. Pierce (2008:24) states that simple prima facie evidence is not enough to justify findings, because one unexpected outcome could change the thinking. To this end there has to be some absolute certainty about statements instead of taking issues at first sight. Saville (2008:31) postulates that there needs to be some empirical test to declare an idea true or false. Once an idea is beyond falsification, it cannot be regarded as science because then it falls outside scientific thinking – a supernatural phenomenon.

On the other hand, parsimony would refer to how data is obtained, analysed and interpreted. In terms of the law of parsimony, as expressed in what has since come to be called "Ockham's razor". According to Ariew (1976:1), "[N]either more nor more onerous causes are to be assumed than are necessary to account for the phenomena". Ariew (1976:2) continues by saying that this law "has been connected with the topic of scientific simplicity, that one ought to opt for the simpler

hypothesis or simpler theory when either hypothesis or theory explained the facts equally well".

In this case, the researcher opted for methods that would ensure the most economic use of available resources such as time and money.

## **Sampling**

### **Population size**

Any researcher who wishes to ensure representativity in a study, should first come to grips with the size of the population from which a sample would be drawn. Armed with statistics obtained from the Statistics South Africa, the researcher had an understanding of the size of the population of AmaZizi. On arrival at the tribal office, the researcher requested information on the number of households in the area, but the office kept no such information. The Okhahlamba Local Municipality (OLM) also did not have such information, except the statistics that related to the whole population. The difficulty here was that the researcher planned to focus on households as units of analysis, not on individuals. However, the IDP 2007/2008 Review states the size of the AmaZizi population as 16, 014.

### **Sample**

Without knowing the number of households in the study area, the researcher had to consider an alternative sampling method to best fit the circumstances. A greater part of the area of AmaZizi is a reflection of apartheid's betterment scheme. People were settled in rows as they were forced to move down from higher to lower lying areas. This prompted the researcher to settle for the systematic random sampling technique, taking every fourth homestead. Only one village (*isigodi*) of Okhombe in ward 7 (see map, Figure 1) proved difficult. Some parts of that village are settled differently from the rest of the area. The population is not settled in rows, so the researcher employed the simple random sampling technique there. In each of the four *izigodi* of AmaZizi, twenty-eight (28) households were interviewed, totalling one hundred and eight (108) households.

## Study period

This study was conducted over a period, as indicated below:

TABLE 6: Milestones

Number	Milestone	Date start	Date end	Output
1	Proposal writing	January 2007	May 2007	Approved proposal
2	Literature review	July 2007	October 2007	Literature review
3	Data collection	January 2008	July 2008	Collected data
4	Data capturing and analysis	August 2008	September 2008	Analysis completed
5	Writing up	October 2008	April 2009	1 <sup>st</sup> draft
6	Revising draft	Sept 2010	November 2010	Final

## Data collection techniques

Although this study is largely a qualitative one, it does make use of the elements of the quantitative methods where these help to make certain points clearer than would otherwise be the case. For this reason, the researcher argues that there really is no point in avoiding quantitative methods in a qualitative study. These methods actually do complement each other in many instances. Triangulation – the use of multiple research techniques – was also employed to improve the validity of the research results.

Both primary and secondary data sources were used. Primary data were gained through standardised semi-structured interviews, structured discussions and focus groups, key informant interviews, and a questionnaire. Participants of the survey were randomly selected, whilst participants of the focus group discussions were chosen in a more focused way. Secondary data included in the literature review were mainly books, journal articles, newspaper reports, official government documents, research reports and internet searches.

The research consisted of semi-structured, key informant interviews and focus group discussions. The survey consisted of a total of 108 respondents. In conducting the 108 interviews, the researcher was assisted by three fieldworkers recruited from the same area of AmaZizi. All the fieldworkers had just completed their Grade 12 from the local high school and at that time they were unemployed. The researcher approached the school and

requested assistance in identifying people who could be employed to help conduct the survey. With the help of the school deputy-principal, these former learners were identified and recruited for training. To obtain fieldworkers with higher qualifications would have meant bringing people from outside AmaZizi. The field workers were trained over a period of three days in administering the questionnaire, which was also translated from English into the local language of isiZulu. The questionnaire was then piloted among ten households in a part of the study area. Although some of the results of that pilot study were used here, the area itself was excluded when the questionnaire was finally administered.

The area of AmaZizi is mainly populated by people who were born there or had stayed in the area for some time. All the respondents but sixteen (16) had lived in the area for more than ten years and many were adults over the age of twenty-five (25). Talking to such people had the advantage in that the researcher was at least getting information from people who were well acquainted with the area. In addition to this, the interviews were held with persons of at least sixteen (16) years of age. No children under the age of 16 were involved in the study. Initially it was envisaged that fieldworkers might come across child-headed households to interview, but that never happened.

Key informants consisted of two local councillors, one belonging to the African National Congress (ANC) and other to the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), one woman crafter and one traditional leader. The party representatives were chosen because they were the only visible political parties in the area in terms of their community engagements. The researcher obtained their contact details from the local tribal office and phoned them to arrange appointments. They were very receptive and aided this study greatly. The researcher was able to engage with them freely, as they were willing to discuss almost anything that related to their areas.

Apart from these interviews, the researcher also had numerous informal talks with many other people, including the owners of the tourism ventures just across the Uthukela River that separates AmaZizi from the area that was historically designated as a white area in

terms of apartheid South Africa's Group Areas Act of 1950. Such informal talks also took place with local people of AmaZizi, especially after the researcher had concluded the interviews. Through those talks, the researcher was afforded an extra opportunity to gain insight into the community under investigation.

Focus group interviews were again held with traditional leaders, the youth, women crafters and local councillors again. The researcher requested permission to use the local tribal office as a venue for the three interviews, and this permission was graciously granted by the local *Inkosi* Mthetho Miya. The researcher made arrangements with the participants and fetched them from their respective areas to the assembly point. With the assistance of one local young man, Charles Xaba, the youth were identified and the same means were used to bring them to the tribal office. Charles was one of the young people the researcher recruited from the local school to conduct interviews. He greatly assisted in this study, as he was able to provide information on numerous parts of the research area. At this stage, the researcher had been talking to women crafters for some time and it was easy to persuade them to take part in the focus group interviews. All the interviews were scheduled for different times and days, which allowed the researcher enough time to interview the participants. In each case, the participants were yet again informed of the purpose of the study.

The focus group interview with the councillors took place in the office of one IFP councillor in the Okhahlamba Local Municipal (OLM) offices at Bergville. All the councillors agreed to the suitability of the office. Although the researcher initially had misgivings about this arrangement, politicians being involved, everything worked out well. They all indicated that they were working as colleagues. They had differences of opinion from time to time since they represented different constituencies, but no antagonism could be detected.

The researcher recognised the importance of interviewing the business community in the northern Drakensberg and decided to distribute the questionnaire to the various establishments. The researcher personally delivered each questionnaire to all the

identified places in the first week of January 2008 and requested those in management and/or those entrusted with day-to-day running of the businesses to complete them, promising to come and collect them two weeks later. This arrangement had to be made in the light of the festive holiday season at that time of the year – the hospitality industry was very busy. Two weeks would allow management enough time to examine the questionnaire. Of the fifteen (15) questionnaires distributed to the fifteen (15) hospitality establishments, eight (8) were completed and returned. This translates to a response rate of 53%, which is good, and the researcher considers this survey to have been very successful. The results of that survey are reported in chapter 6 of this study.

Data were also collected by means of observation. Obviously, a researcher cannot depend on written research instruments only to gather data; personal observations are also important. While in the field, one often observes things one had initially overlooked or considered unimportant. Only when one observes situations, one recognises things that are in fact critical to one's study, and should be recorded and included in the study as part of one's findings. In social sciences, we are likely to observe, for example, people's social behaviour in different contexts. In particular, the cultural aspects of people's lives are better understood by observing how they do things; it also offers the opportunity to can then ask why they do what they do the way they do. We can obtain the answers either by asking them directly or by merely continuing to observe their behaviour.

At some point it became necessary to have certain spots and areas pointed out to the researcher. Consequently, one transact walk was undertaken. A transact walk is a method of discovering those aspects of the study that are otherwise difficult to determine unless one actually undertakes the trip to see for oneself the nature of things. A transact walk can only take place in the company of members of the study group. The researcher took the transact walk with one elder of AmaZizi, who pointed out a number of spots that proved that the area was historically theirs. The old man pointed out the graves of the key people among the AmaZizi. Some of the graves are outside the Park and inside the yards

of some members of the tribe, though not necessarily relatives of the Miyas. There is no longer enough land for people to settle on, with the result that they put up their homesteads wherever they can find a piece of land close to the fields where they grow their subsistent crops. The elder also pointed out where they used to have their homes before the introduction of the apartheid regime's betterment scheme in the area. He pointed out the areas that were reserved for ploughing and those that were set aside as grazing land for their livestock.

During this transact walk, it became apparent that the livelihoods of AmaZizi must have changed radically over the years. Local mountains are characterised by signs of land degradation as a result of overstocking and neglect, and land once reserved for food production is heavily settled with homesteads. Few people possess livestock and fewer more still work the fields, though the majority still grows some crops near their homes. Land degradation is unavoidable in a situation where AmaZizi share 29% of the land with other tribes like the AmaNgwane and AmaNgwe, and conservation areas occupy 66% of the land while the remainder goes to the state and urban areas (Botha 2008).

### **Data analysis**

It was indicated earlier that analytic induction would be employed data analysis in for this study. To recap, Mouton and Marais (1990:103) are once again quoted:

*In the inductive strategy, the researcher would embark upon the project without an explicit conceptual framework, and merely use general and vague hypotheses or guesses to guide the research. Research of this nature is far less structured. Once the data have been generated, the researcher attempts to discover relationships or patterns by means of close scrutiny of the data. The data are analysed and interpreted by means of inductive abstraction and generalization. The eventual result is that such strategy will result in a more systematic explanation or even a conceptual framework such as a typology.*

According to Levine (1996:1) “data analysis is a body of methods that help to describe facts, detect patterns, develop explanations, and test hypotheses. It is used in all of the sciences ...” To this end, in analyzing data we either resort to figures or tables, or we simply express our findings in words. In this study, the researcher uses both words and tables to make the data "speak". To facilitate analysis, the researcher used MS Excel, a versatile computer programme, to capture and analyse the data. The researcher found creating the fields, computing the information and producing either tables or figures relatively easier on MS Excel than on any other programme available (eg SPSS). Excel enables the use of multivariate techniques for presenting patterns and relationships, for example. In the case of SPSS, for instance, licences are required and after they have expired, the information is very hard to access. With MS Excel, there are no such hassles – the stored information can be accessed indefinitely.

Although this is a largely qualitative study, quantitative methods were not completely ruled out. Statistics allowed the researcher to summarise huge amounts of information in a clear and straightforward manner. As a result of statistical analysis, the researcher could discern patterns and relationships that would have been missed had another method been used. Using basic statistical methods to communicate research results in the social sciences could in fact help other sciences understand better what we do.

### **Ethical principles**

The research aimed both to meet with high ethical standards and to create conditions which would produce results that were as genuine and reliable as possible. The principle of anonymity and confidentiality was also applied: none of the respondents’ names would be made public. This was clearly communicated to participants. The principle of informed consent was also applied in all areas of the research. Great care was taken to provide honest and clear information about the objectives of the research and how the results would be used. Participants were also assured that they could choose not to participate if they felt uncomfortable or could withdraw at any time during the interviews.

On the issues of ethics, the study excluded minors, although the researcher initially expected that this would be affected by some households being headed by minors. On agreeing to participate in the study, participants were informed of the aims of this study. However, there were no forms to be signed by the participants, as participants were not involved in any activity that was likely to have any kind of undesirable consequences for them by agreeing to be interviewed. Furthermore, this study did not pose any harmful consequences to anyone.

### **Questions that posed particular difficulties**

The fieldworkers found that questions with a time component proved difficult for many of the interviewees. For example, the question, "How long have you lived in this area?" presented difficulties. Many respondents struggled to provide definite answers; all they could offer were responses such as, "Ever since I got married" or "My parents lived here long before I was born". To overcome these problems, the researcher decided to use their ages or number of years in marriage as the determining factor of their length of stay in the area.

### **Key role of fieldworkers**

The quality of a survey, even with the best preparation, depends to a high degree on the quality of the fieldworkers. This was demonstrated on the first day of the interviews. Despite three days of training, including one day that was used to pilot the study, problems were encountered. Questionnaires were incomplete and answers were incoherent, suggesting that the fieldworkers did not understand some of the questions. Fortunately, with consistent control, the quality of work improved greatly as the work progressed.

### **Observance of protocol**

The study area of AmaZizi is a tribal area governed in terms of tribal authority as prescribed in South Africa. It was therefore essential that the researcher obtain permission from the tribal authority before conducting the study. Firstly, the researcher requested the supervisor at the University of the Free State to provide a letter of introduction (see

Annexure 10), which was then presented to the traditional leadership on arrival at the tribal office. The researcher requested to meet with the local *inkosi* (chief), and an appointment was made. On the agreed date and time, the researcher arrived and was greeted by *inkosi* and about nine of his councillors. *Inkosi* explained that he had invited his councillors to be present so that they could bear testimony to all that took place or was said during the encounter. The researcher presented his case and explained the purpose of the research.

Before meeting with the tribal leadership, the researcher thought it prudent to use the opportunity to inquire about the historical background of the tribe and the area in general. The discussion lasted for three hours. The leadership provided a historical background that stretched from the time the tribe arrived in the area, long before the arrival of the white people, to the present. The discussion proved critical, because it enabled the researcher to understand how the tribe lost the area that is presently the Royal Natal National Park (RNNP) as well the land across the Uthukela River that separates AmaZizi from their white neighbours. However, as Kloppers (2005:20) explains:

*... borders are only 'artificial' from the view point of the powerless and poor who have no vested interests in their existence ... they arose as discrete decisions on the part of European powers to divide African space between themselves.*

In true style, the people of AmaZizi simply still regard the land across the river as theirs; others have only occupied it. It must, however, be said here that oral history presents many problems. It is very difficult to verify, and different people remember events differently. It follows that oral history should be approached with circumspection.

### **The importance of the study**

Sustainable development requires that the poor be enabled to achieve sustainable livelihoods. Very relevant to the understanding of sustainable development is Sen's (1999:87) definition of poverty as "deprivation of basic capabilities rather than merely as

lowness of incomes, which is the standard criterion of identification of poverty". In the South African context, the rural poor who live adjacent to conservation (tourism) areas represent those deprived communities. The value of this study is its ability to contribute towards a better understanding of these issues by:

- identifying the constraints (or the lacking capabilities) that act against local initiatives
- identifying opportunities and assets (forms of capital), that exist for the poor to ensure sustainable livelihoods
- contributing to an understanding of the sustainable livelihoods approach

Furthermore, research should not only benefit those who conduct the study, but also empower those who are being studied. In the process of executing this study, the participants were able to gain insight into some of their own strengths and weaknesses. The participants also realised that there were opportunities in the local tourism industry they could seize. This was revealed to them through the questions they were asked and the answers they provided. The informal discussions that were held with various participants also helped to shed some light on aspects of their lives, leading to the realisation that they did possess some power to better their lives, even if they could do little about changing existing fundamental policy issues.

## **Conclusion**

The key purpose of this chapter was to show how the study was conducted to achieve the stated objectives. The historical background of the community under investigation is based on only one written source (Pearse 1989), because the researcher could not trace any other source relating to the people of AmaZizi directly. For the rest, the researcher had to rely on oral evidence. As indicated, oral history is fraught with many inconsistencies, but for the purposes of this study, the researcher had to make do with the limited information at his disposal. The next chapters will present the key findings of the study.

## CHAPTER 5

### THE CAPITAL ASSETS AND THE LIVELIHOOD STRATEGIES OF THE PEOPLE OF AMAZIZI

*What I have inside me is a lifetime of experience. I understand poverty because I live it, but no-one asks for my views and if I tried to give them, who would listen to me? (United Nations 2008)*

*The asset-based approach is an appropriate conceptual framework for organizing thinking about poor rural households ...and for identifying drivers of poverty-reducing growth. The asset-based approach considers linkages between households' portfolios of productive, social and locational assets, the policy, institutional and risk context, their behaviour as expressed in their livelihood strategies, and outcomes in terms of well-being. For economic growth to be poverty-reducing in a sustainable manner, it is critical to have a better understanding of poor households' asset portfolios, and how assets interact with the context to influence the selection of livelihood strategies which, in turn, determine well-being." "Drivers of growth" are thus "the assets and combinations of assets needed by different types of households in different geographical areas to take advantage of economic opportunities and improve their well-being over time." These assets have different relative contributions, different "combinations of productive, social, and location-specific assets ... help poor households take advantage of prospects for poverty-reducing growth." Therefore, by "examining the role of assets in achieving development objectives, it is possible to direct policy reforms and investments in a manner that has sustainable impacts on poverty reduction (Siegel, 2005, in Bonfiglioli 2007. Available at: [www.uncdf.org](http://www.uncdf.org), Accessed 27/05/2008)*

#### **Introduction**

This chapter should be closely read together with chapter 3, which provides a detailed analysis of the theoretical issues as expressed in the sustainable livelihoods approach and

the attendant framework. In line with that chapter, the findings in this chapter are presented in accordance with the capital assets as presented in chapter 3. This chapter presents the findings of the study among AmaZizi. It documents their livelihood strategies and their assets or capital. In line with the sustainable livelihoods approach, the study moves from the premise that households and societies have diverse stocks of assets; lack thereof exposes them to vulnerability. Vulnerability (lack of key assets) exposes people, particularly the poor, to further poverty. Yamin, Rahman and Huq (2005:4) note that "vulnerability is shorthand for factors that drive people into poverty, keep them in poverty and block their exit routes from poverty". According to Sen (1999:90),

*...It is not only the case that, say, better basic education and health care improve the quality of life directly; they also increase a person's ability to earn an income and be free of income-poverty as well ... attention to poverty shifts from the means to the ends that people have reason to pursue, and, correspondingly to the freedoms to be able to satisfy these ends.*

In short, Sen argues that poverty also limits people's freedom to choose a kind of life they would otherwise prefer. Severe and longer droughts, crop failures, livestock diseases, prevailing land tenure systems, population growth, isolation, and unemployment are all referred to as shocks and trends that make the poor even more vulnerable to poverty. Looking at the assets of the people of AmaZizi and using the livelihoods approach, this chapter will show, for example, that demographic transition as expressed in number of children and working age affect the way in which a society's resources are utilised. It will further show that lack of access to land and secured land tenures contribute to vulnerability of both the people and the environment, while levels of education determine what skills can help people take part in the economy in a more meaningful way. By understanding these issues, there is an even better chance of understanding the outcomes of the livelihoods framework.

While the chapter presents the findings among AmaZizi, it also continuously includes findings from other studies to support and/or contradict those of this study. It was pointed

out in the first chapter that the literature review will be a continuous part of the study. Such a method of analysis helps to enrich and position the study within the broader context of research conducted earlier and in other parts of the world. In this regard, Klandermans, Roefs and Olivier (2001:27) warn that "...South Africa has to take cognisance of the heritage of apartheid, such as the stunning neglect of the country's social and human capital and the complete distribution of wealth. Throughout this study this warning is taken into consideration.

Both the sustainable livelihoods approach and the capability approach have much to say about the role of institutions in development and poverty alleviation, with the result that this researcher will often refer to these areas of governance. Chapter 6 specifically deals with institutions, structures and processes. In the light of this, the issues pertaining to institutional areas will not be addressed in this chapter; the reader will be reminded throughout, that these issues are dealt with in the next chapter. Furthermore, and although the study is essentially qualitative in nature, graphs and tables are used here. This use of graphs and tables helps to make the findings more accessible and easily readable. The two methodologies are harnessed together not to contradict, but to enhance each other.

### **Main local livelihoods, key assets, opportunities and constraints among AmaZizi: Views from the focus groups**

In Table 7, the views of the focus groups in relation to their local economy are presented. The table is divided into four areas, namely (1) the main local livelihoods – people were questioned about the main activities they engaged in to earn their living; (2) key assets – people were asked what they considered to be the key assets in the community; (3) opportunities or assets for tourism – the question required respondents to identify assets that they considered helpful if they were to take part in the tourism industry; and (4) the constraints they considered important in preventing them from participating in the local tourism industry.

TABLE 7: Views from the focus groups

Activities	Traditional leaders	Councillors	Crafters	Youth
<b>(1) Main local livelihoods</b>				
- Farming	X	X	X	X
- Local employment	X	X	X	X
- Taxi ownership	X			X
-Handicrafts/ natural resources	X	X	X	X
- Dagga	X		X	X
- Herbs	X		X	X
- Cultural activities	X			
- Remittances		X	X	X
- Social grants		X		
- Domestic employment			X	X
- Formal businesses			X	
- Selling vegetables			X	
- Selling liquor			X	X
- Sewing				X
- Building houses	X			
<b>(2) Key assets</b>				
- Livestock/ fowls	X		X	X
- Fields / land	X	X	X	X
-Natural resources/ handicrafts		X		X
- Vehicles			X	X
- Crèches				X
- Schools				X
- Hotels				X
- Community halls				X
<b>(3) Opportunities/ Assets for tourism</b>				
- Vegetables/ maize	X	X	X	X
- Eggs/ chickens	X		X	
- Tour guiding		X	X	X
- Handicrafts	X	X	X	X
- Cultural activities (traditional dances)		X		X
- Accommodation		X		X
- Labour				X
- Horse riding	X			
- Vehicles				X
- Local history				X
- Food & drinks				X
- Livestock	X			X
- Mountains		X		
<b>(4) Constraints</b>				
- Theft	X			
- Lack of security (crime)	X			
- Small fields			X	
- Fear of failure			X	
- Feeling of inferiority			X	
- Lack of knowledge		X		X
- Lack of finance				X
- Lack of space for businesses				X

### 2.1 Main local livelihoods

Farming, local employment in the local hospitality industry and selling handicrafts (picnic and washing baskets, bowls, trays, etc) were identified as the main sources of livelihoods among AmaZizi, and in which all the groups had consensus. The crafters, who were all women, and the youth, who were of both genders, pointed to more activities than the traditional leaders and the local councillors. Why did the latter two groups

identify more opportunities? The answer can only be speculative. These are groups that are usually referred to as more disadvantaged and/or vulnerable in the South African context in particular. Perhaps their dire economic conditions made them identify opportunities others overlooked.

The second main sources of livelihoods were identified as remittances and the growing of dagga (also referred to as cannabis). Although dagga is illegal in South Africa, in the study area people have grown and sold it all over for as long as they have managed to escape the eyes of the law enforcers. The World Drug Report by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) reports that South Africa ranks among the leading producers and traders of the drug in the world, as evidenced by the following quotation (UNODC 2008:14):

*Cannabis continues to dominate the world's illicit drug markets in terms of pervasiveness of cultivation, volume of production, and number of consumers. Cannabis production was identified or reported in 172 countries and territories. The broad levels of use of this drug and its increasing potency make the long-term containment of the market especially important. Global cannabis herb production is estimated to have stabilized at around 41,400 mt in 2006. Production in 2006 was almost equal to that of 2005, and 8% lower than 2004. The decline in global cannabis herb seizures between 2004 and 2006 was even more pronounced (-27%). In 2006, most cannabis herb was produced in the Americas (55%) and in Africa (22%), followed by Asia and Europe. The cannabis market is characterized by a high degree of local and intra regional production and distribution. Countries producing for export remain limited: a number of African countries (including South Africa, Nigeria, Ghana and Morocco) and few Asian countries (including Afghanistan, Pakistan and Kazakhstan).*

As already stated, dagga production is illegal in South Africa. Investigating it would have depleted into the researcher's scarce resources in terms of time and money. As a result,

no effort was made to pursue the investigation of dagga production and trade as a livelihood strategy. The researcher is, however, convinced that this trade requires further investigation, particularly in the study area, as the growing and selling of dagga here is one of the major livelihood activities.

Table 7 illustrates the view that rural households have multiple livelihoods besides agriculture as a primary source of their livelihoods (see Bryceson 2002:2). Although only the councillors (both male and female) identified social grants as one of the main livelihood strategies, this was further confirmed by the household survey which showed that social grants are in fact the main source of income for many. With hindsight, the researcher's concern was why the other focus groups failed to mention the social grants as a livelihood when many households received it in one form or another. Social grants in the area come in the forms of old age pensions, child grants and disability grants.

### ***2.1 Key assets***

From the main sources of livelihoods, the groups were asked to identify what they considered to be the key assets of their livelihoods. Although the youth saw all the items as important, land (or fields) followed by the livestock were identified by the rest of the groups as important assets, with handicrafts taking the third position.

### ***2.2 Opportunities/ assets for tourism***

One of the key objectives of this study was to identify opportunities the people of AmaZizi could seize in the local tourism industry. The researcher wished to ascertain how they could participate meaningfully besides providing labour. Table 7 shows that the people of AmaZizi were convinced that farm produce – vegetables, handicrafts and tour guiding – presented the key opportunities that could be exploited. Once again, the youth identified more opportunities than the rest of the groups. The study found that only one person among AmaZizi provided accommodation to tourists, and that four acted as tour guides. As will be seen later on, people did not believe that their fields could help them to play a role in tourism, as the fields were too small to even provide for their own needs. They did, however, believe that their homesteads could produce a surplus of vegetables to

sell. The number of livestock was small – people usually owned between two and five heads (more on this later), with the result that the people of AmaZizi did not see themselves participating in the local tourism industry by selling meat or milk. They obviously would be unable to meet the demand. There was, however, the possibility of raising poultry to provide a sustainable supply to the industry. Poultry farming is relatively easy and can be done in relatively small spaces.

The beautiful mountains of the Drakensberg were also mentioned as presenting opportunities for local people to engage in tourism. Being familiar with their history and beautiful spots on the mountains, the respondents felt that they stood to benefit not only economically, but also culturally, by taking a more active part in tour guiding, which only a few of their community members were already doing. In this regard Timothy (2002:153) states that people have “a detailed knowledge of nature, resources and climate” of their areas. The people of AmaZizi linked this knowledge to horse-riding. Given that a few among them had horses, they thought that these could be offered to tourists to ride in the area. Visser (2007:101 and 102) also comments on the AmaZizi’s sentiments to share their experiences with others:

*...villagers are eager to share their customs, as well as natural or built environments and local produce with visitors...because of the opportunities it provides for community development and environmental enhancement, in addition to the more obvious benefits of income generation.*

### **2.3 Constraints**

Having identified the opportunities, the question that arose was why they did not use these opportunities. Focus group participants agreed on but one area – lack of knowledge – as the main constraining factor. They did not have the skills and training and did not know what it required to get into the tourism business in particular. This point also featured in the literature review (eg Ashley 2006:17), namely that many people from the disadvantaged groups in South Africa lacked information about the processes and procedures of doing business. As indicated in this chapter, isolation plays a big role in

making people vulnerable to poverty. Being in a rural area, far from the key resources, people need information before they can engage in business activities.

Besides the lack of knowledge, various focus groups identified different issues, but no agreement had been reached on a single one of these issues. The traditional leadership saw theft and lack of security as major constraints. They complained about rising crime levels in the area. They were convinced that starting a business in an area without even so much as a police station and a post office would be a big mistake. According to them, these issues had needed to be tackled immediately if the area were to attract businesses.

The women crafters had their own stories to tell. They saw their fields as too small to sustainably supply any formal business with crops such as maize. They agreed that although they could combine their efforts by producing from their homesteads, the fear of failure was overwhelming. No one wanted to be seen as a failure and local laughing stock. Feelings of inferiority were also expressed as a prohibiting factor. Although they participated in the handicrafts, to them this was different from being participants in the tourism industry. They saw handicrafts as merely the activity of the poor to survive. Only when they were informed that these items were used in the interior decoration of the nearby hotels did they begin to realise how unique and important their work was. Formerly, they thought that the hotels were simply being "kind" by buying their works. They did not see or believe that they were engaged in some real economic activity.

The youth named three factors that were holding local people back from taking part in the local tourism economy, namely lack of finance, lack of space for business and lack of knowledge. They pointed out that starting a tourism business would probably require large sums of money the rural people did not have. These young people had never heard of borrowing money from the bank to start a business – but it must also be remembered here that the rural people in South Africa cannot access credit because they do not have collateral for security when applying for a loan from a bank. They do not own the land they live on; as a result they cannot sell or buy it. Neither can they use using it to obtain credit, obviously. They also pointed out that the space required for tourism business

needed to be sizeable to efficiently accommodate visitors. Where they lived, there was not enough space.

From the fact that the youth and the women crafters both referred to the issue of space (small fields, no room for accommodating visitors respectively), the researcher concluded that a common problem was the question of land ownership and access to or availability of land in the area. Since this point concerns issues of governance, it will be dealt with in the next chapter, where policies and institutions will be addressed extensively.

Allison and Horemans (2006:757) indicate the value of the sustainable livelihoods approach in qualitatively capturing people's experiences and definitions, including psychological aspects such as feelings of powerlessness, humiliation and insecurity. These issues contribute to, and in some cases cause, exclusion from economic opportunities, social networks and political processes, and therefore heighten vulnerability to poverty. These factors are well illuminated by the focus groups among AmaZizi. The constraints they mentioned were both physical and psychological.

### **Tourism-related issues**

In figures 5 and 6 the views of the local people with regard to the nearby conservation area are shown. It is important to indicate here that the Park is considered mainly because it is the anchor of tourism in the area. Visitors to the northern Drakensberg are attracted by the mountains and waterfalls which are found inside the Park. Many tourist activities such as hiking, trekking, climbing and bush-camping take place inside the Park. The Park also provides accommodation and is a source of employment – both wage employment and independent employment – for some of the local people. While the study was being conducted, formal wage employment consisted of both nature conservation and tourism, and independent informal employment was in the form of handicrafts, tour guiding and car guarding. Both formal and informal employments played a major role in the lives of local people as sources of income. To the few that lived from natural resources, the Park provided both the market for the handicrafts and a source of natural resources, including the medicinal plants that were harvested there. Other employment opportunities in the

northern Drakensberg were presented by the larger tourism industry; these will be the subject of chapter 7, which will largely address the views of the business community.

Going through the visitors' register at the main gate with a view to tracing the origins of visitors, the researcher found that visitors come from all over the world. For the period mid-July 2009, the countries that were recorded in the register were South Africa, Switzerland, Netherlands, Germany, France, Australia, England, Scotland, Italy, Belgium, the USA, Canada, Spain, Israel, New Zealand, Namibia, India, Austria, Pakistan, Wales, Sweden and Taiwan. The majority of visitors spent between one and four nights per visit. Peak periods were during the summer holidays (December), when the area is at its best in terms of green environment, and winter (June/July), when the snow covering the mountains attracts visitors. Of course there are many other attractions, as explained earlier.

A visit to the Park in mid-July 2009 revealed the following figures as they relate to the number of visitors and the income they generate:

TABLE 8: Selected periods and number of visitors at the RNNP

<b>June 2008</b>	<b>June 2009</b>	<b>July 2008</b>	<b>July 2009</b>	<b>December 2007</b>	<b>December 2008</b>
1,488 (R26, 784)	1,440 (R25, 920)	2,503 (R45, 054)	1,145 (R20, 610)	8,059 (R145, 062)	6,787 (R122, 166)

Source: Researcher

Entry fees<sup>5</sup> were set as follows:

- Adults: R30.00
- Children: R15.00
- Schools: Primary school learners: R10.00

<sup>5</sup> KZN Ezemvelo Wildlife booklet: Fees and charges:

- During the period 01 November 2008 – 31 October 2009 the fees were R30.00 per adult and between R10.00 and R15.00 per child.
- During the period 01 November 2009 – 31 October 2010, the fees were R30.00 per adult (no change from previous period) and R20.00 per child (a change of R5.00 but no differentiation between school learners).
- Fee difference for the period 01 November 2007 – 31 October 2008 could only be marginal.

Secondary school learners: R15.00

To determine the income for the months indicated, we would use the average entry fee of R18.00 per person and the results would be as shown in brackets in table 8.

The other important factor shown in table 8 is the differences between the recorded periods. All the periods show declining amounts. This was pointed out to the researcher during a conversation with Ms Mnculwane, the Conservation Manager at RNNP. Although there was no definite explanation for this phenomenon, she indicated that the economic recession was having a negative impact and numbers were probably dwindling because people could not afford to visit the Park. If we take the information in box 4 into consideration, Ms Mnculwane was probably right. The economy was at a low during that period.

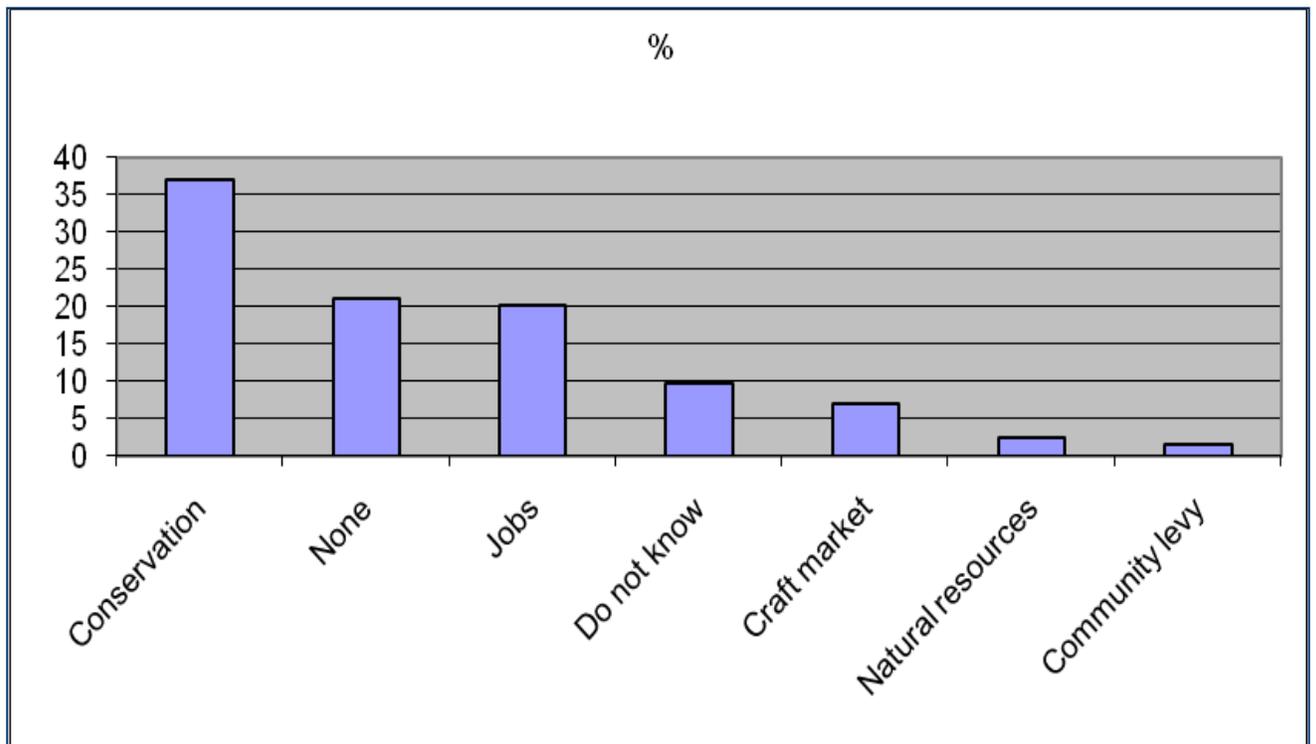


FIGURE 5: Value of the Royal Natal National Park (RNNP) to local community

Figure 5 shows that the majority of respondents saw the Park as a conservation area during the study period. Contrary to quite a common view that local people have little regard for nature conservation, in this study area people took a great interest in the role of the Park as conservator of nature. There was, however, also a second major category of people who saw the Park as bringing no value to their lives. The main reason for this was that the Park had not lived up to their expectations as far as jobs were concerned. These people saw the Park as a source of formal employment only. The third category was the number of people who did see the Park as a provider of jobs. Even though not all of them had household members employed by the Park, they indicated that the Park provided a source of income for people who would otherwise be unemployed. The value of the Park became very clear when people were asked how they would feel if the Park closed. While the respondents valued the role the Park played in nature conservation, the job losses closure of the Park would bring about were more important (see figure 6). From Figure 6, one can deduce that closing the Park would have serious consequences for those directly benefiting from the Park in the way of jobs and a market for handicrafts. Besides going to work, harvesting medicinal plants and selling handicrafts, people also held sporting events and weddings inside the Park.

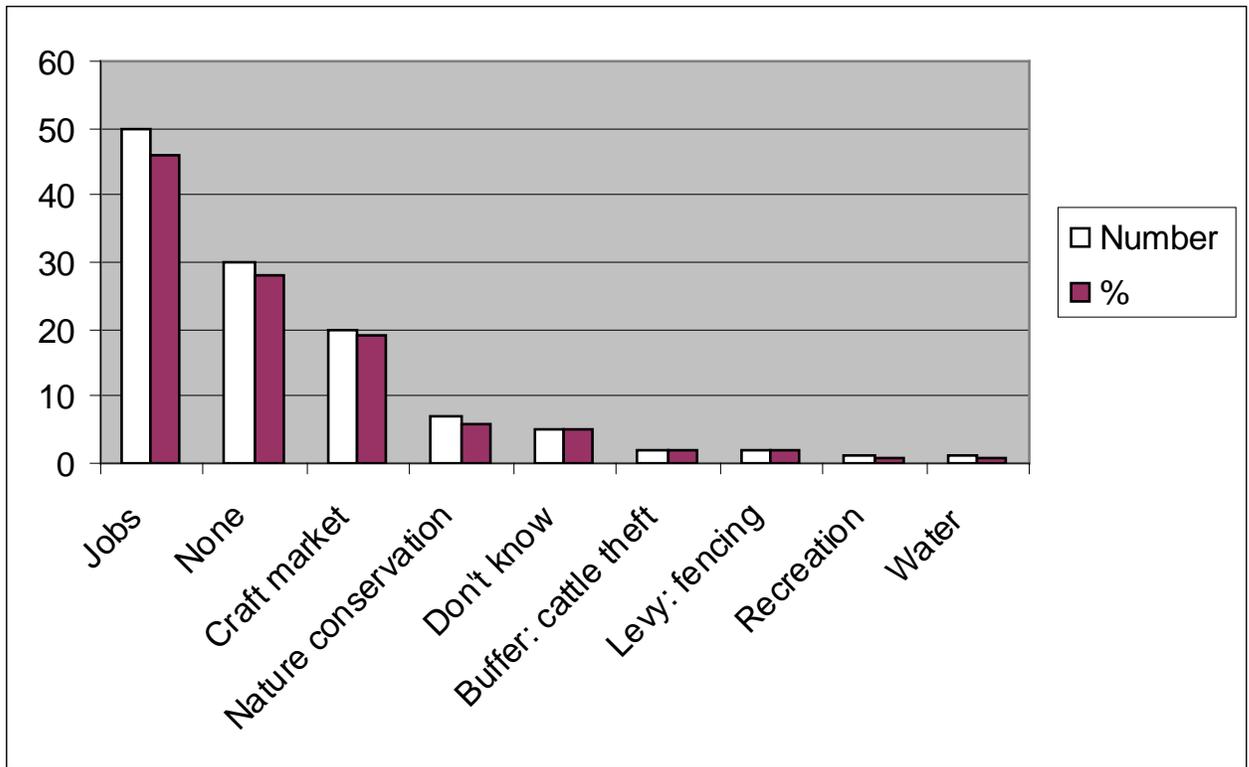


FIGURE 6: Perceived value of the Park

Discussions with groups of women crafters revealed that the value of handicrafts was diminishing, mainly because the hotel (the Royal Natal Hotel) that used to be inside the Park had closed. According to Van Ayssen (2008), the senior Regional Ecotourism Manager of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, the hotel closed down in 2000 when the lease agreement with the last leaseholder expired and was not renewed. Van Essen also indicated that there was no record of hotel activities at that time, with the result that the number of jobs lost owing to closure could not be accounted for. The closure not only led to the loss of formal jobs, but affected the craft market negatively. Hotel guests provided a good market for the crafters (see box 2 for an interview with the last leaseholder of the hotel). The criticism that ecotourism is not interested in local livelihoods becomes even more stringent in this case. Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife did not concern itself with issues of poverty, as it was focused on nature preservation at that time. No wonder no records were kept of benefits local people derived from the Park's activities. Consequently, those that made their livelihood from handicrafts measured the Park in terms of what it provided for

them – the market where they sold their products in the form of mats, brooms, trays and baskets (see annexure 4 for examples of some of the weaved products). For the crafters, access to quality natural resources like the *uhashu*, *incema*, *uvindi* and *utswiri*<sup>6</sup> grasses they used for weaving their products was very important.

As far as the handicrafts in the study area are concerned, it is important to indicate that the crafts left much to be desired in terms of quality and design. Although the women crafters sat in groups when weaving, each woman worked on her own. However, the designs were very similar. There was no variety to cater for the different tastes of buyers. This point was also raised by one buyer<sup>7</sup>, located at the Durban harbour, who exported local South African handicrafts. She bought handicrafts from many different rural parts of the country to sell them overseas, and mentioned. She pointed out that many of the handicrafts from AmaZizi were not selling, because they were not very attractive to foreign buyers. She did, however, mention a few very gifted Amazizi weavers from whom she bought items on a regular basis.

The category of respondents that saw no value in the existence of the Park is a very important one. This number is relatively high in the light of the fact that local people should have appreciated the nature conservation efforts. Without exception, when asked why they felt the Park had no value, they pointed out that they expected the Park to be a major employer in the area. Since employment in the Park was limited to a certain number, these people felt that it had no use in their lives. This was indeed a perception, because the Park's major role is to conserve nature, not to provide jobs. But, as will be pointed out below, the Park could still have played a major economic role in the lives of local people if outsourced some of its activities to local community members.

During the time of the research, harvesting of the natural resources from within the Park took place during the month of May. Local community members were permitted ten (10)

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<sup>6</sup> *Festus costace*, *juncus kraussi* and *merxmuellera macowaii* respectively.

<sup>7</sup> The researcher was referred to the said buyer by some of the women weavers. The purpose was to find out who the main buyers of the handicrafts were.

days to harvest the materials, and no harvest limits were set. The fact that the women had to physically harvest the materials, and then carry it out as head loads, effectively limited the amount that any one individual could harvest. The areas harvested were strictly monitored to ensure sustainability of the resources. During the May 2007 ten-day harvest period, the following amounts of natural resources were harvested from the Park:

TABLE 9: Availability of craft materials from the RNNP (multiplication of figures in columns 3 and 4 will yield the grand total monetary value of the craft materials)

Species harvested	Number of bundles	Average bundle mass (kg)	R-value of bundle	Number of permits issued
Uhashu	581	32	45	580
Incema	125	28	40	395
Utswiri	400	35	60	217
Thatch grass	156	39	60	4
Firewood	9 loads	3 tons	120	9

(Source: Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, Ukhahlamba Region [RNNP], 2007 statistics)

In discussions with authorities about the monetary value of the grasses harvested, it transpired that the calculations were done unscientifically. The rand value expressed here was in fact the price harvesters charged for each bundle. Park authorities pointed out that they never attached any monetary value to the grasses, because it was of no importance to them. Until further research is done, the monetary value of these natural products remains unknown. For now, the crafters' valuation is the only indication of the monetary value of grasses available within the Park. This is another weakness of ecotourism, as already pointed out earlier in this section.

As far as benefits people derived from the Park were concerned, the community levy seemed to be one of the least appreciated and understood categories. The community levy was a kind of corporate social responsibility project on the part of Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, a parastatal responsible for nature conservation in the province of KwaZulu-Natal. The levy came from the entrance fees that visitors paid on entering the Park. Part of the entrance fee – R1.00 for day visitors, R5.00 for campers and R10.00 for lodge residents – was charged per visit. These levies were still valid in mid-July 2009. By June 2005, there was R1 094 783.03 available in the fund (Nxumalo 2005; Von Maltitz and

Mazibuko 2006:6). The local communities could access the fund through its local structures, and the money was used for community development projects as identified by the communities. In a focus group discussion with the traditional leadership, it was revealed that in 2002 the Park had given the community about R200, 000.00 to put up a fence to prevent livestock from entering the fields. Besides this assistance, the community never accessed the money again.

The KZN Nature Conservation Services, now Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, introduced the community levy on 1 February 1998. The levy applies to the conservation areas that charge an entry fee. Although there is no strict definition of what the term "adjacent" means, KZN Nature Conservation Services regard adjacent communities as those communities that would otherwise be utilising the area or land turned into a conservation area. In many instances, "adjacent" has come to be interpreted as a whole particular tribal area and not just the areas bordering the conservation area.

At the time of the research, communities adjacent to the conservation areas had access to 90% of the fund for their own identified development projects, such as the construction of schools, fencing for livestock and similar social services. The other 10% was given to other needy communities, irrespective of their location. To this effect, there were very clear guidelines regulating the use of such monies. Nobody had direct access to the community levy in the form of cash. The community accessed the levy by identifying whatever they wished to build. They then approached the Park with their plans. The Park subsequently moved in to build whatever the community had identified. According to the official responsible for this levy, they did not give cash money to any individual or group, because they were trying to avoid the problem of money disappearing without having accomplished what it had been intended for (Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife 2003).

What needs to be understood with regards to the use of the money the community of AmaZizi has access to, is the fact that unless and until they themselves claim the money, the Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife can do very little if anything at all. The point is that the communities, at whatever level – and traditional leadership in particular – are aware of

the existence of the fund. The onus lies with these communities to say what they need. If and when they do so, the money will be available to them according to certain guidelines that, among other things, stipulate that they identify whatever they require to have funds discharged.

That many of the respondents did not know or say anything about the community levy which has in fact benefited them, could be ascribed to the fact that only the community members who kept livestock were interested in putting up the fence. This point also touches on the understanding of the concept of a community. This was addressed in the previous chapter, where it was shown that the blanket term "community" could be misleading. The so-called "community" is actually a group of people with diverse interests. To refresh, the reader is referred to chapter 2, under the heading *Local participation: a key to sustainable livelihoods*.

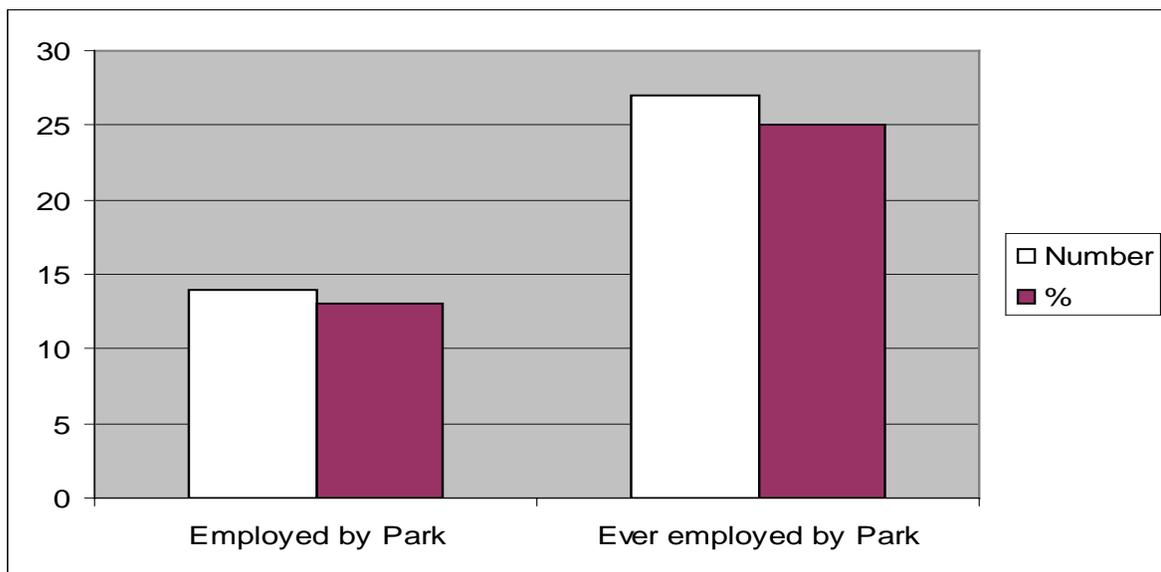


FIGURE 7: Percentage of surveyed households that ever entered and/or were employed by RNNP

At the time of the research, the RNNP offered various employment opportunities to the local communities. These opportunities ranged from permanent to temporary employment, and could be divided into conservation and tourism parts. As already

shown, the Park did not offer many job opportunities for the local people. Figure 7 shows that very few households had any of their members working for the Park. At the same time, the figure shows that the Park seemed to have offered job opportunities in the past. Here we refer to the closed hotel, which local people saw as a provider of jobs. If we consider the fact that households among AmaZizi had between five and six (5 - 6) members (see Figures 14 [c] and 14 [e]), the impact of the Park in terms of employment was indeed very small.

(i) Permanent employment: conservation

The permanent staff of six (6) female and fifteen (15) male employees consisted of:

- One (1) curio shop manager
- One (1) front desk manager
- One (1) hospitality receptionist
- Ten (10) camp attendants
- One (1) labour supervisor
- Two (2) handymen
- Two (2) field rangers
- One (1) driver
- Two (2) general assistants

The total monthly wage bill for early 2008 was R79 890.91, including bonuses. Of these employees, fourteen (14) had a provident fund and only seven (7) had a pension fund.

(ii) Permanent employment: ecotourism

The tourism section of the RNNP had its own staff members, including:

- Three (3) front desk
- Three (3) managers
- Two (2) supervisors

- One (1) driver
- Seven (7) general assistants
- Four (4) horse attendants
- Ten (10) housekeepers

Of the fifty-one (51) permanent employees, only seven (7) were non-locals, who held management positions. The rest were locals – fourteen (14) females and thirty (30) males. The monthly salaries ranged from R14, 659.85 for managers to R3, 600.00 for housekeepers.

(iii) Temporary employment: conservation

At the time of the research, besides the permanent staff, the RNNP also employed ninety seven (97) persons as temporary employees under the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEATs) Poverty Relief Project, DEAT's part of the Expanded Public Works Project (EPWP) which is discussed in detail in chapter 7. All these employees were recruited locally – there were no casual workers at the Park. Each employee under the DEAT's project was given a contract period of three (3) months. These were categorised as labour at R35.00 per day, supervisors at R60.00 per day and clerks at R80.00 per day. These people were assigned different kinds of work within the Park. At the time of the research, all the temporary staff were people from the adjacent communities. Notwithstanding this, the Park employed people who were not members of the local community if the required skills, for example project management, were not available locally. By the end of 2009, neither the job categories nor the wages had changed since 2007. This is why EPWP jobs are usually criticised, as chapter 6 will show.

At the time of the research, these employees were given training wherever necessary, especially in computer literacy, construction of buildings, use of chemicals to kill alien plants and methods on soil erosion. Others were employed in repairing fences and clearing the footpaths within the Park. Although many of the above positions were labourer positions, the Park required applicants to have a Grade 12 education (ie they

must have completed their secondary education), to be able to communicate in English and to be no older than twenty-five (25) years of age. According to the Park authorities, the requirements were only measures to make the situation manageable, since they would otherwise not be able to cope with the demand for employment. At the same time, Grade 12 was required because employees had to interact with foreign visitors at many levels, and English was the *lingua franca*; they were expected to communicate in English. On the other hand, the age limit of twenty-five (25) was set to accommodate the large numbers of unemployed youth in the area.

The recruitment process for the employees was done through the local tribal office. Messages were sent by word of mouth, namely that the Park would be hiring staff on a particular day. People would then gather at the tribal office, where the Park authorities did the selection.

(iv) Independent employment

Independent employment refers to those job categories not offered by the Park, but by independent outside people. They were contracted to offer such services, or did so as community members.

(a) Car guards

There were two car guards, both males, within the RNNP who looked after the visitors' cars while the visitors took walks up the mountain. The car guards were not employees of the Park, but received their remuneration in the form of tips from the car owners.

The presence of the car guards was initiated jointly by the Park and the community members. This happened after numerous incidents of theft and breaking into visitors' cars by criminals from the local communities. It was then decided that honest people be given the opportunity to earn money by protecting the property of visitors.

At the time of the research, there were car guards. They were selected from their community, and took turns to be at the spot where visitors leave their cars. Although the

car guards indicated that they were not earning much, they did admit that they were able to earn at least R200.00 per day at very busy times of the year, such as during school holidays.

(b) Tour guides

Two trained tour guides, a male and a female, operated within the Park during the time of the research. Working jointly, their role was to take the visitors to the famous San paintings in the caves within the Park. The tour guides charged R10.00 per person for a tour of 20 minutes. In a really good month, the tour guides could jointly earn up to R2 000.00 per month, which was shared between them.

A visitor to the RNNP might not easily have noticed the presence of the tour guides. There was no sign to indicate their existence, neither did they have any uniform<sup>8</sup>. The tour guides stood on the banks of the Sigubudu stream inside the Park, with a gate leading to the San cave paintings nearby.

(c) Outsourced services

At the time of study, the RNNP did not have its own security personnel. The security personnel were provided by an outside service provider. The security firm was also a local one and employed people from the area of AmaZizi in the main. Neither the salary information nor the numbers of people employed by the security firm were available. The security personnel had sleeping quarters inside the Park.

(d) Handicrafts

Weavers who came from the adjacent communities were found inside the RNNP. These weavers had divided themselves into subgroups. Each subgroup came on specific days to sell their handicrafts to visitors in the Park.

The weavers had no formal shelter where they conducted their business; they sat on the ground next to the road both inside and outside the Park. The only facility they had access

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<sup>8</sup> During a later visit in July 2009, the researcher found the tour guides in khakhi uniforms.

to, was a small storage facility where they locked in their wares before they went home every afternoon. Again, the storage space was very limited, with the result that many of their items were damaged and could no longer be sold.

To gain more insight into how the people used the Park, respondents were asked if they ever entered the Park and to give reasons for their visits. A total of 59% indicated that they did enter the Park. Their reasons are tabulated in table 10:

TABLE 10: Reasons for entering the Park

<b>Reason</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>%</b>
Employment	16	14.9
Harvest craft materials	13	12.1
Visit/ recreation	12	11.2
Sell handicrafts <sup>9</sup>	10	9.3
Sports	6	5.6
Use public phone	5	4.6
Pass to Qwaqwa	4	3.7
Wedding	2	1.8
TOTAL	68	100

Source: Researcher

With 14.9%, employment was the major reason for people entering the Park, while 11.2% went inside for recreational purposes. The business of handicrafts also attracted a number of people to the Park. Of the respondents, 12.1% indicated that they entered the Park to harvest craft materials, while 9.3% indicated that they went inside to sell their handicrafts. Other reasons for entering the Park were that people held social gatherings such as sporting events and weddings there, and used facilities such as public telephones inside the Park. It was interesting to note, for example, that the area of AmaZizi had very poor sports facilities available to them. As a result, local people made use of the sports fields inside the RNNP, and 5.6% of the respondents indicated that they attended such activities inside the Park.

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<sup>9</sup> Not all people who sold handicrafts harvested the materials. While some could do both, others chose to concentrate on weaving and bought materials from those that harvested them.

While many people used road transport to get to Qwaqwa in the Free State, there were some people who still walked up the mountain. Among the research respondents, 3.7% of the households indicated that they entered the Park as they passed through to the Free State.

The research showed that the old policies of fences and fines used against people adjacent to conservation areas (Mazibuko 2008:63) have left deep imprints in the minds of local people. With democracy and changes in the mindsets of authorities in the conservation areas, it became necessary to ascertain whether people ever visited the area. As indicated in table 10, quite a number of people interviewed had visited the Park for various reasons. The advantage of local people visiting such places was that they were exposed to what happened in their neighbourhood, and probably came to see whether the Park offered them any were livelihood strategy opportunities. To this effect, a number of questions were asked with a view to ascertaining whether people were aware of any opportunities that they could exploit. Besides visiting the Park with the purpose of selling handicrafts, attending sporting events and working, none of the respondents indicated that they wished to operate any other form of business inside the Park. Even among those who indicated an interest in some form of business, nobody mentioned tourism-related ventures. At the same time, those who showed an interest in operating a business pointed out that they were stumped, because they did not have money to start the business they would have liked to run.

While the people of AmaZizi did not mention any tourism-related ventures, the activities they did mention could in fact have benefited them as well as the tourism industry in the area. Their interests were in taxis, building and sewing. The local tourism industry could benefit from these activities. It could, in fact, be a two-way street. The local people might not be in the business of tourism *per se*, but they might be supplying goods and services critical to the industry. They could be employed as independent builders; they could sew uniforms for the staff, just as they sewed school uniforms for the local schools and weddings; and they could transport the visitors. The problem seemed to be how to get started rather than what to do. In this regard, lack of knowledge was the issue.

When asked about problems they had with the Park and about how these could be avoided, their answers revolved around livelihood issues. The major ones related to employment. The respondents felt that not enough jobs were available for them in the Park and that employment was mainly reserved for the youth (a point a Park official denied) while the adults were excluded. They also pointed out that people from the same families were repeatedly employed, in spite of the stipulation that employment should be equally distributed among all people adjacent to the Park. Employment contracts were also identified as problematic, because a period of three months was too short. These jobs were provided by the Poverty Relief Project run by the Department of Environment and Tourism (DEAT) within conservation areas, and formed part of the government's public works programme to alleviate poverty and unemployment in rural areas. The allegations of nepotism were not followed up, but there clearly is a need to explore this issue in future.

Other identified problems included the clearing of alien plant species by the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry (DWAF). Alien species are seen as consuming more water than indigenous plants. As a result, through the Working for Water Programme, the Department embarked on a programme to remove the alien species by employing local people. These jobs also formed part of the government Poverty Relief Projects. Although local people were employed to clear the plants, they complained that this robbed them of firewood and wood for building. The Park authorities did not allow them to even gather the dead wood inside the Park for firewood. At the same time, the crafters complained that the Park was turning a deaf ear to their request for shelters. They needed shelters in bad weather; when the weather turned against them, they had no choice but to pack up their wares and go home. The storage provided by the Park was insufficient; the space was so small that their goods had to be packed on top of another, thus damaging them.

### **Perceptions about the RNNP among the adjacent communities**

To determine the perceptions of the local people with regard to the Park, people were asked (1) "What do you think is the importance of the Park?" and (2) "How would you feel if the Park closed?" Their responses are shown in table 11.

TABLE 11: Perceptions about Ezemvelo KZN (see also fig 6)

<b>1. Importance of the Park</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>2. Feelings about closure</b>	<b>%</b>
Provides jobs	47.6	Do not know	60.7
None	28.0	Loss of jobs	57.0
Craft market	16.8	Indifferent	19.6
Nature protection	5.6	Loss of craft market	14.9
Do not know	4.6	Vulnerability to nature	12.1
Natural resources available	3.7	Loss of natural resources	1.8
Social responsibility	2.8	Happy	1.8
Recreation	0.9		

Note: Figures do not add to 100%, because people held more than one view on the issues.

A total of 47.6% of the surveyed households felt that the Park provided them with employment opportunities. Notwithstanding this, the respondents also indicated that the jobs provided by the Park were not permanent jobs. They would have preferred jobs with security and future prospects. As a result, 28.0% felt that the Park had no importance for them. On the other hand, 16.8% appreciated the existence of the Park, because it provided them with the market to sell their handicrafts. The Park's main role of nature conservation was seen as important by only 5.6% of the population, and 2.8% of the respondents knew about the community levy and responded that the Park assisted them to put up the fence to protect their crops from straying livestock.

Although the responses were varied, table 11 provides some insight into the role that the Park could play to enhance the livelihood strategies of the people of AmaZizi. In particular, the responses pertaining to job provision, loss of jobs, the craft market and vulnerability of nature point to the value of the Park as a strategic area to improve lives. It is in these areas that opportunities for pro-poor economic activities could be exploited, for instance, entrepreneurial activities whereby certain Park activities could be outsourced to community members. The Park would also benefit; it would be able to concentrate on its core business of nature conservation while the community took care of the other activities such as maintaining camping facilities, laundry, child-minding for visitors, cleaning, and security (which was already outsourced people outside the community). In this regard, it can be stated that there are real economic opportunities for exploitation within the Park.

Asked how they would feel if the Park closed, the majority of respondents, 63%, felt that there would be a great loss of jobs, 11% were concerned about nature degradation, 19% were indifferent to the closure of the Park, while 7% did not have an opinion. Respondents were also asked to state what they liked and disliked about the Park, and the responses were as follows:

TABLE 12: Likes and dislikes about the Park

<b>Things liked</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Things disliked</b>	<b>%</b>
Nature protection	35.5	None	63.5
Jobs	22.4	Few/no jobs	9.3
None	22.4	Do not know	8.4
Do not know	10.2	Youngsters employed	7.4
Allowed to sell craft	6.5	Entry restrictions	5.6
Access to natural resources	6.5	Livestock impounded	1.8
Game	1.8	No firewood	0.9
Levy	0.9	No medicinal plants	0.9
Tourism	0.9	Dogs shot	0.9
-		Forests destroyed	0.9

Source: Researcher

Most respondents, 35.5% (see table 12), indicated that they liked the role of the RNNP as protector of nature. This was followed by the capacity of the Park to employ people. However, the liking for jobs was not related to tourism, which ensured that craft sellers had clients. There was a good indication (at 6.5%) of the respondents who liked the Park for its natural resources and those who appreciated being allowed to sell inside the Park.

As far as dislike was concerned, the majority at 63.5% indicated that there was nothing they disliked about the Park, and only 9.3% indicated that the Park provided very few jobs. Seven point four percent (7.4%) showed that they disliked the Park's practice of discriminating against the older people in preference for younger employees. Respondents raised strong views against the fact that the Park was preferring people who were younger than twenty-five (25) years old. Although this point was disputed by Park authorities, all respondents attested to the fact that the Park preferred people under 25 years in its employment selection.

Although 0.9% of the respondents indicated that they liked the Park because of its role in tourism, when specifically asked whether they liked or disliked tourists, the overwhelming majority indicated that they liked the tourists. The reasons ranged from their bringing jobs and buying handicrafts to learning more about the cultural lifestyles of people from other parts of the world. Specifically, 73.8% indicated that they liked the tourists and only 9.3% indicated that they disliked the tourists. Sixteen point eight percent (16.8%) did not know anything about tourists and/or tourism.

The fact that a number of people knew nothing about tourism could possibly be ascribed to the lack of communication between the Park and the local communities. This became clear when only 10.2% of the respondents answered in the affirmative when asked if they ever received a visit from anyone representing the Park. This situation prevailed in spite of the fact that the Park had someone employed specifically as a community co-ordinator.

Asked about specific problems local people experienced with the Park, including problems they caused the Park, and about what they would have liked to get from within the Park, the researcher obtained the following responses:

TABLE 13: Problems with the Park and what people would like to get from within it

<b>Problems with Park</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>Problems people cause to Park</b>	<b>%</b>	<b>What people wish to get from Park</b>	<b>%</b>
None	37.3	Do not know	45.7	Medicinal plants	20.5
Do not know	23.3	Hunting	19.6	Firewood	15.8
Entry restrictions in the past	16.8	Veldt burning	16.8	Work/ jobs	7.4
Not allowed to harvest medicinal plants	7.4	Theft of property	7.4	Game	3.7
Few jobs	4.6	None	6.5	Thatch grass	0.9
Youngsters employed	3.7	Illegal harvesting of medicinal plants	6.5	Uhashu	0.9
Livestock impounded	1.8	Illegal firewood collection	5.6	Nothing	49
Not allowed to collect firewood	1.8	Removal of fence	2.8	Do not know	9.3
Cleared forests	0.9	Illegal grazing	0.9	-	
Not allowed to hunt	0.9	-		-	
Short work contracts	0.9	-		-	
Unrestricted baboons	0.9	-		-	

While 49% of the respondents stated that they did not expect to get anything from the Park, 20.5% indicated that they wished to have access to the medicinal plants within the Park. Firewood (15.8%) and jobs (7.4%) were the next categories of things that people desired from the Park. Very few respondents indicated that they needed more access to the thatch grass, probably because this item was available outside the Park in abundance. Moreover, very few regarded access to *uhashu*, the main resource material for the handicrafts, as a problem.

Statistically spoken, it is evident that the people adjacent to the RNNP do not have serious problems with the Park. They did, however, identify issues of potential conflict caused by local people inside the Park. Illegal hunting, veldt burning and theft of property from the Park were identified as main issues. Theft of property related to theft of the Park's property, and to the property of visitors, especially from their cars. Theft of visitors' property, especially from their vehicles, was also pointed out by a Park official during an interview (see Sigubudu 2007). The official conceded, however, that the problem of theft had been solved by employing local people as car guards in particular inside the Park.

Another 16.8% indicated that they used to have a problem with management not allowing local people inside the Park. This was resolved when the Park agreed to provide local people with entry cards, thereby exempting them from paying the entry fee when they visited the Park.

It is also interesting to note that although job availability was an issue, the local community of AmaZizi pointed out that they wished to enjoy certain opportunities, such as the harvesting of medicinal plants and collection of firewood, opened to them by the Park. This was by no means a request for handouts, but the expression of a desire to lead interdependent lives with the Park. Here it is worth mentioning that the Park did in fact allow local people access to firewood in a very controlled manner. The people were allowed to collect the wood that had already been cut, but they were prohibited from doing the cutting themselves. This practice is understandable in the light of the Park's role

in nature conservation. It could simply not run the risk of deforestation by allowing the community to cut trees.

### **Natural capital endowments**

The effects of colonial land dispossession are very visible in the South African social landscape. No in-depth study of the land question in South Africa will be done here; suffice to say that the 1913 Land Act, which Wilson and Thompson (1971:127) refer to as “almost exclusively the basis of the country’s future policy of apartheid” became a watershed in land matters. It particularly affected African people, as they (at 85% of the population) were forced to occupy only 12.5% of the total land surface. The results were overcrowding and land degradation. Under apartheid rule, which came into effect in 1948, forced removals added not only to the number of people without land, but also to further overcrowding of the areas where they were forced to resettle.

Access to land, whether it comprised ownership, possession and/or control, constitutes a critical form of capital for a rural household because agriculture, though declining, still forms part of many people’s livelihoods, albeit at below subsistence levels. Under the apartheid’s betterment scheme in South Africa, rural households were allocated small pieces of land for farming. Each piece constituted no more than one hectare of agricultural land. Among AmaZizi, households possess between one and three hectares of farmland each. Others have since acquired more through inheritances and/or “purchase” of additional land from those who no longer used it.

Figure 8 indicates access to land. As shown in the figure, a total of 56% of households indicated that they had access to farmland, but at the same time 36% of these respondents indicated that the farmland was too small for making a sustainable living. On the other hand, 8% of the respondents indicated that they were completely landless, that is, they had no access to farmland. On the whole, the people of AmaZizi possess between one and three fields of about one hectare each, as determined by the apartheid’s betterment scheme (discussed in detail in chapter 6 of this study). Production is therefore mainly for consumption and even then for only a very short period of the year. The harvests do not

last more than a few months; then these people have to resume buying food. What became apparent was that many households only ploughed to grow and obtain green mealies. After the mealie season, they return to buying. In many instances, they still bought food even when they had a homegrown supply of green mealies, because the crop could not fully sustain them.

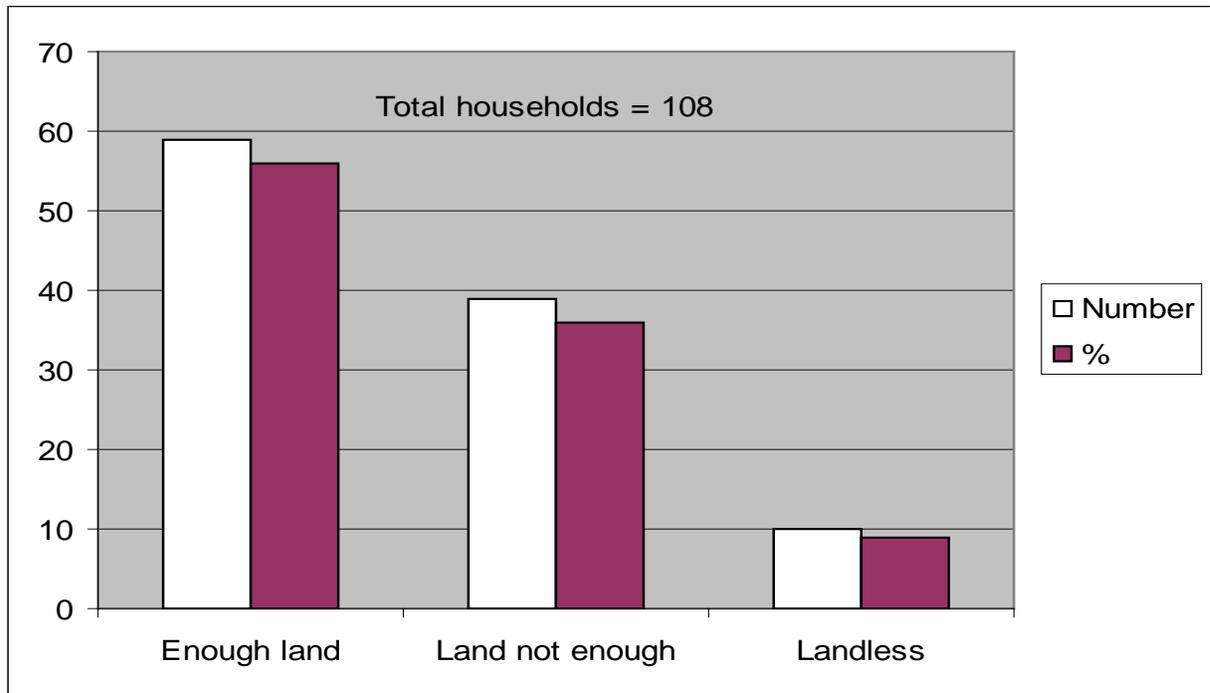


FIGURE 8: Households' access to farm land

General comments from those who felt their land too small, as well as those who had no land, were that people settled on land that was supposed to be used for farming, and that some people held land, but did not use it for various reasons (eg they did not have the means to work it). In isolation, these are real reasons and they make people vulnerable to poverty. The fact that people settled on farming land was the making of apartheid administration through its "betterment scheme" in the 1960s. The aim was to force African people off the land to supply labour to the cities and mines – in other words, forced migration. The scheme only allowed people to farm land for crop production on the banks of rivers (Salomon [sa]).

To ensure maximum effect of the "betterment scheme" and its intentions, African people were also limited in terms of the numbers of livestock they could keep, particularly cattle, which was the backbone of rural livelihoods. This limitation of the number of cattle people could own was presented as a means to ensure nature conservation and to guard against land degradation. MacKinnon (1999:99-103) and Salomon (sa) point out that land degradation is very common in "reserves" to which indigenous populations of South Africa were confined. The area of AmaZizi was no different. Soil erosion was a common feature there. These areas were a creation of the colonial and apartheid policies, which forced African people to congregate in "reserves", while the white population occupied the rest of the land from which Africans had been evicted.

Cattle were used to provide meat, milk, draught and status. By limiting cattle ownership and settling people on farmland, the apartheid government forced people forced to abandon farming and look for alternative forms of livelihoods. It was not abandoning farming as such. There was nowhere to grow crops, except around the homesteads, which were by themselves not enough to ensure sustainable farming. It's a situation which characterises AmaZizi to this day. The same goes for the next form of asset to be addressed here, namely physical assets.

The land question as it prevails among AmaZizi also applies to land reform in South Africa. As indicated, some people were not using the land for various reasons. Unused land could be considered under the land reform programme. In present-day South Africa, the term "land reform" includes the following: restitution, which refers to giving back land to people who were forcefully removed during the apartheid era; redistribution, which refers to the purchasing of land in order to settle those that require land, either for commercial or residential purposes; and land tenure, which refers to the management of communal areas under the traditional leaderships.

In this researcher's opinion, land reform should be expanded to include privatisation of land in rural areas. That is, the land under the traditional leadership has to be given to people to own as their private property. In this way, people will have a choice of whether

they want to keep the land or sell it. Those who cannot afford to till the soil would be in a better position if they sold the land, took the money and used it to pursue other livelihood strategies. Or, alternatively, to rent it out to those who have the means and use the rental as their livelihood strategy. The point here is that the traditional system is a barrier to land reform and consequently to poverty alleviation. People sit on land that they cannot even use as collateral to obtain credit from financial institutions. Those who presently struggle to productively use the land because they do not have the money to do so, could approach banks for credit if they owned the land. Land would be a real asset in their lives and if they wished, they could use it as collateral (Gilfillan 2001:3; Ellickson 1993:1327-1328).

Attfield, Hattingh and Matshabaphala (2004:408) also see a significant correlation between land reform and sustainable livelihoods. Their argument is that in situations where land reform is neglected, poverty and land degradation are likely to persist and become exacerbated. Land degradation is still very evident in the area of AmaZizi. The part of the Drakensberg Mountain where their livestock graze, is characterised by dongas running down on the escarpment. It is evident that without secured land tenure, people's livelihoods cannot be sustained, especially in the light of the fact that land ownership is fundamental to rural development. We rest this argument here, because policy issues are dealt with in detail in chapter 6.

### **Physical capital endowments**

Physical capital comprises buildings, market infrastructure, irrigation works, roads and bridges, tools and tractors, communications, and energy and transportation systems that make labour more productive (Pretty 2003:13).

The figure below indicates the physical assets owned by the people in the study area. The majority of households among AmaZizi owned at least a hoe with which to till the soil. The small numbers of people owning farming implements and/or means, served as an indication that people did not have land which required the acquisition of a large number of working tools. Oxen, which could have been used by those who could not afford a tractor, were not kept. Sadly, even the tradition to keep oxen was dead or dying, because

people had for such a long time been discouraged from keeping livestock for their own benefit.

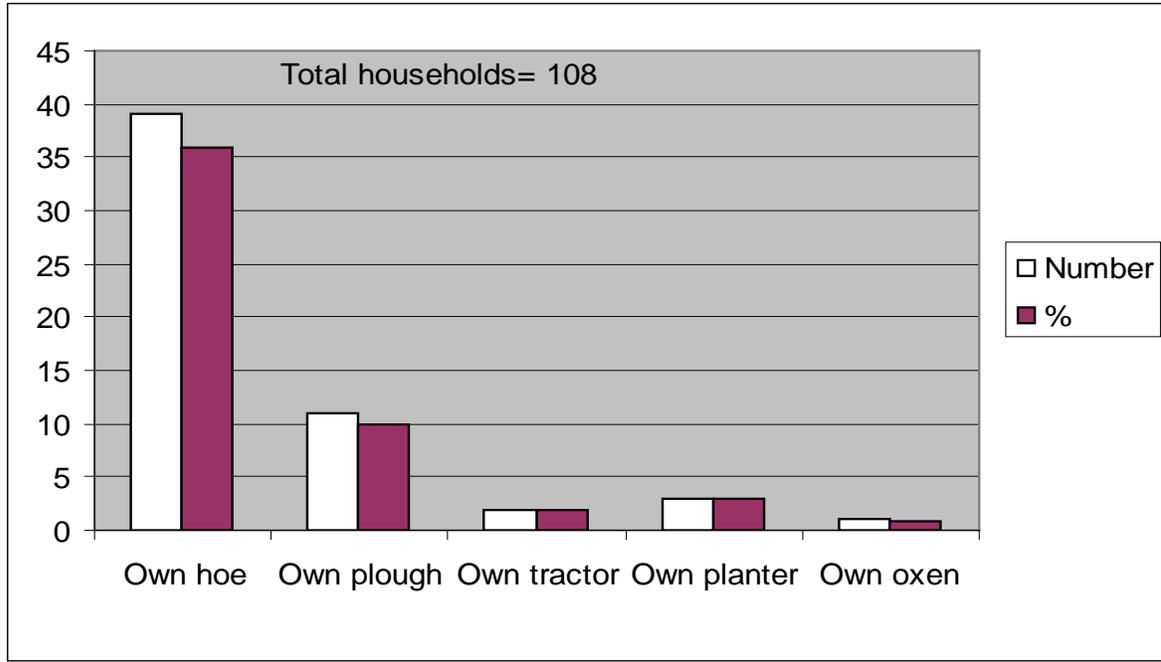


FIGURE 9: Percentage of households owning farming assets

Those that did not own their own equipment resorted to hiring it. From figure 10, it is clear that tractors had become a common way of working the fields. Because not everybody could afford to buy a tractor, many had to do without one. Even oxen were hired to do the ploughing by those who kept none. The hoe was the least hired implement, as shown in Figure 10. Logic says that the hoe is easily available, even to the poorest of communities; therefore it should not be surprising that among AmaZizi it is the least hired tool.

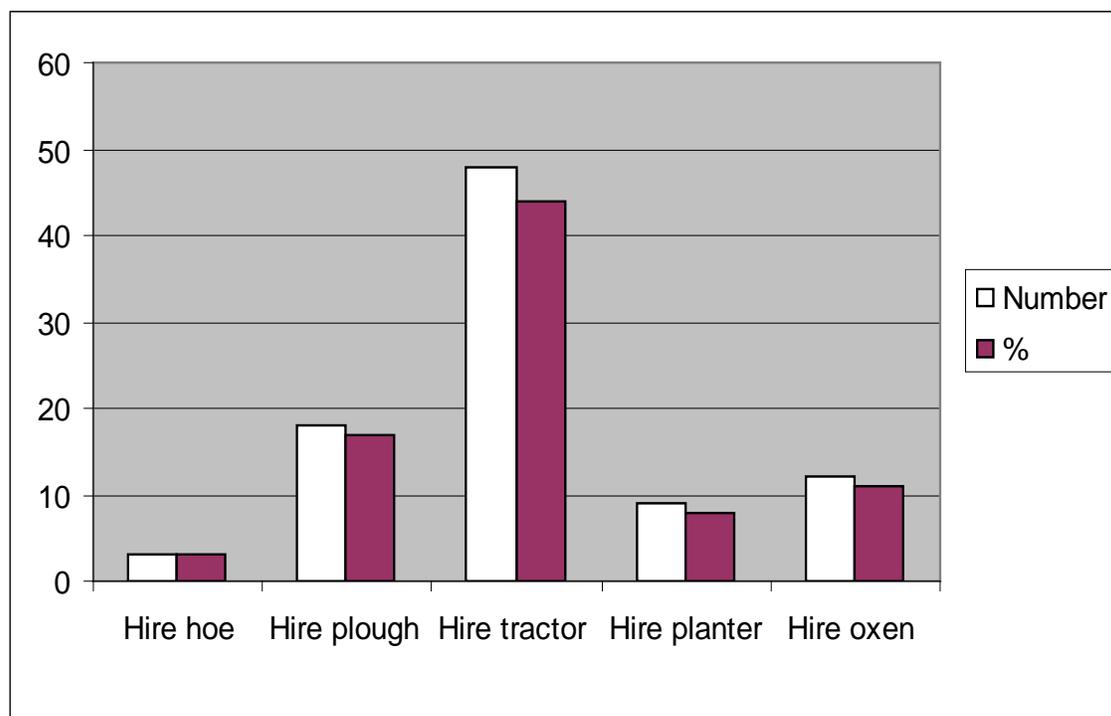


FIGURE 10: Percentage of households hiring farming equipment

Because of the expense, hiring a tractor was not an easy option. To get a tractor to plough a field consisting of a single hectare could cost between R250.00 and R350.00 per season. The least expensive item to hire was the ox-drawn plough, which cost between R20.00 and R35.00 per field. This could be prohibitively expensive for many people, who still had to buy fertilisers as well.

Given the conditions of AmaZizi, it is clear that farming was not a paying activity for many. The input required by the growing of crops in a hectare-sized field could be prohibitive for many very poor households. Informal discussion with some of the people showed that the harvests from these fields did not last more than a few months; then they had to resume buying food. In this context, farming did not provide for all the subsistence needs of the people. It was actually below subsistence food production. It is also evident from the two figures above that less than 50% of the population practiced farming in this area. The numbers of livestock owned by these people ranged between two and five head of cattle per household. Very few people had more than five head of cattle. Livestock was

not kept to be sold, but to obey traditional customs. If it was sold, usually to some members of their local society, it happened mainly because the family needed cash for some emergency situation, or they did not have money to buy other things for their survival. This is very perturbing in the light of the fact that agriculture is usually regarded as the main focus area for poverty reduction in rural development.

Physical assets also include infrastructure, such as roads. During the time of study, there was only one tarred road in the area of AmaZizi – the one that ran to the Royal Natal National Park and the tourism establishments across the river that separated AmaZizi from these places. All other roads were dirt roads with impassable bridges when rivers were flooded. In fact, the bridges were constructed in such a way that water ran over them instead of under them. Given the relatively high rainfall in the area, this meant the chances of people not being able to cross the rivers were also relatively greater than in places where water ran under the bridges, such as the ones on the roads to the above-mentioned tourism establishments. This became evident when on a particular day the researcher could not cross the river at Ebusingatha to reach households across that river. Many other local people were trapped in that situation.

FAO (2003b) points out that proper roads are crucial for encouraging productivity, accessing the markets and for being competitive. Bad roads, on the other hand, contribute to higher transportation costs and suppress the development of the private sector. FAO shows that upgrading and ensuring that rural roads are maintained has several general socio-economic benefits, such as allowing ambulances to travel much more easily and faster than would otherwise be the case.

### **Social capital endowments**

According to Pretty (2003:13) social capital yields a flow of mutually beneficial collective action, contributing to the cohesiveness of people in their societies. The social assets comprising social capital include norms, values and attitudes that predispose people to cooperate; relations of trust, reciprocity and obligations; and common rules and sanctions mutually agreed on or handed down. These are connected and structured in

networks and groups. In the South African context, according to Baden, Hasim and Meintjes (1998:7), the processes of economic exploitation and political oppression of black women and men resulted in specific types of responses by women.

*One response might be characterised as the development of survivalist strategies to increase household income and to create networks of social support. These networks intersected with women's cultural activities, particularly where active church groups were involved. The forms these networks took, and continue to take, were the manyanos, which are similar to women's guilds attached to different churches, as well as burial societies and stokvels, which are forms of savings groups. These women's networks provided new cultural forms in a context of tremendous social dislocation, whether in urban or rural areas. However, these survivalist strategies did not address the underlying ideological and structural forces which shaped women's experiences of economic and political subordination.*

Social capital in the sustainable livelihoods approach represents a wide network through which people make contact with others. Social networks help against isolation and vulnerability and therefore provide safety nets against poverty, as the quotation above shows. The poor are more vulnerable when they are isolated. Through local structures such as stokvels, burial societies and savings clubs, the poor are able to come together and in the process they share information. One critical aspect of vulnerability is the inability to meet with other people and lack of information. Through these structures, people are exposed to the "outside world" and they may even come to learn of the existence of government services that they may not have known had they not taken part in such organisations.

Burial societies, stokvels and/or savings clubs, also called rotating credit associations (Katungi 2006:132), do not only act against isolation and vulnerability; they are also potential forms of development. For example, people come together and save money that they share at specific times of the year to meet specific needs they would never be able to

meet individually. Death can be a devastating event for a poor household, with all the expenses that have to be paid from an individual's pocket. By being a member of a burial scheme in their localities, however, the poor are able to pull their meagre resources together so that a death does not translate into vulnerability and further perpetuate and/or deepen poverty. These social networks can also be seen as a type of non-governmental organisation (NGO), as they empower the poor.

Figure 11 shows that, although the levels of participation were low, some people of AmaZizi were aware of the advantages of social networking. Levels of participation in local community organisations were 35% of the total population as members of local burial schemes, and 24% as members of the stokvels. The lowest category was affiliation to savings clubs, at only 15% of households indicating membership. Twenty-six percent (26%) of the population did not participate in any community structure.

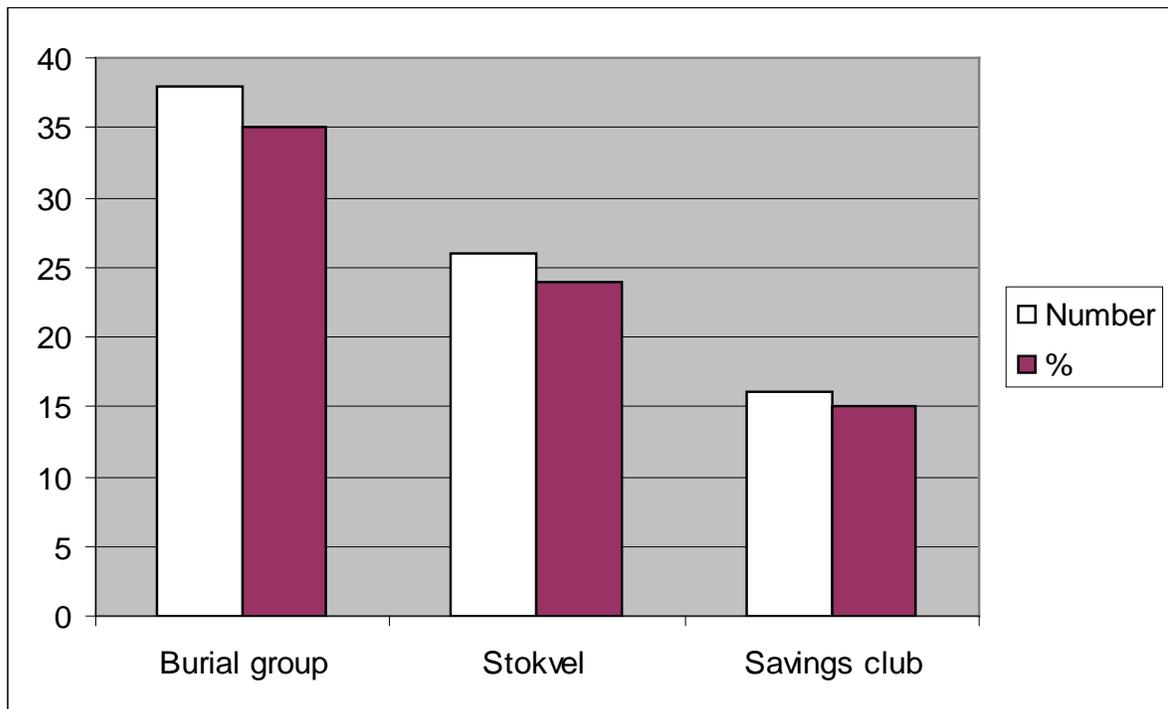


FIGURE 11: Percentages of households participating in local self-help organisations

There is a tendency in development literature to refer to all collective efforts of the poor as "stokvels". In that context, "stokvel" is used as a generic term to refer to collective efforts by the poor to pull their resources together, for economic reasons as well as to cope with shocks. While classified as social capital, "stokvels" are in fact a kind of grassroots initiative to empower themselves economically. They also have the power to break isolation, as they allow the poor opportunities to network among themselves. However, in its true meaning, a "stokvel" refers to a group of people who support each other monetarily in a specific manner. On rotational basis, members of the group host social functions. Other members come to buy food and drinks, particularly alcoholic drinks, at higher than normal prices in order for a hosting member to realise profits. Group members are specifically compelled to buy. Even those that do not drink are required to buy liquor. To ensure maximum profits, members are encouraged to bring their own friends along. Some groups also have a dress code for their members and the usual requirement is to dress formally. Rules are usually strict and honoured by all participants. So, the stokvel raises money not only from its members, but from non-members as well. "Stokvels" are usually well attended, because they also serve as a social gathering. They are, for some people, a way of entertainment. Loud music is played and people dance; some times the "party" lasts all night.

On the other hand, what are referred to in the literature as "burial groups" and "savings clubs" are actually burial and savings societies. Their meetings are exclusive to members. Groups decide whether they wish to have food and drinks or not during their meetings. These societies are run on strict rules and they have constitutions and office bearers. Members contribute fixed amounts of money regularly. Members meet for a few hours on specified dates to discuss issues and make important decisions, which become binding to every member. Minutes are kept. Fines are charged for behaviour that deviates from set rules, such as late payments, late-coming and being absent without notice. Societies are no longer restricted to informal economic activities. Major South African banks assist members to open banking accounts and help grow their funds. As part of institutions, which are discussed in the following chapter, all major banks advertise and operate

accounts for such groups in South Africa. Against this background, *stokvels per se* should be interpreted as financial capital for the poor.

Besides membership of the local NGOs, the people of AmaZizi also took part in political formations. Although there was no attempt in this study to investigate political affiliation, respondents in the focus groups indicated that there was a level of political participation especially since the democratic dispensation in South Africa. Political domination was shared between the African National Congress (ANC) and the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP). Other political formations that were considered a factor, but with limited influence, were the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the National Democratic Convention (Nadeco). Church groupings were also identified as key organisations that were of help to the people in various ways. In particular, the independent churches were recognised for their collective assistance in times of bereavement; they assisted by offering prayers and money.

Katungi (2006:41-44) notes that social capital is explained both at the level of the community and the individual. At a community level, it represents a collective effort in dealing with issues that affect the community. At an individual level, social capital relates to friends and relatives based on the norms of reciprocity and mutual trust. To this end, social networks are indispensable in situations where there are no credit and insurance markets available, as in rural areas. While social networks help alleviate the effects of poverty, fees payable by members may prevent the very poor from joining such formations.

The money question leads to another point about social groupings. Because they do not have large sums of money to organise huge gatherings, they usually meet in the homes of members on a rotational basis. Whoever is the host at that time becomes responsible for taking the money, whether for banking or as their earnings for that round. Some *stokvels* do in fact have banking accounts. Access to services such as banking, for those who would otherwise never be able to open a bank account, is indeed empowering. Social capital, therefore, also allows for financial capital to be accumulated.

Membership of local community organisations not only helps individuals with their immediate needs, but it also helps to identify other assets such as leadership capabilities among people who have been historically left out of the decision-making structures of society. In these local NGOs, people begin to be involved in specialised activities, and their chances of taking on more challenging role in their environments are improved. In terms of cultivating leadership skills, social capital becomes highly related to human capital. It can therefore be concluded here that membership of some social grouping enhances the chances of the poor to explore their own capabilities, break isolation and defeat vulnerability. From their local organisations they learn to speak out, and this may open opportunities for their voices to be heard at higher levels at a later stage in their lives. Social networks transcend the narrow interpretation of poverty as income-poverty only. As recognised in the sustainable livelihoods approach, social networking enriches people's lives in many ways and thus helps to improve their well-being.

### **8. Human capital endowments**

Pretty (2003:13) defines human capital as the total capabilities of individuals. Such capabilities are represented in their stock of knowledge, skills, health and nutrition and they are made better by their access to schools and medical services, for example. In that way, their leadership and organisational skills are further developed.

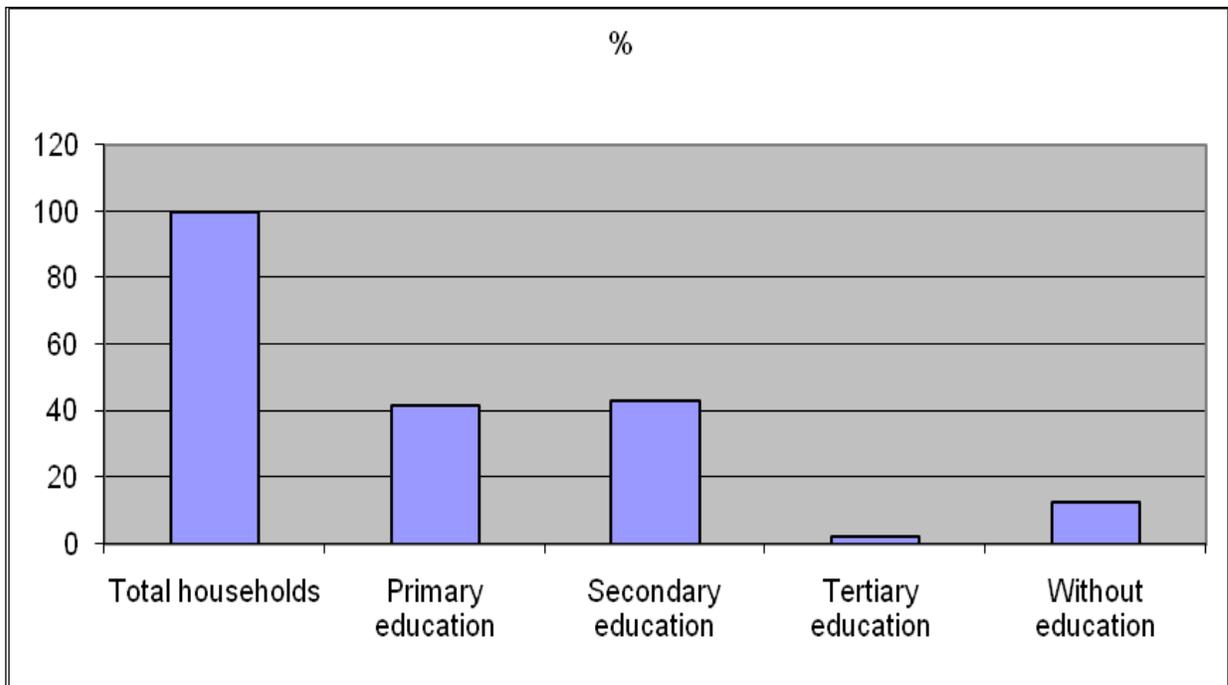


FIGURE 12: Levels of education in households

As figure 12 shows, there are a number of people with secondary school education (43.3%) in the area of AmaZizi. However, a very small fraction (2.3%) of the population has enjoyed a tertiary education, as in a university and/or technikon education. The levels of education are critical for economic development. The benefits of higher education do not only apply to individuals, but as Moretti (2004:656) explains, education has its own externalities; some people benefit from those who possess better skills. Working alongside skilled people (ie better educated people) could help less or semi-skilled people to learn from them. The problem identified at the beginning of this study was that the area of AmaZizi was characterised by unemployment and poverty because of, among other things, a lack of higher education. In this situation, knowledge is severely limited. As shown earlier, the people in this area also pointed out that they did not have the necessary knowledge and skills to meaningfully take part in the local tourism industry. Adding the level of illiteracy at 12.6%, it follows that the area is severely challenged in terms of economic development.

It emerged from the focus group interviews that organisations concerned with health issues existed among AmaZizi. In three of the four group interviews conducted, the names of Nompilo (Mother of Health), Philakahle (Live Well) and the Obonjaneni Farmers Association came up as some of the main community structures working in the area. The main focus of the former two organisations was HIV/AIDS education and caring for the chronically ill, and the latter organisation was charged with looking after the interests of farmers, including training them on issues that related to livestock.

Besides these, the area also had two community health centres, three secondary schools and five primary schools. Although no effort was made to assess the quality of health care and education offered by these institutions (which Pencavel [1991:367] regards as critical in economic development), it suffices to say here that the area had the facilities to improve the human capital aspect as presented in the livelihoods framework. Even so, it must be kept in mind that South Africa is still faced with correcting the wrongs of Bantu Education.

Pencavel (1991:339) and Moretti (2004:656) state that schooling and/or education can increase the productive potential of an economy. The increase is not only attributable to the schooled and trained labour force, but can also happen by means of education spill-over or its externalities. Externality occurs when the trained labour force passes its skills on to the less educated members of the workforce, especially in high-technology areas. Among AmaZizi, the percentage of people who have higher education is very low, with the result that technological know-how in the area is severely limited. It could be argued that if people possessed the necessary skills, their economic conditions would have been better. They would have been able to use their skills to induce economic development in the area, especially since there is sizeable number of people with secondary school education. This group could easily have absorbed the knowledge passed on by those with a higher level of education.

## **9. Financial capital endowments**

Although money is not the sole determinant of poverty, as already mentioned, in a money economy, the ability to earn cash income is beyond question. Having money in one's pocket helps to improve one's well-being in a big way. While talking about sources of income, it must be remembered what we said earlier about rural households having multiple sources of income, purely because no single source is sustainable in any particular way. Employment for them is either seasonal or temporary, and never carries benefits. During the time of research, this also applied to the study area of AmaZizi. Households derived cash incomes from more than one source. For example, while they received a social grant of some kind, they might also be earning income from the handicrafts or receiving remittances from some household member who worked in another part of the country. According to Pretty (2003:13), financial capital refers to financial systems that gather savings and issue credit, such as pensions, remittances, welfare payments, grants and subsidies.

It was pointed out in the introductory chapter that the area of AmaZizi was characterised by relatively high unemployment. Figure 13 shows a relatively high percentage of respondents (8.5%) indicating that they were only employed in temporary positions, while 8.6% indicated full-time employment. This figure could be the result of the government poverty relief efforts, as many of the households that reported temporary employment cited the government poverty relief projects as the source of their income.

Handicrafts, as a source of income, were practised by 30.9% of the sampled population in the area. Their main customers were the tourists visiting the area. To many of these crafters, handicrafts represented a kind of safety net against destitution. Although it was not a well-paying activity, it nevertheless afforded individuals the opportunity to be self-reliant. Crafters indicated that "good months", such as holidays and long weekends, was bonus time for them. They were able to earn more than they earned during normal days of the year. Selling handicrafts (picnic and washing baskets, trays, table mats, bowls and many other items) also included the selling of craft materials in the form of natural resources or raw materials, which were freely obtainable largely inside the conservation

area, the Royal Natal National Park. The materials were *uvindi*, *uhashu* and *incema*. Although the earnings were still below the poverty line (R640.00 pm), these people were at least assured of an income they would otherwise not be earning.

Thirty-plus (30.9%) percentage of people indicated handicrafts as part of their source of income, and 2.3% indicated this activity as their sole source of income. For this group, handicrafts and access to the nature conservation area to harvest natural resources were two critical areas. One such person was an old woman who said she lost her job when the Royal Natal Hotel closed its doors (box 1 presents an interview with the last leaseholder of that hotel). She said that her marriage had failed and that she had always depended on selling handicrafts to raise her nine children. The local councillor, who had left her job as a teacher to enter politics, indicated that she had also been raised and educated with money earned from the handicrafts. Even those who did not sell handicrafts or natural resources appreciated the value of handicrafts as a livelihood strategy, but they also indicated that it was a hard life. The market was very precarious, and especially after the closure of the hotel, which had at least brought buyers (in the form of tourists) closer, but its importance was expressed by one crafter, as shown in box 1.

### **BOX 1: The story of one woman crafter**

*I was born in 1929 at Obanjaneni. I married into a local family in 1941 – it was a polygamous marriage. I had to pull out of it in 1951 because I could no longer stand the frequent conflicts with the other co-wives. I never went to school. The little that I know, I learnt at the local adult education centre. I never went beyond Grade One, but at least I can write my name.*

*I learnt weaving from my mother, who had raised us through this trade. While growing up as a child, I used to come to the hotel (referring to the Royal Natal Hotel, which was closed by this time) to sell my mother's baskets whenever she was not able to do it herself for one reason or another. It was at that stage that I learnt to weave.*

*After divorcing from my husband, I started working at the hotel in 1955 earning £2.30s per month. It was during that time that I also started weaving to supplement my income, selling the handicrafts to hotel customers and single-handedly raising the nine children who had survived out of twelve. I resigned in 1991 due to unfavourable working conditions under the new management which was leasing the hotel at that time. By then I was earning R300.00 per month. When I left, I had no pension fund. For the next six months I claimed unemployment insurance before turning to weaving full-time.*

*In 1991 I started receiving my old age pension money. This also stopped in 1994 after an armed robbery at the local pay-point, but resumed in 1996 without back payment. Through selling handicrafts, I managed to raise my children and I am now supporting seven grandchildren.*

The difficulty of establishing exactly how much the crafters earned was overwhelming, since the crafters did not keep any financial records. They knew that at certain times of the year they stood the chance of earning more money than other times, but exactly how much they could not tell. To at least get some idea of their earnings, the researcher had to spend time helping them record their sales for a month. These recordings helped the researcher to gain some understanding of the earnings. From this, one can deduce why the crafters never regarded themselves as self-employed when asked about their sources of income. They probably did not regard the sale of handicrafts as business.

Although the crafters indicated that holidays and long weekends provided them with the opportunity for increased earnings, selling handicrafts in the study area was hampered in many ways. Among those were low earnings and at times no sales, lack of shelter for the crafters who sat along the main tourist routes and inside the RNNP. The long working hours, which included weaving at home in the evenings, meant that much of the weavers' time was spent producing items which did not bring in much money, but which, in the face of unemployment, was the most available alternative. The most worrying fact was the lack of institutional support, particularly from the government. In spite of professed determination to fight poverty and unemployment in their local economic plans, the local municipality of Okhahlamba was conspicuous by its absence in helping the crafters. While concerned about the rurality of the municipality and its poverty, the Okhahlamba Local Municipality Integrated Development Plan (IDP) Review of 2007/2008 made no mention of the handicrafts as an avenue to reduce poverty and unemployment. In fact, the large parts of the Reviews' contents would have been easily obtainable from the periodic census conducted by the Statistics South Africa.

Having said this, it would appear that the fate of crafters among AmaZizi was no exception in South Africa. Matebese (2009) found a similar situation among the windmill producers in the Karoo. There, the crafters cited unfavourable working conditions. What seems to have been of major concern to those crafters was that while the local government used the crafters to advertise the town, it did almost nothing else to assist them in their trade.

## **BOX 2: Interview with the last leaseholder of the Royal Natal Hotel**

Mrs Linda Kapp

The last leaseholder of the Royal Natal National Park Hotel

Interview, 08/08/2010

Berghaven, Central Drakensberg, KZN

(This is a transcript of the interview between the researcher and Mrs Kapp, whose family last leased the Royal Natal Hotel).

*Researcher:* When did the hotel close?

*Mrs Kapp:* It closed on 30 April 2000 when the 20 year lease expired. My family had leased it since 1980.

*Researcher:* Why was the lease not renewed?

*Mrs Kapp:* I had wished to. But the Natal Parks Board which owned the Hotel had other ideas. Initially they had informed us and also advertised in the newspapers that the hotel was closing down. We could not take bookings for the following year as it was usually the case. Our clients booked well in advance. Within a year, the Parks Board changed their mind and asked us if we wished to renew the lease. It was simply too late for that. We had already lost our market share. So we told them we could not.

*Researcher:* Are you married?

*Mrs Kapp:* I was 19 years old when I got married to my husband who was 24. We have two kids – a boy and a girl. My husband passed away in 1988.

*Researcher:* I am sorry about that. How old are you? I am sorry if that is a problem with you.

*Mrs Kapp:* (laughing) I am 65.

*Researcher:* Tell me about the hotel. How many employees did you have?

*Mrs Kapp:* We inherited our staff largely from the previous leaser, Mr Rupert Waite. We had 134 employees. But by the time we closed we had retrenched 34 workers as a result of union strikes and demands for higher wages we could not afford. SACCAWU created a lot of troubles for us. We were happy with our workers till then. We got intimidated several times. I received an anonymous threatening letter. A fire suspiciously broke out just below the hotel. Workers held their meeting outside among AmaZizi. Sometimes I attended the meetings and I was not happy with the way decisions were reached because in some instances there would be three of us and the next day I would be told a decision was reached. I had serious problems with that. I never reported the incidents to the police. We came into hotel business by chance. We had no experience. My husband owned a dairy farm before. My husband saw an advert for tenders and he applied. I never had confidence in that but he won the tender. The hotel had 45 rooms then and later we added ten more to make 55 with 130 beds. The hotel itself had history spanning from 1936 as a thatched two-storey building. In 1943 it burnt down and had to be rebuilt. I still have a lot of pictures because some of my clients were long time regulars and they willingly gave me the photos they had over time of the hotel. We had plans to expand the hotel with two more buildings, but the Parks Board simply took too long to respond. The buildings were very old. They used lead water pipes which had to be replaced. Electricity was also an add on. Maintenance was getting simply too expensive. Some of our staff sold dagga. Even some hotel visitors would ask for it and we referred them to the workers. One evening we confiscated a bag-full of dagga. We burnt it. We expected someone to come forward to complain or claim it, whatever, but none ever came. Life went on. Some people use dagga to earn their living there.

*Researcher:* What benefits did your workers enjoy?.

*Mrs Kapp:* They had UIF, workman's compensation, but no pensions. That's all.

*Researcher:* To what extent do you think the closure of the hotel led to loss of livelihoods for the crafters?

*Mrs Kapp:* The hotel did create a market for those crafters. We even built them the structure you might have seen just outside the Park's gate. The Park would have nothing to do with crafters.

*Researcher:* What do you think is the potential market for the hotel today?

*Mrs Kapp:* It's great. People loved that hotel and it was well-situated. There still exists a great potential for it, I think. Three people in particular can also help you with some information regarding that hotel and/or the Park. They are Mr Mick McConnel who used to work for the Natal Witness, Dr George Hughes, Head of the Parks Board as well as the Natural History Museum in Pietermaritzburg.

End of interview.

Self-employment (3.4%) in the sampled population included a number of activities. People who were self-employed built houses, did welding, ran businesses such as spaza (informal) shops, general dealers and public telephones, sold poultry and vegetables. Also included are selling herbal medicines and other natural resources, as well as taxi ownership, selling paraffin, selling clothing, dress-making, selling beer and selling food to school children during break periods.

Social grants, which included child grants, old age pensions and disability grants totalling 62% of respondents, constituted the highest sources of income among AmaZizi. It supports what the government has been saying all along, namely that social grants play a crucial role in poverty alleviation, and that these, though expensive, are the cornerstone of government's programme to fight poverty in South Africa. Social grants have a crucial role as safety nets against poverty and help create stable families (South Africa 2007:5). Without these grants, many households would be left vulnerable to situations of economic destitution. In South Africa, reports (eg HSRC 2007) of households that depend on the old age pension of grandparents are very common.

Remittances also play an important role (Mafukidze 2006: 110). It was pointed out earlier that the study area was characterised by unemployment. As a result, it may be concluded that many of the working age people were forced to seek employment outside the area as migrant workers. Very few received benefits from the unemployment insurance fund (UIF) and death benefits. Also interesting was the fact that some people, though very few, relied on relatives for support. At the same time, it should be remembered that rural households have multiple diversified strategies of earning incomes. The strategies may be based on farming, non-farming activities and other non-agricultural activities. According to FAO (2003) the effectiveness and profitability of these strategies vary, depending on household members' access to and control of the asset base, their productive and reproductive roles and responsibilities, and their capabilities.

What may appear as significant in this data is the fact that farming (agriculture) ranks among the lowest sources of income. In the figure below, farming was a source of income for only less than one percent (0.9%) of the total respondents. Informal discussions with local people pointed to the fact that many people regarded their fields as too small to grow anything to sell after satisfying their own needs. In fact, many of those who grew crops did so only for household survival and the harvests did not even last till the next one. In essence, their kind of farming was below that of subsistence farming because, as they indicated, that food lasted for only a few months before they had to resume buying it.

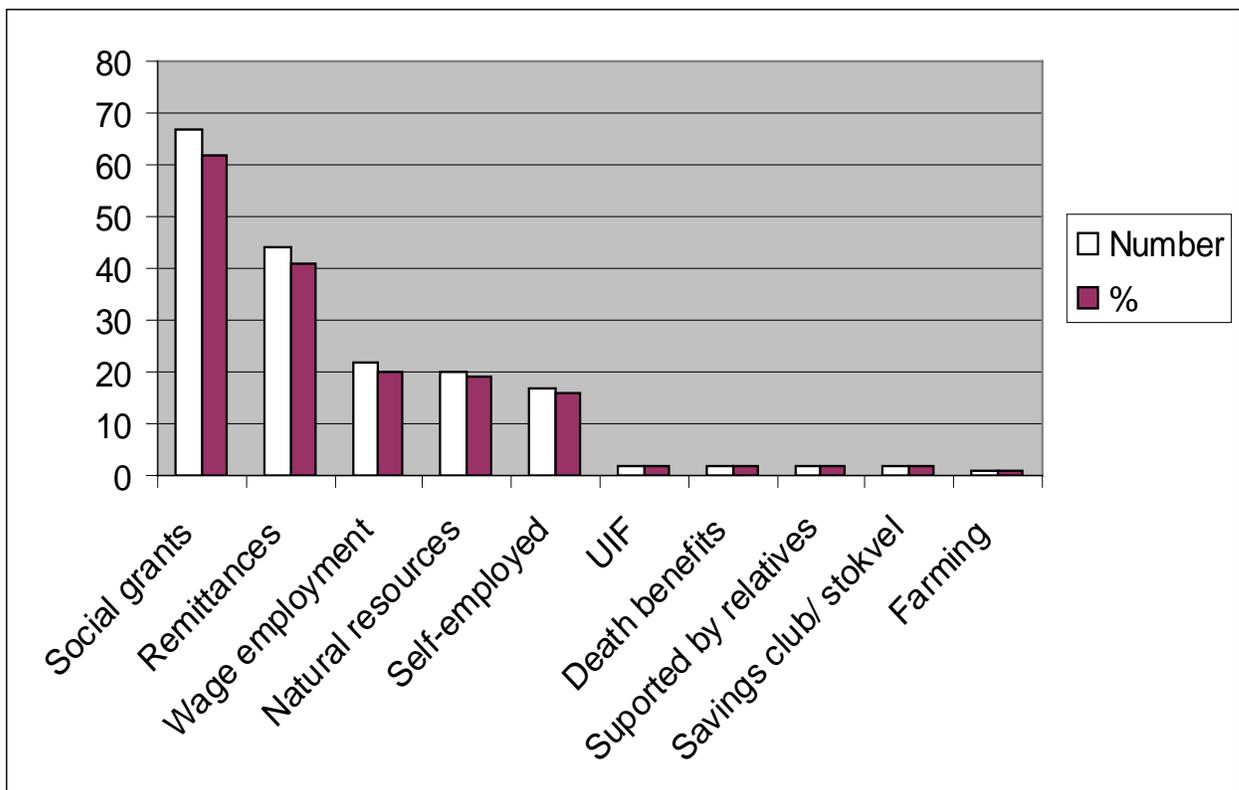


FIGURE 13: Households' sources of income

Remittances also came in as an important source of income for 41% of the respondents. In the figure above, remittances present a picture of migration in the area – that is, the people working in other towns or cities outside Bergville, which is their nearest town. Duany (2002: 358) refers to remittances as mobile livelihoods, the “spatial extension of

people's means of subsistence across various local, regional, and national settings". According to this author, remittances are earned in circular migration as people move in circular forms from their original places to places where they earn their livelihoods and back again periodically. Circular migration is also referred to as commuter, swallow, sojourners or revolving-door migration (Duany 2002: 356). It is interesting to note that in South Africa the African people in particular were at some stage referred to as sojourners in the urban areas; the apartheid administration regarded them only as migrants who came to provide labour in the cities, with their permanent "homes" in the allocated Bantustans. Land dispossession also had a huge impact in forcing people to seek alternative sources of livelihoods.

Bryceson (2002:21) and MacKinnon (1999:99-103) indicate that landlessness in many situations forced people to migrate to cities and farms to seek employment. MacKinnon, for example, states that as early as the 1920s, there were already visible trends of migration, including the migration of women to find paid employment among the African people in Zululand as a result of increasing landlessness and the rise of white commercial farming. According to MacKinnon (1999:101) landlessness was enforced by the 1902 Joint Imperial Colonial Zululand Lands and Delimitation Commission, which created reserves for Africans and left vast areas of land for white occupation.

Mafukidze (2006: 103) notes that there are many definitions of migration, the common denominator being movement of people at various times and for various reasons. Included here are wars, human trafficking and economic issues. But in economic terms, migrants leave to find jobs elsewhere and send money back "home". While migration has the negative effect of draining sending areas of able-bodied people, it has the advantage of serving as a safety-valve for social stability. If people were to be dissatisfied with their immediate environment and had no other outlet, discontent could develop. Figure 13 shows a sizeable number of people living on remittances among AmaZizi. Here, remittances constitute the fourth dominant source of income after social grants, full-time and temporary employment.

It would be romantic to regard the migrant labour system as a voluntary exercise, especially in South Africa. The reality is that it was in many ways a forced system, designed to create labour reserves particularly in the colonies (O’Laughlin 2002:511). Unfortunately, it also gave rise to many social problems (Bryceson 2002:21), which fed into how a household’s assets were utilised. Wilson and Thompson (1971: 181-182) state that:

*...For much of the period under consideration policy aimed at prising Africans out of reserves to work on white-owned farms and industry. African reserves were regarded by whites as ‘reservoirs of labour’, and congestion, landlessness, and crop failure were welcomed as stimulants to the labour supply. But similar phenomena among whites were viewed as national calamities.*

The migrant labour system also impacted negatively on married people, particularly on the women who were left behind. Ramphela (2002:65) has this to say about the migrant labour system in South Africa:

*The migrant labour system expected African women to divide themselves into faithful wives who ran the rural household and mothers who nurtured the children that would become the economy’s labour force. For eleven months of the year these women were to lead celibate lives and focus on mothering the children. Little consideration went into the difficulty of re-establishing intimacy between husband and wife...*

### **Demographics among AmaZizi: a contribution to the sustainable livelihoods approach (SLA) by age**

The SLA refers to the five forms of capital assets (natural, human, financial, physical and social) that people possess. Human capital is particularly relevant to this sub-section. The SLA refers to education and training and health as aspects of this form of capital. In this study, the framework is expanded to include age as an asset. Age becomes an asset when

we realise that the younger the people are, the easier it is for them to learn new skills and absorb new information required for their livelihoods. It can also be accepted as a general condition that the younger people they are, the less vulnerable they are to the common ailments of the aged, such as arthritis and backache. Rural work is in most cases hard work, which requires physical strength. The long distances that people have to walk are better undertaken by the young. The older the person, the more difficult it becomes for them to reach far-off places, because they lack the strength to endure long tedious walks.

This line of thinking was triggered by the finding in this study that the young people of AmaZizi were expressing more ideas about the kinds of assets in their area. The youths were able to identify more areas that had an impact on their development than the other participants (local councillors, traditional leaders and women crafters) in the study (see Table 7). The youths showed more understanding and insight in the issues that affected their society. They were more outspoken and critical of situations. For example, the researcher asked a question about the role of traditional leadership in local development. The young people were able to point the strengths and weaknesses of the system as it affected them. They named practical analytical instances where the traditional leadership had succeeded, and they were very clear on what they thought should be done. They were able to point out instances of nepotism and malpractice. They described differences between the roles of traditional leadership and the elected local councillors respectively, indicating that these structures both had important roles to play. They pointed out the lack of employment opportunities and the ever-shrinking living space, and voiced the urgent need for additional land. These young people, while recognising the value of agriculture, were under no illusion about the fact that it was unsustainable in their area. Without exception, they looked forward to finding their livelihoods outside their own area. They saw very little prospects in opening their own businesses locally because, as they said, local people had no money, they were unemployed themselves. One concludes therefore that, while education is fundamental in providing people with skills, age determines how and to what extent people can learn new ways of doing things. Age constitutes a critical

element of human capital, which is required for a sustainable livelihood and for insight into certain issues that relate to the development discourse.

The SLA refers to education, training and health as aspects of human capital represented in people's stock of knowledge, skills, health and nutrition; they are made better by their access to schools and medical services, for example (Pretty 2003:13). In addition to what Pretty says, one realises that the younger the people are, the easier it is for them to learn new skills and absorb new information required for their livelihoods. While learning is a life-long experience, it is better to acquire skills earlier in life, when one has no demands on one's life except those of youth.

Age is also a basic criterion in determining the dependency ratio. If the majority of the population is young, especially below legal working age, the higher the dependency ratio becomes and therefore the lower the population ratio that should ensure survival of the rest. The situation equally applies where the majority falls in the category of the old. If the generation is too old, fewer people are available to the labour force. For example, age is a critical criterion in determining the kind of work that a particular society can engage in. The younger the majority of the population, the higher the dependency ratio and therefore the lower the population that should ensure survival of the rest. The situation equally applies where the majority falls in the category of the old. If the generation is too old, fewer people are available for the labour force. The old generation also constitutes dependency ratio. The situation is better if those of working age are younger and therefore can still fulfil the role of carrying the rest. Here, it will be shown that age is important in development. It will be shown, for example, that while education is fundamental in providing skills to make people assets, age determines how and to what extent they can learn and/or adopt new ways of doing things.

In the survey, it was found that females of working age constituted the highest percentage (26.8%) of people among the AmaZizi. The figure was followed by the male working age at 22.9%. Females of school-going age were also higher than the male school-going age, at 11.8% and 11.0% respectively. The situation equally applied to pre-schoolers, where

females constituted a number higher than that of males at 10.7% and 8.6% respectively. Beyond working age, females also topped males at 6.4% and 1.4% respectively. It can therefore be concluded that among AmaZizi, the females outnumber the males in all the categories. This information is shown in figure 14(a).

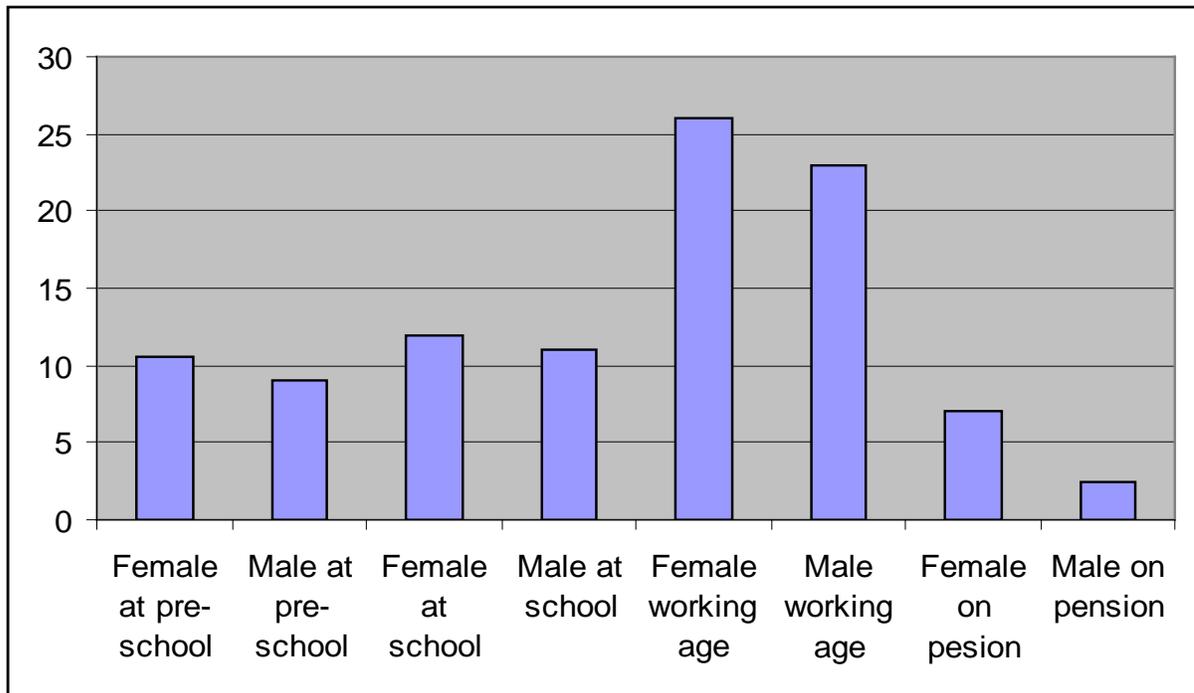


FIGURE 14(a): Age structure among AmaZizi, in percentages

Although Statistics South Africa does not always provide census information according to wards, it did indicate that in the 1996 Census, women outnumbered men in both the AmaZizi wards 6 and 7. In ward 6 women constituted 54.8%, with men at 45.2%. In Ward 7, women constituted 55.6%, with men at 44.4%. In 2001, in the whole municipality of Okhahlamba, which AmaZizi are part of, the gender ratio, that is the number of men per 100 women, was 85. According to this census, immigration and deaths were the two key factors for the change in this situation since 1996 (Statistics South Africa 2006).

According to the Statistics South Africa (Stats SA 2001) the age and gender structures and household sizes of AmaZizi were as indicated in figures 14(b) to 14(e) (Stats SA 2001), where the shaded bars refer to 1996 census while the white bars refer to the 2001 census.

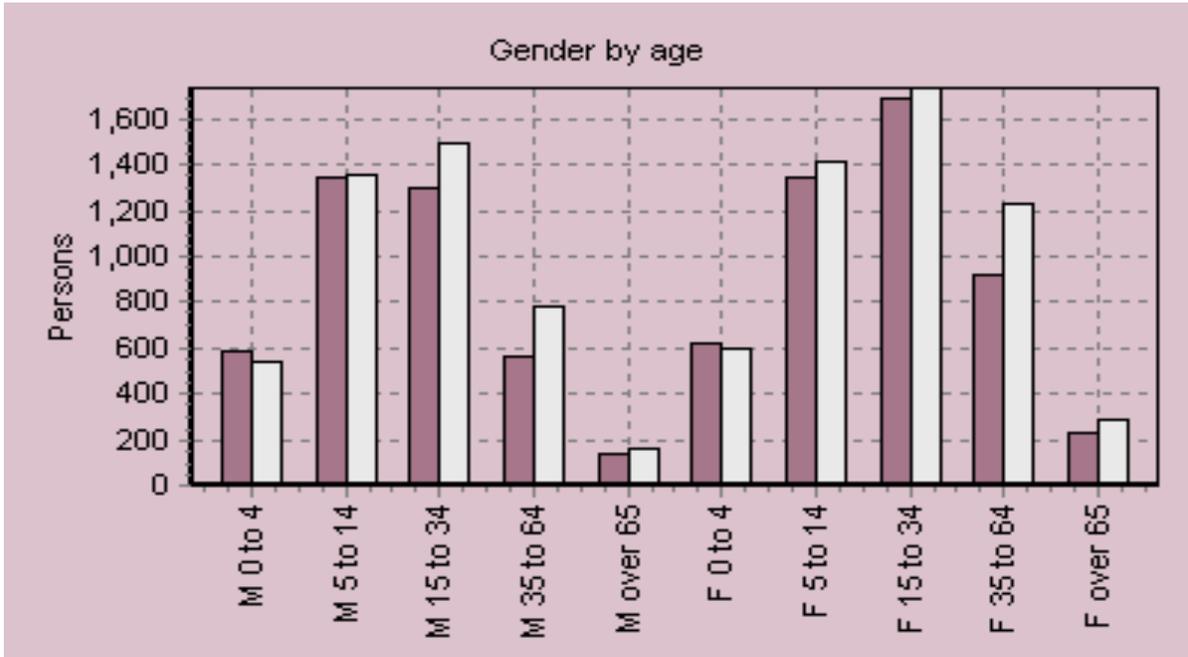


FIGURE 14(b): Gender by age in Ward 6



FIGURE 14(c): Household sizes in Ward 6

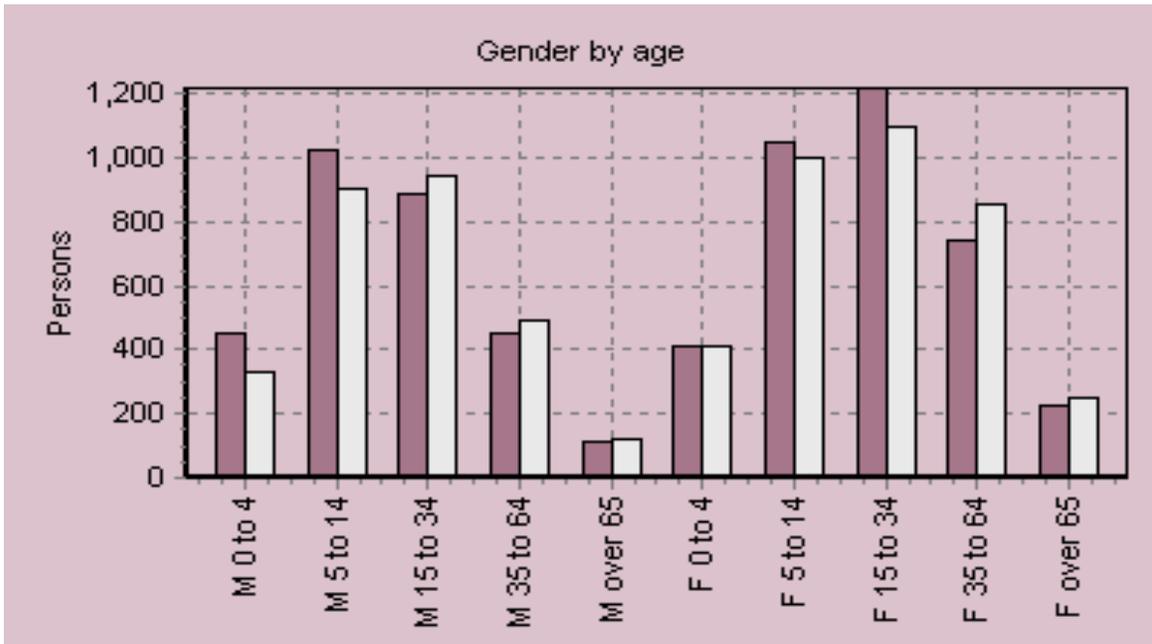


FIGURE 14(d): Gender by age in Ward 7



FIGURE 14(e): Household sizes in Ward 7

The above information shows that the majority of people among AmaZizi were the youth, ranging from the ages of 15 to 34 years. This applied to both male and females, though females were in the majority. An average household consisted of five to six members (see figure 14[c] [Stats SA 2001]). The household survey conducted for this study showed that the average household size among AmaZizi comprised six members.

Age is a factor in development, as it has an impact on people's ability to be productive. A number of studies, as will be shown below, have found that the peak time for productivity in people is in their 50s; thereafter their productivity tends to decline, unless of course they are highly experienced and educated to such a degree that they can keep up with technological changes in their workplaces. This decline in productivity is also accompanied by declining capabilities to learn new techniques. Even employers are disinclined to appoint people who are over fifty (50), so that even if there is an economic downturn, firms will tend to offer retrenchment packages first to those in their sixties in particular, because they are regarded as less productive and at the same time more expensive than the young and productive labour force. Older people are further said to be

more vulnerable to ailments, which all contribute to poverty at the individual level, and poor economic growth both in firms and the national economies (Guillemette 2003:5; Skirbekk 2003:4-8; Tauer 1995:63-6; Youmans 1977:88).

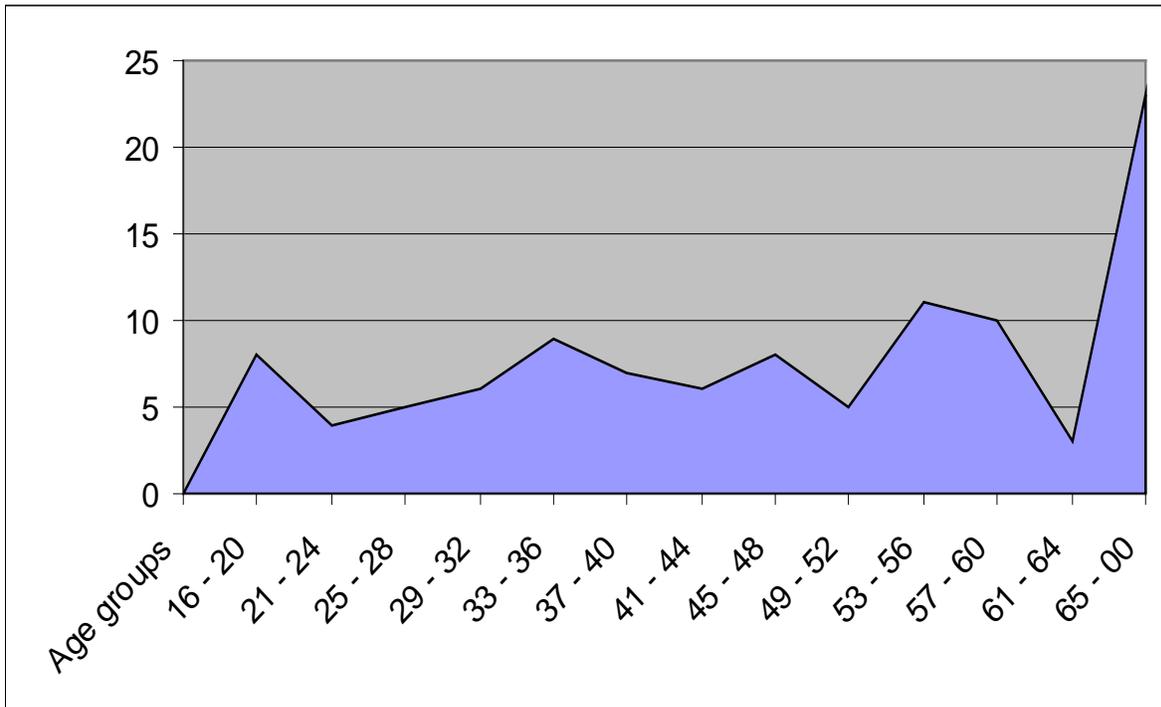


FIGURE 15: Ageing among AmaZizi (%)

As far as the age structure of the people of AmaZizi is concerned, figure 15 shows that a higher percentage of the respondents were above the age of fifty (50) during the time of study. These were the ages of the people who were personally interviewed in their homes during the day. These findings confirm the findings of the studies already referred to above, namely that once people reach the age of fifty, they become less employable, unless they possess scarce skills. Age counts as an asset in an individual's life, and probably the life of the community at large. As people become older, their productivity declines. They may also become more prone to diseases, to such an extent that they may no longer be able to support themselves. To this end, with age the poor become even more vulnerable to conditions that have the potential to impoverish them.

Van Schalkwyk (2008:264, 267 & 272) points out that many of the poor are not able to pay for the social services, while the municipalities are faced with challenges of providing sustainable social services and infrastructure. Ensuring that people are empowered at a young age could assist in reducing the inabilities that make them severely dependent on public institutions for services. As van Schalkwyk points out, the inability to pay is largely a result of the lack of means to do so. What needs to be addressed is making sure that people are enabled to pay for the services. How can this be achieved? Of course employment is the key issue, but employment has to be based on relevant skills in order to be sustainable. In other words, skills ensure sustainable jobs and these in turn ensure that the provision of services becomes sustainable. Even municipalities in poorer areas are themselves poorer because they serve poor people who cannot pay. So there is an important link between the skills people possess and the services they receive. People with better skills have better incomes and consequently enjoy better service delivery, because their municipalities have a wider source of reliable taxes providing revenue. This better life can best be achieved at youth.

Noting that sustainable livelihoods are a product of a combination of assets that households possess or should possess in order to realise their livelihood outcomes, this relationship can be expressed as follows:

$$SL = f(n + f + s + p + h)$$

where:

SL =sustainable livelihood

n = natural capital

f = financial capital

s = social capital

p = physical capital

h = human capital

Each of these capital assets is in turn a function of other factors. For example, human capital can be expressed as follows:

$$HC = f(e + s + h + a)$$

where:

HC = human capital

e = education

s = skills

h= health

a = age

### **The burden of gender inequalities**

The lower number of males among AmaZizi means that the economy rests on the shoulders of the females. Various studies (eg Brewer 1988; Stuart 1996) have shown that female-headed households tend to be at a disadvantage in a society that is more patriarchal, as is the case in South Africa. Indeed, Statistics South Africa (2006) points out that death and migration have had great impact on the rise in female-headed households in the province of KwaZulu-Natal generally. Furthermore, given South Africa's history of discrimination, women have tended to be the worst affected group, even in terms of receiving education. A situation like that adds to the difficulties of this community. However, in South Africa the role of women as producers has also been shaped by historical factors (Baden, Hasim and Meintjes 1998:6) as shown in box 2.

### **BOX 3: Gender relations under colonialism and apartheid**

*The contemporary position of women in South Africa cannot be fully appreciated without an understanding of the ways in which colonialism, capitalism and apartheid have organised social relations and fractured society along racial, class and gender lines. British colonialism was accompanied by a disruption of pre-existing social relations and the distortion of indigenous ideologies of gender ... Subsequent settler domination under regimes of segregation and apartheid exacerbated and institutionalised new forms of racial and gender inequalities. The central role played by women as producers in pre-colonial agricultural society accorded them status as well as a limited degree of authority. However, with colonial state interventions which restructured the homestead economy to serve the migrant labour system, women lost much of both their economic centrality and their social status ... Nevertheless, since migrant labour was never fully able to subsidise the rural economy, women's productive activity continued to be vital for rural survival. As conditions of agricultural production in African reserves declined, and arable land became scarce, women were less and less likely to be allocated land in their own right by chiefly authorities ... For this reason, their attachment to chiefs and to male relatives, even those who were migrant workers in the city, was vital for the continuation of their productive activities and for the survival of rural households. At the same time, new forms of male authority were reinforced by missionaries and by local colonial officials ... Traditional leaders were co-opted into the colonial government and a codified system of 'Customary law' emerged which locked African women into positions of formal inferiority to men ... White, Indian and 'coloured' women were not part of this legal system, but were governed by the 'western' legal system, except for Muslim women, who were informally regulated by the operation of Muslim personal law and through Muslim marriage.*

(Baden, Hasim and Meintjes [1998:6])

Although labour migration has been dominated by males, females have not been left untouched by this movement, a point we referred to earlier in a study by MacKinnon (1999). Women have taken part in migration in large numbers since then. Baden *et al* (1998:39) have this to say about women migration in South Africa:

*While recruitment of mine workers remained male-dominated, African women began to move into urban areas in increasing numbers from the 1930s onwards. While the range of employment opportunities for white women increased during the War ..., the vast majority of African women in the cities were employed in domestic work, which, although highly exploitative, offered women food and shelter in urban areas. Legal restrictions on the movement of women into the cities, and the exclusion of Africans from a range of jobs resulted in a high proportion of women located in the informal sector in activities such as hawking and beer brewing or, in rural areas, working casually on farms. During the late 1940s and 1950s, the apartheid government began to regulate more systematically the movement of African people, and especially of African women in order to restrict the development of a large urbanised African population.*

## **Conclusion**

This chapter focused on the capital assets of the people of AmaZizi. This chapter is linked to chapter 3, where the theoretical framework of the sustainable livelihoods approach was presented. In that chapter, the various capital assets, namely natural, physical, financial, human and social assets were discussed in detail. Insight into these capital assets helps us to see how AmaZizi can use their own capital assets to take part in the tourism industry in their area. This insight is crucial since the underlying philosophy of this study is that the strength of the people will determine the extent to which pro-poor tourism is pursued.

The views presented in this chapter were those of the focus groups and were obtained from the household survey that was conducted using the semi-structured questions. It first showed the importance of the demographics of that society. It explained the value of age for both the individuals and their societies as determining their contribution to development. It was pointed out that the older the generation, the lesser is its productivity. The chapter also addressed the tourism issues as they pertain to the study area. It showed how the conservation area as the anchor of tourism in that area was

valued by the local people. Then the capital endowments of the people were presented to show where their strengths lay. As indicated earlier, the livelihoods approach looks at the strengths of the people in terms of assets that they have at their disposal to fight poverty. The chapter has shown that the people of AmaZizi possessed the assets in very varying degrees; while as a group their possessions might be seen as something that could be used to improve their conditions, in reality their assets were very limited when considered on individual basis. Herein then lies the value of the sustainable livelihoods framework. We are now better positioned to determine the extent to which AmaZizi can make pro-poor tourism work in their favour.

One other critical area identified in the sustainable livelihoods approach is the area of institutions and organisations, and their role in aiding development. This area will be addressed separately in chapter 6. The following chapter takes into consideration the views of the established tourism businesses with regards to pro-poor tourism in the northern Drakensberg. With the assets at their disposal as shown in this chapter, chapter 6 inquires into the extent to which those assets can be employed and whether there are in fact opportunities for AmaZizi to participate effectively as entrepreneurs in the local tourism economy.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE ROLE OF INSTITUTIONS

*Decisions affecting tourism policy, the nature of government involvement in tourism, the structure of tourism agencies, the nature of tourism development, and community involvement in tourism planning and policy all emerge from a political process (Hall & Jenkins 1995:66).*

#### **Introduction**

The purpose of this chapter is to examine the role of institutions – political and economic, as well as cultural – in development in the study area of AmaZizi. In terms of the sustainable livelihoods framework (as presented in chapter 3, (Figure 4), institutions determine how assets are utilised and therefore, what their impact on the outcomes is. Bradstock (2005:12) notes that “while assets are a necessary condition for poverty reduction, they are not sufficient alone. A favourable institutional environment that allows households to use their assets to the greatest potential is also necessary”. Constitutionally speaking, in democratic South Africa, local government in particular has the obligation to ensure that development does occur in their areas of jurisdiction. Institutions are defined as the rules, norms and strategies which shape individual and organisational behaviour (High, Pelling and Nemes 2008:3); as rules or set of rules that structure social interaction by shaping and restricting actors’ behaviour (Helmke and Levitsky 2004:30); as the humanly devised constraints that shape human interaction (Boesen 2006:2); as laws, legislation and policies (DFID 2007); as systems of established and prevalent social rules that structure social interaction (Hodgson 2006:2); and as complexes of norms and behaviours that persist over time by serving some socially valued purposes (Narayan 2000:8).

The DFID (2007) also defines organisations as bodies/structures that are created to enforce policies. The DFID explains that “different institutions create different types of organizations”, and Narayan (2000:8) refers to banks as institutions. This creates confusion regarding the meaning of institutions and organisations. In this researcher's view, institutions do not create organisations, but the other way around – organisations

create institutions. We, for example, first need a government or a parliament (structure) to legislate on particular matters before getting laws (institutions). Otherwise, who makes these laws? It is not laws that make people, but people in an organised form or structure who make laws. Laws represent an idea, while structures represent matter. There is no idea without matter, because an idea comes from matter. Through legislation and other policies (institutions), governments create particular environments and even cultures and/or traditions in which development takes place. Therefore, policies that are created by legislative bodies either have a facilitative, developmental or restrictive role in the development of economies. As the DFID correctly indicates, policies become rules according to which the game of economic management is governed or played. When these policies (rules) have a negative impact on the economy (the game that is being played), they are either altered or discarded. When the makers of policy become resistant to common dissatisfaction, attention is usually drawn to them, either with the intention of forcing them to change rules (policies) or to get rid of policy makers themselves. Removing policy makers may take various forms – it happens either through democratic processes (determined policy) such as in a constitutional election, or they are forcefully removed through a revolution or *coup de tat*. It has, however, become common for policy makers in contemporary history to introduce reforms rather than face a revolution. Either way, such change brings about a different environment in terms of the way things are done. In this context, the organisation (or ownership) of capital assets takes on a different form. When the Marxists-Leninists, for example, argued about the dictatorship of the proletariat (Lenin 1976), they were arguing in favour of a cultural environment in which the working class controlled the means of production (the capital assets) with the purpose of ending suffering (unemployment and poverty). In a revolutionary situation, it is therefore critical to eliminate power in the form of state power, because it is this power that determines who gets what and ensures that things stay that way.

In this regard, through the application of various forms of policies, (institutions), organisations (structures) play a critical role in determining how and with what assets people pursue their livelihoods. In this situation, they either facilitate or hamper the realisation of goals by individuals and groups. According to Sen's (1999) terminology,

institutions and organisations could either represent "unfreedoms" that prevent people from enhancing their capabilities and realising the lives that they value, or they could represent progress. Magubane (2007:21) argues that institutions and structures have been used to "ensure that those described as inferior and dispensable have less access to the resources of their countries valorized by their labour power", with reference to the use of race as a determining factor in the allocation of resources. If institutions and structures could be successfully used to denigrate and impoverish people, it should not be difficult to use the same to raise them from the ashes and pit holes of poverty.

With the national Constitution designating local municipalities as developmental local governments, pro-poor tourism (PPT) stands the chance of benefiting greatly from proposed policies, such as local economic development (LED), integrated development plans (IDPs), expanded public works programmes (EPWPs), small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs), and broad-based black economic empowerment (BBBEE). All these policies are aimed at ensuring that the poor and previously disadvantaged and marginalised groups in South Africa are at least afforded opportunities to participate meaningfully in the country's economy. These policies are also intended to assist emerging businesses to grow to some competitive level. It is for this reason that this chapter will investigate the role of institutions in economic development, with particular reference to the study area of AmaZizi and its tourism economy. Having said this, we need to guard against assuming that a community will automatically be able to engage in business simply because the policies are supportive. Capital assets, as discussed in chapters 3 and 5, will in the final analysis determine what outcomes the policies should or are likely to have.

### **Differentiating between formal and informal institutions**

Table 14 below provides a brief illustration of the differences between formal and informal institutions (Sindzingre 2006; Boesen 2006 & Narayan 2000:8-11).

TABLE 14: Differences between formal and informal institutions

<b>Formal institutions</b>	<b>Informal institutions</b>
Highly complex procedures	Flexible norms
Vested with the power and authority of the state	Traditional – socially shared rules/ norms/ values
Written and intentional, openly codified	Unwritten and evolving over time
Based on legal recognition	Based on trust and reputation
Designed to check patronage, corruption and clientelism	Highly related to patronage, corruption, clientelism

Source: Researcher

Both formal and informal institutions have critical roles to play in the pursuit of development goals. They influence each other at various levels of communities or society. The success, for example, of a particular government policy depends on how the affected people receive it. A government policy that contradicts the normal practices of local people is unlikely to succeed unless it is accompanied by force. As a result, in a democracy, governments should ensure that their policies are not in conflict with the practices of people. A few examples of this are (1) the attempts by government to control circumcision among people in the province of the Eastern Cape, which caused such an outcry that the government had to back down and instead negotiate for health professionals to be involved in the process – government’s concern was that many young males have died because of certain unhealthy practices in initiation schools; (2) the 1967 Abortion Act in Britain; and (2) the Chinese rule forbidding couples from having more than one child. In all these cases, the laws sparked heated debates on whether or not governments should legislate on personal matters. In Britain, the issue revolved around the right of the unborn child to life *vis-a-vis* the life of the pregnant woman, if the pregnancy threatened her life. In China, the issue concerned couples desiring a child of a particular sex and wanting to try again (Thompson 2008:30-31). In this regard, Sindzingre (2006) argues that:

*... for individuals, the fact that rules are ‘formal’, written or coming from the state (or do not) does not determine their credibility in a particular situation and is no more relevant than the many other attributes that orient individuals’ tradeoffs regarding compliance with it...*

In all these situations, the processes are negotiated because, as High, Pelling and Nemes (2008) argue, policies are based on negotiation and ongoing relationships.

Given that this study is based on a particular community of the AmaZizi within the Okhahlamba Local Municipality (OLM), the emphasis will be on what institutions do to empower (or disempower) the people of AmaZizi in their attempts to improve their livelihoods. The South African government has adopted specific policies (institutions) aimed at addressing inequalities, poverty and unemployment in the country's economy. All these measures are constitutionally-based, and include the following (Abrahams 2003; Bond and Khosa 1999:31-47):

- Local Economic Development (LED)
- The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)
- Broad-Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE)
- Traditional Leadership and Governance Framework  
Amendment Act of 2003
- The Communal Land Rights Act (CLaRA)
- The White Paper on Reconstruction and Development of 1994
- Rural Development Framework of 1997
- Urban and Rural Development Strategies
- Competition Act of 1998
- National Small Business Act of 1996
- Financial Access for SMEs 1998
- White Paper on National Strategy for the Development and Promotion of Small  
Business in South Africa 1995
- Spatial Development Initiatives
- Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) 2000
- White Paper on Affirmative Action 1998.

### **Structural and institutional processes: the South African context**

As a starting point, it is important to be clear about the South African government's anti-poverty strategies. Without understanding what the government intends doing about poverty, it could prove difficult to discuss any of its policies. According to the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC 2007:18-19), these strategies can be summarised as follows:

(a) *Poverty Alleviation*

This is the process aimed at lessening the suffering of the poor, meeting their immediate needs through welfare handouts and social security, providing safety nets, and dealing with widows, orphans, the elderly and the handicapped. This is basically charitable assistance.

(b) *Poverty Reduction*

This is the task of reducing the numbers of those living below the poverty line and eliminating them from the rolls of the deprived. This involves providing people with jobs which pay wages above the poverty line, providing health and education services, providing credit for small business enterprises, and other opportunities for people to rise above the poverty line. This is basically commitment to development.

(c) *Poverty Eradication*

This is the challenge of restructuring society so that there is no longer an increase in poverty, and so that absolute numbers of the impoverished decrease to minimal or exceptional cases. This calls for planning – setting priorities, achieving shifts in power, restructuring society, and effecting radical social and economic changes. This is basically the transformation of society through policies based on justice, compassion and inclusiveness.

The HSRC (2007:19) further points out that the government has determined that a reasonable term to use is "poverty reduction," which can be defined as "an initiative,

project, or programme which seeks to improve the livelihoods or quality of life of poor individuals or households”. The HSRC continues to say that the choice of "poverty reduction" over "poverty alleviation" or "poverty relief" is that the latter two are usually understood to mean short-term palliatives. The advantage of "poverty reduction" over "poverty eradication" is that the latter is often interpreted to mean a long-term, large-scale effort with near-complete results.

Avoiding the use of the term "poverty alleviation" does not in any way imply that the country has no such policies. On the contrary, there are many such measures, as seen in the form of many social (welfare) state grants (transfers) to the poor, the disabled and the aged. Examples are child support grants, social disability grants, and in some instances, food parcels. However, as already pointed out, these are short-term measures, hence the preference for the term "poverty reduction".

It is important to note here that any reference to strategies aimed at addressing poverty will be based on the definition of poverty reduction, which is developmental in nature – aimed at empowering people and restructuring the economy in order to remove or minimise the structural causes of poverty, socio-economic injustice and inequality.

### **The local economic development (LED) plan**

Abrahams (2003:187-188) defines local economic development as follows:

*...the process of creating wealth through the organised mobilisation of human, physical, financial, capital and natural resources in a locality ... to produce higher standards of living, improve the quality of life, alleviate poverty, create more and better jobs, advance skills and build capacity for sustained development in the future.*

This definition uses the mobilisation of capital assets, as defined in the sustainable livelihoods framework, as its foundation. This framework refers to livelihoods and outcomes. The LED policy recognises the fact that without local resources, ideas and

skills, local economic growth and development will suffer. To this end, LED is based on five principles, namely self-reliance, employment creation, participation, local co-operation, and environmental sustainability (Abrahams 2003:191).

Rogerson (2009:13-14) points out that the concept of LED has different interpretations. To some people, LED refers to increases in a local economy's capacity to create wealth for local residents. To others, LED means a process in which partnerships between local governments, NGOs, community-based organisations and the private sector are established to manage existing resources, to create jobs and stimulate the economy of an area. While these may be seen as contesting views, one thing that they have in common is the fact that they are concerned with efforts to better the lives of the people in their respective areas. These views differ only in terms of their degree of emphasis, and not in principle.

Because the Constitution stipulates that local government has to be developmental, it follows that South Africa has to adopt LED that is aligned with pro-poor strategies. Differentiating between developmental and non-developmental LED, Abrahams (2003:189) states that the former is more concerned with economic investment, while the latter has the socio-economic objective of bringing the disadvantaged and marginalised into the mainstream of the formal economy. Abrahams' explanation thus supports Rogerson's view that LED is not without different interpretations. In the South African context, there is no doubt that LED is approached from a developmental perspective. Municipalities are required to come up with integrated plans that are meant to ensure equitable economic development, in order to reduce poverty. Here, the researcher takes the view that development means the improvement of people's quality of life – economically, politically and educationally, including freedom and security for individuals (see also Sen 1999:3-4). It is therefore evident that LED has a greater focus on issues such as empowerment, capacity-building, socio-economic justice and redress in the South African context. By arguing for the participation of the disadvantaged and the marginalised, in the context of this study, LED stands to benefit the people of AmaZizi. Through its pro-poor approaches, the strategies of pro-poor tourism can be employed

with a degree of success. Before discussing LED in the study area, we first need to look at the South African experience with regard to this policy.

In the South African context, local governments are constitutionally entrusted with the task of ensuring that economic development takes place in their areas. According to the Okhahlamba Local Municipality (OLM) (2007), the Municipal Systems Act of 2000 requires all municipalities in South Africa to undertake an Integrated Development Plan (IDP). The IDPs have a legal status and supersede all other plans that guide development at local government level. Like other municipalities, the OLM, in their IDP, identified LED as a strategy to tackle poverty and unemployment. Chapter 7 of the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996) states that local governments, as constituted in municipalities, have the following duties:

- To provide democratic and accountable government for local communities
- To ensure the provision of services to communities in a sustainable manner
- To promote social and economic development
- To promote a safe and healthy environment
- To encourage the involvement of communities and community organisations in the matters of local government

The White Paper on Local Government (1998) identifies local government as being developmental – that is, a government that is committed to working with local people and finding sustainable ways to meet their socio-economic needs, thus improving their quality of life. To this end, the South African government adopted the policy of local economic development (LED) as one of the key performance areas (KPA) for municipalities and developed a framework for its implementation – the National Framework for LED in South Africa. This framework (2006) has the following objectives:

- To move towards a more strategic approach to the development of local economies and to overcoming challenges and failures in instances where municipalities themselves try to manage a litany of non-viable projects or start-ups

- To support local economies in realising their potential and making local communities active participants in the economy of the country
- To elevate the importance and centrality of effectively functioning local economies in growing the national economy
- To wage the national fight against poverty more effectively through local level debates, strategies and actions
- To improve community access to economic initiatives, support programmes and information
- To improve the coordination of economic development planning and implementation across and between government and nongovernmental actors
- To build greater awareness about the importance and role of localities and regions which, globally, are playing an increasingly significant role as points of investment facilitated by supportive national policies

In terms of the LED Framework (2006), the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) explains that municipalities are not intended to run programmes, but to create platforms for building partnerships and networking. To this extent, LED is regarded as an important instrument for putting the “people’s contract” into action, and is, as stipulated in 2004:

- A territorial concept assuming synergy and partnership among local stakeholders
- Through LED, people can work towards sustainable growth and development that improves the quality of life
- LED can be the implementation component of a range of government policies, eg the Microeconomic Reforms Strategy (MERS), the National Spatial Development Programme (NSDP) and the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP).

Since the Constitution recognises local governments only as facilitators and enablers for creating conducive environments for economic investments, local governments are required to work closely with the private sector and local community organisations when

doing their work. The private sector refers to businesses, while local organisations refer to non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community-based organisations (CBOs). The national government has provided a number of initiatives that will facilitate LED efforts with a greater pro-poor focus. These include the following (Rogerson 2006:235):

- The Expanded Public Works Programme, which is a nation-wide programme aimed at utilising labour-intensive methods in order to absorb large numbers of unemployed people into productive employment, even if only temporarily
- The national government's Urban Renewal Programme focuses in the main on issues of urban regeneration and targeted support for township areas
- The Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS), which is aimed at building on existing support programmes through a well-coordinated, bottom-up approach to rural local economic development
- The Integrated Development Plan.

The Integrated Development Plan (IDP) is conceptualised as a tool to assist municipalities to achieve their development mandates (DPLG 2000). In South Africa, integrated development planning is defined as (DPLG 2006:15):

*...a participatory approach to integrate economic, sectoral, spatial, social, institutional, environmental and fiscal strategies in order to support the optimal allocation of scarce resources between sectors and geographical areas and across the population in a manner that provides sustainable growth, equity and the empowerment of the poor and the marginalized.*

Through Integrated Development Planning programmes (IDP), LED interventions should be integrated with the EPWP and the other programmes identified above. In fact, every government department is required to have a component of EPWP as its contribution to providing people with skills and reducing unemployment and poverty in the country. EPWP will be addressed after the experiences in the study area have been discussed.

### **Local economic development (LED) in the study area**

The LED policy of the OLM has, as its objectives, the following ([www.kzninvestment.co.za](http://www.kzninvestment.co.za) [accessed on 28/03/2011]):

- To attract and encourage local economic development
- To develop an economic growth and development plan aimed at exploiting the strengths of the region
- To investigate ways of diversifying the economy
- To establish a programme of incentives for external investment
- To promote agricultural development at all levels (commercial, smallholder and subsistence) by supporting initiatives aimed at improving food security and production of surplus for the market
- To identify products that can be locally manufactured (textiles, foodstuffs, craft products, etc) and marketed locally and nationally
- To establish an agricultural marketing strategy
- To facilitate the establishment of local agricultural processing plants
- To investigate partnerships with local business in securing export markets
- To promote eco-tourism and adventure tourism in the *Drakensberg*
- To promote cultural tours in tribal areas
- To secure investors in the development of appropriate tourism ventures
- To promote the establishment by local entrepreneurs of bed and breakfast accommodation linked to hiking/horse trail facilities in tribal areas
- To facilitate entrepreneurial and small, medium and micro-enterprise (SMME) development
- To identify local economic development initiatives with scope to diversify the economic base of the municipality
- To support the provision of basic needs (water, education, health, access and transport) and implement a poverty alleviation strategy, by drawing up plans for the delivery of local infrastructural and service requirements, and pursuing such public works activities as donga reclamation, working for water, etc

- To promote manufacturing enterprises through such things as "buy-local" campaigns and an import substitution policy, promoting its implementation through the business sector
- To create local incentives for businesses to be situated in the area
- To provide suitably located and serviced land for small, medium and large-scale manufacturing
- To ensure that the appropriate service support infrastructure is in place
- To establish small factory/service units
- To establish skills training facilities that will provide personnel suited to industries and businesses located in the area.

As already indicated, the area of AmaZizi falls under the town of Bergville within the OLM. The main economic activities in this area are agriculture and tourism. In terms of LED, there are two programmes or projects that are specific to this study area – one on brick-making and the other on farming. According to the LED Officer, Ms Hlongwane (2008), the brick-making project, which is part of the housing programme of the Department of Housing (DoH), is located at two sites in the villages of Okhombe and Ebusingatha. This project had just started, and there were not many details available. The project on stock farming had been in existence for some years. Local farmers worked in collaboration with the Farmer Support Group (FSG), an outreach facility of the Centre for Environment, Agriculture and Development (CEAD) at the University of KwaZulu-Natal. The aim of this particular project was to help small local farmers develop innovative strategies to ensure sustainable farming, food security and natural and cultural resources management (Shezi 2008).

The Okhahlamba Local Municipality's Integrated Development Plan identifies potential areas of development in terms of the following:

- A well-established commercial farming sector dominated by irrigated grain, dairy production and beef

- A growing tourism sector dominated by established businesses
- The Thukela-Vaal Augmentation Scheme, which produces electricity
- Increasing informal trading, including the growing of dagga as a livelihood
- Emerging entrepreneurs targeting the transport sector.

The Okhahlamba Local Municipality's Integrated Development Plan indicates that due to the rural nature of the area, the municipality is not expected to contribute much to the district economy. Among the constraints, the municipality mentions the following:

- A collapsed small business advice centre in Bergville, due to lack of funding
- The failure of the Thukela Vaal Transfer Scheme to benefit the area
- Limited economic opportunities within the municipality
- Lack of agri-processing in Bergville
- The significant rural nature of the area
- Lack of effective land reforms
- A heavy dependence on remittances
- Little evidence of coordinated and sustained efforts to support the SMME sector
- Stock theft.

As indicated in chapter 5, the OLM Review was very eloquent in pointing out the rurality of the area and the lack of funding. However, the OLM seemed to have little if no regard for local livelihood strategies that required support in order to help reduce poverty and unemployment. In terms of the IDP's principle of local participation, the OLM fell short. For example, while it pointed out the extent of migration to other towns, it failed to identify local grassroots initiatives as opportunities that required its support. In this regard, it could be said that the OLM saw development as something to be delivered to poor people, instead of taking stock of what the poor already had and building on this.

### **The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP)**

*The Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) is a Nationwide Programme that covers all spheres of government and state-owned enterprises. The aim of the*

*Programme is to draw significant numbers of unemployed people into productive work opportunities, accompanied by training, so that they increase their capacity to earn an income. The EPWP is a direct response to one of the agreements reached at the Growth and Development Summit (GDS) of 2003. The project is implemented under four sectors namely; Infrastructure, Economic, Environment and Culture, and Social Sectors. The immediate goal of the EPWP is to alleviate unemployment for a minimum of one million people, of which at least 40% will be women, 30% youth and 2% people with disabilities, by 2009. This goal will be achieved by creating work opportunities in the following four ways:*

- Increasing the labour intensity of government-funded infrastructure projects*
- Creating work opportunities in public environmental programmes*
- Creating work opportunities in public social programmes (e.g. community care workers)*
- Utilizing general government expenditure on goods and services to provide the work experience component of small enterprise learnership/incubation programmes*

*(Source: [www.epwp.gov.za](http://www.epwp.gov.za) [accessed on 28/03/2011]).*

Clearly, the EPWP directly addresses the area of "livelihood assets" within the sustainable livelihoods framework. Looking at this framework, it is clear that the EPWP as a policy has direct influence on the livelihood area, with human capital and financial capital being the key elements that the EPWP wishes to influence. The policy is also intended to have a direct impact on the area of outcomes, that is, affording better incomes, reducing vulnerability and improving the well-being of individuals by providing them with skills. However, before going into detail, it would be advisable to first provide a brief historical background to the EPWP.

Public works programmes entail fiscal policies that encourage government spending on public works, particularly infrastructure, in order to lessen the effects of unemployment, stabilise the economy and contribute to growth through the multiplier effects of such spending. In many instances, such policies are necessitated by causes which are cyclical,

seasonal and frictional in nature. Other forms of poverty alleviation, such as transfers in the form of state social grants of various kinds, are presently also regarded as part of this package. One well-known type of public works programme is US President Roosevelt's "New Deal", which he announced in 1932 and implemented between 1933 and 1936. The New Deal was necessitated by the high unemployment rate after the crash of the US stock market in 1929, known as "Black Thursday", which led to what has come to be known as the Great Depression. The New Deal had three key objectives. Firstly, it aimed at providing people with relief employment after many had lost their jobs. Secondly, it aimed at reforming the business and financial economic sectors of the economy, which were in the first place sources of the crash, and thirdly, the New Deal aimed at the broad economic recovery of the USA (Kanbur and Stern 1987:111; Margolis 1949:293 and 302).

Public works programmes were introduced in South Africa in 2004 after the Presidential State of the Nation Address by former State President Thabo Mbeki in 2003. Public works programmes usually entail spending on infrastructure development. In South Africa, this spending was designed in such a way that other government departments were also required to make plans and implement them to help fight poverty and unemployment, rather than leaving everything to the Department of Public Works. The programme was expanded to cover at least four economic sectors, namely infrastructure, environment and culture, social and economic sectors. This led to the programme being called the Expanded Public Works Programme, not merely the Public Works Programme. The EPWP aims to contribute towards redressing the legacy of apartheid by reducing inequalities, unemployment and the racially skewed skills system by creating one million jobs over five years. It will do this by providing the poor, unemployed women and youth in particular, with short-term jobs (lasting no longer than four months), where they will be trained in a variety of skills categories, as well as the formation of small, micro and medium enterprises (SMMEs) and the furthering of the aims and objectives of broad-based black economic empowerment (BBBEE) (Altman and Hemson 2007:8-10; McGrath & Akoojee 2007:422; McCord 2005:566-567). The EPWP is essentially one of the attempts at addressing the structural problems of income poverty and skills shortage

at the same time. In terms of the sustainable livelihoods approach, these fall within the assets area of the livelihoods framework, as already indicated above.

With regard to the study area of AmaZizi, the EPWP was found to be engaged in a poverty relief project within the Royal Natal National Park (RNNP). There, the programme was implemented by the Department of Environment and Tourism (DEAT). Participants (a total of 290) were employed for a period of no longer than three months on a rotational basis, in order to enable as many households as possible to benefit from the programme. While earning incomes, some of the participants also received training on environmental issues, including the use of chemicals in destroying alien plant species (see Annexure 3), as well as computer literacy and clerical duties in the nature conservation environment. Upon expiry of their contracts, participants were expected to seek alternative employment, where they were likely to use the skills they had acquired. After leaving the programme, participants could be employed as semi-skilled persons in the areas in which they received training.

During an interview with the Officer in Charge (OiC), a few critical issues emerged (Sigubudu 2007):

- No records were kept of where the graduates went after completing training
- Because of the above, it was not known how effective the programme had been in helping people secure other livelihoods
- The employment duration was too short to produce a well-trained labour force
- Most salaries were below market rates, only serving as safety-nets against destitution (salaries ranged between R35.00 and R65.00 per day, depending on the category of employment)
- The overwhelming majority of participants were employed only as labourers, receiving no certificates at the end of the employment contract
- The short duration of employment could have led to others losing out on potential meaningful employment elsewhere while working in the programme
- Nonetheless, participants understood what they were getting themselves into.

According to the evaluation report of the Department of Public Works ([www.epwp.gov.za](http://www.epwp.gov.za) [accessed on 28/03/2011]) for the financial years 2004/05 to 2008/09, the overall achievements of the EPWP were as follows (no regional statistics were provided):

- There were 854 406 (77%) work opportunities created out of the envisaged one million work opportunities
- There were 3,6 million (23%) person-days of training towards the planned 15, 5 million person-days of training
- There were 271 920 (42%) person-years of work out of the planned 650 000 person-years of work.

On the other hand, the HSRC (2007:xv-vxi) came to the following conclusions in its evaluation of the EPWP:

- *The EPWP will probably reach the target of 1 million work opportunities particularly for women and youth (although not for the disabled)*
- *It will not, however, come close to targets for length of job opportunity, training, spending of budgets*
- *The very low levels of training, particularly accredited training, severely undermine the exit strategy for trainees to find further employment*
- *The design of the Programme is to provide short term employment and exit strategies into the open labour market, but South Africa is experiencing structural long term unemployment*
- *Set against the broad challenge, the scale of EPWP is inadequate to the challenge of unemployment and poverty alleviation*
- *The Programme takes on too many objectives and is not achieving its primary purpose*
- *Assumptions of an enabling environment are not well founded*
- *Effectiveness is hampered by the design of the Programme and institutional arrangements*

- *Efficiency, measured in terms of wages per work opportunity, length of a work opportunity, and (most importantly) the general adoption of labour intensive methods is not being achieved*
- *The measure of achievements against targets and inputs (i.e. of both effectiveness and efficiency) is compromised by problems with the quality of data, and*
- *Although there are indications of some success, sustained employment resulting from well implemented exit strategies is not being realised on any scale.*

### **Policies related to land: a brief selective historical background**

The land question and subsequent disruption of the livelihoods of African people has a long history, and is related to colonialism in South Africa. Although the first seeds of land dispossession were sown in 1652 with the arrival of the first European settlers and the subsequent Great Trek, written and therefore formalised land dispossession only followed later. This formalisation can be traced to the policies of the colonial Cape governments, beginning with Governor Sir Harry Smith, who created the first reserve for the Africans of AmaMfengu in 1836, through to Prime Minister Cecil John Rhodes and Glen Grey. The Glen Grey Act of 1894, for example, proposed that land possession by Africans be curtailed. As a result, the number of African people who depended on land for their livelihoods was severely reduced. And because at that time, minerals were discovered in South Africa, Cecil John Rhodes imposed taxes on Africans in reserves, forcing them to provide cheap labour for the mines (Daniels 1989:329-331). Taxes were not only imposed because the mines needed labour, but also because the white commercial farmers complained about competition with Africans, stating that their farms were becoming unprofitable. As a result, there was more "justification" for preventing Africans from accessing the land for production purposes (Bradstock 2005:3-4). Through forced taxation and the fact that they had no other sustainable form of earning their livelihoods, Africans had no option but to join the ranks of the proletarians as wage earners on the diamond and gold mines of Kimberley and the Witwatersrand. The Act was further used to disenfranchise Africans, when it was decided that only people of a

particular educational level and property status could vote. Land, as an asset, was therefore also used to disempower and exclude people from participation in the political affairs of their land.

Subsequent to Smith's and Grey's laws was the Natives Land Act 27 of 1913, which came into operation on 19 June 1913. This law, which Willan (1979:84 and 98) describes as "tyrannous", also became known as the 1913 Land Act, and provided only 7.3% of the total land surface for occupation by the African population of the country. Daniels (1989:335-337) refers to the 1913 Land Act as:

*... (T)he most complete and methodical means yet conceived in South Africa for dealing with the dual issues of labor (sic) shortage and land distribution was the portmanteau legislation called the 1913 Land Act... (I)t limited rights to land ownership to reserve areas on a quantity of land that was, from the start, incapable of sustaining the millions of people who lived there. Even today, when African farming methods have modestly improved, there is little agricultural potential in the homelands ... It seems apparent that the 1913 Land Act is akin to a long line of ancestors, but none had so clearly and profoundly made African landlessness the cornerstone of economic development.*

Daniels was probably metaphorically speaking when describing the 1913 Land Act as "the cornerstone of economic development". The law was in essence the cornerstone of economic underdevelopment and political subjugation for the indigenous African people in South Africa. It was also the cornerstone of the establishment of white supremacy and white Frankensteinism in the country, as it formalised African land dispossession (Klug 1996:390). It is no wonder that the democratic government made this law the foundation of land reform in South Africa.

Land shortage among African populations became very severe, so much so that even the reserves could not cope with the population growth. The marginal lands that people were

forced to live on become degraded. In an attempt to prevent further damage, the so-called "betterment scheme" was introduced in 1939 as Proclamation 39 in the rural areas where the African people lived. The purpose of the scheme was to control livestock and grazing through culling, regular dipping and rotational grazing. At the same time, it was aimed at maintaining a limited subsistence livelihood for the families of migrant workers. People were further relocated, and built their homesteads in-between the mountains where livestock grazed and the fields where they produced their food. Generally, these areas were on land that people did not need for cultivation. The betterment scheme moved them to areas where the fields were located. The problem was not merely that such areas were generally characterised by marginal, poor soils that were not suitable for agricultural production, but also that this soil was inadequate for meaningful living (Ntsebeza 2005:110; Likwala 2005:2-3). While the scheme was aimed at protecting nature, it gave no consideration to people's livelihoods, as people were forced to settle on land that they used to grow crops, effectively taking away their major means of sustenance. The scheme essentially rendered the African populations landless (Letsoalo & Rogerson 1982:305), starved them and forced them to seek alternative forms of livelihood. Besides the control over livestock, Davis (2007:4) quotes the Chief Native Commissioner's Report of 1918 as saying the following: "The native should be trained not so much as a competitor with the white man in the business of life but as a useful auxiliary to help in the progress of the country".

This statement supports Ntsebeza's argument with regard to the Glen Grey Act of 1894 – that it was aimed at dispossessing African people of their land and forcing them into the status of wage earners. At the same time, their full proletarianisation was prevented by retaining socio-economically unsustainable reserves for them (Ntsebeza 2005:65). Similarly, De Wet (1989:327-328) refers to the fact that the government rejected the Tomlinson Commission's request for added funding to help develop industries in the created black areas. The government's argument was that such a move would place industries in white areas at risk. De Wet therefore concludes that by refusing to fund black reserves, the government was upholding the view that black reserves were no more than sources of migrant labour for the mines and industries owned by the whites.

The enormous task of undoing the chains of all the past land laws that governed the country became a key challenge for the democratic government that came to power in 1994 under the leadership of the African National Congress (ANC). The ANC, during its historical struggle, never planned what it would do about the land issue after it achieved freedom. The only reference to land is the one found in the Freedom Charter, which stipulates that “the land belongs to all who live in it”. Notwithstanding this, all current legislation pertaining to land reform in South Africa today is based on the provisions of the democratic Constitution of the Republic of South Africa 108 of 1996, Section 25, which partly reads as follows:

- *The state must take reasonable legislative and other measures, within its available resources, to foster conditions which enable citizens to gain access to land on an equitable basis*
- *A person or community whose tenure of land is legally insecure as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to tenure which is legally secure or to comparable redress*
- *A person or community dispossessed of property after 19 June 1913 as a result of past racially discriminatory laws or practices is entitled, to the extent provided by an Act of Parliament, either to restitution of that property or to equitable redress.*

We now turn to land policies that are related to rural people, like those in the study area of AmaZizi. The land tenure reform legislation that is most appropriate here is the Communal Land Rights Act 11 of 2004 (CLaRA), and the KwaZulu-Natal Ingonyama Trust Act 3 of 1994. The CLaRA governs all rural communally held lands under traditional leaders, which falls under the Ingonyama Trust Land. Significantly, land tenure reform in rural KwaZulu-Natal is approached differently to the rest of rural South Africa. Rural KwaZulu-Natal refers here to all the areas that were part of the apartheid KwaZulu Bantustan prior to 1994.

Chapter 9 of the CLaRA makes special provision for the KwaZulu-Natal rural areas. All such areas in KwaZulu-Natal are governed by the Ingonyama Trust\*, and are therefore referred to as the Ingonyama Trust Land. The study area of AmaZizi, as part of rural KwaZulu-Natal, is governed by the system of traditional leadership and falls under the Ingonyama Trust Land. All the Ingonyama land is administered by means of the KwaZulu-Natal Ingonyama Trust Act 3 of 1994. This law places all the powers and authority of land administration in the hands of the Ingonyama. Individuals do not have title deeds to this land – it is vested in the Ingonyama. As they have no title deeds, they cannot sell the land.

To conclude this section, this study returns to the argument that institutions have a particular role to play in facilitating and/or inhibiting people's livelihoods, as expressed in terms of the capital assets at their disposal. In this section an attempt, albeit brief, was made to show how land policies (land being a natural asset) were used to ensure that particular people's livelihoods were reduced to the level of absolute poverty. It has also been shown how the democratic government attempted to deal with issues of land redress. The question here is: To what extent are the new policies likely to succeed?

Firstly, one can argue that centuries of political subjugation, economic exploitation and legalised land dispossession cannot be corrected within a decade. Secondly, one needs to determine whether or not the adopted policies have the potential to address the situation – that is, to restore people's dignity in terms of land. And thirdly, one has to agree on the appropriateness of these policies in the current situation. This study was primarily motivated by the problem of poverty and unemployment in the study area. This researcher has come to the conclusion that the land tenure reform pursued in the rural areas of South Africa does not address poverty and unemployment in sustainable terms. Fighting unemployment requires investments to be made in the area. In a capitalist country, investments thrive in situations where security issues are very clear. In the study area, as in all of rural South Africa, there is a lack of security in terms of land tenure.

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\* Ingonyama means king/monarch, and in this particular instance land belongs to the Zulu monarch, not to individual citizens of the land who only have user rights.

Land held in trust by somebody somewhere does not create confidence in the investor with regard to the future. Investors are known to be averse to risks, and will not invest their money in "shaky" propositions. In the particular case of KwaZulu-Natal, the CLaRA is contradicting itself. The Act speaks of eliminating corruption by chiefs in allocating land through registration of land in the names of occupying communities, but it chooses to follow a different route in the case of KwaZulu-Natal. Until there is clarity on the question of who owns land in rural areas of South Africa, poverty, unemployment and lack of development will continue to characterise these areas, among them the AmaZizi.

Having provided a brief historical background to land administration in South Africa, the fact that African populations were assigned to the worst, marginal parts of the land introduces the argument as to whether or not the rural people of AmaZizi can really regard their land as an asset. The land is not only marginal in terms of productivity – it is today occupied to the level of over-population. If one takes the total area of 38, 026 hectares<sup>10</sup> (Botha 2008) and divides this by the total population of AmaZizi, it translates into only 2.3 hectares of land per person – a point also raised by the youth during the interviews. Therefore, no meaningful farming can take place; farming subsistence level currently characterises this area. In chapter 5, it was seen that wage employment, including remittances, ranked high compared to farming, which ranked the lowest as a source of livelihood. The legacies of colonialism and apartheid left their indelible marks on what could have served as a source of sustainable livelihoods. In terms of the sustainable livelihoods framework, the policies associated with colonialism and apartheid negatively affected both assets and outcomes, thus making the people of AmaZizi permanently vulnerable as far as land as a capital asset was concerned.

The author had the privilege of attending a two-day national consultative workshop on the implementation of the CLaRA, which was organised by the Department of Land Affairs (DLA) and took place in Durban in March 2008. The workshop was widely represented by community structures, having been preceded by one for traditional leaders

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<sup>10</sup> This is the total area that the AmaZizi shares with other tribal areas of AmaNgwane, AmaHlubi, AmaNgwe, Mhlungwini and Embo.

discussing the very same issues. The workshops were run separately, because traditional leaders felt that they could not be "bundled" together with "common" people. The researcher attended the workshop for the common people. Most of the first day was spent negotiating to find consensus among delegates. There was a strong feeling that although the DLA was talking about the implementation of the CLaRA, there was no acknowledgement of the fact that in KwaZulu-Natal, the Ingonyama is treated differently from those in the rest of rural South Africa. It was very apparent that the delegates were opposed to legislation that denied rural people the right to private ownership of land and granting of title deeds. The DLA officials had a very hard time trying to convince people that their task was to investigate how to implement the law, and not to negotiate its acceptance or amendment. The workshop finally reached the understanding that the officials would inform the government that the delegates were opposed to the CLaRA legislation as it currently stood. This argument is supported by the view expressed in the Rural Development Framework (1997:71), which states that:

*Property rights are important for obtaining capital for investment in entrepreneurial activity – either through selling the asset or getting finance on the strength of it. For many decades, the African population was deprived of this economic opportunity as a result of discriminatory laws which prevented them from owning or leasing land or marketing produce. Among other things, this has stifled business related opportunities.*

In spite of this, the rural people of South Africa are still being subjected to a reformed system of commonage, which is referred to as "private common group property". It is not clear how the issues raised in the Rural Development Framework will be addressed in terms of the CLaRA. The latter can be likened to old wine in a new bottle being forced down the throats of powerless rural Africans.

### **Politics: the role of political parties**

It was pointed out in the previous chapter that at the time of study, there were four active political parties among the AmaZizi, namely the IFP, ANC, DA and Nadeco. The last

two had a very insignificant presence in the area – only the IFP and the ANC were strongly represented. Even in the municipal legislature, it was these two parties that dominated the house. The mayor came from the IFP, and the two wards of AmaZizi were shared between the IFP (Ward 6) and ANC (Ward 7), with a total population of 9603 and 6411 respectively (Hlongwane 2008).

The presence of elected councillors had changed the political landscape in the area. It curtailed the influence of traditional leadership, which many local people perceived to be mainly associated with the IFP, although traditional leadership itself did not wish to be drawn into this. However, throughout the discussions with the traditional leaders, they pointed out that they were unsure of some things, as certain issues were no longer brought to their attention. For example, they complained that the councillors were calling political meetings without consulting them. The concern was that should someone get hurt in those meetings, they, as leaders, would be held accountable.

The LED Officer pointed out that the mayor also tended to approve more development activities that came to his area than to others. This was becoming a matter of great concern to many members of the opposition. However, in the focus group interviews with councillors from both political parties, this issue was never brought to the table. When asked, the councillors agreed that they were working harmoniously. The IFP councillor indicated that they, in many instances, conceded to ANC wishes without putting the issues to a vote, which the ANC would in any event lose. Asked about the role of traditional leaders in the development of the area, the councillors pointed out that these leaders were a "gateway" to the communities. Traditional leaders were more likely to be listened to than anyone else in matters of community development. All projects planned for the area had to be approved by the traditional leadership structure first. These leaders had, up to that time, experienced no resistance to their presence.

While the elected councillors saw traditional leaders as a "gateway" to the community of AmaZizi, the youth and craftswomen all agreed that these leaders had an important role

to play in society. The task of allocating land was highlighted as one important function, because, as the youth suggested, “the land belonged to the chief”.

### **Informal institutions of the AmaZizi**

The researcher observed, specific practices among the people of AmaZizi that could have a bearing on the pursuance of activities associated with pro-poor tourism, as presented in this study. Like all societies, the people of AmaZizi have their own institutions with roots in the past, and with the local traditional leadership assuming the role of overseer. In this study, no attempt was made to determine how these institutions came into being. The focus here was only on how these institutions were related to people’s livelihoods. Furthermore, this study was not intent on identifying a long list of customs. The researcher decided to concentrate on only four which, in his opinion, could have an immediate impact on people’s means of earning a living. This will obviously leave a gap in our understanding of the AmaZizi’s social practices. To this end, Parpart (2002:49) points out that:

*... the collection of knowledge and fostering of local analytical and planning skills are ...a rather complicated process... Knowledge is not something that just exist out there, ready to be discovered and used. It is embedded in social contexts, exerted in relations of power and attached to different power positions ...*

The local *induna*<sup>11</sup>, Mr Hlatshwayo, explained the issues relating to the practices of AmaZizi in the following terms:

(a) Mourning after funerals

When a person passes away in the village, it is a mandatory requirement and the responsibility of all adult villagers to attend the funeral, especially men, because they are the ones charged with digging and closing the grave. The day of the funeral is seen as a mourning day for the entire village. On this day, nobody is allowed to work in the fields or do any work that involves turning the soil. Even

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<sup>11</sup> Headman

people who come from outside the affected village for the purpose of working the soil are informed of the situation upon entering and are not allowed to continue with their work.

(b) Abstinence from work after hail

Similarly, after the occurrence of hail, villagers may not work in the fields. All work that involves turning the soil and being in the fields is forbidden. It is believed that working in the fields after hail could lead to further hail and storms, which could potentially destroy the crops and lead to the loss of harvests.

(c) Separation between mothers-in-law and sons-in-law and fathers-in-law & daughters-in-law. Mothers-in-law and sons-in-law, as well as fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law, are not allowed to occupy the same room (or house) at the same time. Should the son-in-law, for example, be required to enter the room which the mother-in-law occupies at any particular time, the mother-in-law is informed of his intention and is required to leave the house. This custom also applies when they meet each other outside the house. They are not allowed to face each other. Usually it is the mother-in-law or daughter-in-law who has to find an alternative route so that her son-in-law or father-in-law can proceed on his way. The father-in-law, just like the mother-in-law, is equally expected to avoid places his daughter-in-law frequents. Avoidance stops as soon as the son-in-law or father-in-law has paid the woman something so that they can sit together. This payment could be anything – a chicken or a very nominal sum of money.

(d) Harvesting of natural resources

Besides the fact that harvesting of natural resources usually takes place in winter and not in summer, there are specific plants that are not allowed to be harvested in summer. Included here are grasses such as *inkomfe*<sup>12</sup> and *incema*<sup>13</sup>, as well as

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<sup>12</sup> No scientific name found

<sup>13</sup> *Juncus kraussi*

some indigenous trees like *ikhathazo*<sup>14</sup>, *impondovu*<sup>15</sup> and *umphakanyelwa*<sup>16</sup>. The main reason for not allowing the harvesting of these species in summer is essentially related to nature conservation, but it is also believed that their harvesting at inappropriate times leads to hail. Even the women crafters, who are the main harvesters of the natural resources, have to observe these practices. They only harvest during the dry months of the year, that is, between May and July.

The first two customs are ones that are pursued in respect of natural occurrences, and their validity is not the subject of this study. The researcher assumes that all cultures have their own customary practices, and whether these are based on scientific evidence or not is a subject for further research, possibly even in another discipline. While one may argue that such observances lead to loss of man-hours at work, one could also argue that days lost during times like Christmas and Easter have the same effect. Non-observance of these customs is punishable among the AmaZizi, although the punishment is very lenient and serves only to remind culprits that there are rules that need to be respected. Others get away with only a verbal warning not to commit such offences in future.

Notwithstanding the above, and at the risk of being accused of behaving like an economic animal with no socio-cultural roots, the researcher wishes to raise two issues. Firstly, in the case of mourning, the number of days lost could be overwhelming if one considers the devastating effects of HIV/AIDS. The point here is not to criticise these practices, but merely to indicate some of their effects, which could prove to be negative in certain situations. For instance, when some members of the community have to supply the hospitality industry with their produce and they are required, in terms of their contractual obligations, to supply the goods or services on days that the village regards as mourning days, there would clearly be some conflict between traditional practice and business practice.

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<sup>14</sup> No scientific name found

<sup>15</sup> No scientific name found

<sup>16</sup> No scientific name found

Secondly, the custom that fathers-in-law and daughters-in-law may not be in the same place at the same time is problematic. In cases where work has to be carried out in order to satisfy the needs of a business, this practice could be a barrier to productivity and the ability to deliver on contractual obligations of the parties concerned. While gender equality is a constitutionally approved issue in South Africa today, there are still practices such as the one described above that subjugate others, almost to the detriment of their economic freedom. Customary practices represent a conflict between modernity and tradition, as well as a challenge to gender equality. A way has to be found to deal with such situations. If people have lived according to such practices all their lives, they obviously have some meaning and significance that outsiders have difficulty understanding. It is this understanding that needs to be researched.

### **The role of the private sector**

The sustainable rural livelihoods framework (Figure 4) shows that the private sector has a role in shaping the livelihood outcomes for people. It is for this reason that in this section, the researcher considers the views of the business community in the northern Drakensberg. This is important, since one is dealing with pro-poor tourism and the assets which local people can use to participate in the tourism economy. As explained in chapter 2 of this study, there are a number of types of tourism, besides pro-poor tourism (PPT). Binns and Nel (2002:237) explain this "paradox" as follows:

*PPT also overlaps with both ecotourism and community-based tourism, but it is not synonymous with either. Ecotourism initiatives may provide benefits to people, but they are mainly concerned with the environment. Community-based tourism initiatives aim to increase local people's involvement in tourism. This is a useful component of PPT. But PPT involves more than a community focus – it requires mechanisms to unlock opportunities for the poor at all levels and scales of operation.*

The mechanisms for unlocking the opportunities that these authors refer to are dealt with in this chapter. There is therefore an important link between this chapter and chapter 5. In

the latter chapter, it was pointed out, for example, how the banks have benefitted from grassroots initiatives in the form of burial and savings societies. This practice has not only served to benefit grassroots initiatives, but has benefited formal business as well. In this regard, the positive economic role the private sector could play in poverty alleviation and the empowerment of certain segments of society becomes clear. This chapter therefore should be seen in relation to chapter 5, as it deals with capital assets as well as the strengths of the poor. With reference to the sustainable livelihoods framework illustrated in Figure 4, this section falls into the category of transforming structures and processes with regard to the private sector. The private sector could, for example, assist the poor in adopting livelihood strategies that finally lead to sustainable livelihood outcomes, which is the last area of the framework.

This section will examine the opportunities available to the AmaZizi in the local tourism industry. It is here that PPT is envisaged, as it will determine whether or not there are opportunities within the industry for the local community to become entrepreneurs. This section therefore focuses on the response of business to the question of what they can offer in terms of what the AmaZizi already have for economic development, besides wage employment.

The importance of obtaining the views of the business community became apparent during discussions between the researcher and some hoteliers in the area. While staying in the area, the researcher had informal talks with these business people on a number of issues. The role that the people of AmaZizi played in the local economy also became one of the topics that was discussed from time to time. The three hoteliers who were willing to engage in local politics helped the researcher to see the necessity of conducting the survey (see figures 16 and 17). These business people had lived in the area all their lives. They knew many people, including those among the AmaZizi, and were aware of the factors that contributed to the development of the tourism industry in the northern Drakensberg. They had their own stories to tell, but these will not be related here, as this study focuses exclusively on the AmaZizi. However, the researcher saw the value of a survey as part of the study after interviewing the hoteliers, and it was consequently

conducted. Details in this regard are provided in chapter 4 of this study. The present chapter is a reflection of what the business community had to say about the conditions in the area and the possible role that the people of AmaZizi could play in the local formal economy.

As already indicated, while employment is critical, as shown in Figure 16, this study specifically focused on the strengths of the AmaZizi that could enable them to start their own businesses in the form of small, medium and micro enterprises (SMMEs). Figure 16 shows the employment status in the study area. Out of the total number (364) of employed people, 283 (77.7%) were employed on a permanent basis and of this total, only 109 (30%) were locals and 173 (22%) were women, 68 (18.7%) were employed on a temporary basis, 13 (3.6%) were employed as casual workers, and none of the surveyed businesses employed disabled people.

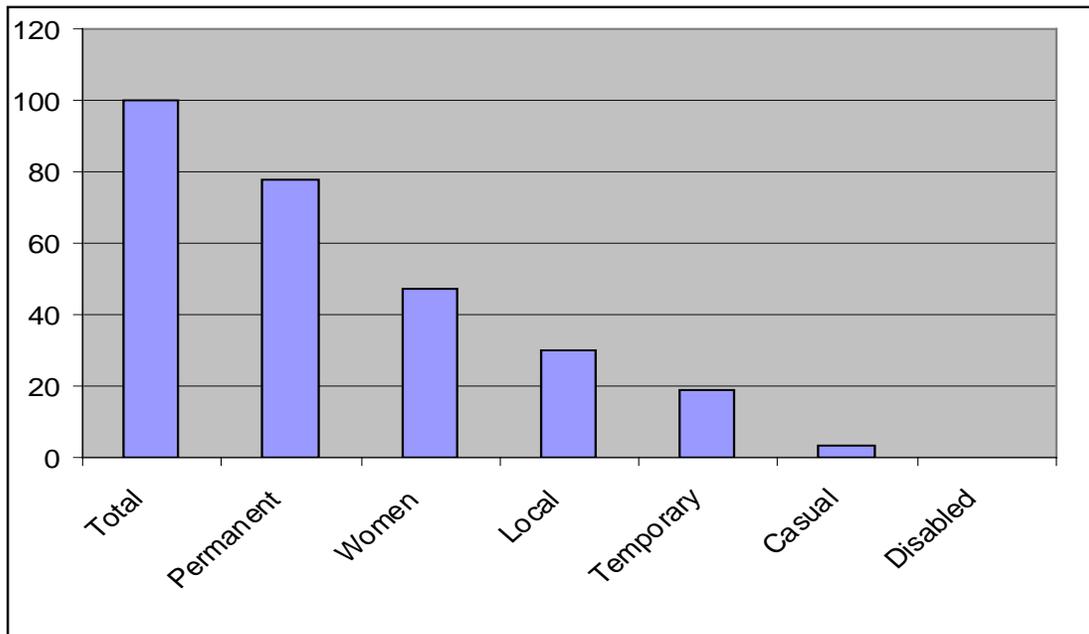


FIGURE 16: Employment (%) status in the study area of northern Drakensberg  
(Source: Survey by researcher).

As can be seen in Figure 16, the local tourism industry employed relatively few of the local\* people, which meant that a relatively large number of the employees came from outside the area of AmaZizi. This fact, as well as the fact that so few of them participated in the tourism industry as entrepreneurs, justified the extension of the study to include local entrepreneurs in tourism.

### **The strengths of the AmaZizi: the view from the other side of the river**

The issues raised by the OLM were also raised by the business community surveyed in this study. Although 50% of the surveyed businesses indicated that the local economy was doing well and growing, there were concerns with regard to poor infrastructure, poor municipal service delivery, as well as land claims and high rates of unemployment in the area. The business community was also concerned about macro-socio-economic issues, which had a very negative impact on their businesses. Some of the issues raised were the minimum wage laws, high interest rates and rising inflation, the spread of HIV/AIDS and high fuel prices.

In order to put the study in perspective (ie employing the assets-based or strengths-based approach), the business community was asked, among other things, what they had outsourced to the AmaZizi, what they considered to be outsourceable, as well as what they thought the people of AmaZizi could supply them with besides their labour, and the conditions thereof (please see appendix for additional questions). It should be borne in mind that this study sought to investigate the assets of the people of AmaZizi and to gain insight into the barriers preventing them from participating in the local economy effectively, besides providing wage labour.

Although 62.5% of the respondents indicated that they outsourced some of their activities (cleaning, staff transport, horse riding, trekking and laundry), nothing had been outsourced to the people of AmaZizi. At the same time, 75% indicated that they were willing to outsource and/or buy from the people of AmaZizi. When asked why they were not doing so,

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\* The figure represents people employed in all categories – permanent, women, temporary, casual and disabled.

12.5% said that local people lacked the necessary skills, while 87.5% gave no response. However, it was observed that many of the above-mentioned activities were performed by local people who were employed there. With the exception of plumbing, construction and waste disposal, many of these activities did not need advanced training. The researcher was of the view that local people were doing these jobs for wages in any case, and could still do them if they were outsourced. In fact, the reviewed literature also showed that in many other areas, such odd jobs could be easily done by the least literate local people if pro-poor tourism were to be adopted. The services that could be outsourced to (or purchased from) local people were the following:

- Transport

Locally owned taxis are the only form of public transport available to the people of AmaZizi. The business community was of the view that local people who owned taxis could take an active role in transporting tourists around the area. Seeing that local people were likely to know the places better than trained tour guides from outside the area, tourists could also benefit by receiving the kind of information that might not be available elsewhere. In this regard, a taxi owner or driver could serve not only as transporter but also as tour guide. To this end, some basic form of training in tour guiding could be a great advantage for those who are interested in participating meaningfully in the tourism industry.

One area of concern was the tendency of the black taxi industry to become involved in violent conflict. One hotelier expressed very grave concern in this regard. He pointed out that although the industry stood to benefit greatly from tourism, violent conflict could have a very negative impact on the industry, as tourists are scared off by violence and could go to other places instead. On one weekend, while the researcher was in one of the villages in AmaZizi, a funeral was taking place. As was the norm, all villagers were expected to attend and no-one was allowed to work. Consequently, the researcher could not interview anyone. The researcher decided to go and spend the day in one of the hotels, where he once again had informal discussions with the hotelier. The hotelier seemed to know the deceased, who had been a taxi operator, very well. The deceased had been gunned down at a taxi rank.

This prompted the hotelier to express reservations about the taxi industry in the area, citing a lack of respect and jealousy among the taxi operators.

However, as pointed out in the next chapter, the South African government is introducing measures aimed at stabilising the black taxi industry. Some of the measures include taxi recapitalisation, whereby the industry is required to use roadworthy and better taxis that are able to cater for people with different physical capabilities. The other measure is to provide taxi drivers with some form of training on how to treat their customers.

- Tour guiding

It was mentioned in chapter 5 that the researcher could locate only two independent tour guides in the RNNP. The business community expressed the view that tour guiding also presented an opportunity for local people to engage in tourism without having to be employed by someone. Using their knowledge of their environment and local history, local people were seen as standing to benefit more than anyone if they take part in tourism. The two independent tour guides also indicated that they were trying to penetrate the industry. Already they were taking foreign visitors around so that they could experience local culture, for example visiting a *sangoma* and enjoying local food and drink. The two tour guides indicated that they still depended to a large extent on hotels calling them whenever there were visitors who wished to visit the local community. They expressed the desire to be independent, becoming hosts themselves by having direct links with travel agents, instead of being junior partners and relying on local hotels to provide them with business. The problem in working with local hotels was that visitors did not understand that the tour guides were working independently and were not employed by the hotel. As a result, tourists only offered tips, instead of paying a fee for the service. Local hotels, on the other hand, were earning more money because their packages included these tours, but they never passed this money on to the tour guides. Going through many of the brochures of local hotels, the researcher took note of the offers of guided tours, without any mention being made of the fact that these services were offered independently by local community members.

- Laundry and cleaning

One criticism that is generally levelled against tourism is that local people are employed in low-paying, menial jobs, and that women in particular tend to be given tasks of a domestic nature, offering them little prospect for advancement (Cukier 2002:169). This study found a similar situation in the northern Drakensberg. These kinds of jobs were done by local people employed at a certain wage level. Cleaning, washing and ironing were some of the jobs that local women did as a means of earning an income. The point here is that such tasks could be easily outsourced to these very women in the form of SMMEs. Hotels could, for example, reach an agreement with them as service providers with regard to quality requirements. In fact, these employees already know what the requirements are and only need to meet them as independent service providers, charging their own fees in agreement with hotel establishments.

- Construction, plumbing and waste disposal

These are services that require advanced levels of training. The situation in the study area was that one qualified person was employed and local people were brought in as assistant labourers and paid by the hotel. The alternative could be to outsource these tasks to qualified local people, who in turn could employ their own labourers to assist them. In fact, what happened was that the labourers were not restricted to working on their designated tasks, but would be called upon to perform any other tasks when the local people were not available. In many instances, they were referred to as "general labour" because their work was too general to classify – they did all sorts of work. One day they would be allocated to a plumber, and the next day to an electrician. While this helped workers to support their families, it was neither sustainable nor empowering – because when they later left that particular employer, they were still classified as unskilled labour, and their experiences could not help them much in terms of negotiating better remuneration elsewhere.

- Agricultural supplies

Those who indicated a willingness to work with local people felt that products such as eggs, bread, milk, handicrafts, entertainment, maize (particularly green mealies) and vegetables could be easily obtained from the local community. In this regard, these produce items can be placed in the area of assets, which can be translated into outcomes in terms of the sustainable livelihoods framework. However, twelve and a half percent (12.5%) of these respondents referred to the land tenure system as not lending itself to the productive use of resources, especially the land which is communally owned and remains uncultivated during certain times of the year, particularly in winter. They therefore doubted whether the AmaZizi could supply the tourism industry with agricultural products throughout the year. They also pointed out specific conditions under which they were willing to do business with the AmaZizi. These conditions were as follows:

- good price
- good quality
- regular supply
- acceptable hygiene standards
- no labour unions, and
- no involvement of tribal authorities.

While the conditions with regard to goods and services supplied are related to good business practice, the last two conditions pose problems. They are, in fact, among the issues that the researcher discussed with the said hoteliers. Business in this region was very conservative. Some of the ideas reflected the thinking espoused by the apartheid regime, such as the "communist threat" with which the hoteliers were faced at every turn of the discussion, in spite of the researcher pointing out that South Africa had a democratic Constitution that was very specific with regard to these issues. Trade unions were seen as being unreasonable when it came to wage negotiations. The hoteliers actually regarded trade unions as being bad for business. It was therefore no surprise that these views also surfaced during the survey. In informal discussions, the hoteliers constantly pointed out that their businesses actually depended on the visitors that came in

from time to time. At times, business would be good and at other times they really struggled. Without trade unions, they were able to negotiate with their workers for alternative solutions, without any of them losing their jobs.

With regard to tribal leadership, the hoteliers viewed them as "a bunch of useless people who lived at the expense of others". According to them, poverty among the AmaZizi was largely the fault of the tribal system, which failed to encourage modern economic values. People could not do anything without first seeking approval from the local chief. These hoteliers therefore felt that they could not do business in a situation where the other party could not make independent decisions.

In Figure 17, the amount of food that is consumed in the local hospitality industry on a daily basis is indicated. This serves only to show the size of the market that the people of AmaZizi would be likely to capture if they started supplying the industry with agricultural produce. The produce that is mentioned was chosen because the local people produce these in large quantities, primarily for their own household consumption, although they also sell the surplus among themselves.

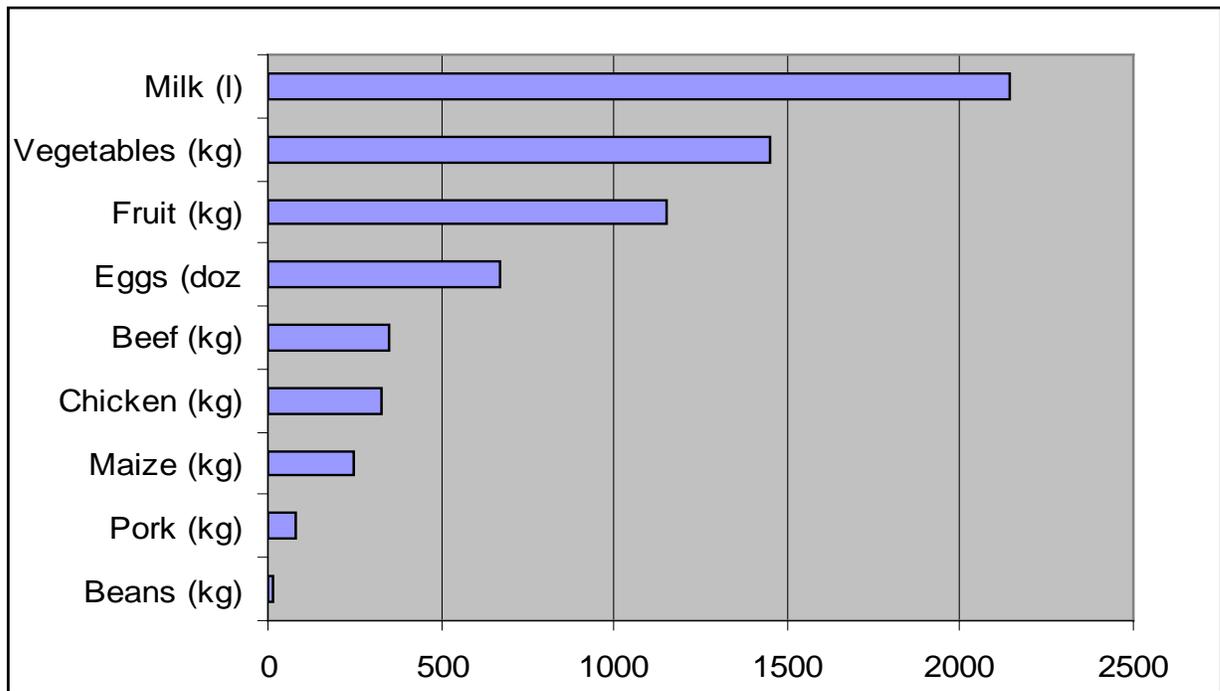


FIGURE 17: Daily food consumption in the local hospitality industry, Northern Drakensberg  
(Source: Author's survey).

The data captured in Figure 17 above was obtained from eight (8) hotels, which constitutes about 53.8% of the surveyed hospitality houses in the Northern Drakensberg. As can be seen, milk, vegetables, fruit, eggs, beef, chicken and maize have high levels of consumption. It was found during the research that the local community could easily produce vegetables and eggs for the industry. What is clearly shown in Figure 17 above is that the local people have the potential to produce these foodstuffs and supply the industry. All that needs to happen, is to tap into this potential and provide people with a better alternative to using their resources. Annexure 5 shows large tracks of land that were not cultivated during December 2007, which is the month during which people should already have planted their crops. Such land can be cautiously viewed as a "wasted" resource, especially in the light of the fact that the majority of the local population is severely affected by both poverty and unemployment.

The word "cautiously" is used strategically in the preceding sentence. While working on this project, the researcher enjoyed the privilege of holding informal discussions with some local people on a variety of issues. Noting these uncultivated lands, the researcher could not help wondering why poor and unemployed people went hungry when a resource was available to them. It is important to note here that many people who were spoken to, identified specific barriers to their productive use of the land. One of the main reasons they cited was the fact that cultivating land had become very expensive for them. Since many of them did not have oxen of their own, they had to hire and/or buy everything needed to make the land productive – in other words, hire a tractor/oxen, buy fertiliser and in many instances pay for labour, as many of their household members worked as migrants in distant towns. As a result, many fields that could have been cultivated lay fallow, and people only ploughed the land around their homesteads to plant green mealies.

The researcher therefore wishes to point out that there the AmaZizi have land at their disposal that could be put to productive use for sustainable living. They could not only produce their own food, but also make a profit by selling their surplus produce to the local tourism industry. While milk was the most consumed product in the local hospitality industry at the time of study, one might argue that milk production required a sizeable number of herds of milk-producing cattle in order to be profitable. Such cattle would probably also have required grazing land, although other feeding means were available. The fact that land was communally owned and open to everyone after crops were harvested, was a significant barrier to productive agricultural practice among the AmaZizi. It is therefore the author's view that the communal land tenure system, as found among the AmaZizi, requires investigation in terms of available alternatives. It is unacceptable that people should starve when they have a resource at their disposal, but are barred from using it because of some institution that has probably outlived its usefulness.

Moreover, vegetables, chickens and eggs could be profitably produced in the area. Already, some local people were gardening an approximately 100m<sup>2</sup> area, producing

vegetables for their own consumption and selling the surplus to their neighbours (see Annexure 6). Discussions with members of the project revealed that the people running this gardening project had obtained the land from one local elder who no longer used it, as he was too old and had no one to help him work the fields. Further assistance was received from the provincial Department of Agriculture and Environmental Affairs in the form of fencing, extension services and seeds, while Eskom provided the motor that pumped water from the nearby Uthukela (Tugela) river. Maintenance of the water pump was done on an informal footing – Eskom employees were simply called in to fix the pump whenever the need arose. The gardeners did indicate, however, that this "arrangement" was problematic, because Eskom employees were not always available.

While agricultural production requires sizeable pieces of land, the production of chickens and eggs can take place in a relatively limited space, including the homesteads. Again, many local people kept poultry for their own consumption. Only a few were involved in rearing chickens for sale, but their clients were all from the community. No-one was selling their products to the local tourism industry. Such efforts only needed to be expanded and markets created in order for the local people to realise their potential in the formal economy.

### **BBBEE in rural areas**

The Local Economic Development (LED) Plan and Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP), which are addressed in this chapter, stand a great chance of empowering previously disadvantaged groups, particularly the rural poor in South Africa. Examples of successful application of BBBEE policies in South Africa are briefly outlined in chapter 2. The examples provided apply mainly to urban-based participants, and primarily represent some form of elitism. Notwithstanding this criticism, this form of economic participation should be applauded, as it includes the last two forms of participation described in Table 5.

In rural areas, as represented by communities adjacent to conservation areas, the picture is different. Their participation is largely functional, as described in table 5, where

different kinds of participation are described. Although the people of AmaZizi benefit from the conservation area, for example, they are not decision-makers. Sustainable development, and therefore sustainable livelihoods, depends largely on government policies, including the willingness to implement those policies, as previously indicated in this study.

In rural South Africa, black economic empowerment represents what Baker (2006) calls a weak model of sustainable development (see table 1, chapter 2). In this scenario, the model refers to the normative principle of commitment to the principle alone, but not to the practice. Here, sustainable development is limited only to harvesting of natural resources. With regard to the lives of the local community members themselves, this principle is severely lacking.

### **Conclusion**

This chapter has presented some of the policies that are intended to help the poor and previously disadvantaged and marginalised groups in South Africa escape poverty and begin to play a meaningful role in the country's economy. By means of short-term arrangements, such as the EPWP projects, the state hopes to alleviate poverty, but at the same time empower vulnerable groups. In this regard, the Constitution requires that local governments assume a developmental role within their communities. Policies such as the IDPs and the LED require the involvement of local communities in making decisions as well as being beneficiaries. For this reason this study argues that PPT stands a chance of succeeding, because the IDPs and the LED require local communities to become an integral part of the processes involved. As a result, the benefits should be able to accrue first and foremost to local people. It remains to be seen how these policies will benefit the people of AmaZizi. At the time the researcher withdrew from the area – that is, at the end of 2009 – there were few LED activities in the area, the most prominent being the brick-making project mentioned earlier.

This chapter also examined the land reform policies, especially as they apply to communal areas. In this regard, the CLaRA was mentioned. It was pointed out that a

large proportion of community organisations were opposed to this law, because it did not empower the poor to determine their own fate in terms of private land ownership. The law still makes rural people in former Bantustans the subjects of chiefs/traditional leaders, with no rights to private ownership of property. This includes the study area of AmaZizi.

As far as political parties were concerned, it was clear that they had no major role to play in the development of the community of AmaZizi, except at the level of political democracy. At this level, people enjoyed freedom of association, and nobody seemed to have any qualms about it. With the exception of decisions made at the level of the Municipal Council, where decisions regarding the distribution of resources were made, political parties showed very little visibility among the community of AmaZizi. Traditional leadership still played a major role, as the majority of people referred to this structure from time to time during their conversations.

The informal institutions of AmaZizi were also addressed. While some of the mentioned practices were clearly designed to protect and conserve nature and were therefore not contradictory to business practices, the other two were. The last two customary practices presented themselves as contradictions between modernity and tradition. These problems can only be resolved when communities and the business sector consult one another and reach a suitable agreement. Cultural differences are not unique to South Africa; they occur worldwide.

This chapter, which has a lot in common with chapter 5, provided the views of the business sector in the northern Drakensberg regarding the active role local communities of AmaZizi could play in the local tourism economy. The value of these views was explained in the first paragraphs of this chapter. It was indicated that insight into pro-poor tourism and the assets of the local people that could be used to participate in the tourism economy could only be gained by including and considering the views of all participants. References were also made to various pieces of legislation that are aimed at promoting, among other things, the involvement of those who operate on the periphery of the

national economy. It has been clearly shown that agriculture has a role to play as a pro-poor strategy. The views of the business sector indicated that agricultural produce was critical, because the availability of food in hotels and other such places was of critical importance. This was the reason for considering (or re-considering) the role of agriculture as a source of sustainable livelihoods for the poor, not only for food security, but also at a commercial level.

This chapter pointed to the important roles institutions play in development. The framework in figure 4 (chapter 3), clearly shows that transforming structures were the ones that determined the livelihood strategies people employed, namely either basing their livelihoods on natural or non-natural resources, or migrating. Figure 13 (chapter 5), for example, illustrates the sources of income among the people of AmaZizi. Apart from state social grants, figure 13 shows that remittances constituted the second major source of income. It follows that migration was a major livelihood strategy in the area. This could be ascribed to the fact that, as seen in this chapter, transforming structures and processes were weak in the study area of AmaZizi.

## CHAPTER 7

### PRO-POOR TOURISM: ANOTHER POVERTY ALLEVIATION STRATEGY?

*Legs spread and your nutrients draining, you are asked quite politely, to wait for the thrust of foreign investment and the caress of money markets. Even on the day your city burns, and drought makes you beg for food ... (Wainaina 2009)*

#### **Introduction**

It was pointed out in the previous chapters that PPT is not a kind of tourism industry, but an approach to distributing the benefits of tourism. To that effect, PPT can be seen as a method to redistribute wealth among a people in a particular locality. As argued in chapter 6, PPT is neither CBT nor eco-tourism. Both these approaches represent kinds of tourism, but the point of departure for PPT is that whatever form of tourism takes place, the poor should benefit. Even so, PPT without state policies to support it could be simply written off as one of many failed strategies aimed at poverty alleviation. This chapter states that PPT should be seen as a tool for economic development rather than a mere poverty alleviation exercise. In the sustainable livelihoods framework, the successful use of capital assets heavily relies on government policies, institutions and processes to achieve sustainable livelihood outcomes.

South Africa has adopted a specific position with regards to the concepts used in development and especially those that relate to fighting poverty. It was indicated in the previous chapters that South Africa prefers to use the term "poverty reduction" rather than "poverty alleviation" or "poverty eradication" and reasons for this choice were discussed. On the basis of that explanation, this chapter will shed light on how a particular strategy can become a poverty reduction strategy as opposed to a poverty alleviation strategy. In this chapter, the argument for state intervention in the economy will therefore be presented. The author is of the opinion that state intervention in the economy, as in the form of a developmental state, is neither a socialist nor a capitalist concept. It can be applied by either. The chapter further advocates rural finance. As long as the state fails to intervene, financial institutions will be reluctant to provide finance capital to those living in rural areas because of the reasons cited in this chapter. The

chapter is concluded by a brief discussion of the question of the state, which will be with us for the foreseeable future. It will not wither away, but it surely will take different forms and shapes over time.

It will be argued that PPT alone cannot be successful unless it is supported by other policies. Pro-poor policies are necessary to fight mass poverty and unemployment. Examples of both successful and failed state interventions will be presented to support this standpoint. Chapter 6 discussed the role of institutions in terms of the sustainable livelihoods framework. To that effect, there is no argument about whether or not the state should participate in the economy. The only point that has to be cleared up is the degree of state intervention. In South Africa, which harbours one of the world's most unequal societies (Van der Berg 2002:2 and Woolard 2002:11), the problem is structural as a result of former policies (see chapter 6). Gelb (2004:18-22) has the following to say about the severity of this problem:

*Inequality in South Africa is rooted in military conquest and political exclusion, which took a colonial and racial form, and was buttressed by continuing repression of political and social organization ... (T)he Native Land Act of 1913 restricted land ownership for Africans to certain specified areas mostly in the north and east, initially about 8% of the country's land area but extended to about 13% in the 1936 Native Trust and Land Act. Black male workers ... were forced into short-term migrant labour contracts providing little employment security ... (L)abour organization was suppressed, often violently, and a strict colour-bar enforced in the occupational hierarchy ... (M)arket forces limiting black access to finance were reinforced by legislation. The 1950 Group Areas Act explicitly restricted firm ownership by blacks to specific areas in cities and towns ... (Y)et the expectation that South Africa would move onto a path of equalizing growth remained unfulfilled. Most attempts to explain this outcome have focussed on the inadequancies of the ANC's leadership – for some analysts, the leadership's lack of commitment to a progressive outcome led them to 'sell out' and focus on accumulating*

*wealth and power for themselves ... while for others, the problem was the leadership's inability to hold together an effective political coalition and impose progressive policies on reluctant democrats in the white and business communities...*

In a situation where structures were such that the overwhelming majority of the population was deliberately excluded economically, socially and politically, state intervention should not be an option; it should be mandatory, as proposed in the case of municipalities. In a situation like this, to depend on market forces alone to solve the problem is tantamount to shunning one's responsibility.

### **Developmental state in perspective**

History has some examples of what can be seen as developmental states, namely states that used policies and processes effectively to pursue the goals of economic development and growth. The apartheid state of South Africa built a powerful economy through active state intervention in every aspect of human life. Hitler's Third Reich in Germany and Stalin's Soviet Union were equally interventionist states, and they too managed to achieve unsurpassed outcomes in terms of economic growth. However, they all collapsed because they were founded on injustices in terms of racism and disrespect for human rights. Germany and South Africa in particular legalised racism against those that they regarded as of inferior human breeds, while Stalin practised coercion almost to the point of slavery. Remove these negative elements, and we are left with policies aimed at creating strong economies that focused on eradicating poverty and unemployment. Both Germany and South Africa politicised poverty by making it a racial issue. For example, South Africa spoke of the "poor white problem" in the 1940's as if poverty and unemployment were unique to the white race. Legislation was passed which protected whites against competition with those of colour. The policies were not limited to economic issues; they were extended to cover the social and political lives of every South African, to the detriment of the very economy it tried to build. On his part, Hitler persecuted people of Jewish origin and did his utmost to eliminate them from German soil. All these regimes collapsed as a result of misdirected political policies.

On the positive side, Eastern countries such as Japan, China, Korea and Taiwan have seen very active state involvement in their economies, favouring the poor without jeopardising the interests of other players in the economy. Pasha (2002) cites China as having developed pro-poor policies that have made that country a force to be reckoned with in the global economy. China's pro-poor policies included favourable treatment of farmers, equitable distribution of land, higher prices for agricultural outputs as an incentive for farmers, better rural physical infrastructure and better basic health and education. China's success has been the result of focused and direct pro-poor policies concentrating on (1) the *sectors* where the poor work, such as agriculture, (2) *areas* where the poor live, such as villages and other underdeveloped areas, (3) *factors of production* such as land, and (4) *output* that the poor consume, especially food (Pasha 2002:5). This does not mean that poverty has been eradicated in these countries, but it cannot be denied that they have made great strides in their efforts to reduce poverty and unemployment. In the West, on the other hand, the United States of America and Germany promptly intervened during the recent recession by dishing out trillions of dollars to save their economies and their citizens' employment (Grunwald 2009:22).

These examples help to show that state intervention in the economy is crucial in situations characterised by mass poverty and unemployment. It is only that in modern times no economy can survive without justice and respect for human rights. Similarly, PPT and all other pro-poor policies need to be built on justice for all. If this is not done, the state runs the risk of sowing seeds of destruction which will grow to destroy what is intended to benefit the nation. In this regard, the state has a duty to ensure that structural transformation entails equitable distribution of the country's assets. The state has to move away from what Viljoen and Tlabela (2007:2) call "the low priority provided to rural areas by central governments".

In an attempt to address the above-mentioned concerns, South Africa introduced the Ministry of Rural Development following the 2007 Polokwane Conference of the ruling party (the ANC). The low priority accorded to the rural areas has long been a concern in

South Africa. At the time of study, it was too early to judge the effectiveness of this ministry. Obviously, research will be necessary at a later stage.

In South Africa the concept of a developmental state is embraced by the Constitution, as explained in chapter 6 of this study. In particular, the Constitution calls for a developmental local government as a cornerstone of development policies and programmes (Atkinson 2002:3). To that end, municipalities have been required to develop their own development plans in the form of integrated development plans (IDPs). In all cases the municipalities have been required to indicate how they would involve communities in their areas and in particular vulnerable groups such as women (Todes, Sithole & Williamson 2007:21-24).

Embracing the concept of a developmental local government is a sign of good intentions on the part of the South African government. However, good intentions alone are not going to reduce poverty. Poverty reduction needs resources, and local governments in former apartheid Bantustans lack the resources to even deliver basic services such as water and electricity to their people because the tax revenue base is so limited.

A municipality can only deliver good services to their people if they have the money to do so. Such money comes from the taxes paid by local people, for example the user-pay services like water and sanitation (Elhiraika 2006:9), and property tax (or rates, as they are called in South Africa). But people in rural areas such as AmaZizi do not pay taxes because they own no property. In terms of the law, as already explained earlier, the land they occupy belongs to the state and is managed through the system of neo-feudalism under chiefs. Neo-feudalism is hereby defined as a system of communal land ownership vested in traditional leadership (*amakhosi*) in a democratic non-feudal society (Mazibuko 2007:159). In such a society, ordinary individual members have no right to privately own the land; they cannot, by law, have title deeds nor sell the land they live on. The situation is referred to here as neo-feudal because, while it contains elements of a feudal society, it is found in a democratic, non-feudal state or society (in this case, South Africa).

Allocating the role of a developmental state to local government while national government pursues policies of liberalisation in a situation of mass deprivation and poverty, in which local municipalities suffer a lack of capacity in terms of human skills and revenue (which accounts for only 4% of public revenue [Elhiraika 2006:11]) escapes development thinking. Even if we choose to call this decentralisation, it borders on the shifting of responsibility, and the according of accountability without capability. Heller (2001:146) offers the following summary of this argument:

*As part of the ANC's embrace of neoliberal orthodoxy and the accompanying public administration doctrines of "new realism," the government's efforts have largely been devoted to streamlining management systems, cutting costs, and emphasizing administrative performance rather than mobilizing participation, training ordinary citizens, and engaging in sustained consultation, much less deliberation. Second, because of the emphasis on product rather than process, and overall technocratic creep ..., the government has come to rely increasingly on private sector consultants.*

While the conditions imposed by the Washington Consensus on developing countries in particular (and under which the South African government functions) have to be taken into account, the government cannot literally assume the role of being a "night-watchman state". The money spent on paying for the services of consultants at every turn could be put to better use. The state has an obligation to its citizens and that obligation cannot be shifted onto some other entity *nolens volens*. One would like to think that in a democracy, people elect their leaders because they trust them (the leaders) to look after their (the people's) interests. It is why this chapter argues that, unless the state takes an active role in the economy, PPT will become just like all the other poverty alleviation "strategies" that have come and gone.

### **Turning PPT into an economic development tool**

In terms of the strength-based approach, the adoption of PPT means that the poor become active participants in the economy. That kind of participation can only be realised if the

strengths of the poor are correctly identified and exploited. The ability to correctly identify their capital assets is the key to unlocking their potential to move out of poverty. PPT can therefore be a poverty alleviation strategy or it can be used effectively as a tool for economic development, depending on the state policies in existence. It is a poverty alleviation strategy because it is aimed at easing poverty among the poor, but it is also a tool for economic development because, as presented in this study, it aims to actively involve the poor by tapping their resources – their capital assets – in order to help them make a meaningful contribution to economic development.

The fundamental principle of the asset-based approach is that all people have capital assets that they can use to earn a living. However, these assets are not always used optimally; resources are underemployed. A difference can be made by helping the poor to fully employ their resources. For example, in this study evidence was presented to prove that the land available to AmaZizi was underutilised for various reasons, always keeping in mind that much of that land is (relatively speaking) marginal land on the slopes of mountains. Climatic conditions, as pointed out in chapter 2, are also favourable, both in terms of temperature and rainfall.

In the era of neo-liberalism, “governance without government” (Bieling 2007:1) is encouraged. The state is expected only to “exercise judicious monetary policies, enforce contracts, protect rights of private property holders, prevent monopolies, keep peace and correct other market failures least it undermine human development” (Gerring & Thacker 2008:2; Hall 2008:vii). PPT stands very little chance of succeeding under such circumstances. The sustainable livelihoods framework makes this very clear. The role of the state (processes and structures), as indicated in the framework, shows that state intervention makes all the difference. The World Trade Organisation (WTO) (2008:125) also clearly states that “everybody can be made better off if appropriate domestic policies are put in place”. Policies and their design determine the outcomes of livelihoods. PPT, it is argued here, requires pro-poor policies in a developmental state, a developmental state being one that drives development in contrast to a free-market approach. This concept was described by Johnson Chalmers in his 1982 work entitled *MITI and the Japanese*

*Miracle: The Growth of Industry Policy 1925-1975* (Cosatu 2005). PPT cannot be separated from pro-poor growth. It would therefore be dishonest to consider introducing PPT while pursuing policies that favour big business at the expense of developing industries. In fact, the term "pro-poor" and the pursuit of neo-liberalisation policies constitute an economic contradiction. Despite South Africa being the eighth economically open developing country when it comes to hosting trans-national corporations (World Investment Report 2008:12), during the time of research the country showed little evidence of poverty relief, and unemployment figures were on the rise.

If liberalisation policies place the economies of developing countries at disadvantage, it logically places village economy at disadvantage against local big business. A developmental state is neither anti-capitalism nor pro-socialism; it can embrace both. The economic principles are the most important factors. In a socialist state, socialist policies will apply; in a capitalist state (such as South Africa), capitalist policies will apply. Under capitalism, a developmental state should pursue policies that advance capitalism in a manner that benefits the poor without acting against the interests of business. The point is that the state should know how far to go without destabilising the national economy. Beeson (<http://espace.library.uq.edu.au> [accessed on 02/04/2011]) states that:

*For a state to achieve such an outcome, it not only needs a competent bureaucracy, it also needs an effective relationship with the domestic business class that will inevitably be at the centre of any successful developmental initiatives.*

In a situation characterised by mass poverty, a developmental state should be duty-bound to be pro-poor in its approach. PPT cannot happen if no supportive pro-poor policies exist. The policies and processes (see framework in Figure 4) have to favour the poor to achieve the desirable outcomes in the form of improved livelihoods.

With a democratic constitution that guarantees every adult citizen equal suffrage and many other basic human rights, South Africa has policies such as the BBBEE and affirmative action in place. These policies address economic structural transformation to some degree, but neglect the plight of the poor. The reality is that no business is compelled to implement these policies. The advantage to those who do implement them is that they stand to benefit from doing business with government. But no business is really punished for not complying; this is typical of a so-called "night-watchman state". The problem manifests itself as fronting, since big business uses the BBBEE candidates to secure business with government.

Using the strength-based approach in PPT means that the poor have to be empowered and assisted to be pro-active. The mere presence of assets is meaningless if they are not pro-actively employed. Business is in the business of doing business, not fighting poverty. If the poor do not take the initiative, little can be done in spite of the assets they have. Even pro-poor policies will serve little purpose if the intended beneficiaries are passive. Development depends on the actions of the beneficiaries themselves; it cannot be done for them by anyone else. The people of AmaZizi need to be pro-active in putting their own resources to good use.

### **The case for pro-poor policies**

Pro-poor tourism cannot be isolated from other policies; that would amount to reductionism, the belief that policies alone can help solve the problems of unemployment and poverty. In the researcher's opinion, attempts at poverty reduction have to be holistic. PPT as a strategy to fight poverty and unemployment is unlikely to succeed without relevant supportive and democratic policies – that is the political character of such policies. It is true that there will always be resistance against such policies from those that benefit from the status quo, but that should not be the basis for contentment. With time and persuasion, people will realise that pro-poor policies do not mean anti-business; they are merely the means of building a stronger foundation for business. Whitehead and Gray-Molina (1999) have the following to say with regard to pro-poor policies:

*We adopt the view that pro-poor policies should be about enhancing personal capabilities, self-confidence, capacity for community organization, and recognition of dignity, as well as about the distribution of material resources. We focus specifically on political capabilities defined broadly to include the institutional and organizational resources as well as collective ideas available for effective political action. Opportunities for political empowerment, we argue, arise through the iterative construction and diffusion of political capabilities during, and long after, the implementation of pro-poor policies.*

Implementing pro-poor policies to tackle poverty and unemployment, including property title deeds for people such as AmaZizi, could enable many to earn disposable incomes, which they could use to purchase the goods and services produced by business. This could create more and broader markets. In the final analysis, everyone will be a winner. Even the state itself will benefit, as the tax base will widen and more tax revenue will become available. With a broader tax base, personal taxes are likely to decrease, thus enabling consumers more disposable incomes to spend and save, and therefore more investment by the entrepreneurs as the cycle closes. An example of such a cycle is shown in figure 18.

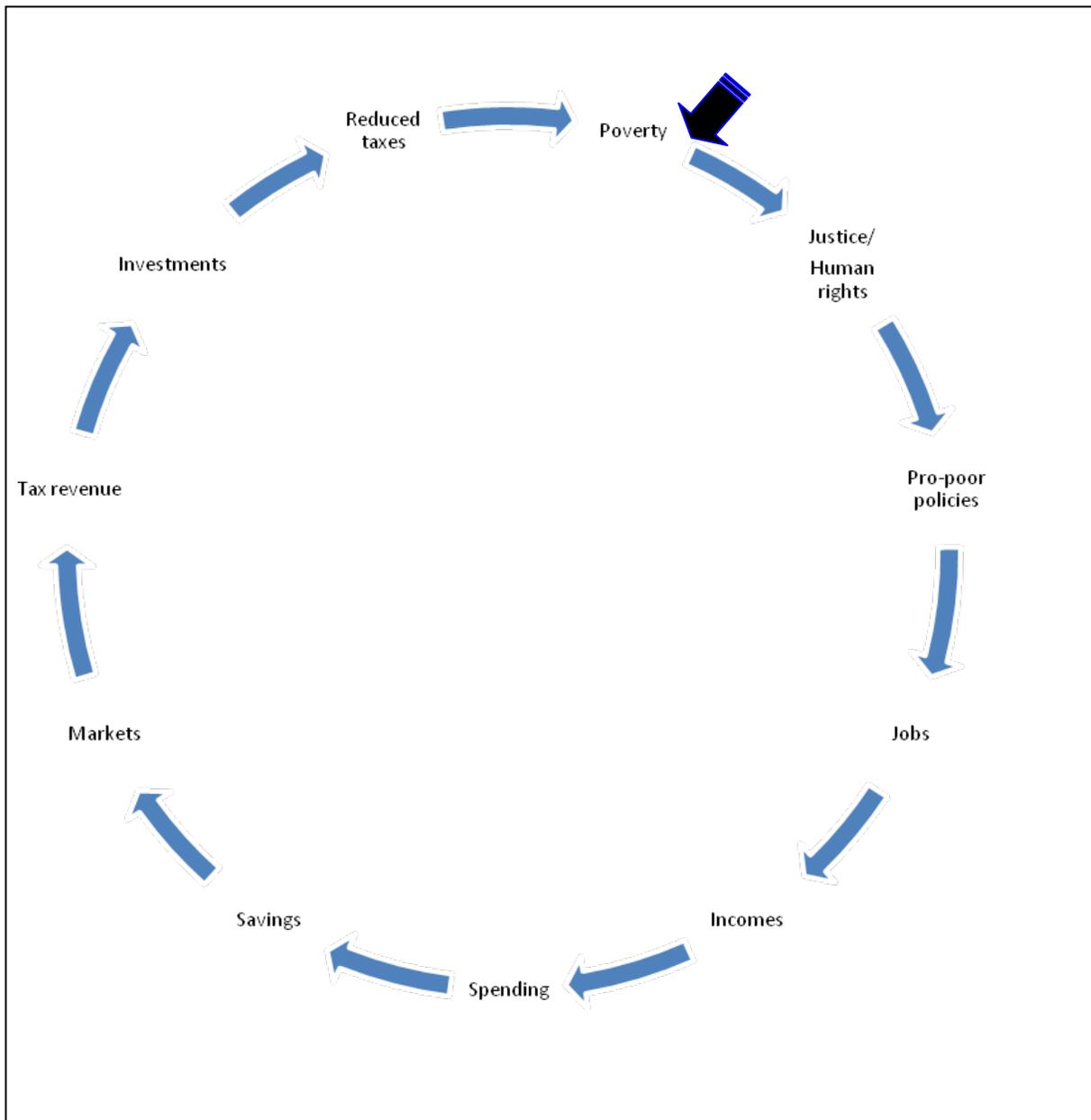


FIGURE 18: Effects of pro-poor policies

Source: Researcher

The cycle tries to avoid reductionism, which sees economic issues as the only key factors in situations of poverty. It can be seen from Figure 18 that political factors (justice and human rights) are fundamental to addressing poverty. Development is essentially political. Pro-poor policies cannot succeed in a situation where the political climate is not receptive to such policies. Furthermore, if we accept that development is a process and not an event, we can see why some people are reluctant to accept pro-poor policies, to the

point of rejecting them. The process looks long for those who wish to realise profits in the shortest possible term.

While direct pro-poor policies were effective in a country such as China, it remains crucial that they be supported by macro-economic policies. Pasha (2002:6) argues that “obsession with eliminating fiscal deficits” is counter-productive in situations characterised by poverty and unemployment. This supports Wainaina's statement quoted above; he also points out that people starve waiting for the IMF's policies to deliver (see Wainaina 2009:22). At the time of this study, South Africa was embroiled in critical debates on how best to reduce unemployment and poverty, mostly from a developmental state viewpoint. Economic experts were concerned about the shrinking role of government and called for state intervention. The figures in Box 3 present a picture of the South African economy by the end of 2008. It was not subsidies that the economy required for long-term employment creation. According to Ferreira and Nombembe (2009:1), “Subsidies work only if companies wished to hire labour but if they were not hiring, they were just not hiring”. There was also the question about the quality of jobs created through the EPWP, as explained in chapter 6; those jobs were mainly of short duration and participants were not monitored as to where they went after the end of their short contracts. The limited value of such public works is clear from the growing numbers of unemployed people in South Africa. The situation as shown in Box 3, presents even more challenges. With declining mining and manufacturing, unemployment is likely to grow even more serious. Faced with a problem of balance of payments, the government could be forced to consider unpopular measures such as higher interests rates or higher taxes if it wishes to maintain and improve its social responsibility track-record. However, it makes hard economic sense to reduce state expenditure. This will have serious implications for pro-poor policies, depending as they do on state funding. According to Griffith-Jones and Ocampo (2009), tourism could be badly affected by the recent recession, especially in the developing world, which depends so heavily on tourism.

## BOX 4: Hard times in South Africa

### **South Africa's economy is coming under pressure**

South African growth is slowing sharply, while the rand appears vulnerable to further devaluation. The picture isn't entirely gloomy—inflation appears to have peaked, for example—but nervousness about the political situation could intensify the slowdown.

### **Mining, manufacturing slow**

It has been apparent for some time that 2009 will be a difficult year for the South African economy; just how difficult is underlined by the South African Reserve Bank (SARB) in its December Quarterly Bulletin. Growth in the third quarter of 2008 was the lowest for a decade, at 0.2%. There were sharp falls in output in the mining and manufacturing sectors, and while this was offset by a bumper maize harvest and increased public-sector spending on electricity and airports, private investment was sluggish. Growth in the first nine months of 2008 averaged 3.7%, down from an average of 5.2% for the three years to 2007, with mining production down 8% and manufacturing, 6.9% (its steepest fall in 17 years). Overall the non-farm sector contracted marginally (although agricultural output was up 16%). Investment spending, which grew by more than 16% in 2007, continued to expand in the first nine months of the year, but at a much slower rate of 10%. Consumption spending, which has been the major source of growth in recent years, has slowed markedly, turning negative in the third quarter. Over the year consumer spending is unlikely to have grown much more than 2.5%, after registering an impressive 6.6% increase in the first three months of the year. Employment growth has slowed but not contracted: 110,000 new jobs were created in the first half of the year, taking total formal-sector employment to 8.5m people. Private-sector job creation slumped to 0.5% in the second quarter from 4% in the first three months of the year, but this was partly offset by the rapid acceleration of government employment, which rose from 3.3% to 5%, reflecting higher levels of public spending and the government's commitment to improving service delivery. Export volumes, which had rebounded in the second quarter from the slowdown caused by the cutback in electricity supply, were flat in July-September as the global recession began to affect mineral exports. Retail sales and housing prices fell during the year, while share prices are down some 40%.

### **Inflation on the way down**

If there is an upside it is the peaking of inflation at 13.6% in August; since then the rate has slowed to just over 12%. A useful pointer towards future price trends is the inflation expectations survey carried out by the University of Stellenbosch. This shows that the sample of respondents (including businesspeople, trade unionists and financial analysts) expects annual inflation to slow from 10% in 2008 to 8% in 2009 and 7.4% the year after. The SARB expects inflation to fall much faster: its governor, Tito Mboweni, is predicting that inflation will return to the government's target range of 3-6% by third quarter 2009. In October, the central bank's monetary committee had predicted that it would take until mid-2010 to hit the target, but on December 12th, when he announced a 0.5% cut in the country's repo rate to 11.5%—the first reduction in three and a half years—Mr Mboweni was more positive, forecasting a radical slowdown in prices and insisting that he had "made the right call". Few businesspeople agreed—most had been calling for a reduction of at least one percentage point, and have criticised the SARB for "undue timidity".

### **Balance-of-payments problem**

For South African business, the chief worry is the balance of payments. With export growth (in volume terms) falling drastically from 20% to below 4% in the third quarter, and the current-account deficit averaging in excess of 8% of GDP, the currency is very vulnerable to further devaluation in 2009. This would quickly translate into higher inflation, perhaps sufficient to push prices higher again. At present capital inflows, at 10.2% of GDP, remain large enough to finance the current-account deficit, but this seems unlikely to continue. Indeed, in the nine months to September there was a tiny net outflow of portfolio capital (R0.9bn), compared with an inflow of R105bn in the year-earlier period. Some analysts are surprised that foreign inflows were as large as they were. Foreign direct investment (FDI) increased somewhat, but the largest component was "unrecorded transactions", which leaves a big question mark over the sustainability of capital inflows. The anticipated slowdown in FDI and other capital inflows (such as bank loans and trade credits) will make it much more difficult for the country to balance its books in 2009, and the rand is already reflecting these concerns, falling 20% against all major currencies (weighted average) in the first quarter; it stabilised during April-September, but has lost another 13% since then. Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that rating agency Standard and Poor's should have downgraded the country's sovereign credit rating from stable to negative, citing concerns that capital outflows could further depress the currency and re-ignite inflation. It is the second rating agency—after Fitch—to do so... (Source: Adapted from The Economist, 16 Dec 2008)

### **What of rural finance?**

The study area of AmaZizi, just like the rest of rural South Africa, faces some major challenges – besides poverty and unemployment – that cannot be overcome without active state involvement. Among these are land reform, finance and basic infrastructure such as roads, sanitation and water supply. One land expert, Philp (2009: 19) points out that the South African government has failed to see that traditional leaders were blocking development in their areas through their control over land. Added to this was the failure of the negotiated land settlement of willing-buyer willing-seller to deliver enough land to those who required it. By the end of 2008, less than 5% of the required 30% land by 2014 had been successfully delivered, a situation that has a huge impact on the achievement of the millennium development goals (MDG). Philp further states that even where the land had been delivered, it was unproductive in many cases because the state failed to provide the necessary support to the beneficiaries in terms of seeds, marketing and financing. During the time of study the area of AmaZizi, though not a land reform area, lacked proper roads, sanitation and only relied on communal water taps and nearby water fountains. During rainy periods, the roads were difficult to use and the existed bridges could not be crossed. As for sanitation, people still used pit toilets that caused a severe stench in the evenings, particularly during hot days. More than anything, financing has been the most forbidding factor in fighting underdevelopment in South Africa's rural areas.

Growing poverty and unemployment, with over 300 000 school leavers entering the South African labour market annually, coupled with declining growth and the ever-growing numbers of people who migrate from rural to urban areas, have all contributed to calls for change in macro-economic policies. Even the country's Reserve Bank has come into the spotlight. There are growing calls for the Bank to change its role to include developmental imperatives such as job creation, participatory economic governance and other pro-poor policies (Donnelly 2009:13). The arguments have been revolving around the fact that the Bank is mainly concerned with inflation-targeting, changing interest rates sometimes to the disadvantage of the poor and those in the country's rural former Bantustan areas in particular. There is therefore growing concern over the lack of

financing of rural development. Rural South Africa, including the study area of AmaZizi, is severely disadvantaged in terms of access to finance. During the time of study the people of AmaZizi, for example, in the main barely managed to sustain themselves by means of social grants, remittances and stokvels as social capital and insurance against hard times (see chapter 5). Making rural financing part of development has many advantages beyond mere relief from poverty. Referring to the effects of rural financing in Bangladesh, Ghana and Peru, Zeller and Sharma (1998:17) found that:

*... loans from well-managed and innovative rural financial institutions, far from being one-shot in come transfers, have helped poor families make permanent positive changes in the quality of their lives ... significant positive effects on school enrollment, asset holdings of households, and food consumption ... household participation in credit markets has smoothed fluctuations in the weights of pre-school children. ... Credit access contributes to increased expenditure on education. Credit access had a positive impact on women's empowerment and contraceptive use ... the combination of credit with education services in women's groups resulted in higher off-farm income from micro enterprises, improved house hold food security, and improved nutritional status of children.*

Financial institutions are generally reluctant to invest in rural South Africa (City of Tshwane 2008:17), including the area of AmaZizi, and they are not likely to, unless there are state policies in place that force them to invest while protecting their business interests.

De Klerk (2008:14-20) and Zeller and Sharma (1998:15-16) cite several reasons why financial institutions are not willing to do business with rural people, namely:

- Banks ask for collateral to guarantee loan repayments, but rural people do not own the land or have salaries to offer as collateral

- In agriculture, profit margins are low so that farmers cannot afford the high interest rates charged by banks
- The levels of agricultural productivity are very low
- Communication infrastructure is poor making it difficult to keep contact with clients
- The rural clientele is vulnerable to high co-variant risk such as drought, storms, diseases and market failures.

It is clear that in the eyes of big business, rural areas carry a high risk. Because, as stated earlier, business is more interested in profits than in poverty, the responsibility to ensure that these areas are developed lies with the state. Presently all rural former Bantustan land in South Africa is state land. The state should therefore be able to guarantee the loans of poor people, or give them security of tenure that banks, for example, would be willing to accept as collateral. That could be the basis for state intervention. The interests of the state are of a permanent nature; therefore a just state cannot afford to make poverty and unemployment its permanent feature.

### **Conclusion**

In this chapter, the argument that pro-poor tourism alone cannot function in isolation to all other economic policies was presented. By means of relevant examples, it was pointed out that state intervention in the economy in the face of mass poverty and unemployment cannot be wished away. With reference to the sustainable livelihoods framework, the link between political institutions and the vulnerability context was proved. By citing several countries as examples – China, Japan and Korea as well Hitler’s Germany, apartheid South Africa and Stalin’s Soviet Union – it was shown that state intervention has a huge role in the economy, provided that such intervention is democratically directed. The argument of the chapter was that PPT cannot be expected to deliver miracles in a situation where other state policies neglect the poor. In that regard, holistic pro-poor policies, rather than reductionist financial policies, are required. The chapter also showed,

in the form of a cycle, how pro-poor policies can lead to poverty reduction and economic development. Of critical importance was the point that, without directed finance, rural development, including land reform, will indeed remain elusive. We close this chapter with a quotation from Binswanger (1996:147) on the issues of rural development and state intervention:

*Five broad paths of agricultural and rural development emerge from an analysis of the extent to which countries have implemented misguided policies and to which they have been affected by developed countries' protectionist policies. Only one of these groups of countries – the group which either did not use or which abandoned outdated and discredited policies early, including countries such as Taiwan, Indonesia, Malaysia, Thailand and China – has had substantial declines in rural poverty ...*

## CHAPTER 8

### **NONE BUT OURSELVES: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS**

*None of the highly paid career managers from the company divisions of the future believes that there will be enough new, regularly paid jobs in any sector of the economy in the technologically demanding growth-markets of hitherto affluent countries ... Share prices and corporate profits rise in double-digit leaps, whereas wages and salaries sink. At the same time, unemployment is growing in parallel with national budget deficits (Martin and Schumann 1996:3 and 7).*

#### **Introduction**

The aim of this research was to identify the livelihood strategies of the people of AmaZizi in the northern Drakensberg. Given the levels of poverty and unemployment in the area, barriers to active participation in the local tourism economy were also to be investigated. It was pointed out that, for the purposes of this study, involvement in the local economy meant taking part as entrepreneurs and not as wage earners, as it is common for local people to be employed in the tourism industry. In that sense, this research moved away from the hackneyed approach of looking at the needs of the poor. The research sought to investigate the strengths or assets of the poor and to gain insight into the constraints at play. To this end, the sustainable livelihoods framework proved a versatile approach for this study. The framework's strengths lie in the fact that it seeks to empower the poor rather than to create or raise expectations that help would come from outside. It not only helps people to realise their potential and opportunities, but also to realise their weaknesses. The framework functions as a form of strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats (SWOT) analysis in a particular context whereby individuals can gain insight into their strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats within their own environments. It can therefore be described as a people-centered and holistic approach to development.

#### **Key areas of the study**

In conclusion, the researcher wishes to revisit three areas of the study, namely (1) the problem statement, (2) the research question, and (3) objectives of the study. It is important to return to these three areas in an attempt to determine the extent to which the research has

been successful in answering the questions it set out to answer. In short, as Saville (2008:85-86) says, to see if the study studied what it says it studied. The three areas are also important in that future research, either in the same place or elsewhere, could benefit from this study.

In the *problem statement* it was indicated that the South African government promotes tourism, which reportedly has the potential to generate R40 billion per year and create no less than two million jobs. It was further pointed out that the local communities adjacent to ecotourism areas, for example, have traditionally received very few benefits from such areas, apart from benefits such as short-term employment opportunities and limited access to natural resources. In spite of government rhetoric, Statistics South Africa (Censuses 1996 & 2001), shows that AmaZizi, for example, (wards 6 & 7) had a total of 12 588 (out of a total population of 16 014) persons with no income whatsoever in 2001. This figure represents no less than 79% of the unemployed population<sup>17</sup>.

This study did not in any way infer that the tourism industry could employ all these people. It did, however, infer that through the multiplier effects the industry was capable of making a significant contribution to reducing poverty and unemployment. As a result, though recognising the historic fundamental deficiencies in key resource possessions as represented in labour and land, more than ten years into the democratic dispensation, the majority of these rural communities still represented symbols of economic exclusion. The *question* then was: What constrained these people from taking active part in the local tourism economy? This question precipitated the need to examine what the communities themselves were capable of.

The study used the asset-based or strength-based approach to investigate what the community of AmaZizi was capable of doing. Employing the sustainable livelihoods approach as a theoretical model, the study was undertaken to determine the assets the community under investigation possessed. In other words, before we could advise them

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<sup>17</sup> Statistics South Africa did not breakdown this figure into children and or adult population. Nonetheless, the figures do indicate very high levels of unemployment in that area.

on what they could do to extricate themselves from the trappings of poverty and unemployment, we needed to ascertain what AmaZizi had in the form of capital assets – human assets, social assets, financial assets, physical assets and natural assets. To restate, the objectives of this study were:

- (1) To analyse the livelihood strategies of AmaZizi
- (2) To contribute to the understanding of the sustainable livelihoods approach
- (3) To determine the extent to which AmaZizi participated in the local economy
- (4) To identify the constraints/barriers acting against local initiatives among the people of AmaZizi
- (5) To determine opportunities for integrating local communities into the first economy
- (6) To provide key information about the availability of resources which could be of benefit to the people in the area

To that end, the *objectives* of the study were achieved in the following manner:

- **To analyse the livelihood strategies of AmaZizi**

The assets possessed by the people of AmaZizi were reported in chapter 5 of this thesis. A detailed analysis was given of what AmaZizi's livelihoods were made of. The chapter reported that, at the time of research, the livelihoods of AmaZizi were largely dependent on state social grants and remittances, followed by wage employment and sale of handicrafts. Being a rural area, it was important to realise that agriculture played such an insignificant role as a form of livelihood. Having said this, the research also confirmed that a single source of livelihood was insufficient, with the result that rural households derived their livelihoods from a variety of sources in order to diversify the risks. In the researcher's view, these findings supported what the rest of the reviewed literature revealed: that people, regardless of the poverty they find themselves in, have assets which, if properly exploited, they can use as a means to escape poverty.

Chapter 6 examined the role of institutions in shaping the lives of people and those of AmaZizi in particular. It was reported that many policies either aid the perpetuation of poverty, or act to empower people. Reference was made to the role of colonial and apartheid policies in creating the unsustainable conditions of living among the majority of the country's population. It was also pointed out that the current legislation with regards to land under the democratic dispensation in South Africa was not very different from the past laws which denied the (rural) people the right to individual private ownership of property in spite of the fact that all other people enjoyed that democratic right. The chapter also argued against what was termed a *neo-feudalism* kind of political administration of rural South Africa. It was argued that that system did not aid development.

While the study was based on the livelihoods of AmaZizi, and they were the main focus, the researcher did not exclude other sources that could provide a deeper understanding of their problems. The views of the business community living next to the area of AmaZizi across the river were also taken into consideration, and these views, as they relate to AmaZizi, were reported in chapter 6. It was of critical importance to ascertain whether the business community was willing to work with the people of AmaZizi, since they could provide the market for them. It was found that the business community was very willing to be partners in business with AmaZizi. In the light of this willingness to bring AmaZizi into the first economy in the tourism industry besides the sale of handicrafts and being employees, other issues seemed insignificant and petty in the researcher's view.

As indicated in the research question, the South African White Paper on Development and Promotion of Tourism (1996) stipulates that the local communities should take an active role in tourism in their areas. However, this was not likely to happen until we knew what the constraining factors were. These were identified in chapter 5.

- **To contribute to the understanding of the sustainable livelihoods approach**

Chapter 7 investigated the key theoretical aspect of this study, namely pro-poor tourism as a poverty alleviation strategy. That chapter debated whether pro-poor tourism was just another strategy to help the poor live better in poverty, or whether it was intended to remove the poor from poverty. If the aim was the former, pro-poor tourism could not be regarded as a sustainable development strategy because sustainability should be seen in a positive light rather than a negative one. As far as this study is concerned, pro-poor tourism has the potential to extricate the poor from their poverty, provided that government policies and institutions lend themselves to empowering them (the poor). Chapter 7 argued strongly in favour of state intervention in order to help the poor gain their grip on the formal economy before they are thrown into the deep waters of capital business. The chapter argued that state policies should support the poor and that developing countries did in fact require to be developmental states in character.

In chapter 5, as a contribution to the theoretical model of the sustainable livelihoods approach, the researcher identified age as constituting the assets area of the sustainable livelihoods framework. It was explained there that age, and particularly youth, should be seen as part of human capital in addition to education and health. The chapter argued that by neglecting to invest in the youth, we were sowing the seeds of poverty they would reap in adulthood.

- **To determine the extent to which AmaZizi participate in the local economy and to identify the constraints/ barriers acting against local initiatives among the people of AmaZizi**

Chapter 5 showed that the people of AmaZizi took part in the local tourism industry mainly as providers of labour and by selling handicrafts in the informal sector. Barriers to having them actively participate as entrepreneurs were identified. These ranged from lack of knowledge and financial capital assets to illiteracy. That chapter showed how deprivation of key assets could lead people into poverty and/or keep them in poverty.

Again, the role of institutions was addressed in chapter 6. In that chapter, the applicable land policy of CLaRA in particular was shown to be a major barrier to economic development among AmaZizi. That chapter, among other things, argued for the transformation of land reform policy in South Africa to ensure better security of tenure.

In chapter 7, rural finance was discussed. It was shown that rural areas were generally severely disadvantaged because financial institutions were reluctant to extend credit to people who did not have collateral to stand for the loans. It was pointed out that, even though social capital played a critical role in alleviating poverty, social capital alone was not enough to help people move out of poverty. Active state intervention was proposed as a solution to mass rural poverty.

- **To determine opportunities for integrating local communities into the first economy**

Chapters 5 and 6 dealt with these issues in detail. Having identified the assets of AmaZizi in chapter 5, chapter 6 addressed the area of processes and institutions. In that chapter it was shown that South Africa had specific policies in place to help historically excluded people to play an active role in the country's first economy. Chapter 6 showed that established tourism businesses in the northern Drakensberg were willing to co-operate with the local people by outsourcing some of their operations to them and making purchases from them. Chapter 6 further referred to economic areas in the northern Drakensberg that were not exploited. It was shown that the assets of AmaZizi could be used effectively in various areas.

As far as the issues addressed in chapter 6 are concerned, one can assert that the rhetoric on fighting rural poverty lacks substance. Rural development, as expressed in local economic development (LED) is left in the hands of the local municipalities who do not have the capacity – skills and money – to effectively implement rural development programmes. Even at the national level of government, there is no specific ministry

mandated to rural development<sup>18</sup>. The present Ministries of Agriculture and Land Affairs tend to be mere administrative organs of the state without the commitment to fight rural poverty. In many instances, they are exclusively concerned with large commercial agriculture and land restoration respectively. What the South African rural situation requires is a ministry that is specifically focused on improving the lives of the people in the rural areas of the country.

- **To provide key information about the availability of resources for beneficiation in the area**

The research found that some of the people of AmaZizi made a living from harvesting natural resources and selling handicrafts. However, this proved to be no more than a safety-net against poverty and a survivalist strategy, though some of these crafters had been selling handicrafts for many years.

The critical aspect of natural resources as a livelihood in the area of AmaZizi was the fact that handicrafts lacked market and marketing channels. Locally the market was saturated and the women crafters indicated dwindling earnings. The other factor was that the crafts lacked diversity, particularly in terms of design. Although the crafters sat in groups, each woman worked on her own. The problem was that the designs were very similar. There was a lack of originality and variety, which reflected in the prices the goods commanded with buyers.

### **The link between tourism and poverty reduction**

This study started off by indicating that tourism offered opportunities for reducing unemployment and poverty in the area of AmaZizi. It also showed, particularly in chapter 5, that AmaZizi did possess capital assets that they could employ to take part in the local tourism industry. In this study, the following factors were identified as favourable to the development of pro-poor tourism:

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<sup>18</sup> President Jacob Zuma has since announced the establishment of the Ministry of Rural Development (on 10 May 2009, when he selected his cabinet).

- The visiting tourists provide a market for the poor to sell their handicrafts, thereby providing the poor with an income, which helps to reduce their poverty, especially vulnerable groups such as women
- If the local tourism establishments could be persuaded to outsource some of their activities to the people of AmaZizi, tourism could benefit the poor by creating opportunities for self-employment
- Promoting self-employment in the form of SMEs has the potential to economically exploit the supply chain that remains unexploited in the northern Drakensberg
- With increased capacity-building, the local people of AmaZizi could be employed in some of the higher positions rather than being employed at the lowest levels of employment categories
- The tourism spin-offs, such as in agriculture, present opportunities for the poor to begin to capture that market for themselves
- Tourism offers opportunities for the development and success of the municipality's LED goals, but only if there is willingness to involve the poor.

In a related study in Tanzania, Luvanga and Shitundu (2003:28-43) came to similar conclusions with regards to the value of tourism in alleviating poverty. It is therefore important to point out that, while tourism should not be seen as a cure for all the ills of poverty and unemployment, especially in rural areas, it can make a big difference in the lives of the poor. Tourism effects should be viewed broadly, as argued in this study. This point is also raised by Mitchell and Ashley (2010:23 &132) that tourism has various impacts, namely indirect and induced. These impacts become visible in the tourism supply chain, including cases where people begin to spend money locally and therefore minimise the leakages in the local economy.

## **Conclusion**

It has been repeatedly pointed out in this study that tourism should not be seen as a panacea for poverty and unemployment in the area of AmaZizi or anywhere else.

Tourism can only contribute to a certain extent. The pro-poor strategies, including pro-poor tourism, require policy environments that are supportive of these strategies, not merely what Simpson (2007:201) refers to as "politically correct tourism". This study has argued that pro-poor tourism should not be limited to employment opportunities that are offered to the local communities, but that it should entail a commitment to extricate the poor from their poverty. Put another way, pro-poor tourism should empower the poor to contribute to economic development rather than wait for jobs to trickle down to them. The sustainable livelihoods approach, together with the asset-based approach, is a good tool for achieving these objectives. Using the sustainable livelihoods approach in this study helped to show the factors at play. By applying the sustainable livelihoods framework (fig 4, p 73) the study shows, for example, that the model of sustainable development found in the study area is the *weak model*, as identified by Baker (tab 1). State institutions were found to be weak in the study area. We may refer to the land ownership pattern that applies to rural South Africa and the study area in particular. Land, as an asset, has a major role in poverty reduction; however, the extent of its value depends on security of tenure. It was argued in this study that while private ownership is constitutionally guaranteed for everyone, the rural people are subjected to a form of neo-feudalism which relegates them to subjects of chiefdoms. This also applies to AmaZizi.

The framework indicates that institutions determine the livelihood strategies people employ and the outcomes thereof. The lack of effective pro-poor policies in the study area leaves the poor in a state of vulnerability. Attempts at poverty reduction by the EPWP, for example, as shown in chapter 6, are severely limited. But that chapter also indicated the role of the private sector in poverty reduction. Although that sector showed willingness to work with the local people of AmaZizi in the manner proposed in this study, this was not happening. It can therefore be emphatically stated here that collaboration between the state and the private sector in the northern Drakensberg is essential for the effective implementation of pro-poor policies.

The sustainable livelihoods approach has been of tremendous value in this study. Until we understand the context the poor find themselves in, as well as the capitals in their

possession, we cannot comprehend the conditions of poverty. If we are not willing to deal with the institutions that in the first place determine access to capital assets and therefore to livelihood outcomes, our attempts at addressing poverty will remain superficial and could even exacerbate poverty.

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## ANNEXURES

(All photos were taken by the researcher)

**Annexure 1:** Harvesting natural resources (*uhashu*) inside the RNNP



**Annexure 2:** Head loads of natural resources from inside the RNNP



**Annexure 3:** Poverty Relief Project: Removing alien species inside the RNNP



**Annexure 4:** Researcher with women crafters and their work



**Annexure 5:** Uncultivated land in the area of AmaZizi



**Annexure 6: Vegetable garden at Obonjaneni, AmaZizi**



**Annexure 7: Household Survey:Livelihood Strategies of AmaZizi**

Date of interview: .....

Interviewer: .....

Interview schedule No.: .....

Location: .....

**1. Demographics**

1.1 Please provide us with the following information.

	<b>Answer</b>
How long have you been living here	
How many people live in this household	
How many are adults	
How many of these are children (under 16 years)	
How many of these children are school going	
How many are under the age of eighteen	
How many are female	
How many are male	
How many persons are disabled (in any form) in this household	

**2. Tourism-related issues**

2.1 Are there people employed by the Royal Natal National Park (the Park) in this hous

<b>Yes</b>	<b>...</b>	<b>No</b>	<b>...</b>

2.2 Do you ever go inside the Park?

Yes	....	No	....
-----	------	----	------

2.3 Why do you or do you not go inside the Park?

2.4 What do you think is the importance of this Park in your lives?

2.5 How would you feel if the Ezemvelo KZN closed the Park?

2.5 What problems do you have with the Park?

2.7 How can these problems be avoided?

2.8 What do local people get from the Park?

2.9 What else would you expect to get from the Park?

2.10 Do you own any business? Please describe?

2.11 If not, what business would you like to run? .....

Why? .....

2.12 Why are you not running it now?

2.13 How do you feel about the tourists that visit this area?

2.14 Why? (Whatever the answer is)

2.15 Do you sell handicrafts? Skip to Q3.1

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

If the answer is "no", skip to 2.19

2.16 What handicraft products do you make?

2.17 What resource materials do you use?

2.18 Where do you obtain these resource materials?

2.19 Who do you sell the products to?

**3. Capital endowments**

3.1 Natural capital

3.1.1 Do you have any fields?

Yes		No	
-----	--	----	--

3.1.2 How many fields do you plough, including the homestead?

--

3.1.3 What crops do you grow?

3.1.4 Do you ever sell your produce after harvesting? Please tick.

<b>Yes</b>		<b>No</b>	
------------	--	-----------	--

3.1.5 Please tell us why do you sell, or do not sell your produce?

### 3. 2 Physical capital

3.2.1 Which of the following do you own?

Equipment	Tick
Hoe	
Plough	
Planter	
Tractor	
Other (specify.....)	

3.2.2 What do you use to work in the fields? Please tick.

Activity	Tractor	Animals	Hoe	Plough	Planter
Plough					
Plant					
Weed					
Harvest					

3.2.3 What does each of these cost (R) to use per season? Please write in amounts.

Activity	Tractor	Animals	Labour	Plough	Planter
Plough					
Plant					
Weed					
Harvest					

3.3.3 What livestock do you keep? How many do you have in each category?

Cattle	Goats	Sheep	Fowls	Pigs	Horses	Donkeys	Other

3.3.4 Do you ever sell your livestock?

<b>Yes</b>	<b>No</b>

3.3.5 If yes, which ones do you sell?

Cattle	Goats	Sheep	Fowls	Pigs	Horses	Donkeys	Other

3.3.6 How many do you sell in a year?

<b>Cattle</b>	<b>Goats</b>	<b>Sheep</b>	<b>Fowls</b>	<b>Pigs</b>	<b>Horses</b>	<b>Donkeys</b>	<b>Other(specify)</b>

3.3.7 To whom do you sell it? Please tick.

Neighbours	
Town	
Other	(Specify.....)

### 3.3 Social capital/ networks

3.3.1 Are you a member of any of the following stokvels/societies? Please tick.

<b>Yes</b>		<b>No</b>	
------------	--	-----------	--

3.3.2 Which type of stokvel do you belong to?

Type	Tick
Money saving group	1
Burial society	2
Grocery sharing	3
Other (specify.....)	4

### 3.4 Human capital

3.4.1 Please tell us how many people have the following levels of education in this household? Enter numbers.

<b>Grade</b>	<b>0 – 3</b>	<b>4 – 7</b>	<b>8 – 10</b>	<b>11 – 12</b>	<b>Tertiary</b>
<b>Number</b>					

### 3.5 Financial capital

#### Sources of income

3.5.1 Please tell us how you earn money in this household.

Source	Tick
Wage/ salary	
Remittance	
Self-employed (specify.....)	
Child grant	
Disability grant	
Old age pension	
Other (specify .....	

FIELDWORK NOTES

## **Annexure 8: LED Interviews**

- What does LED mean to you as a local government?
- Before LED, what strategy did you have?
- Where do you think your competitive advantage lies?
- Who do you regard as key actors (partners) in your LED, and why?
- Do you want to elaborate on the roles of these actors?
- Which model/s are you using to institutionalise the LED – dedicated, multi-purpose, or ad hoc LED?
- Do you have any local economy assessment practices? Explain them to me.
- How often do you conduct assessment of your local economy?
- What kind of data (key socio-economic indicators) do you use to assess your economy – economic structure, local endowments, human capital, and or institutions?
- What tools do you use to collect these data – household surveys, industrial structure surveys, informal sector surveys, investment climate surveys, or business outlook surveys?
- What tools do you use to analyse these data - time series analysis, growth indexes, composite indexes, benchmarking, GIS mapping, or PEST/ trends analysis?
- What strategic framework/s do you use to develop your plans – SWOT analysis, problem analysis, competitive advantage or scenario planning/ regional futures?
- Why choose this particular strategic framework?
- Do you want to share your successes so far?
- What challenges/ constraints do you face in making your plans/ strategies work better for you?
- How do you deal with these challenges?
- Which parts of your LED strategy do you think will never work? Why do you think so?

**Annexure 9: Interview schedule for the business community**

1. Please tell us the type of business you are involved in (please describe in details)?
2. Please tell us what your role is in this business: owner / manager / employee / other-specify
3. Please tell us how long (years) you have had your business in this area

0 - 1	2 - 5	6 - 9	10 - 13	14 - 17	18 - above

4. Please tell us when the business was started, who was its main clientele? Is this who you were targeting?
5. Please tell us about your clientele. Has your clientele changed over time? Is this deliberate or did it just happen? Please explain in details.
6. Please tell us what the main challenges or threats to your business are?
7. How would you describe the economy of this area? Please give us as much detail as possible
8. As far as you can remember, please tell us what major economic changes have occurred in this area in the past 5 -10 years?
9. Please tell us what attracts visitors into this area? Please give us as much detail as possible
10. Please tell us where your visitors come from.
11. Please tell us how many nights do these visitors spend on average here?
12. Please tell us the time of the year you receive most visitors, and why this time of the year.
13. Please tell us the time of the year you receive the least number of visitors, and why this time of the year.
14. Please tell us if you have any tasks/ activities/ services outsourced to anyone?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

15. If yes, please tell us what tasks/ activities are those?
16. If no, please tell us why?

17. Are there tasks/activities you think can be outsourced to the community of AmaZizi?

Yes	1	No	2
-----	---	----	---

18. If yes, please tell us what tasks/ activities are those?

19. If no, please tell us why?

20. Please tell us about your workers. How many are employed?

Permanent	Temporary	Casual	Disabled	Women	Local

21. How long has the longest serving employee been employed in your business?

22. Please tell us how many of these employees have formal training in what they do here?

23. Please tell us the areas of formal training these workers have.

24. Please tell us how many were personally supported by your business to get formal training?

25. Please tell us; in what areas have these persons been trained?

26. Please indicate among the following methods the one/s you use to recruit labour?

Method	Tick
News paper advert	
Radio advert	
Community gathering/ imbizo	
Pamphlets distribution	
Head hunting	
Personal calls by employees	
Other (please specify.....)	

27. Please tell us what fringe benefits your permanent workers enjoy?

28. Please tell us about consumption of the items below in your business. How much of the following items are consumed in your business per month? (Please feel free to state these in the most simple terms e.g. grams, numbers)

Beef	Pork	Chicken	Vegetables	Fruit	Maize	Beans	Eggs	Milk	Bread

29. How frequent do you buy them? Please indicate with a tick.

Frequency	Beef	Pork	Chicken	Vegetables	Fruit	Maize	Beans	Eggs	Milk	Bread
Daily										

Weekly										
Monthly										

30. Please tell us where you buy most of these items.

31. Please tell us if you would consider buying any of your stock from the local community of AmaZizi were it available? Please explain why whether your answer is “yes” or “no”.

32. Which item(s) would you consider buying from AmaZizi community if it were available?

33. Please tell us the conditions under which you would consider this option of buying from AmaZizi.

34. As far as you know, does any member of the AmaZizi community supply any product (s) to the local industry, even if you personally do not buy the product? What product is this? Who supplies it?

35. Do you think the local community of AmaZizi has the capability and capacity to supply local business such as your own? Why? Please explain whether your answer is “yes” or “no”.

**Annexure 10: Letter of introduction**

UNIVERSITEIT VAN DIE VRYSTAAT  
UNIVERSITY OF THE FREE STATE  
YUNIVESITHI YA FREISTATA



Centre for Development Support  
Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences

25 October 2007

Dear Sir/ Madam

**PhD Research Project: The livelihood strategies for pro-poor tourism in the  
development of AmaZizi in KwaZulu-Natal**

I wish to confirm that Sibonginkosi Mazibuko (Student No.: 2006055459) is a bonafide student of the University of the Free State in the Faculty of Economic and Management Sciences.

He is registered for doctoral studies and his research is on the above mentioned topic. The University will appreciate you assisting him with the information and or any other assistance within reasonable grounds that he may need. The topic has been approved by our Faculty Council's ethics committee.

Thank you for your co-operation in this matter.

Yours faithfully

Prof. Lucius Botes  
Director: Centre for Development Support

PO Box 339 BLOEMFONTEIN 9300  
Republic of South Africa  
Tel: (051) 401 2423  
Fax: (051) 401 3424  
E-mail: [dliverc.ekw@mail.uovs.ac.za](mailto:dliverc.ekw@mail.uovs.ac.za)  
Web: <http://www.uovs.ac.za/cds>

Ma boudan people's choice One worded manse as kwasa  
Re egatfaba baligetse o ba bafo



Centre for Development Support  
Sentrum vir Ontwikkelingsleun

**Annexure 11: Focus group interview schedule**

Date: .....

Focus group no.: .....

Location: .....

Moderator: .....

Facilitator: .....

**Instructions**

1. Always list reasons and brief explanations from groups.
2. Use separate sheets of paper if necessary; do not be confined by columns and rows in the table.

<b>DISCUSSION ASPECTS</b>			
<b>1. Do you know what tourism is?</b>	<b>Yes. (Give details)</b>	<b>No. (Give details)</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>
<b>2. Can you tell me what you think tourism is?</b>	<b>Able: Is there a group consensus?</b>	<b>Unable: Is there a group consensus?</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>

<b>3. What are the main livelihood strategies of the local people?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>

<b>3. What do you consider to be the key assets in the lives of the local people?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>
<b>5. What assets can help people take a more active role in tourism?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>

<b>6. What products are produced locally that can be sold to the tourism industry?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>

<b>7. What do you consider the importance of the RNNP to be in the lives of local people?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>
<b>8. What do you think is the role of local government in your community's economic development?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>

<b>9. If no role, what do you think that role should be?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>

<b>10. What is the role of the traditional leadership in this community's economic development?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comment</b>
<b>11. If no role, what should it be?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comment</b>

<b>12. What other organizations are active in this community and what do they do?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>

<b>13. What other structures (formal/ informal) exist in this community?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comment</b>
<b>14. What would you say are the levels of satisfaction with these structures?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comment</b>

<b>15. To what extent do local people take part in tourism?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comments</b>

<b>16. What things make people take part? What do they offer?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comment</b>
<b>17. If no participation, what are the constraints?</b>	<b>Consensus on group</b>	<b>No consensus on group</b>	<b>Additional comment</b>

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