The Use of South Africa's Nature Areas in the Promotion of Tourism and Economic Development

UNIVERSITY *of the*
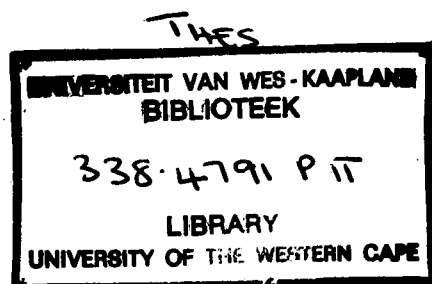WESTERN CAPE

Submitted by **Linda Pithers**

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MPhil in Development Management

in the School of Government,

University of the Western Cape

Promotor: Lisa Thompson

Date of Submission: 15 May 2001

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Thanks to all those who gave their time and shared their insights as well as the results of their own research. These contributions, especially those of Thembela Kepe and Lungisile Ntsebeza, co-authors of the paper on which the Wild Coast section is based, made it possible to complete the mini-thesis. A special thank you also goes to my partner, Barry Feinberg, who helped me organise my life and my work (and did all the cooking) during the hectic period leading up to the deadline.

DEDICATION

For my dad, Edward Frank Pithers (1935-1999).

DECLARATION

I declare that "The Use of South Africa's Nature Areas in the Promotion of Tourism and Economic Development" is my own unaided work, unless stated otherwise, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

ABSTRACT / SUMMARY

South Africa has developed an extensive network of parks, nature reserves and conservation areas, the stated purpose of which is to both promote and protect nature and, particularly in the case of state-owned resources, to harness the power of tourism in social and economic development. This study examines the impact on rural and urban communities of proclaimed 'nature areas' and related efforts by the state to grow the economic and developmental contribution of tourism in the regions concerned. Through interrogating this 'triangulation' of nature, tourism and local economic development the pattern of benefit distribution from the protection of nature areas is highlighted.

The relationship between South Africa's nature areas and surrounding communities has not been straightforward. Protracted negotiations between managing bodies and community organisations around access to land and resources and the distribution of tourism 'benefits' have been commonplace. The refrain common during the apartheid era — 'conservation for who?' — can still be heard. The focus here is on two case study areas. The first is the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) through which the state hopes to attract investment and tourism interest in a neglected rural area. The second is a well established tourist attraction in a densely populated urban area: the Cape Peninsula National Park (CPNP) provides a unique opportunity to explore the development potential of a publicly-owned nature area within a relatively well-developed economy. The need to exploit the economic development potential of nature areas is seen as essential for the growth of the tourism industry as well as the full realisation of the environmental rights afforded by the Constitution.

Through the case studies we explore the balance between local (internal) and national (external) inputs into the development of nature areas; the impact of power relations on protected area management; the discourse(s) around environmental sustainability (through which light is shed on the conservation 'versus' development conflict, or 'nature/justice' polarisation); and the potential of tourism in general (and ecotourism in particular) to provide long-term economic growth and development. The complexity of this interrelated web of issues leads to the obfuscation of interests served by the status quo, with the result that the development potential of nature areas is either not fully realised, or is ignored completely.

Advocates of conservation and/or eco-tourism — the so-called 'green conservationists' as opposed to the 'social environmentalists' — often form part of a broader, often conservative, 'anti-development lobby', pitted against those pushing for job creation and economic upliftment. In the Western Cape, tourism is being hailed as the main 'engine of economic growth' and a panacea for poverty and unemployment.

While the unification of disparate parcels of protected land into a National Park presents opportunities for Cape Town to consolidate tourist interest in the city, the guiding frameworks being adopted effectively close down opportunities for development. The Park, it is argued, has taken advantage of a historically determined window of opportunity – in which the majority of city residents are distanced from its nature areas – to pursue an agenda in line with old-style conservation orthodoxies. In the Wild Coast, it is argued, the SDI is not meeting its own objectives; nor is it likely to contribute to tourism development and transformation in the foreseeable future. An out-dated 'growth=development' paradigm wherein development objectives simply follow on from an anticipated increase in investment, combines with the critical public funding constraints imposed by a neo-liberal macro-economic framework to create a situation where the state's development mandate is not adequately resourced and positive impacts on livelihoods are likely to remain illusive.

The central hypothesis is that the relationship between nature areas, tourism and local economic development is not a straightforward one, but is subject to competing claims and interpretations: examination of the case studies from a rights-based perspective on development suggests that the state's obligation to focus on improving the lives of the poor is not being met and that the environmental rights afforded by the Constitution are being denied through the employment of a protectionist ideology in the management of nature areas.

UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

4

CONTENTS

ACRONYMNS/ABBREVIATIONS

ANC	African National Congress
CBT	Community-Based Tourism
CIT	Community Involvement in Tourism
CMC	Cape Metropolitan Council
CMT	Cape Metropolitan Tourism
CNC	Cape Nature Conservation
CPNP	Cape Peninsula National Park
CPPNE	Cape Peninsula Protected Natural Environment
DA	Democratic Alliance
DEAT	Department of Environment and Tourism
DLA	Department of Land Affairs
DP	Democratic Party
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
HDI	Human Development Index
IAPs	Interested and affected parties
IDC	Industrial Development Corporation
IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Natural Resources
LED	Local Economic Development
MLC	Metropolitan Local Council
NBI	National Botanical Institute
NNP	New National Party
PACD	Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development
PPT	Pro Poor Tourism
SANCO	South African National Civics Organisation
SANP	South African National Parks
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SPA	South Peninsula Area
TBVC	Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UN	United Nations
Wesgro	Western Cape Trade and Investment Promotion Agency
WTO	World Tourism Organisation

1. BACKGROUND/ MOTIVATION

Over many decades South Africa has developed an extensive network of parks, nature reserves and conservation areas. While the bulk of this land is under the control of state, para-statal or statutory bodies, the number of private nature reserves is rapidly increasing, due to a heightened awareness of the value of nature amongst those sufficiently wealthy to buy some of it for themselves. The stated purpose of most of these state and private nature areas is to both promote and protect nature and, particularly in the case of state-owned resources, to harness the power of tourism in developing the country's economy and the well-being of people living in nearby areas. This dissertation attempts to investigate this 'triangulation' of nature, tourism and economic development with a view to shedding light on the pattern of benefit distribution from the protection of nature areas.

Some protected areas are currently being demarcated in order to bring together fragmented existing nature areas for more coherent and integrated management, while others draw areas not previously zoned as 'nature reserves' or 'parks' into their boundaries. Efforts are also being made to develop new nature reserves (or revamp old ones) in areas with hitherto unexploited tourist potential.

The relationship between South Africa's nature areas and the people living in and around them has, over the years, proved complex, and has often led to protracted negotiations between managing bodies and community organisations around access to land and resources and the distribution of tourism 'benefits'. In spite of extensive experiences of this type of conflict, the establishment of new parks and reserves often involves a repetition of problems as well as inadequate attempts to resolve them.

Since the re-acceptance of South Africa into the global 'community' opportunities, such as those presented by the Government's signing of the United Nations Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage, have arisen for some of the country's natural areas to gain international status and recognition for their unique biodiversity or exceptional beauty. Internationally, the emphasis is on these and other 'green' rather than 'brown' environmental issues (sanitation, industrial pollution, adequate housing etc.) that impact on the daily lives and health of city inhabitants (Cohen 1993). The global context adds a new dimension to the framework within which our nature conservation and recreation industry operates. One international programme is the United Nation's 'Man and the Biosphere' initiative. While the natural heritage conservation mission of Unesco appears at first glance to be founded on objective principles – such as 'universal value' – the principles, programmes and strategies promoted by this and other international organisations should not be viewed uncritically by participating developing nations. Certain of the conditions for the inclusion of nature areas in such programmes could hamper the growth of tourism as well as other sectors of the economy, perhaps with negative consequences for the development potential of the regions in which the 'natural' areas are situated. The human impact criteria attached to World Heritage status (potential

8

environmental sites are judged according to how close to 'pristine' they are – the lower the level of human impact, the greater the likelihood for selection) is one example. The constraints imposed on development around 'core' protected areas in biosphere reserves (an international UN programme) are another. The implications of biosphere reserves in relation to economic development are considered in greater detail in section 6.

The priorities of less developed countries often differ from those of the West, around which most international conservation programmes are constructed. The search for a workable balance between the pressing need for economic growth and job creation and the conservation and promotion of natural heritage is therefore an ongoing — and often conflictual — process in many third world countries, not least here in South Africa.

In the Western Cape, tourism is being hailed as the main 'engine of economic growth', and the jobs it provides are widely regarded as the answer to poverty and unemployment. Parks and reserves are seen as a major draw-card for 'ecotourists', a label (according to Satour) fitting most visitors to the Cape. Eco-tourism development is, however, generally thought to be incompatible with the development of other economic sectors such as manufacturing or light industry.

Tensions around this perceived incompatibility recently surfaced during the run-up to the location of the Saldanha Steel Works on the Cape's west coast and the proposed coastal mining operations in St Lucia. In Cape Town, the Cape Peninsula National Park vigorously opposed an initiative to establish an abalone farming operation at Soetwater (on municipally-owned land). Indeed, there are numerous instances where the aims of conservation and nature-tourism have come into conflict with the development of other economic activities.

At times those arguing for conservation and/or eco-tourism — the so-called 'green conservationists' as opposed to the 'social environmentalists' — form part of a broader, often conservative, 'anti-development lobby' and are pitted against those pushing for job creation and an improvement in the quality of life of the majority of South Africans. The refrain common during the apartheid era — 'conservation for who?' — can still be heard. On the other hand, the pursuit of economic development and financial gain has often led to the degradation of valuable natural assets. Private business interests regularly play the 'job creation card' to win support for plans which may cause long-term irreparable damage to ecologically sensitive areas. But this kind of political polarisation can lead to the obfuscation of important issues.

The study here is motivated by the need to examine some of these issues more closely and to draw some tentative conclusions around the impact of 'nature areas' on the development of communities and local economic development. The central hypothesis is that the relationship between nature areas, tourism and local economic development is not a straightforward one, but is subject to competing claims and interpretations. The potential value of environmental assets in general, and nature areas in particular, in satisfying economic development objectives is under-explored, especially in the urban context. The result is

9

that interests served by the status quo tend to be obfuscated by terms such as 'environmental sustainability' and the development potential of nature areas is not realised. The following questions provided a starting point:

- To what extent are nature areas being designed in a way which ensures maximum benefits to the communities living in and around them?
- Is the tension between conservation and development turning South Africa's nature areas into a barrier to transformation in the tourism sector?
- Are constitutional rights relating to the environment being denied in respect of protected area management?
- Is the principle of 'public participation' — supposedly central to government development strategy — in reality little more than a trendy slogan?
- Is tourism an inherently unstable industry, vulnerable to fickle international trends, social upheaval and political crisis? Jobs created within the sector tend to be seasonal with poor prospects and low wages — are we too optimistic over the potential for tourism to be the much-touted engine of growth?
- Have the activities of the state impacted on the growth and benefit distribution of tourism? If so, where has this been most apparent?
- Is it possible to achieve a balance between ecotourism and the development of other sectors such as industry?

While it will not be possible in a project of this scope to give each of these questions the weight of attention they deserve, asking them in relation to the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) and the Cape Peninsula National Park (CPNP) does shed some light on important issues in nature area management and tourism development in South Africa today.

2. AIMS/OBJECTIVES

The primary objective of the study is to examine the impact on rural and urban communities of proclaimed 'nature areas' and related efforts by the state to grow the economic and developmental contribution of tourism in the regions concerned. Two distinct – yet in certain respects similar – areas will be examined: the Wild Coast of the Eastern Cape and the Cape Peninsula National Park in Cape Town. While examination and analysis of various international experiences may benefit the study, the constraints of a short dissertation such as this do not, unfortunately, allow for it.

The Eastern Cape's Wild Coast region has been targeted by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) for an 'agri-tourism' SDI, the aim being to promote what are considered to be natural growth sectors for the area: agriculture and tourism, although the primary focus of the SDI appears to be ecotourism. The SDI concept and

10

on-the-ground experiences of the programme (albeit in its infancy) will be analysed to gauge the success of the strategy so far. It is argued that to date the Wild Coast initiative has not succeeded in meeting its own objectives; nor is it likely to contribute to development or the transformation of the tourism industry in the foreseeable future. This results at least partly from its use of an out-dated 'growth=development' paradigm within which development objectives are expected to simply follow on from an anticipated increase in investment.

The Cape Peninsula National Park was proclaimed in 1998 with a view to consolidating the management and tourism development of the city's protected areas and includes large tracts of land within the boundaries of urban Cape Town. The impact of the new National Park on livelihood opportunities and tourism growth and development will be examined. While the unification of disparate parcels of protected land into a National Park presents opportunities for Cape Town to better focus existing and future ecotourism interest in the city, the guiding frameworks being adopted effectively close down opportunities for development. The Park, it is argued, has taken advantage of a historically determined window of opportunity – in which the majority of city residents are distanced from its nature areas – to pursue an agenda in line with old-style conservation orthodoxies.

Both case studies suggest that management of nature areas and development of tourism are failing to fulfil the statutory requirements for the pursuit of socio-economic rights within the environment agenda.

The global dimension of the conservation/development debate will be touched upon through the pending application of the Cape Peninsula National Park for inclusion into the World Heritage programme, World Bank support for the Park and the 'biosphere reserve' principles which underpin the CPNP's draft Conservation Development Framework. The question of policy, strategy and process as well as the distribution of 'benefits' will be closely examined, with a primary focus on the contribution of nature areas to the broader development challenge and, specifically, on economic benefits.

While the time, resource and space constraints of a mini-thesis will not allow a comprehensive consideration of the issues outlined above (or others arising during the course of the research), the paper will expose the rich complexity of the subject and point towards areas worthy of more detailed consideration and/or further research. Certain recommendations concerning ways in which nature areas could make a more meaningful contribution to local economic development are also made.

3. METHODOLOGY

The paper combines combine primary and secondary (empirical as well as statistical) sources of information in its consideration of the relationship between local economic development, nature areas and 'state-sponsored tourism' and extensive use has been made of internet resources.

Primary research comprised unstructured interviews with Parks Board, SDI and local authority representatives, conservation bodies, economists and those involved in facilitating/negotiating between official bodies and community groups around the establishment of Parks and SDIs and the distribution of benefits accruing therefrom. In some cases, face-to-face interviews were supplemented with follow-up telephonic interviews.

Economic data and forecasts (such as tourism statistics and information on growth sectors), existing research on SDIs and tourism (particularly ecotourism) including that produced on behalf of the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) driving the programme, journal and newspaper articles, government and para-statal policy documentation, and a broad range of other published work were valuable sources of secondary information.

The dissertation is primarily empirical in its approach. The case studies are evaluated and analysed from a rights-based perspective of development: the planning and implementation of the Wild Coast SDI and the CPNP are weighed against the provisions made in the Constitution (1996), the Local Government White Paper and the Local Government Systems Act, amongst others, which advocate the concurrent realisation of socio-economic rights within the framework of environmental conservation and protection.

The following section (3.1) explains the reasons behind the choice of the case studies. Some more general discussion on what the term 'development' means in the post-apartheid context and the implications for policy and programme design and implementation (which includes the management of nature areas such as national parks) also features here, and is returned to in other sections. Thereafter a brief outline of the history of the state's involvement in nature areas is provided (section 4), together with an overview of the shifting perspectives (and policy responses) in the field of conservation and protected area management. This background helps to locate the case study material firmly within its historical context, an important factor in understanding the crossroads nature areas stand at today. This section also includes some discussion around the identification of tourism by the state and others as a major tool in job creation and LED. We then move into the case studies, Sections 5 and 6. A 'self-contained' style of presentation which enabled each case to be assessed independently of the other was preferred. These lead into a set of overall conclusions which draw out key similarities and differences between the case studies and these are followed by recommendations and suggestions for further study.

3.1 Rationale for Selection of the Study Areas

In South Africa, discussions around 'development' tend to give primacy to the notions of transformation and redistribution: the challenge centres around justice for those dispossessed by colonialism and apartheid and the need to integrate the spatially and economically unequal landscape – multi-dimensional questions requiring multi-disciplinary and multi-faceted solutions. Development strategies must be up to the task of resolving the "disastrous consequences of the history of racial domination, capitalist exploitation, massive social engineering, the misallocation of resources and overall economic inequality" (Williams 1998). Given these historical imbalances and growing income disparities, a critical focus for development planners and others feeding into the policy-planning process must be the alleviation, if not eradication, of poverty.

The picture at the level of national policy, however, is one where the development task is undergirded with a neo-liberal ideology which constrains the capacity of programmes such as the RDP – South Africa's 'home-grown' consensus-derived strategy for progressive change – to deliver on its promises. The 'reconstruction' envisaged in the RDP base document has been largely reduced to a restructuring of the economy along non-racial lines. Heavily influenced by the institutions of global finance – the World Bank and the IMF – the South African government is pursuing a growth-based strategy which has not only failed to create growth, but has led to the loss of many thousands of jobs (*Alternatives*, August 1999). Furthermore, if the growth targets had succeeded, it is highly contestable that any kind of 'development' would have followed.

The 'trickle-down' effect of growth much vaunted in the early decades of development programmes has been almost universally rejected. The public spending constraints imposed by the Growth, Employment and Redistribution (Gear) strategy – often referred to as South Africa's 'self-imposed structural adjustment programme' – are one of the most contentious elements of the policy. The aims of tight fiscal discipline and a reduction of the budget deficit is in conflict, many argue, with the dire need for infrastructural investment and higher social spending. A recent ILRIG report (1999) criticised the strategy of reducing expenditure and the focus on private sector delivery as "problematic and unlikely to work". In the economic sphere, the ideological gap between macro and micro policy is reflected in the conflict within the ANC/SACP/Cosatu Alliance over the Gear strategy; between national government and labour over public sector wages and 'right-sizing'; and between the trade unions and local government over privatisation. These essentially ideological tensions are woven into the social-economic-political fabric of South Africa and it is within this context that the struggle for transformational development is taking place. It is against this backdrop that the case studies here are examined.

The competing perspectives outlined above are reflected in the programmes and policies being developed at national, provincial and local tiers of administration. The fundamental contradictions between neo-liberal policy and the 'development' mandate are a recurrent theme in the discussion of the Wild Coast SDI and the Cape Peninsula National Park.

The Wild Coast has been targeted by the state as an area with significant potential for ecotourism, although the commitment of public resources to its development and promotion has been limited. In the Cape Peninsula National Park, on the other hand, the state already has a valuable and potential extremely lucrative asset with which to influence development and transformation. In this instance a statutory body, having identified its core role as 'conservation', gives little attention to the question of development or the broader impacts of its own policies. At the local level at least, this approach has gone largely unchallenged.

3.1.1 Why the Wild Coast Agri-tourism Spatial Development Initiative (SDI)?

Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) aim to target areas with inherent under-utilised economic development potential, focusing on both sectoral and spatial dimensions of economic activity. The Wild Coast SDI represents a state initiative to stimulate tourism development in an area which currently has little investment. The Wild Coast is a particularly interesting example of 'state-sponsored tourism' in that it represents an attempt to construct a 'product' which does not, at present, exist. Historically, state tourism initiatives in southern Africa have involved the exploitation of public assets (eg. municipal resorts, nature reserves etc.) for the benefit of the state, or the facilitation of greater community involvement in existing tourism activity (eg. Community-based Resource Management), rather than the creation of 'new' tourism products.

The DTI claims the programmes represent the 'practical implementation' of the government's new economic strategy, outlined in its growth, employment and redistribution (Gear) policy. This kind of 'strategic targeting' is designed to ameliorate the effects of the dislocation caused by the shift away from the import substitution strategy pursued during the apartheid years of isolation towards an outward orientation motivated by the need to increase competitiveness in the global economy (Jourdan *et al* 1996) and, presumably in the case of the Wild Coast initiative, to increase the country's reserves of foreign exchange.

> "At the national level, tourism has emerged as a significant component of export-oriented development programmes in many countries of the south. As a 'non-traditional' export in rural areas, the development of international tourism is consistent with the neo-liberal strategies of economic adjustment...." (Goodwin *et al* 1998)

The objectives, strategy and mode of implementation in the SDI is critiqued and the capacity of the programme to 'deliver the goods' is analysed. The Wild Coast SDI also provides an opportunity to examine the level of inter-departmental cooperation on which, as we shall see, the programme was heavily dependent. The definition of 'community' stakeholders in the area is interesting in that while the area appeared, at first sight, to afford an 'easy' assessment of who potential beneficiaries might be, the complexities of local 'community' dynamics and heterogeneality rapidly became apparent.

The Wild Coast SDI provides an interesting contrast to the CPNP in that:

- The area is rural and isolated in nature and, as a former 'homeland', is characterised by extreme and widespread poverty, coupled with poor infrastructure.

14

- The people of the Wild Coast generally draw on a range of resources in pursuit of their livelihoods, including natural resources such as wild grasses which are often located in 'protected' areas. Although people were forcibly removed from areas assigned conservation status, their attachment to the land (and therefore interest in protected areas) remains high.

- A number of claims have been lodged by local people to land which falls within the areas earmarked for 'development', including the strategically important (in terms of ecotourism) Mkambati Nature Reserve, earmarked for expansion to become a major national park.

- The area is characterised by conflict over land and mistrust of past tourism investments.

- There are few existing tourism developments in the area and the number of visitors is currently low.

- The Wild Coast has little existing private sector activity.

3.1.2 Cape Peninsula National Park (CPNP)

The tourism industry generates 9% of the Western Cape's GRP and the environmental resources of the Cape Peninsula provide the basis of the industry and its future growth potential (CPNP 1998). Tourism is amongst the top ten growth sectors for Cape Town and its surrounds identified by the province's trade and investment promotion agency, Wesgro (Annual Review 1997). The CPNP is one of South Africa's few 'self-sustaining' national parks – generating some 87% of its own income (Wesgro, 2001) (albeit largely from international grants and donor-funds) – and has substantial growth potential in terms of its own earnings capacity, both for the Park itself and the city surrounding it (how the Park's revenues should be used is, however, the subject of some debate – albeit one currently being conducted behind closed doors[1]). The juxtaposition of an extensive, established, nature area with a major urban conurbation is extremely unusual – the Park is one of only two of its 'type' in the world, the other being Tiguca Park in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The CPNP is, therefore, proving to be a "pioneering project" for the world, according to World Bank senior representative Francois Falloux (Urquhart 1999). The CPNP's urban setting also presents unique opportunities for it to become a mainstay of tourism development and transformation efforts.

The vast majority of available literature on the issue of nature areas and community-based tourism is concerned with protected areas in a *rural setting* as most protected areas fall outside towns and cities. The absence of research and serious study on the urban/nature nexus means this paper is prepared in something of a vacuum in relation to existing work and theory. The absence of literature on managing the 'park/city interface' is interesting in that those managing the CPNP are essentially free to develop their own ways and means of interpreting the challenges presented by this unusual situation.

Legislation concerning the powers of SANP (Act 57 of 1976) was also promulgated with a view to the conservation of parks in rural areas and does not make provision for the 'special case' of urban parks. The measures enshrined in the legislation to protect parks are therefore not considered adequate for parks in

---

[1] Memorandum from Derek Chittenden, Chittenden Nicks Partnership, to Paul Britton, CPNP, re "Cape Peninsula National Park as the 'golden goose' of conservation in the Western Cape province/South Africa", 17/12/97.

urban areas (EEU 1995). This in part explains the CPNP's interest in biosphere reserves as a mechanism through which the human/nature interaction may be managed, in providing a means through which the Park may be able to influence land-use in areas abutting Park boundaries.

The CPNP has a number of features which make it qualitatively different to the Wild Coast area:

- The CPNP – one of the country's main biodiversity 'hotspots'[2] – is situated in Cape Town, a major metropolitan area with a population of around 3 million.
- Cape Town is characterised by extreme contrasts of wealth and poverty – informal settlements on the Cape Flats are juxtaposed with exclusive private homesteads on the mountainside.
- Whereas people in the Wild Coast continue living in close proximity to protected areas and have close ties with the land, many of those with attachments to the land which now forms part of the CPNP were forcibly removed in the 60s, 70s and 80s. While some are returning or hope to return to the suburbs adjacent to the Park (eg. District Six and Simon's Town), the majority of Capetonians remain divorced – physically, emotionally and economically – from the protected areas of the city as well as the economic benefits which can be derived from them through tourism related and other activities.
- While numerous stakeholder 'communities' can be identified in the Wild Coast (albeit not all having an equal 'stake'), the size of Cape Town and the diversity of 'communities' makes the task more difficult. The danger is that those without an 'articulated' stake will be marginalized in the process of negotiation around how the Park might be conserved and/or developed.
- The level of existing tourism development in Cape Town is high and the contribution of that sector to the GRP is significant. The Park and other tourism 'attractions' are already a 'product', unlike in the Wild Coast where efforts are being made to create a 'product' and the private sector interest in commercial opportunities in and around the Park is high.
- Cape Town has a vibrant, diversified economy with a good spread of traditional well-established industries coupled with innovative and highly specialised niche markets. It is not, therefore, dependent on tourism (although this is an important sector).
- While in the Wild Coast there is fierce negotiation and conflict over who the beneficiaries of any future tourism development might be, in Cape Town the process is strongly characterised by 'conservation versus development' tensions.

3.1.3 Similarities Between the Two Case Studies

Apart from demonstrating interesting differences, the two case studies also have a number of things in common. When asking 'who benefits', both case studies demonstrate the importance of local power relations. Both areas are, in important respects, characterised by apartheid land use policies and strategies: in both the Wild Coast and the CPNP the resulting land use has not been significantly challenged. Both the Wild Coast

---

[2] 'hotspot' refers to an area where high species diversity, endemism and threat coincide (DEAT 1997).

16

and Cape Town have high levels of poverty and unemployment, although opportunities in livelihood strategies differ due to differences in the rural and urban environments. In both the Wild Coast and the CPNP, there is evidence that livelihoods may be negatively affected by the promise of tourism benefits. The apartheid legacy is a barrier to investment in both the Wild Coast and the CPNP. In the former, land claims, land conflict and accelerated construction of illegal cottages have deterred potential investors; while in Cape Town the dislocation of the majority from the protected area has allowed the ascendancy of a 'protectionist' ideology towards the Park. The bulk of existing visitors to both the Wild Coast and the CPNP would prefer to see the area remain substantially as it is at present.

4. NATURE AREAS AND STATE INVOLVEMENT IN TOURISM

4.1 Changing Perspectives

Historically, the state's interest in nature and tourism has shifted from protecting the environment from access by the masses towards (at least in policy elaboration) harnessing its value in socio-economic development. The management style of nature resources has over the last several decades (at least) been characterised by top-down control, working against people rather than with them and in their interests (eg. DEAT 1997, DEAT 2000, Koch 1997, Kepe *et al* 2001).

Since its re-acceptance into the 'global community', South Africa has come under considerable pressure to protect its diversity of biological resources. Developing countries account for around two-thirds of the world's biodiversity – the task is therefore greater than that faced by industrialised countries due to the size of the conservation challenge and lower level of resources to deal with the burden. Furthermore, the White Paper on Conservation of Biodiversity notes that benefits of the "South's biological riches" have accrued mainly to private business interests in the industrialised countries (DEAT 1997).

The Convention on the Conservation of Biological Diversity (opened for signature at the Rio Summit in 1992) recognised that protection of biodiversity must go hand-in-hand with development. Destruction of biodiversity leads to the loss of habitat, undermines rural livelihoods and diminishes economic opportunities, "as options for developing medicines and foods are reduced and the natural resource base for tourism is damaged" (DEAT 1997).

Tourism has increasingly been recognised as a growing economic resource for South Africa and as an industry with substantial 'transformative' potential. Nature areas are seen as an important means of tapping into growing ecotourism markets and as a means of creating a *sustainable* tourism industry, an issue to which we return later.

The history of protected areas in general (and national parks in particular) in South Africa is inseparable from that of the apartheid era (Wells 1996) and, before it, colonialism. [Although conservation had been practiced

prior to colonialism – a range of "elaborate natural resource management systems" had been used by indigenous people (DEAT 1997) – the emphasis here is on the legally demarcated conservation areas that were introduced much later.] In the most extreme instance, colonial and apartheid policies led to the forced removals of black people from land which was then given protected status (Kepe 2001), largely for the enjoyment of the affluent white minority (Wells 1996). The violation of human rights in the interests of conservation was not, however, unique to this country: with the support of transnational organisations, governments in many states "coerced conservation by criminalizing customary livelihood activities and property rights and legitimised violence and repression" (Peluso in Belsky 1999). In South Africa, however, such actions were motivated at least as much, if not more, by the need for a sizeable urban proletariat to feed the industrialisation process than by any interest in 'conservation'. Here the establishment of reserves went hand-in-hand with restrictive legislation which prevented black people from hunting and restricted fishing in certain areas: these measures removed important aspects of rural livelihood strategies, thereby assisting in the creation of a cheap labour force for the mines and other growing industries during the country's industrialisation processes (Carruthers in Koch 1997).

The result of this legacy is that while in rural areas today the poor care little for Parks, the urban poor are barely aware of their existence (Wells 1996) and few have visited one. In Cape Town, only 11% of CPNP users are from disadvantaged communities (CPNP 2000b). The idea of 'protected' areas rests on a 'misanthropic foundation' which assumes that "people are destructive of a pristine nature that needs to be protected against human depredation". Hence the 'fences and fines' approach common to management of national parks, which seeks to strictly control access. The Constitution and a range of new policies and legislation – some of which are considered in more detail in Sections 4.1 and 6 – embrace the notion of environmental protection, but break decisively from this traditional management approach in their focus on social justice and the need to pursue a development agenda within the environment sphere (Kepe 2001).

The recent shift in environmental discourse means people are no longer necessarily seen as "inimical to nature" and it is widely recognised that they need to benefit from nature if they are to support conservation, but this "radical transformation" is far from "complete" (McFeely & Ness, 1996). In the case studies we see (at least some) evidence of the ideological shift in theory, yet the picture at the level of planning and implementation is somewhat different.

In South Africa, at least at the level of policy elaboration, the realisation of economic benefits from nature areas are considered key to their sustained protection, as well as vital to redress the harsh imbalances of the past. The country's diversity of nature areas, combined with cultural interest, is increasingly recognised as a means through which to attract a growing share in world tourism revenues. The national Tourism White Paper describes tourism as a "missed opportunity" for South Africa:

> The tourism industry in South Africa has been woefully protected - protected from foreign competition (limited international investment in tourism facilities), protected from demanding,

18

long-stay tourists (limited flow of international visitors) and protected from itself (suppliers cater to a largely homogeneous and predictable clientele, ie. the easily identifiable needs of the privileged class). As such, the potential of the tourism industry to spawn entrepreneurship, to create new services (eg. local entertainment, handicrafts, etc.), to 'drive' other sectors of the economy, to strengthen rural communities, to generate foreign exchange and to create employment, has not been realised. (S2.1:28)

So how has the understanding of the value of biodiversity, nature areas and tourism in development been translated into concrete strategies and programmes?

Disparities of wealth are becoming even more apparent between the industrialised states and 'developing' nations, as well as between the wealthy and the rest of society in both 'northern' and 'southern' states. This has spurred efforts over recent decades to reconstruct development discourse, to more adequately reflect the views and needs of those who have long been affected negatively by the practice of its orthodoxy. In contrast to neo-liberal discourse, alternative neo-populist approaches (including those of the 'post-development' school) emphasise democracy, local specificity, indigenous knowledge, participation and control, redistribution and justice. The term 'people-centred development' embodies a rejection of both the 'top-down' approach, as well as the 'market-centred' nature of the traditional neo-liberal perspective, although elements of the 'new development' language have been assimilated by the dominant discourse (cf, for example, the World Bank's *World Development Report* 1999/2000).

For the time being at least, it is the neo-liberal, market-oriented paradigm dominating the global environment that is mirrored at the level of national macro-economic policy. What is becoming apparent, it will be argued here, is that this conflict is resulting in an 'unfunded mandate' approach to development policy and implementation in South Africa today. Section 4.1 takes a look at how policy is responding to the challenges of 'development' within the context of nature-based tourism. Another area of change centres around how much involvement people have in decision-making on issues affecting their lives.

4.2 Towards a Participatory Approach

Competing perspectives are inevitably reflected in the policies and programmes being developed at national, provincial and local tiers of public administration. The requirement for a greater level of participation is becoming commonplace in South African development policies, programmes and projects, in part to satisfy the needs of the marginalized and disadvantaged for a voice.

In the case of nature areas, conservation is considered to depend largely on the kind of 'ownership' and popular support that can only develop if people are involved. The question of public participation in decision-making – albeit often reduced to 'consultation' – is a strong theme in the legislation developed over the last few years. For the livelihood priorities of the poor to be reflected in tourism development their participation is considered essential (Ashley *et al* 2000). Both case studies include relatively detailed consideration of participation process (see sections 5.1 and 6.1). But the concepts of 'participation' and 'community' are not as straightforward as they seem. Marsden (1991) observes that "*Participation occupies that uneasy space*

19

between the interests of the individual and those of the collectivity". He stresses the "divisions and conflict" within communities and notes that outside interventions tend to exacerbate existing divisions.

In the development of participatory models it is, Belsky (1999) warns, vital to ensure the approach taken to 'community' is not "based on simplistic images and generic models that ignore politics", as has often been the case in resource management and ecotourism strategy. In the case of both the Wild Coast SDI and the CPNP definitions of 'community' were problematic: in the Wild Coast this led to conflict, while in the CPNP process important interests were not adequately represented.

The increasing recognition of the need for greater public participation (both in the benefits of the industry as well as planning, programme design and implementation) has sparked a new trend towards 'community-based' initiatives, such as Community-based Wildlife Management (CWM), Community-based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), Community-based Conservation, Community-based Tourism (CBT) and Integrated Conservation and Development Projects (ICDPs). These have arisen in response to the unjust and ineffective outcomes produced by centrally imposed models of management (Belsky 1999), although their adoption is not universal. Furthermore, the outcomes of 'community-based' initiatives have often been less than successful.

The thrust towards a community focus is in part influenced by theories of 'new professionalism' which reverses the values, roles and power relations of 'normal professionalism', and emphasises empowerment, local initiative (recognising the indigenous technical knowledge ignored by the dominant discourse), diversity and flexibility. The 'last-first' paradigm brings the periphery to the centre, putting the needs and interests of the poor first, taking account of unique conditions, cultural differences and changing realities. The new discourse is now, Chambers argues, "commanding more and more support" (1993), and has been an important influence on the new Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA) technique of development intervention design and implementation.

There is, however, little evidence of support for a 'bottom-up' or 'process' approach in either of the case studies considered here. As Pimbert and Pretty (1997) observe, the language of popular participation is commonly expressed by agencies "which have nothing to do with people or participation. The problem is that the term means different things to different people" – this seems to be as true of the sphere of conservation as it is in other areas of development. There is, however, a growing critique of process approaches and extensive public participation. It is often argued that the demand for consultation is cumbersome, time-consuming and costly, and rarely leads to positive outcomes, or that the process becomes the 'product' and the primary objectives are lost. For many, simply put, "participation is a pain" (Thomas 2001). In the case of the Wild Coast SDI, officials argued that participation was a necessary casualty of the 'fast-track' process which was needed to maintain momentum. There were allegations that those who did participate were politically, socially or economically well-placed to assert themselves into the process ahead of poorer residents. In the CPNP substantial consultation processes were undertaken, yet allowed the Park to pursue an agenda which suited

Cape Town's privileged minority, a well-resourced interest group comprising 'traditional users' of the Park whose views coincided with the orthodox conservationist tendency dominating the Park management at the time. But the way participants' voices are heard does not necessarily mean their interests will be represented or their views reflected in the outcome. In the case of the Park, for example, once a guiding framework is drafted the decision-making power rests with the Minister and SANP, who may accept or reject it (Gubb 2001).

Pimbert and Pretty outline a scale or 'typology of participation' which will be used here to assess the level, or depth, of the participation process followed in each of our case studies. The typology describes processes in the following terms:

Passive participation – people are merely told (by external professionals) of something which will happen or has happened, and their responses are not taken into account.

Participation in information giving – people participate by responding to questions posed by researchers or managers.

Participation by consultation – external agents listen to the views on problems and solutions posed by themselves; these may (or may not) be modified in light of people's inputs.

Participation for material incentives – people provide resources such as labour in exchange for material incentives such as cash or food.

Functional participation – people participate to fulfil predetermined objectives relating to the project, usually at a late stage in the project cycle or planning ie. after key decisions have been made.

Interactive participation – here there is a joint analysis, leading to the formation of new local groups or the strengthening of existing ones. Involves interdisciplinary methodologies, multiple perspectives and learning processes. People take control over decision-making.

Self-mobilisation – people participate through initiatives (including collective action) independent of external institutions.

The processes followed in each of our case studies will be examined with a view to assessing where on Pimbert and Pretty's typology scale the level of participation can be located. Scrutinising the nature of participation is useful as the concept is central in much of the new policy and legislation governing nature areas and tourism, and because the terms 'participation' and 'community involvement' tend to be used uncritically in both case studies. But first a look at the debate around the potential of tourism/eco-tourism to fuel economic growth and development, followed by a consideration of some of the policies governing the field.

4.3 Why Tourism?

Processes of globalisation have led to phenomenal expansion of tourism worldwide and the rapid incorporation of more and more areas into the 'tourism net' as destinations in travel agents windows (Mowforth & Munt 1998). "As the biggest growth industry, employer and source of revenue around the world, many less developed countries have realised a quicker way to buy into first world affluence is by boosting their tourism

21

potential rather than selling tractors, bananas and rice" (Gordon in Mowforth & Munt 1998). The capacity of nature-based tourism to accommodate small-scale operators and create large numbers of jobs are often noted as something that makes tourism a preferable growth sector to that of most other industries. Various aspects of tourism in general, and nature tourism in particular, are noted as significant in this regard:

(i) Job creation and income generation

In South Africa, the number of jobs generated by the fast-growing tourism industry was expected to grow four-fold from 1995 (nearly 500,000 jobs) to 2000 (around 2 million jobs) (DEAT 1996). With the "right focus", tourism has the capacity to create large numbers of jobs in a relatively short period (*ibid*). The industry is labour-intensive and generally provides a greater number of employment opportunities for women than other non-agricultural sectors (Ashley *et al* 2000).

Income from four different types of activity, usually involving distinct groups or 'categories' of people, have been identified. These are wages from formal employment; earnings from selling goods, services, or casual labour (eg. food, crafts, building materials, guide services); dividends and profits arising from locally-owned enterprises; and collective income which may include profits from a community-run enterprise, dividends from a private sector partnership and land rental paid by an investor (Ashley *et al* 2000). The overall economic impact of tourism is higher than original expenditure by visitors. For example, income to businesses in Simon's Town during Navy Week 2000 was ("conservatively") estimated at around R200,000 (CMC, 2000). This money is then spent many times over in the same area, a 'multiplier-effect' meaning benefits to the local community are greater than the initial expenditure.

(ii) Low capital entry requirements

Tourism has the lowest ratio of investment to job creation which means more jobs for lower levels of investment (DEAT 1996). The bulk of opportunities in the sector are small-scale or informal and are therefore more accessible to those without high capital reserves. Informal sector (craft vending etc.) and small business (laundry, transport, entertainment, guiding, restaurants and accommodation etc.) activity in tourism provides unique opportunities for the involvement of "previously neglected groups" (*ibid*) although without appropriate micro-lending facilities the danger is these opportunities could be captured by those who are already relatively 'well-off' (Belsky 1999, Kepe 2001).

(iii) Rural base of attractions

Many tourism, and especially ecotourism attractions, are located in rural areas where there are often few other growth sectors; the potential therefore exists for more balanced and sustainable forms of development, diversification of poor rural economies, and the creation of alternatives to urbanisation. Many peripheral locations have a comparative advantage in tourism due to their high biodiversity and landscape values. Ecotourism values natural resources and culture, assets which may be controlled by the poor. (DEAT 1996; Ceballos-Lascurain 1996; Goodwin *et al* 1998; Ashley *et al* 2000).

22

(iv) Multiple spin-offs

The tourism sector is recognised as presenting a large number of opportunities for small-scale operators utilising a broad range of skills such as hairdressing, craft manufacture and sales, tracking and tour guiding (DEAT 1996). Spin-offs are also felt by other service and trade sectors such as banking, retail, transport etc.

(v) Growing sector for less industrialised nations

Less developed countries are receiving a growing number of global international tourist arrivals (30.5% of arrivals in 1997, compared with 24% in 1988) (WTO, 1998), and the sector has been actively promoted by agencies such as the World Bank since the 1960s. Newly independent former colonies readily adopted tourism promotion strategies as uncontroversial routes to stimulating capital investment and foreign exchange. That tourists bring foreign exchange into the country, rather than a product going out, enables greater and more broad-ranging benefits. In less developed countries nature-based tourism is often the fastest growing sector – this has led some to argue that it constitutes a form of 'redistribution of wealth' from north to south. The value of the domestic market should not be ignored or down-played, however, as this could provide more (less risky) opportunities for local entrepreneurs and community based tourism initiatives with less capital and fewer international contacts. (Roe et al 1997, Goodwin et al 1998, Ashley and Roe 1998, Naji 1998).

4.3.1 Ecotourism: a Different Type of Tourism?

Yet the emphasis today is not on tourism, per se, but on ecotourism. How did this come about and what does the shift signify? International tourism exploded in the 50s and 60s with the onset of mass air travel. But "thoughtless development... disruption of local cultures, values and economies" soon earned tourism a "bad name" (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996). Often regarded as the answer to the foreign exchange, tax revenue and employment problems of less developed countries, the question of its costs soon entered the equation. In response to public concern over the negative effects of mass tourism – especially in relation to the environment – the conservation movement gained in strength (ibid). The notion of 'sustainable tourism' gained currency and soon a range of terms such as 'green tourism', 'responsible tourism' and 'ecotourism' came into being. While the idea usually involves both nature areas and local cultures, some prefer to separate 'ecotourism' from 'cultural tourism'.

The Tourism White Paper defines 'ecotourism' as "environmentally and socially responsible travel to natural or near natural areas that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local people". 'Responsible tourism' makes demands of both the visitor and the visited: "tourism that promotes responsibility to the environment through its sustainable use; responsibility to involve local communities in the tourism industry; responsibility for the safety and security of visitors and responsible government, employees, employers, unions and local communities".

23

But the terms are sometimes contested and mean different things to different people. Terms vary, and have differing emphases, yet are often used interchangeably, coming in and out of fashion with "mainly academics and interest groups advocating and defending particular terms and definitions" yet in reality there is "little to distinguish one term from another" (Mowforth & Munt 1998). Some give little attention to practical meanings and 'glib' or 'general assertions' can often be found in policy statements where terms such as 'local community', 'tourism education' or 'good visitor management' are used without explanation (Wheeller in Mowforth & Munt 1998).

The terms usually include notions of environmental sensitivity, 'sustainability' and varying degrees of community involvement, local control, and local benefits from tourism activity. Interest in 'ecotourism', 'green' or 'low-impact' tourism, 'community', 'environmentally-friendly' or 'responsible' tourism has grown rapidly since the 1980s, although promoters, projects and ventures (as well as consumers) going by these names do not generally consider the "full range of impacts on the livelihoods of the poor" (Roe *et al* 1997, Ashley *et al* 2000). The 'ecotourist' is a different kind of tourist: the "'ere we go, 'ere we go" crowd is replaced by a more 'thoughtful' middle-class 'traveller'. The ecotourist is more 'sophisticated' and more 'environmentally appreciative' (Mowforth & Munt 1998, Naji 1998). The last 20 or 30 years have witnessed immense growth in the strength of the international green movement "a large part of which is devoted to saving Planet Earth": measures taken to conserve ecological biodiversity by bodies such as Conservation International have often been in conflict with the "priorities and aspirations of local communities attempting to secure their livelihoods": the power of 'First World' environmentalism has led to accusations of 'eco-imperialism' or 'eco-colonialism' (Mowforth & Munt 1998).

To qualify as 'ecotourism' an activity must:

- promote positive environmental ethics and foster 'preferred' behaviour in its participants;
- not degrade the resource;
- concentrate on intrinsic rather than extrinsic values;
- be oriented around the environment in question and not around man;
- benefit the wildlife and environment;
- provide a first-hand encounter with the natural environment;
- actively involve local communities in the tourism process so they benefit from it;
- measure gratification in terms of education and/or appreciation; and must
- involve considerable preparation and demand in-depth knowledge on the part of both leaders and participants. (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996)

The IUCN defined 6 management categories for protected areas, according to management objectives. "Each category should in principle relate to one or several of the major components of a nation's development plan: nutrition, education, housing, water, science, technology, tourism, defence, and national identity. Viewed in this

way, protected area categories become means for sustainable development." Filion *et al* (1992) concluded that "depending on the region, ecotourism appears to account for approx 40-60% of international tourism...In short, ecotourism... is big business" (*ibid*).

4.3.2 Towards a 'Pro-Poor' Focus and Sustainability in Tourism

The notion of sustainability is central to the ecotourism concept and the discussion elsewhere in this paper of that notion is very relevant to the consideration of ecotourism. It is increasingly being suggested that sustainability/ecotourism is about preserving culture and nature for the benefit of the wealthy north:

> Sustainability is as much to do with ensuring continued profits through more flexible patterns of capital accumulation, or maintaining middle-class lifestyles in the First World and the ability of these social groups to experience (sustained) indigenous cultures while holidaying in the Third World, as it is to do with ecology and environment. (Mowforth & Munt 1998)

At times tourism may be regarded by local people as something for foreigners which involves the 'invasion' of their nature areas – ecotourism has therefore been labelled "elitist, racist, anti-democratic and ideologically biased" by some observers (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996). While such responses may not be commonplace, they serve as a reminder of the urgent need to focus on questions of local control and visible benefits.

In this paper the emphasis is on nature areas (although both case studies include elements of culture in their 'attractions') and on the level of local involvement, control and benefits from tourism activity. Both case study areas could be labelled 'ecotourist' attractions, although in the case of the Cape Peninsula National Park this is combined with elements of the more traditional 'sun-sea-sand' and 'mass' tourism. Perhaps because of its location in a large coastal city with a wide range of other attractions and the tendency for visitors to Cape Point and Table Mountain (the Park's most visited areas) to spend only short periods of time there (CPNP 2000b), some have questioned if – as Satour claims – the majority of visitors are in fact 'ecotourists' at all.

Many have recently advocated a shift towards a pro-poor emphasis in tourism and ecotourism, particularly as the dominant interpretation of the latter tends towards a focus on its 'green' rather than its 'social' dimensions. While local benefits are not central to dominant notions of ecotourism, there is an increasing recognition of the need for local people to derive something in exchange for conservation of natural resources. This stems less from the understanding that natural resources can be important sources of benefit ie. good 'development' tools, than from the protectionist school's recognition that it is not possible to police vast tracts of protected area and that local 'buy-in' is therefore essential.

The need for a pro-poor focus in tourism – and indeed in all growth and development strategies – is particularly relevant in the context of South Africa's massive backlogs. The majority of the country's poor live in rural areas (around 76%), where (according to 1995 statistics) about 69% of the total population live in poverty, against 25% in urban areas. Enormous urban/rural disparities in living standards are apparent: in 1993 only 13% of rural households had water on tap, versus 74% in urban areas; 8% had waterborne sewerage, against

25

64% in urban areas; and only 13% of rural households were electrified, against 51% of urban homes. The bulk of the rural poor live in provinces — the Eastern Cape, Kwa-Zulu-Natal and the Northern Province — which include the former TBVC 'states'. The situation of people in these former 'homelands' (often owned communally or by traditional leaders) is the most desperate and is characterised by severe poverty (Woolard & Barberton 1988).

As well as disparities between rural areas, inequalities *within* a given area need to be considered when attempting to understand development issues. Local power dynamics and social relations can lead to imbalances in the benefit distribution from development programmes and these need to be recognised and understood (Kepe 2001). Inequalities along the lines of race are particularly marked – reported unemployment rates are "highest for Africans, followed by 'coloureds', Indians and whites and are higher for women than men in each group"; throughout the country "women form a higher proportion of the unemployed than men in all race groups, in both rural and urban locations" (Baden *et al* 1998). Most households headed by women are located in impoverished rural areas and generally have fewer employable adults and significant wage gaps between male and female workers. Income in these households is around one-third that of male-headed households.

Such statistics support the imperative to develop gendered strategies for empowerment and poverty reduction (Woolard & Barberton 1998) and to ensure that development programmes — whether public or private sector driven — encompass a thorough analysis of gendered impacts and build in mechanisms to ensure that a greater share of anticipated benefits accrue to the poor in general, and women in particular. The illustration below demonstrates the inequality in earned income throughout Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) and places South Africa amongst those with the highest disparity of income between men and women:

Distribution of Earned Income by Gender in Selected SSA Countries (in %)
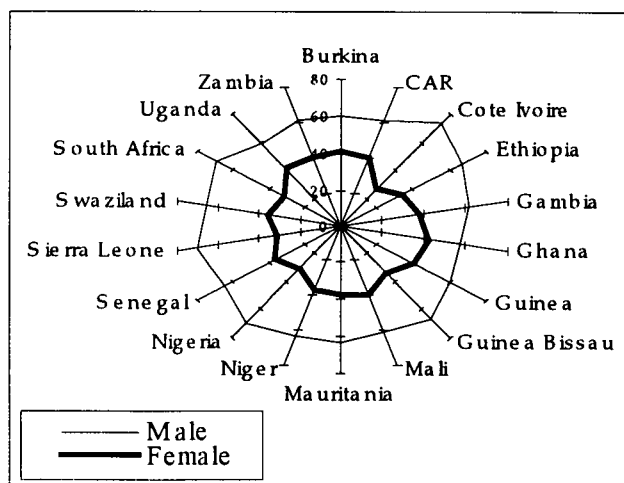
Source: World Bank 1998 (from Fofack 1998)

The income disparities between men and women draw attention to the need for development to be more than pro-poor. An understanding of a range of social and economic factors which differentiate the poor must also be inculcated if interventions are to avoid exacerbated existing divisions. To assess how tourism might impact on the poor, it is particularly important to understand the historic relationship between nature-based tourism and poverty.

Some observers consider the extent of protected area in South Africa (6%) insufficient, and would like to see far more land under conservation. For others, the resource requirements of parks and reserves in terms of land and finance are problematic, given the situation of acute social and economic deprivation, particularly of the rural poor who are most often affected by conservation measures. While the economic benefits from tourism may be considerable, the costs to local communities of the establishment of parks is not usually matched by the benefits (eg. Wells 1996). Furthermore, only a privileged few are likely to enjoy the recreational opportunities afforded by new parks. Cape Town's poor are generally dismissive of the CPNP and often say things like: "That is not my mountain. That mountain is for rich people who like to walk their dogs" (Gary de Koch, CPNP in *Reconstruct* 14/3/99). The sense of attachment many people once felt was lost through forced removals which relocated large numbers from areas adjacent to the mountain into the wind-swept sandy plains known as the Cape Flats.

The creation of South African parks involved severe social dislocation through forced evictions and the separation of people from valuable natural resources – in many areas this led to "impoverishment and low standards of living, literacy and education, high infant mortality, crime and unemployment" (Msimang in Joseph & Parris, 1999). The maintenance and/or expansion of conservation resources in South Africa must therefore be measured critically in relation to the costs, often borne most harshly by those who can least afford it ie. the rural poor.

Considerable scope nonetheless exists for the involvement of both urban and rural local communities in tourism enterprises. Ashley & Roe (1998) identify a number of benefits relating to community involvement in tourism (CIT). As an element of LED[3], CIT represents a new opportunity, and perhaps an alternative to existing livelihood strategies; in relation to conservation, CIT represents the realisation of benefits to local people and a concomitant commitment to conservation; and as an element of global tourism, CIT presents an opportunity to diversify the product. Historically, however, commercial banks have been reluctant to invest in ecotourism and rural or CBT which are perceived to be high risk and slow to generate returns – the industry is therefore dominated by large firms (Ben Nkosi of IDC in *Business Report* 3/12/99). CIT therefore requires state, NGO and donor intervention and support if the development potential of tourism growth is to be realised and built upon. But this requires the adoption of a new 'development paradigm' capable of spawning far more than a few inspiring, individual ad-hoc projects.

---

[3] LED involves sustainable job creation, stimulating and supporting local economic activity (particularly in areas of need), promoting private investment (particularly in areas of need) and improving the income levels of the poor (Wolpe, undated presentation).

The concept of 'development' has been widely contested, particularly over the last couple of decades, during which the global financial institutions ostensibly promoting the process – the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund – have been forced to concede that 'development', as it has traditionally been conceptualised, has failed. It is now generally accepted that the "two founding assumptions" of 'development' are no longer valid; these are the idea that "development could be universalised in space, and, second, that it would be durable in time" (Sachs 1997). The dominant paradigm sees development as the expansion of core conditions into the periphery, from 'first' to 'last' in the analysis of Chambers (1993), and as an 'end', usually resulting from economic growth, the 'means'.

The inequalities built into the global market-economy render this goal of universalising the level of living enjoyed (by most) in the wealthiest nations an enduring myth. Environmental concerns also constrain growth and there is a growing recognition that the world has reached its bio-physical limits (Sachs 1997). In response to the challenge presented by increasing poverty in the less developed regions of the world (as well as within industrialised countries) and the failure of the traditional development approach to make an impact on this, emphasis is now being placed on the notion of 'sustainable development'. This aims to identify a form of development that promotes both ecological sustainability and international justice, with the north emphasising 'nature' while in the south the concept of 'justice' has more currency. In the sphere of conservation, technologies for managing protected areas (and their underlying values) were passed from north to south during and after the colonial era – largely as a 'blueprint' and in 'classical' top-down fashion – and elements of this narrow approach to conservation and protected area management can be found in the design and management of parks today (Pimbert and Pretty 1997).

The blueprint approach is also, significantly, supported by broader economic interests seeking to "appropriate the commercial values of biological resources in and around protected areas" (*ibid*). In South Africa, evidence of this motive behind conservation was most poignantly demonstrated by the recent revelation that significant rights to the country's plant wealth had been sold to an American company (this is considered in greater detail in section 6).

A 'consensus definition' of sustainable development was coined by the Brundtland Commission wherein it meets "the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs", but, as Sachs points out (1997), the emphasis is on time (the 'nature crisis') rather than space (the 'justice crisis'). Others remind us of the need for flexible development models which take account of "complex and circular" rather than "simple and lineal" causality and involve a process of "continuous adaptation, problem-solving and opportunity" (Jamieson quoted in Chambers 1993). In South Africa, discussions around 'development' tend to give primacy to the notions of transformation and redistribution: the challenge centres around justice for those dispossessed by colonialism and apartheid and the need to integrate the spatially and economically unequal landscape – multi-dimensional questions requiring multi-disciplinary and multi-faceted solutions. Development strategies must be up to the task of resolving the "disastrous consequences of the

28

history of racial domination, capitalist exploitation, massive social engineering, the misallocation of resources and overall economic inequality" (Williams 1998). Given these historical imbalances and growing income disparities, a critical focus for development planners and others feeding into the policy-planning process must be the alleviation, if not eradication, of poverty.

4.3.3 Tourism-led Growth: a Problematic Strategy?

A general and growing trend both internationally and locally has been to present tourism, and particularly ecotourism with its focus on both environmental and cultural benefits combined with an emphasis on economic benefits to local communities, as a "panacea for sustainable development" (Roe *et al* 1997). Yet the assumption that the sector will necessarily stimulate growth and job creation and reduce poverty appears to be problematic. The most frequently mentioned dangers inherent in the industry include:

Repatriation or 'leakage' of profit: this is particularly an issue where foreign investments and up-market facilities are concerned – more than half the money spent by tourists in less developed countries leaks back to the industrialised nations (World Bank). In addition, those who live adjacent to protected areas and therefore bear most of the costs, generally participate least in the tourism industry. Opportunities that do arise are generally captured by those high up in the local power hierarchy. The issue of elite benefits also impacts on profit leakage. The 'repatriation of profit' is not therefore merely north to south – the benefits ('profit') from protected areas go mostly to outsiders and the industry "retains a distinctly urban bias". (Goodwin *et al* 1998, Mowforth & Munt 1998, Kepe 2001).

Few linkages: ecotourism in isolated rural areas has few linkages with other sectors of the economy and, particularly with up-market resorts, goods and services are often 'imported' from the nearest city or other countries. Ecotourism tends to complement rather than displace traditional sources of income, but the tourism 'season' may clash with other activities such as agriculture, making tourism vulnerable to labour shortages or its workers vulnerable to reduced food supply later in the year. The 'multiplier effect' and spin-offs from tourism can in theory be substantial, but in practice are usually not. Research has found that with dedicated efforts, economic linkages can be created, but that these efforts are often not made. (Naji 1998, Ashley & Roe 1998, De Beer & Elliffe 1997).

Tourism spending: key items of holiday expenditure (at least with international tourists) are major items such as air-tickets or extended or 'all-in' tours – the benefits from this spending go primarily to big corporates and multi-national companies. Luxury tourism often requires specialised marketing, international communication, and luxury goods which cannot be sourced locally, so the bulk of tourist spending is not to the benefit of local communities or domestic companies. (Pleumarom 1995, Ashley & Roe 1998, Naji 1998).

Capture of benefits by the elite: where opportunities are created through tourism ventures, the value of these may accrue only, or largely, to the local elite. Those who are already relatively well off stand to gain far

29

more than the poor and men usually do better than women in gaining jobs and opportunities. The unequal distribution of benefits resulting from local power relations is often a cause of conflict within communities, between communities, and between people and tourism ventures. (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996, Kabeer 1998; Belsky 1999, Ashley *et al* 2000, Kepe *et al* 2000a).

Pressure on Infrastructure: increases in visitor numbers and the construction of tourism developments such as resorts can lead to considerable cost in the provision and maintenance of infrastructure such as water, electricity, roads, waste disposal, fuel etc., an issue of considerable importance particularly for impoverished rural areas (although improved infrastructure for areas adjacent to the developments may be a positive spin-off). This type of cost is often overlooked and the 'benefits' of ecotourism assumed to far outweigh them. (Roe *et al* 1997, Belsky 1999, Ashley *et al* 2000).

Cost of maintaining the eco-tourism 'product': the protected areas on which eco-tourism depends usually cost far more to maintain than tourism can contribute in revenues – parks in Natal, for instance, cost millions more to run than they recoup in revenue (Parris in Koch 1997). Nature tourists need the same basic infrastructure as other tourists – infrastructure that can mean substantial public expenditure, particularly where projects are undertaken with a view to attracting people (Boo 1990). The impact can be even greater in the 'off-the-beaten-track' or 'less visited areas' targeted by the tourists in search of 'authentic' experiences and 'indigenous cultures', a search which often leads to the romanticisation of 'primitiveness' and supports the drive for cultural preservation (largely so it can be enjoyed and photographed) – one way in which wealthy foreigners are able to impose their ideas on local peoples (Mowforth & Munt 1998).

In South Africa, this demand for 'authentic', 'indigenous' products has seen the development of specially constructed 'tourist villages' where locals (primarily topless women) swap their jeans and takkies for grass skirts and beaded head-dresses and prepare meals on open fires outside traditional huts, occasionally bursting into song and dance as a bus-load of German or Japanese tourists arrives. The Kagga Kamma private game reserve in the Western Cape gained negative publicity when, following the breakdown of a "joint ecotourism venture" with members of the =Khomani clan, the reserve employed "fake bushmen" to keep the lucrative attraction going, although reserve management admits that most 'bushmen' have anyway been "living out of the culture for many years" (*Cape Times* 1/7/99). This type of cultural commodification may provide jobs, but at what cost to people's sense of self-respect, pride and dignity?

Williams (1999) argues that the process of commodification – the packaging and marketing of the exotic or ethnic ('other') for consumption – may lead to the "context, substance and history" of these 'items' being "ignored, suppressed and even obliterated". Ecotourism may therefore, in its concern to protect and enjoy indigenous cultures, actually contribute to their demise.

Poor quality employment: jobs in tourism are often low-paid with few prospects and are frequently seasonal. The proportion of casual employment to permanent jobs is usually high yet, as the industry has a high

proportion of unskilled work such as cleaning, employment opportunities are more accessible to marginalized people with few skills. The industry is also well-placed to conduct in-house training. (Ashley & Roe 1998).

Industry vulnerable to international and economic trends: while tourism is considered an industry for which there is continuous demand (Tourism White Paper), it is particularly prone to fluctuations in the health of the economy, both domestic and international. Lower disposable income often involves the disposal of 'luxury' items such as holidays. Currency fluctuations, recession in the north – which accounts for the bulk of international tourism arrivals – and instability in a host country (eg. political upheaval or perceived high levels of crime) can place severe stress on the entire tourism industry. [In South Africa rapid growth in international tourist arrivals during the mid-90s levelled off from 1998 due to perceived high crime rates and the Asian economic crisis – Ben Nkosi of IDC in *Business Report* 3/12/99]. Finally, there is fashion: somewhere else becomes the 'in' place to go. Globalisation accelerates not only the movement of capital but also places – destinations come and go, and tourism moves on. Growth in tourism in one country may therefore mean reductions in tourism activity in another. 'External' factors increase in importance as tourism grows in its contribution to overall economic activity. (Boo 1990, Ceballos-Lascurain 1996, Ashley & Roe 1998, Goodwin *et al* 1998, Mowforth & Munt 1998).

While some consider globalisation an 'interdependent' relationship, the case of tourism (especially ecotourism) in the south and the industry's vulnerability to international trends demonstrates the 'subservience' of less developed countries (Mowforth & Munt 1998).

Tourism dependence: while diversified economies are better able to withstand fluctuations, small, local, tourism-dependent economies may be hard hit, yet most of the factors driving tourism are largely outside of the control of local stakeholders. Moreover, less developed countries are mainly 'tourist-receiving' rather than 'tourist-sending' and are generally characterised by low levels of domestic tourism. When European governments advised tourists to avoid The Gambia following a coup there, the Gambian economy and tourism "virtually collapsed" (Mowforth & Munt 1998). Tourism operations in Zimbabwe are experiencing similar problems since the recent turbulence in that country. Some argue (although many disagree) that this is having a spill-over effect to other countries in the region, including South Africa. Over-dependence on tourism – particularly international tourism – not only makes countries, regions and communities vulnerable economically, but a 'tourism monoculture' has a negative impact on the 'inherent quality' of a destination, which in turn becomes less attractive to tourists. Ironically, the same forces of globalisation that open the world up to tourism are those which may close parts of it down again – Morrow (somewhat dramatically) labels tourism a "radioactive cloud of banalizing sameness" where the world's great diversity is "dissolved into the United Colours of Benetton". (Boo 1990; Goodwin *et al* 1998, Mowforth & Munt 1998).

It is clear from the pitfalls outlined above that, far from being regarded as a panacea for all, tourism development (particularly where reliance upon protected areas constrains the development of other sectors of the economy) must be pursued cautiously: a shift away from an uncritical and simplistic view that assumes

31

tourism is always beneficial, and growth is necessarily good, is required. A focus on economic growth as a means, or precursor, to development obfuscates the issue of whose interests are served and how benefits of subsequent growth are distributed. Dominant concepts of tourism development are driven more by concerns around the "*rate* of economic growth than to its *pattern*" Kabeer (1998) with consequences for poverty alleviation as well as gendered and other discriminating impacts.

Kabeer challenges the 'hierarchy of production' common to 'economic growth' development discourse, warning that "women are under-represented in activities at the 'tip of the iceberg', where development efforts and resources are concentrated; they appear in larger numbers in informal sector and subsistence activities". To challenge poverty, tourism development must therefore not only involve a powerful pro-poor strategy, but must take into account the gendered structure of likely benefits and ensure a strong focus on those areas of activity in which women are concentrated.

It therefore becomes even more urgent to ensure that the planning process incorporates mechanisms wherein the disadvantaged participate meaningfully to enhance organisational capacity (women are then better positioned to push their long-term strategic interests), to ensure that 'local milieux' are fully understood and that social capital is built. Where this cannot be achieved through the programme in question, parallel initiatives are required: in this, cooperation between public sector agencies, between public and private sector role-players and between the public and private sectors and civil society organisations is essential. Poverty alleviation and gender strategies must be mainstreamed into development programmes and growth must be guided and controlled to ensure these aims remain central.

So how is South African policy responding to the challenges posed by nature-based tourism and the demand for attention to be given to the needs and aspirations of the poor? The following section looks at institutional and policy responses as they relate to tourism, environmental management and socio-economic development.

4.4 Institutional and Policy Reform – A New Direction for Nature Areas?

As mentioned earlier, while policy is clear on the need to protect the country's natural asset base, emphasis is now being given to the need to ensure this occurs within the context of simultaneous promotion of socio-economic justice and alongside the principle of realising the basic needs of disadvantaged communities and individuals. At the highest statutory level, the Constitution (S24) states that "everyone has the right to an environment that is not harmful" and that the environment should be "protected, for the benefit of present and future generations" through legislation and administrative measures that fulfil three goals: (i) prevent pollution and ecological degradation; (ii) promote conservation; and (iii) secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development.

According to the Bill of Rights Handbook (De Waal et al 2000), failure on the part of the state to "take steps to secure these goals" means rights to environmental protection "will be violated". The state thus has a clear responsibility to ensure that social and economic justice is pursued as an *integral part* of environmental

32

protection. The Constitution (S153) also gives local authorities specific developmental duties, including that they structure and manage their administration, budgeting and planning processes to give priority to the basic needs of the community and to promote social and economic development. The concept of 'developmental local government' is fleshed out in the Local Government White Paper (PACD 1998) and advanced through a package of legislation including the Municipal Systems Act (1999) which outlines the principles, mechanisms and processes that are necessary to enable municipalities to move progressively towards the social and economic upliftment of communities, and places strong emphasis on community participation in decision-making, comprehensive integrated development planning (S5) and the development of performance management systems (S6). Planning must include the council's vision for long-term development with an emphasis on the municipality's most critical development and internal transformation needs.

The emphasis of the Conservation White Paper (DEAT 1997) is on the need for conservation to translate into economic benefits for South Africa and South Africans. Optimising social and economic benefits is a recurrent theme in government policy. The Coastal White Paper (DEAT 2000:SB.2) sets down the principle that "coastal economic development opportunities must be optimised to meet society's needs and to promote the wellbeing of coastal communities". The paper argues for the proactive planning and management of coastal use and the meaningful participation "by all organs of the State, the private sector and civil society". The need to give 'special attention' to ensure the participation of disadvantaged individuals and groups is mentioned, as is the need to make sure women are involved. The vision includes the definition of sustainable coastal development as one that involves a "balance between material prosperity, social development, cultural values, spiritual fulfilment and ecological integrity". Earlier management of coastal resources is criticised for not recognising the "value of coastal ecosystems as a cornerstone for development", for being "resource-centred rather than people-centred", and for focusing on the "control" of coastal resources.

Legislation governing the management of the country's environmental assets is in the early phases of implementation. Meanwhile the historically-determined situation whereby whites enjoy the majority of the benefits from both conservation and tourism goes largely unchallenged and the 'conservation versus development' debate has been revived to unprecedented levels. Conservationist 'purists' in the main support the preservation of the status quo, an objective echoed by most of those who have historically patronised nature areas (see, for example, CPNP 2000b, Kepe 2000). An increase in facilities and visitor numbers is seen as a threat to the integrity of the environment, yet many argue that this is essential if development through tourism is to occur (eg. Daitz 2000, Kepe 2000).

A further threat relating to tourism growth rests in the need, if redistribution is to occur, to ensure development prioritises the means by which the disadvantaged or marginalized can participate and gain benefits. Ashley *et al* (2000) make the following observation:

In the tourism sector, national governments and donors have generally aimed to promote private sector investment, macro-economic growth and foreign exchange earnings, without specifically taking the needs and opportunities of the poor into account in tourism development.... Donor-supported tourism master plans focus on creating infrastructure, stimulating private investment and attracting international tourists. Investors are often international companies and local élites, whose profits are generally repatriated abroad or to metropolitan centres. Links with the local economy are often weak, with the possible exception of employment.

While the growth of 'eco', 'community' or 'green' tourism turns attention to the sustainability of tourism, in as much as the preservation of the resource upon which the activity is based is concerned (for future generations as well as continued tourism benefits), the "full range of impacts on the livelihoods of the poor" is not generally considered (Boyd et al, 2000). While a 'pro-poor' focus may not necessarily result, the need to link protected area management with the economic activities of local communities is now generally accepted: the notion of ICDPs – integrated conservation and development projects – coined by consultants working for the World Bank and the World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) has become "fashionable, if not mandatory" (Koch 1997).

The low level of community involvement in tourism activities is, however, highlighted in the national Tourism White Paper as a "major problem" for the industry, particularly given the potential of tourism to provide "unique opportunities for involving previously neglected groups". Within the tourism sector the racially skewed benefit distribution remains particularly marked – the need to redress this imbalance is a strong theme in both national and provincial policy. The ways in which this is reflected in policy and legislation are considered in more detail later.

The government's 1998 Tourism Year Book makes substantial claims about the economic value of nature tourism which it calls the "fastest growing segment of tourism" and notes the "high foreign exchange value of ecotourism" which "enables significant economic values to be assigned to ecological resources and hence helps promote their conservation".

Yet the *pattern of benefits* is surely critical if the objectives of conservation – as well as broader questions of development – are to be met?

To return to the Constitution (1996), S24(b)iii) concerns the 'environmental right' to (amongst others) "secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development". Note that *sustainability* comes first, development second. The national Tourism White Paper (Section 4.2) outlines a number of principles that will guide the development of "responsible tourism"[4]. "Responsible tourism means responsibility of government and business to involve the local communities that are in close proximity to the tourism plant and attractions through the development of meaningful economic linkages", amongst others. While the principles listed in the White Paper include greater "community

---

[4] 'Responsible tourism' is often referred to as 'new tourism': when the notion involves nature areas the terms 'green tourism' or 'ecotourism' are usually adopted.

involvement", the use of tourism as a "development tool for the empowerment of previously neglected communities", and that tourism will "support the economic, social and environmental goals and policies of the government" (including the Reconstruction and Development Programme), *number one on the list of principles is that tourism will be driven by the private sector.*

Although the White Paper envisages a role for the state in creating an 'enabling environment' for tourism – through the development of finance and other support mechanisms for example – its emphasis on private sector led tourism is viewed by critics as a major constraint to transformation of the sector and as a fundamental contradiction in government policy. In important respects, the promotion and management of the types of 'nature area' considered here, particularly the case of the Wild Coast SDI, reflect that contradiction.

The Conservation White Paper recognises shortcomings in previous management regimes and outlines six goals to redirect the system for managing conservation and biodiversity:

- Conserve the diversity of landscapes, ecosystems, habitats, communities, populations, species, and genes in South Africa.
- Use biological resources sustainably and minimise adverse impacts on biological diversity.
- Ensure that benefits derived from the use and development of South Africa's genetic resources serve national interests.
- Expand the human capacity to conserve biodiversity, to manage its use, and to address factors threatening it.
- Create conditions and incentives that support the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity.
- Promote the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity at the international level.

It is difficult to see quite where the objective of ensuring that conservation contributes to economic well-being comes in here, but if development and poverty alleviation are central to the 'national interest' it could fit into Goal 3. When the White Paper considers how the legislative framework might be revised, however, it specifically refers to the need for legislative review in respect of Goals 1 and 2. But elsewhere (S5) the document states that government "will", amongst others:

- require that resources are used to best effect in the alleviation of poverty, enlisting the "support of the private sector in doing so wherever this is appropriate";
- "support research which identifies new areas of economic potential" for "biological and genetic resources";
- "develop tourism as a sustainable and responsible economic activity";
- "support the integration of tourism into broader land-use plans, and the development of tourism as a competitive form of land use";
- "promote the linking of tourism benefits to the environmental products it depends upon, and the cross-subsidisation of conservation by tourism";

35

- "encourage the development of partnership tourism ventures between local communities, the private sector and conservation agencies"; and
- "recognise and quantify the direct and indirect economic costs and benefits derived from conserving and using biodiversity sustainably, including the conservation of protected areas."

It "will" also:

- "ensure the rapid establishment of institutional structures and legal arrangements to control access to genetic resources, and to thereby create the conditions for equitable benefit-sharing arrangements to be developed".

The earlier focus of legislative revision on *conservation* and *sustainable use* rather than *benefits*, combined with this latter commitment implies an *emphasis on control* rather than, or as a precursor to, the realisation of equitable economic benefits. In other words, it seems that from the point of view of legislative change, the emphasis will not move from one which supports the 'protectionist ideology' towards one which ensures conservation is oriented towards justice (as the development mandate demands) rather than nature (as has been the case in the past and as is reflected in the current dominant conservation discourse). The developmental objectives outlined (albeit ambiguously at times) in the various white papers are, nonetheless, carried through into legislation. The National Environmental Management Act, Act 107 of 1998; Section 2 (2) , for example, states that environmental management should put the needs of people first "and serve their physical, psychological, developmental, cultural and social interests equitably".

In the Western Cape, the Tourism Green Paper of 1999, outlines three strategies, including to "promote entrepreneurship, with a special emphasis on marginalised and disadvantaged entrepreneurs and communities", noting the need to support SMMEs, build capacity and skills in tourism related activities (including "information, training, advice and financing"), and to create "special opportunities and conditions for participation of disadvantaged entrepreneurs and communities". 'Social equity', 'environmental integrity' and 'economic empowerment' are the Green Paper's 'Fundamental Principles'. While tourism development must be 'market-driven' various facets form part of an 'integrated framework' within which "*developing* and maintaining a 'bouquet' of marketable tourism *products*" is noted and the responsibility for the "development of tourist attractions" is given to local authorities (most of which are bankrupt). It is also noted that the provincial budget "will not allow for the successful implementation of the strategy".

While overall responsibility for nature conservation, the environment and tourism rests with national and provincial governments[5], local authorities retain certain management functions in relation to the environment and tourism and certain by-laws govern access to and use of facilities/amenities etc. Local authorities often also control land of conservation importance, such as the Cape Peninsula Protected Natural Environment

_____

[5] Schedule 4A of the Constitution assigns these as 'functional areas of concurrent national and provincial legislative competence.

(CPPNE). In that case, one of the local authorities held back certain strategically important areas from incorporation into the CPNP. So what of policy governing the management of the country's extensive network of national parks?

The SANP Corporate Plan outlines the need for a shift away from the past:

> In SANP the transformation process is driven by the overriding need to shed organisational principles, policies and practices that have for decades been nurtured by the apartheid philosophy of the ancien regime. This transformation process is designed to establish a place for SANP in today's South Africa: a nation that has, through its Constitution, committed itself to democracy, freedom of association and the protection of human rights.

Recognising the need to move away from the 'people *versus* Parks' or 'fences and fines' approach brought about by "international trends and the broad transformation of South African society" the SANP talks of the need to give attention to the 'people aspect' of conservation:

> "The restructured SANP has identified its core business as conservation. In its modern, broad definition, conservation includes the management of biodiversity as well as the pursuit of social ecology – the long-neglected, but crucial people aspect in conservation." (Joseph & Parris, 1999)

Elsewhere, however, this is reduced to the incorporation of cultural as well as biological resources into its conservation focus. The role of 'Conservation Development' is defined as the "identification, acquisition and management of representative expressions of South Africa's biodiversity in a system of national parks": the emphasis here is clearly on growing the quality or quantity of land designated for conservation purposes. Yet the same section identifies the need to achieve "optimal balancing of conservation and development". An understanding of 'development' as something outside of, and perhaps conflicting with, conservation is implicit.

CPNP Manager of Social Ecology Rene Selikowitz says "we are not a development agency" (Joseph & Parris 1999). In part, the minimalist role SANP sets for itself is constrained by the identification of conservation as its core responsibility, and its adoption of international, rather than context specific definitions, of national parks.

The IUCN defines a national park as "a protected area managed mainly for ecosystem protection; natural area of land or sea designated (a) to protect the ecological integrity of one or more ecosystems for present and future generations, (b) to exclude exploitation or occupation inimical to the purposes of designation of the area and (c) to provide a foundation for spiritual, scientific, educational, recreational and visitor opportunities, all of which must be environmentally and culturally compatible" (CPNP 1999). The IUCN's emphasis here is on 'green conservation' and controlled recreation, with little consideration of broader social environmental issues and concerns. It has been noted, however, that the IUCN is concerned around what is often a clash of interests between reserves and local people (Koch 1997). The need to ensure maximum benefits from natural resources in improving quality of life is generally lacking in the approach of 'international' organisations such as the IUCN, perhaps betraying a western bias underlying their philosophy.

37

In the case of the CPNP which is the focus of one of our case studies here, a strategy of urban control or 'containment' coexists – albeit a little uneasily – with a commitment, in line with 'biosphere principles', to influence development in 'buffer' or 'transition' zones adjacent to CPNP boundaries (the biosphere concept is considered in more detail in Section 6).

> The South African National Parks Act 57 of 1976 was promulgated to conserve land in national parks in rural or agricultural settings. This Act therefore provides inadequate legislative protection for national parks in urban areas (EEU, 1995). In areas outside the CPNP, administration of land use and town planning ordinances remains under the jurisdiction of provincial and local government. SANP has no regulatory control outside the boundaries of the CPNP and the National Parks Act needs to be revised to address this limitation (EEU, 1997). **Legal advisors have been appointed by SANP head office to investigate ways in which the SANP can exert influence outside the CPNP.** (Shroyer *et al* 1998 – bold not in original)

The question of the influence of park authorities over developments adjacent to parks is returned to later. The way policies of various tiers of government as well as statutory bodies such as SANP impact on nature-based tourism resources and initiatives are explored in the Wild Coast and Cape Peninsula case studies in the following sections. The case studies are measured against the above-mentioned statutory requirements for environmental protection to promote development and for the need for local government to be developmental and cooperative with other tiers of government as well as inter-departmentally in its work.

5. 'AGRI-TOURISM' SDIs – THE EAST CAPE WILD COAST[6]

To assist in addressing the challenge of rural poverty, the government has developed programmes aiming to increase private sector investment in rural areas. The Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) being pursued by the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) are a key part of this strategy. The State's efforts to kick-start tourism development and economic growth in the former Transkei homeland have met with numerous difficulties. Some of these have their roots in the geography, history, politics and social relations of the region, while others arise from the design and style of implementation of the SDI.

SDIs are a government strategy to draw private sector economic investment into areas with inherent under-utilised economic development potential, focusing on both sectoral and spatial dimensions of economic activity. By locking into the unexploited potential which already exists in particular areas — rather than creating

---

[6] Note: this section is largely based on work co-authored with Lungisile Ntsebeza and Thembela Kepe of the Programme for Land and Agrarian Reform (Plaas) for the National Land Committee (NLC) and the British Overseas Development Institute (ODI). Primary research material concerning the case study areas of Mkambati and Tshezi was carried out by Kepe and Ntsebeza (focusing on the SDI process/Wild Coast livelihoods and traditional authorities respectively), while Linda Pithers provided the general SDI background and contextual materials and compiled the various components into the following papers: Kepe T, L Ntsebeza and L Pithers, 2000, *The Impact of Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) on Rural Livelihoods: a case study of the Wild Coast SDI,* Johannesburg: National Land Committee (NLC); and Kepe T, L Ntsebeza and L Pithers, 2001, *Agro-tourism Spatial Development Initiatives in South Africa: Are they enhancing rural livelihoods?* ODI Natural Resource Perspective Series, No. 65, March.

incentives to draw investment into areas without the necessary attributes to sustain growth — the programme hopes to escape the pitfalls of the apartheid state's efforts at spatial economic manipulation.

The focus of this section is on SDIs which centre around the development of tourism in areas which have previously received little attention. Here we look specifically at an 'agri-tourism SDI' programme (ie. one which attempts to build both agriculture and tourism), in the Wild Coast region of what was formerly the Transkei 'homeland' or 'bantustan' (now part of the Eastern Cape). As most SDIs are in the preliminary stages of securing anchor investments and interest in associated projects, it is too early to examine their actual impact, although it is possible to study the concept, its principles and on-the-ground experiences to draw certain tentative conclusions about their potential.

The DTI describes SDIs as the 'practical implementation' of the South African government's new economic strategy, outlined in its growth, employment and redistribution (Gear) policy. The fiscal austerity of the Gear strategy largely explains the "aggressive private investment orientation" of the SDI programme. The 'strategic targeting' of the initiatives is designed to ameliorate the effects of the dislocation caused by the shift away from the import substitution strategy pursued during the apartheid years of isolation towards an outward, export-orientation. This is motivated by the need to increase competitiveness in the global economy (Jourdan *et al* 1996) and with a view to achieving a measure of spatial redistribution. The "crowding-in" (concentration) of private sector investment is central to the SDI concept, with public sector input limited to a maximum of 10% of the overall capital injection (Jourdan *et al* 1996). The emphasis is very much on economic growth through public-private partnerships (PPPs) as a precursor to large-scale private investment in SDIs, with attention to SMME spin-off and other 'community' benefits being given a secondary or 'add-on' status.

The close relationship between tourism development and quality infrastructure was recently noted by Viljoen & Naicker (2000) who argue that without "improvement in the infrastructure of former homeland areas" tourism development there has a "bleak future". Blejer and Khan (1984) are not alone in drawing a strong correlation between public sector investment and the 'crowding in' of private sector investment. Furthermore, if community empowerment is to occur and livelihoods are to improve, the provision of basic services and the development of human resources need to go hand-in-hand with policies oriented towards economic growth (DLA 1998).

Others point out that the SDIs are not intended to be a rural development strategy and are merely a "pragmatic response" to the need to kick-start economic growth and generate more jobs in marginalised areas: the programmes should not therefore be analysed as anything more than this (Platsky 2000). Furthermore, the capacity for SDIs to make a significant impact on joblessness is limited by the shortage of appropriately skilled workers, a factor which could exacerbate the 'jobless growth' phenomenon (Platsky 1998b). This is perhaps particularly true of the Wild Coast Initiative, given the extremely low education and skills levels in that area.

5.1 The Wild Coast

The contrasts of extreme poverty and natural beauty have led to the Wild Coast becoming a focal point for economic development efforts. The Wild Coast SDI, initiated by the Departments of Transport and Tourism and Industry in 1996, was based on unimplemented plans of the former Transkeian government (Government of Transkei 1982; Nicolson 1993). It is anticipated that through the SDI ecotourism-related investment will be attracted to the area. In turn this will stimulate improvements to infrastructure, services and quality of life.

The Wild Coast covers a coastline area of about 300 kilometres between the Great Kei River to the south and Umtamvuna River to the north. Being part of the former Transkei bantustan which since 1994 has been re-incorporated within the Eastern Cape Province, the area is characterized by poorly developed infrastructure and acute poverty. Perhaps ironically, given the chronic neglect of the region, the Wild Coast has been widely regarded as an 'unspoilt' or 'undisturbed' area of great natural beauty since the 19th century. A number of areas have been singled out as suitable for agri-tourism SDIs. This type of initiative introduces complex dimensions into the equation such as land reform, community co-management of resources and competition over resources. The Tourism White Paper (1998) S2.2(ii) notes that "most protected areas were proclaimed without consultation with, or the approval of, affected rural communities. Communities bore the cost of reduced access to natural and cultural resources but did not perceive, or receive any direct benefits."

In the former homelands, numerous coastal tourist investments met with hostility from local communities over the years (in some cases were even physically destroyed): the legacy is one of grave mistrust. Several development nodes have been identified on the Wild Coast including Dwesa/Cwebe/Nqabara, Coffee Bay/Hole in the Wall, Port St Johns, Magwa and Mkambati. The SDI aims to attract eco-tourism ventures into these 'anchor' project areas, with the hope that improvements in infrastructure and other investments will encourage a range of 'knock-on' or 'spin-off' economic initiatives in the surrounding areas. It is hoped that the five nature reserves (Dwesa, Cwebe, Hluleka, Silaka and Mkambati), together with areas such as Hole-in-the-Wall, will attract both national and international tourists to the Wild Coast. Although tourism is the main focus of the Wild Coast SDI, agriculture and forestry have also been identified as holding development potential.

"The dispersed population and low level of existing development make the Wild Coast a prime region for the development of its natural resources, whilst at the same time providing a unique opportunity to uplift the historically marginalised local community" writes SDI project manager Vuyo Mahlati (1999a). The area recently suffered from a decline in the mining industry as well as the establishment of provincial government in Bisho, exacerbating the already low level of employment (unemployment stands at 73% - *ibid*).

It is envisaged that local people will benefit from the Wild Coast SDI in a number of ways including through forming business partnerships with external investors, government support for local business development, rental payments for land leased to investors, job opportunities, capacity building and improved infrastructure (Koch *et al* 1998). But are expectations of SDIs perhaps too high? Expectations are undoubtedly raised by the

explicitly developmental objectives (however secondary these may appear to be) specified by SDI teams, where an emphasis is placed on empowerment, changing the ownership base and increasing benefit flows to communities. These empowerment criteria seem, however, to be in conflict with certain other features of the programme, perhaps the most important of these being the limiting of public sector spending and involvement.

Some SDIs are described as led by tourism, agriculture, or a combination of the two (eg. Wild Coast, Lubombo and Phalaborwa), whilst other industrial-based initiatives (such as the Maputo Development Corridor, the Trans-Africa Coast2Coast and Fish River SDIs) include an 'agri-tourism' component. The emphasis in tourism-led SDIs is on the development of attractions — hotels, game parks etc — of interest primarily to the international tourist market (Hall 1999).

De Beer et al (1998) describe the primary objectives of agri-tourism SDIs as "firstly, to generate sustainable economic growth and development; secondly, to generate sustainable long term employment creation; thirdly, to maximise the extent to which private sector investment and lending can be mobilised into the process; and fourthly, to exploit the opportunities that arise from the development of tourism and eco-tourism developments for the development of SMME's and for the empowerment of local communities". Empowerment criteria for tourism and forestry projects include community involvement and responsibility for the management of assets and resources under their control; community control over land; the level of equity shares in the enterprises accruing to the community; and the identification and support of SMME development opportunities.

Platsky (2000) argues, conversely, that the SDIs' emphasis on community involvement is itself a barrier to private sector interest, as is the question of investing into communally held land, especially when there are so many "less risky" investment options elsewhere. Indeed, the question of land has been a central factor in the Wild Coast initiative, where the SDI team pressed ahead in spite of unresolved claims for land restitution and considerable conflict over ownership and use of key areas. Added to this deterrent for serious investors is what has been described as a 'land grab' with hundreds of "unscrupulous developers", mainly illegal cottage owners, "bulldozing sand dunes, cutting down mangroves and other protected plants, and dumping sewage and waste into rivers and the sea" (Macleod 2000).

But a delay in the implementation of tenure reform was perhaps the most serious problem the SDI faced. Investments targeting land in affected areas are often complicated by the tenure status of the land as well as pending claims for the restitution of land rights. By the end 1997 there were over 65 land claims in the Wild Coast area (Natal Witness 1997), a significant number of these in areas targeted for SDI investments. The majority of these have remained unresolved. In certain cases claims have not been lodged because of the promise of the 'alternative wealth' which might accrue through SDI investments. Only time will tell how the affected claimants might act should the much vaunted benefits of SDIs not materialise. Delays in the transfer of land to rural people also complicate the implementation of the Wild Coast SDI. While an understanding of the history of land allocation, dispossession and reclamation in the Wild Coast is crucial for any development intervention, these local factors were overlooked or played down by the SDI team.

41

Early twentieth century colonialists divided the Transkei administrative areas along the coast into 'tribal' (administrative) and resort areas. The former were set aside for rural African occupation under the indirect rule of traditional authorities, while the resort areas were reserved for white residents of the Transkei. As the law currently stands, land in most of the administrative areas of the Wild Coast is nominally owned by the state and administered by Tribal Authorities as agents of the state. In terms of the 1936 Native land Act, occupation of land was based on a Permission to Occupy (PTO) system. People living in these communal areas currently have informal rights to the land (protected since 1996 by the Interim Protection of Informal Land Rights Act, 1996). The government's tenure reform programme aims to provide proper legal status to people in communal areas. Tenure reform has not yet been implemented in the former Transkei, resulting in uncertainty and abuse. Traditional authorities continue to benefit from coastal land through the 'illegal' sale of PTOs. Villagers pay cash or kind to chiefs or headmen for extra land; women remain severely discriminated against in terms of land allocation.

Government has procrastinated around who should hold tenure rights to communal land — individuals, community trusts, companies, tribes or traditional authorities. The most vocal of these parties is, however, the traditional authorities and so far this party seems to have gained most sympathy from government officials who argue that traditional authorities — a product of the apartheid system — should hold land on behalf of those falling under their area of jurisdiction. In the Tshezi area of the Wild Coast such authorities were able to exploit both the fuzziness of their own role and the failure of the state to adequately address the land rights question, rejecting other forms of ownership in favour of an undemocratic committee (endorsed by the Department of Land Affairs) as their land holding entity.

The SDI has highlighted the urgent need for land rights to be clarified ahead of investment. This is particularly important as it is clear that benefits to local communities will be strongly linked to land ownership, while investors will require secure tenure on the land. Rural people cannot negotiate with investors if they are not legal owners of the land. Whilst the land reform process is underway, it has been proposed that the Minister of Land Affairs enter into negotiations with investors on behalf of rural people on the understanding that when the land is eventually transferred they will inherit whatever the Minister negotiated. With conflict over land characterising rural life in the Wild Coast area, it is unlikely that negotiations by a third party (government) will satisfy all the interested parties. Other problems with the SDI related to process, and the tensions around land issues were exacerbated, at least in part, by the 'fast-track' approach employed in SDI planning and implementation. Although the SDI designers recognised that this risked the "compromise" or "neglect" of spheres such as the environment or community participation (Arkwright *et al* 1998) they gave scant attention to how this might impact on the overall viability of the programme. In the Wild Coast, the rushed nature of the programme resulted in a poor communications strategy as well as accelerated decision making around implementation. Jourdan *et al* (1996) acknowledged the dangers of neglecting local dynamics and the need for participation and the negative impact this might have on the "performance of capital investments by the private

https://etd.uwc.ac.za/

and public sectors", but they didn't dwell on the potentially detrimental socio-economic implications of this type of accelerated strategy. The mobilisation of "technical expertise" was considered sufficient to "offset these risks".

In Mkambati the communication strategy was studied and both the 'message' and the 'channels of communication' found wanting (Kepe 1999). The strategy was primarily geared to telling people what had already been decided and the SDI was already at an advanced planning stage but the packages developed were inappropriate. Poorly organised meetings were held with hi-tech slide presentations and English-language materials; facilitators often lacked transport or were unwelcome in certain areas. A recent survey found that 23% of households on the Wild Coast had never heard of the SDI and concluded that "access to information about the SDI is dangerously low". The participation process outlined here can be located at the lower end of Pimbert & Pretty's scale, as 'passive', where "people are merely told (by external professionals) of something which will happen or has happened, and their responses are not taken into account". Any discussion is confined to what is already on the table and proposals were pursued in spite of objections raised or concerns such as the crucial questions of land ownership.

In the Tshezi area the SDI team put out to tender the upgrading of a hotel and camp-site in 1998 and announced their intention to construct a link road joining the resort areas of Coffee Bay and Hole-in-the-Wall as well as ablution blocks and parking areas. At that stage, however, important issues were unresolved. The consent of the DLA as nominal landowner had not been sought and the Heath Special Investigation Unit (SIU), which had issued a moratorium on Wild Coast development until corruption over land usage could be investigated, had not been approached. Important local committees were marginalised and environmental impact studies had not been conducted. This occurred despite the identification of 'land' and 'local authority' as major blockages to development in the feasibility study conducted earlier. The infrastructure projects were eventually abandoned shortly before completion.

Elsewhere on the Wild Coast things were not much different. Once Mkambati was identified as a key node in the Wild Coast SDI, intensive planning took place in both provincial and national government departments tasked with implementing the programme. The private sector investment envisaged for Mkambati includes upgrading and extension of existing tourist facilities, while the government's contribution is to improve infrastructure in the vicinity of the reserve including roads, telephones, electricity and so forth. Outside the reserve private companies are being encouraged to invest in agricultural and commercial forestry. Consultants briefly visited Mkambati Nature Reserve in 1996 to get a profile of the area and identify opportunities for investment. It was however only in late 1997 that the neighbouring villagers heard anything about the Wild Coast SDI in Mkambati (Kepe 1999).

The speed with which implementation was advocated also created political tensions. Prior to the 1999 national elections politicians rallied support around the SDI, in spite of a strong body of opinion that the SDI should not go ahead until land claims were resolved. Those favouring resolution of the land question before SDI

investment were denounced as anti-government United Democratic Movement (UDM) members and were ostracised by those in power. The DLA and the SDI team advanced factionalism by working with those who were pro fast-tracking the process.

In both Tshezi and Mkambati a lack of coordination and cooperation among government departments was noted. This was particularly the case with the Department of Land Affairs and the SDI team but was also a problem where cooperation between national, provincial and local government was needed. The Wild Coast SDI project manager admitted that "complications exist in situations where a programme (SDI) requires specific feedstocks (local governance, environment, infrastructure, etc.) that fall outside the competency of the driving department (DTI)" (Mahlati 1999a). Political commitment between the different spheres of government and inter-departmental cooperation had, however, been highlighted as "key design principles" of the SDI programme (Arkwright et al 1998). As noted in Section 4 above, the concept of 'cooperative governance' is also a cornerstone of the Municipal Systems Act (1999).

5.2 Tourism 'Benefits'

The emphasis on private sector led tourism development is considered by many (eg. Charles 1999) to be at odds with the goals of fostering community participation and the involvement of the previously disadvantaged in tourism related activity. A DBSA (1997) discussion document suggests responsibility for transformation of the tourism industry rests with the affected communities themselves: "The role of the community is to ensure that tourism initiatives are community based, and that sufficient benefits from the tourism process accrue to them".

The SDI focus has been on communally held land as the key to 'benefits', a factor leading to a flurry of new land claims being registered and fresh or intensified conflict over established claims to land. Resources are not, however, the only barrier to empowerment. "The industry should not be seen as a magical solution to rural poverty in South Africa. If it is to live up to its potential in specific localities, its practitioners must take into account factors that constrain ecotourism's ability to generate and redistribute benefits to the poorest members of society" warns Koch (1997). Again, local dynamics are a crucial factor in determining how benefits might be distributed. There is a danger in agri-tourism SDIs (as with other types) that the low-key role afforded the public sector — coupled with a lack of capacity in local government — and the limiting of state resource allocation to 10% will result in the capture of benefits by big business and local elites. In 1998 the Wild Coast SDI was launched by high-powered national and provincial government representatives with the promise that it would bring up to R400m worth of investment and create more than 20,000 direct jobs (Daily Dispatch, 15 and 16 April 1998).

By the end of 1999 a consortium won the bid to invest in tourism in the Mkambati Nature Reserve. Infrastructural improvements were underway with roads being regravelled between Flagstaff and Mkambati and the installation of electricity and telephone poles. These improvements brought a few hundred temporary jobs, with villagers in some areas working one week each in order to give others a chance, although most

44

villagers still haven't had work. Some residents stopped seeking work because of opportunities that may arise from the promised investments. These people would normally go to KwaZulu/Natal to work in the sugar cane fields, but believe they might lose out if they are not around when the jobs arrive. Some have 'waited' since 1997, while others gave up after a year or two. A few hopefuls, supported by families in the villages, are even camped inside Mkambati Nature Reserve. In the Tshezi projects (April 2000) locals were providing labour at R30 per day (again on a rotation basis because jobs were few), while skilled workers such as builders, plumbers and drivers were recruited elsewhere.

It is, however, still too early to assess whether developments brought by the SDI would limit or enhance the scope of diversity in livelihood strategies. The potential for hostility between locals and tourists exists and could compound the negative impacts of the SDI programme's emphasis on drawing natural resources into market-oriented commercial enterprises and away from the poor. The trade in plant materials including medicinal plants, thatch-grass, fuelwood and sedges for basket-making is becoming increasingly significant for rural women living in coastal areas and is a factor in the multiple livelihood strategies of most households in the Wild Coast. The delicate balance of livelihood activities in a poor, rural area, should be a key consideration for any project aiming to introduce new activities like tourism, particularly as the level of benefits which would accrue from tourism developments in the region is uncertain. The type of work opportunities that may accrue to locals from the resort-style coastal tourist developments may not be sufficient to offset the risk of loss of access to certain natural resources. Furthermore, the nature of the attractions of the coastal SDIs may render them seasonal sources of employment, with the 'season' coinciding with that for most agricultural work.

Where locals have been able to make their own investments in the promised tourism boom, the slow pace of the programme has been disastrous. Some members of the local elite purchased mini buses for transporting future workers between the villages and Mkambati Nature Reserve. Supermarkets and cottages have been built on the borders of the reserve to capitalise on the expected tourism boom. Most of these investments took place between 1998 and 1999; some are being abandoned as hopes fade.

Without substantial human resource development, the low skills base of the targeted areas is likely to translate into primarily low-status, low-paid jobs with poor prospects for advancement and, although the new work opportunities are in the short term positive — given the severe shortage of jobs in the areas concerned — it has been noted that long-term sustainability depends upon building capacity in order that community members are able to take up positions at all levels of tourist operation (De Beer & Wheeller 1997). If the SDI team continues to disregard local conditions and power dynamics and gives insufficient attention given to issues such as employment procedure, the capture of benefits by local elites is likely to result, irrespective of the volume of opportunities.

> It is clear that in the face of limited opportunities, the elite will do everything in their power to maximize their own gain. If opportunities were greater in number, there is no reason to assume these would not also be captured by the local elite. There is little to counter the power of this

group and government is failing to protect the interests of the poor, although the developments are specifically intended to benefit this group. (Kepe 2001)

The tendency elsewhere has been for marketing, management and other 'good' jobs to go to outsiders, and in the case of foreign tourism investments often to expatriates (*ibid*). It has been suggested that the niche market nature of tourism opportunities on the Wild Coast and Maputaland will lead, at best, to a limited number of luxury-type investments. The focus of the SDI programme on economic growth as a means, or precursor, to development obfuscates the issue of whose interests are served and how benefits of any subsequent growth are distributed. The concept is driven more by concerns around the rate, or extent, of economic growth rather than to its pattern (Kabeer 1998). Who benefits, and how, has not been a primary consideration for the SDI team as the following section demonstrates.

5.3 Defining 'Community'

In the Mkambati area of the Wild Coast, three dimensions of conflict have been identified: these are issues of land ownership; rights and access to resources; and how 'community' is defined (Kepe *et al* 1999c). The ill-defined notions of 'community' used in the Wild Coast significantly increased tensions in the area between different groups of people: in Mkambati the SDI team were initially satisfied with a narrow geographical concept of 'community' and forged ahead with efforts to negotiate joint ventures with private investors and 'the community'. As Murphree (1999) observes, the concept involves "different and frequently superimposed principles of communities of place, communities of use and communities of interest". Others argue the term 'community' is a misnomer:

> The term masks the harsh, and sometimes unpleasant, reality that most settlements are made of fragmented and deeply divided factions. Instead of assuming an in-built inertia towards consensus, planners should assume their programmes will impact in different ways on groups within poor 'communities' and that varied and conflicting responses will be elicited from them. Before any development programme is even conceptualised, a detailed survey of the different stakeholder groups in each community should be conducted and the way their interests are likely to be affected by the development process should be outlined. (Koch 1997)

In Mkambati, a key development 'node' of the Wild Coast SDI, the concept of 'community' is tightly interwoven with the issue of land. The SDI's emphasis on land rights related benefits triggered a land claim by the Khanyayo people. But before the claim could even be lodged with the Commission for Restitution of Land Rights, the Kanyayo's neighbours who belonged to the same Thaweni Tribal Authority objected to the impending claim, arguing that no one administrative area can claim land which rightfully belongs to all the people of the tribal authority. The neighbours further argued that the community of beneficiaries in the Mkambati SDI should include all six administrative areas falling under Thaweni Tribal Authority. The Khanyayo people on the other hand favoured a narrower definition of local community which tied more closely with the history of occupation of the land in question.

Conflict also exists between villagers and outsiders (including government) as well as amongst villagers who live in the vicinity of the areas identified for development. Different groups have different interests in the areas

46

earmarked for development. In Tshezi for example, traditional authorities — especially the chief, his headman son and the sub-headman of Rhini ward — saw the coastal resort area as an important source of income due to their illegal allocation of resort sites. Villagers, on the other hand, regarded the coastal resort area and its potential for development as an important source of job creation. In terms of the authority structure adopted after the introduction of the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951, at the apex of the hierarchy is the Chief (Dubulingqanga) who occupies an hereditary position. His jurisdiction in the Tshezi area extends over the four administrative areas. Next comes the headman, whose jurisdiction is over the administrative area concerned. Below the headman is a sub-headman who exercises power at the ward level. The Tshezi Tribal Authority consists of the chief, headmen (both of whom are unelected), councillors and a secretary.

Both the Khanyayo and the neighbouring areas waged a bitter struggle to influence government agencies working in the area. A series of incidents, some violent, soon made it almost impossible for either government or NGOs to visit the area. Those seeking to work in particular communities were forced to take sides. Clearly, it is not possible to work with the idea of a single, unified 'community'. Kepe *et al* (1999c) found a deeply divided 'community' with embedded tensions over access to resources and differing ideas around who the legitimate 'beneficiaries' might be of any economic partnership arrangements with the private sector. The opportunities promised through the SDI also led to nepotism and elite control over who might get training or jobs.

The way the SDI team came to define the 'community' with which it decided to work — a mistake which led them to first ignore, then to downplay, the conflict between the various community groups — is questioned. The SDI managers failed to take into account the historical divisions between groups in Mkambati and succeeded in "setting various interest groups at each other's throats" (Kepe *et al* 1999a). The uncritical acceptance of undemocratic, unrepresentative tribal authorities and local committees was also problematic. The SDI and DLA teams have shown an unqualified level of respect and trust for traditional authority system in the former Transkei and appear to regard traditional leaders as unbiased custodians of both people and social practices.

5.4 Conclusions

In its efforts to kick-start tourism development in the former Transkei homeland, the state has met with numerous difficulties. While some of the challenges faced (and presented) by the SDI programme arise from the design and style of implementation, others have their roots in the geography, history, politics and social relations of the region. As it is still early days for most SDI initiatives, it is impossible to predict with any certainty what level of success the programmes might eventually achieve.

Early indications are that, overall, the SDI strategy is:

Neglecting local dynamics: the focus of the SDI team has been almost entirely on (ostensibly) 'objective' assessments of an area's economic potential (focusing on locational factors and natural resources — ie.

https://etd.uwc.ac.za/

prioritising that which can be turned into international market value) and aims to draw in large numbers of private investors to 'exploit' it.

Exacerbating gender inequality: the narrow definition of development implicit in the SDI framework and the emphasis on market forces as a central instrument for achieving greater well-being, ignores structural inequalities based on race, class, culture and gender and risks leaving women out in the cold, perhaps even deepening inequality in the region. Women are concentrated largely in informal and subsistence sector activities (ie. those most likely to be affected negatively by the export-orientation of the SDI strategy) and are unlikely to benefit from any new opportunities arising for SMMEs, as these generally accrue to the best-resourced of the sector.

Failing to give adequate consideration to development backlogs: the SDI emphasis on the private sector to finance service infrastructure and human resource development risks is difficult to marry with the SDI strategy's developmental objectives (Charles 1999). Mahlati (1999a) highlights poor infrastructure (roads, water, electricity and phones) as a factor which will limit the investment promotion drive and limit the "exploitation of multipliers (spin-offs) by local communities and entrepreneurs".

Generating confusion and mistrust amongst the intended beneficiary communities: the Wild Coast SDI has created confusion and conflict as well as fuelled high expectations regarding jobs and other benefits which are not, at least in the near future, likely to be met through the Initiative. Of itself, growth, in up-market, private-sector tourism is offering few local opportunities and may impact negatively on existing livelihood strategies. It is unlikely to reduce poverty without parallel initiatives to improve skills levels infrastructure, and access to opportunities. However, fiscal contraints limit the role of the public sector and public spending.

Heavily reliant on almost universally rejected notions of 'trickle-down' effects of large-scale private sector investment: the 'developmental' objectives (job creation, SMME empowerment etc) of SDIs are expected to follow on (in gender neutral fashion), from the 'crowding-in' of economic activity. Empowerment criteria are in danger of being sacrificed to the objectives of economic growth and job creation. Projects could fall victim to the 'jobless growth' phenomenon: the tendency for overseas tourism investors to use expatriate labour — especially in the skilled and managerial spheres — has been well documented. This is a likely scenario in the agri-tourism SDI areas as the local skills and education base is extremely low.

Likely to result in the capture of benefits by local elites: the disregard for local conditions and power dynamics and the lack of attention given to issues such as employment procedures could well result in a situation where those who are already in powerful positions and are relatively wealthy will benefit most from the Wild Coast SDI. Assimilating the language of 'transformation' and 'empowerment' into a programme is not sufficient to shift the programme's core strategy away from stimulating private sector investment and growth, and towards the distribution of benefits of growth.

48

Closing the door on information flow: the SDI is currently turning a blind eye to key information from social empirical research, instead relying on quick technical studies conducted by short-term consultants. Information on the SDI strategy is not freely available. Without improved flows of information, the Wild Coast SDI will continue to experience problems.

Seeking technical 'quick-fix' solutions: the fast-track approach and the 'economic growth = development' paradigm being employed resulted in the downplaying of serious local issues such as control over land, and the adoption of a problematic definition of the 'community'. Programme design must be adapted to local conditions. The SDI's external, 'top-down' approach, insufficient communication and consultation, and fast pace have resulted in local needs and dynamics being overlooked.

In the Wild Coast, the SDI team forged ahead in spite of obvious conflicts in the region which were evidently capable of derailing the entire programme. The sustainability of the individual projects will be negatively affected by the lack of consideration of the 'local milieu', widely considered vital for a good 'fit' between investment and communities and therefore their long-term success.

What the evidence from the Wild Coast suggests so far, however, is that a nationally planned and driven programme, simply 'transplanted' on different local milieux (particularly those with complex, multi-dimensional and deep-seated problems and challenges such as former black homelands) cannot be expected to meet with the desired outcomes: poverty may even be exacerbated and alternative development initiatives deterred.

The orthodox planning methodology used by the SDI team assumes that a clear-cut, pre-defined problem (poverty and unemployment) exists upon which a technical solution (an SDI) can be successfully imposed. The Wild Coast experiences drawn upon here demonstrate that the complexities of dynamic local contexts and the interests of those upon whom the initiatives will impact, cannot be ignored or treated as secondary, but must be viewed as an essential component to the success of any development programme.

The importance of land to rural people, and the need for issues around this crucial resource to be understood in the development process, cannot be stressed enough. The history of colonization, homeland policies, corruption of government officials and the controversial role of traditional authorities posed major challenges to the implementation of the SDI in these areas. Rural areas of the former homelands continue to suffer from neglect by government, resulting in the continuation of poor practice and fuzziness of rules and regulations. The land issue seems to be one area greatly affected by this legacy. In the Wild Coast, engagement with land reform processes has too often been limited to the setting up of legal entities to 'tidy up' complex communities so that investors can more easily negotiate their needs.

In both the areas considered here — Tshezi and Mkambati — self interest by the rural elite at the expense of the less powerful and vulnerable was clearly evident. Local social relations are particularly relevant when external interventions, such as the SDI, are made. The implications of working with over-simplified notions of

49

'community' are serious and may in the end derail a programme which could potentially (once the considerable flaws are worked through) provide people with valuable opportunities for improved livelihoods.

While Agri-tourism SDIs may succeed in attracting private sector investment, the issues raised here suggest the long-term sustainability of the initiatives may well be compromised and that — even if the strategy succeeds in generating some economic growth in the hitherto neglected regions — developmental objectives are unlikely to be met.

But perhaps most importantly, the need for development programmes such as the SDIs to be fully integrated into provincial and local development plans is paramount. Although the Wild Coast SDI built upon existing provincial plans, it went ahead at a time when "spatial, infrastructural, economic and social plans" were being prepared and therefore risks further marginalisation of the people in the areas concerned (Ilrig 1997).

6. THE CAPE PENINSULA NATIONAL PARK – NATURE TOURISM IN AN URBAN LANDSCAPE

The location of an open-access national park within the boundaries of a major city presents an almost unique set of opportunities and constraints. In the case of the CPNP a growing metropolis of more than 3 million people, combined with around 6 million tourists a year, means the Park faces two distinct challenges.

Firstly, there is the need to protect the Park from over-use (and consequent damage to the delicate ecology) by visitors, as well as encroachment or 'urban sprawl' and insensitive development on the fringes of the Park. Secondly, there are the development opportunities that arise from the location of a treasured and valuable natural asset amidst high unemployment and poverty, coupled with a well-developed private sector keen to get involved in commercialisation opportunities.

> It can be argued that tourism is one of the major determinants of the value of protected areas. But the role of tourism in expanding public support for protected areas is a source of much debate. Conflict stems from the desire to both preserve natural settings and to allow people access to them…. Conflict concerning protected areas and tourism also revolves around the resource protection versus development debate. However, actual conflict usually occurs not within the protected area itself, but between the park and the surrounding area. Community growth in areas adjacent to protected areas, in response to tourist demand for services, is often criticised by park managers as being incompatible with park values. (Ceballos-Lascurain 1996)

The strategy of the CPNP in relation to the surrounding city is examined in some detail here, particularly through the policy elaborated in, firstly, the draft Development Framework (1998) and, secondly, the subsequent draft Conservation Development Framework.

As mentioned in section 4, the SANP uses the IUCN definition of a national park. SANP is "subject to the principles and provisions of relevant international treaties and conventions, national and provincial legislation

and policy" (CPNP 1999) which underpin and to an extent constrain the way it undertakes its work. The broad acceptance of the principle that protected area management should link in with the economic activities of local communities has also been noted. Here we look at how the CPNP interprets this challenge and how it is working towards making that link.

The juxtaposition of nature areas with heavily populated areas is not conducive to the deployment of the type of community participation mechanisms employed in some of the programmes which have been heralded as good examples of community involvement in protected areas. These would include Community-based Resource Management (CRM) such as Zimbabwe's Campfire (Communal Area Management Programme for Indigenous Resources) initiative, for example. These type of initiatives are not well suited to areas with large populations because the resources which can be easily utilised in a nature area, such as game, do not even begin to satisfy economic and development needs. Yet in respect of resource value, the richly-endowed CPNP is far removed from the rural game reserve. The number of visitors to the city and its nature areas and the potential opportunities flowing from tourism are immense. The floral wealth of the CPNP and other reserves around the Cape also has enormous hitherto untapped potential although the capacity for this to play a major role in LED is limited. It is, nonetheless, an important consideration in respect of future benefits and is examined in more detail later.

So how important is the role of tourism in the City of Cape Town and what role do the assets of the Park play in the city's tourism development?

In 1999, 790,000 overseas tourists[7] and 4.7 million domestic tourists visited the Western Cape province, most of these visiting Cape Town (Grant Thornton Kessel Feinstein 2000). In the summer of 2000/01 it is estimated that each foreign tourist spent an average of R21,516 and each domestic tourist an average of R6,832 (Cape Metropolitan Tourism 2001). The total spend of domestic and foreign visitors is roughly equal, at R5-6 billion a year (City of Cape Town, April 2001). The Western Cape accounts for around 30% of the country's tourism activity and is described as the province's strongest growth force (Wesgro, undated). While the volume of tourists was expected to increase by around 10% per annum from 1997-2000 (Bloom 1998), there was in fact a levelling off in foreign airport arrivals from 1998-2000. This is attributed to various factors including a number of bomb-attacks in the city and the Asian economic crisis. Competing demands on local disposable incomes (including the lottery, cell-phones, high petrol prices etc.) have been blamed for decreases in domestic tourism over the same period.

Tourism is nonetheless expected to grow in the city due to the continued decline of the South African Rand against the US Dollar and the Euro (which means greater local purchasing power for many international visitors), lower than expected interest rates (leading to increased disposable income and a greater level of

---

[7] Tourism statistics often demonstrate an unhelpful ambiguity in their use of the terms 'foreign' and 'overseas' tourist, at times using the term 'overseas' to mean 'foreign'; the intended meaning here is not known.

tourism-related investment) and reductions in violent crime (which had generated negative publicity for the city) (City of Cape Town 2001). Key success factors for maximising the future growth of tourism in Cape Town have been identified by the new City of Cape Town local authority, including:

- Improving and managing foreign perceptions about South Africa.
- Effectively marketing Cape Town as a world-class tourism destination.
- Reducing crime levels in Cape Town and South Africa.
- Improving Cape Town's public transport system.
- Promoting world-class industry customer service standards.
- Broadening access to the benefits of tourism growth to all the people of Cape Town. (ibid)

The need to change the nature of benefit distribution from tourism is noted here, and, although the *transformation* of the tourism industry is not really elaborated in local policy and strategy, some effort has been made in developing new attractions in marginalized areas and in supporting the small business sector to access more opportunities.

Although the management and development of the CPNP doesn't feature in the municipality's 'critical success factors', without the Park, Cape Town would boast two rather than five of the country's top ten overseas-visitor attractions (Grant Thornton Kessel Feinstein 2000), and these (the V&A Waterfront and the Robben Island Museum[8]) would likely drop in popularity without the Park-based attractions of Table Mountain, Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens and Cape Point. The tourism success, and future potential, of Cape Town and the CPNP seems to depend primarily on their co-existence. The Park does not appear, however, to be high in the minds of local government planners and organisations involved in the economic development sphere. The CPNP is rarely, if ever, featured in investment opportunity or development literature (Gretton 2001). Furthermore, the involvement of economic development departments at local government level in Park planning has been markedly absent – the tendency has been for local authorities to relate to the Park in terms of their spatial planning and environment competencies.

The South Peninsula is one of the two administrative areas within which the CPNP protected area falls, and it is useful to briefly profile that area as it will be considered when discussing the impact of the Park. The area falling under the jurisdiction of the South Peninsula Administration (SPA – formerly South Peninsula Municipality, or SPM) makes up 19% of the land mass of the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA) yet contains 54% of the natural area within the city. The population is 345,000, making up 12% of the CMA's total. The labour supply is 142,000, of which almost 50,000 (more than a third) are either unemployed or engaged in informal

---

[8] Measurement of the value of the V&A Waterfront as a tourist attraction, *per se*, is problematic and its importance may be grossly overestimated. For example, visitors to both the Robben Island Museum and the Two Oceans Aquarium (also rated highly amongst visitors) are in effect being 'double-counted', as both these attractions are accessed via the Waterfront complex. That the complex comprises shops, craft markets, restaurants, cinemas and other services makes it difficult to disaggregate those using the Waterfront as an alternative to the shops and services of the CBD from those for whom the Waterfront represents a tourist attraction. The identification of the Waterfront as a *tourist attraction*, and the use of total visitor numbers to support its status as such, is therefore misleading.

sector activities. The area has a significant cluster of tourist attractions – Cape Point, scenic and historic drives, wine farms, small harbours, False Bay beaches and the Coastal Park. Its natural resources are its primary asset for future developments yet need to be protected to safeguard this value. Manufacturing, the film industry, retail and commercial services, property development and education, training and research are significant economic sectors in the area. While tourism and related activity accounts for an estimated 14% of the local economy, "business activities in the South Peninsula are to a great extent shaped by the tourist sector". The economy is dominated by SMMEs and relatively few micro-enterprises are present (Wesgro 1999).

Although the SPA is by no means the poorest of the city's administrative areas (indeed it ranks at the top in relation to key HDI factors), the area is characterised by wide income disparities and pockets of severe poverty and unemployment. The number of SPA residents living in informal settlements was conservatively estimated at 20,000 in 1995 (CMC), although some of these settlements now have limited formal housing.

The CPNP is the South Peninsula's most important natural asset and covers around two-thirds of the area's land mass. While the Park is a significant attraction for visitors, it contributes little in terms of revenue to the local authority and has few commercial activities within its borders. That Cape Peninsula National Park attractions "create little commercial revenue for the council or local business" is highlighted by Wesgro (1999) as a "dilemma" for the SPA. "Innovative ways to link protected areas and commercial activities need to be developed to gradually increase the job-creation and income-generating impact of this major asset." The report includes under "key challenges" the need for the SPA to "fully utilise the resources and competitive strengths of the area" and to "maintain a commitment to address social needs in all spheres of business and municipal development". In order to address the challenges an integrative approach to LED is advocated; there is also a need for the local authority to explore public-private and public-public partnerships.

There are conflicting viewpoints on how economic benefits from the CPNP can be maximised (although few of these are motivated by a concern to restructure benefits or with the development of PPT). The Western Cape Trade and Investment Promotion Agency, Wesgro, highlights the need for the Park to develop relationships with commercial activities outside the Park, and advocates greater involvement of the private sector in the Park itself:

> "Nature conservation and related recreational activities still largely fall within the public or statutory sector. In order to expand the economic impact of these areas the link with formal and informal commercial activities have to be strengthened and the long-run semi-privatisation or park activities has to progress. In the short run the momentum of this sector will be determined by the management efficiency of the Cape Peninsula National Park as well as the False Bay Coastal Park." (Wesgro 1999)

But, as pointed out in the section on the Wild Coast SDI, involvement of the private sector may lead to greater commercial activity yet will not in itself achieve development objectives. Various CPNP documents (the Draft Tourism Development Framework and the Draft Conservation Development Framework, for example) reflect

divisions within the CPNP management over the question of commercial activity – divisions that related closely to evident tensions between conservation and development. During the first year of the Park's establishment, CEO David Daitz (head of the CPNP from 1998 to1999) mapped a way forward for the Park which involved maximising the commercial potential of the Park with a view to increasing CPNP income. The plans were soon scrapped after intensive lobbying by conservationists. The draft Conservation Development Framework (CDF) envisages minimal development, most of this involving the upgrade of existing facilities. Where the potential for more broad-reaching economic activity is presented the CPNP appears keen to stifle it, a point considered below when the CDF is outlined.

Proclaimed in 1998, the Cape Peninsula National Park encompasses the Peninsula mountain chain and stretches a distance of some 60km from Signal Hill in central Cape Town to Cape Point in the south. The Park has within its boundaries four of the most frequently visited landmarks in South Africa: Table Mountain (a national monument), the Cape of Good Hope reserve, Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens and the African penguin colony at Boulders Beach in Simon's Town. Prior to the Park's proclamation the area fell under a fragmented management system comprising local authorities, Cape Nature Conservation (CNC), SANP and private landowners. Comprising some 16,000 ha of land at the time it was proclaimed, the Park will eventually extend to 30,000 ha once the process of consolidation is complete (Shroyer *et al* 1998). The Park has a vast array of habitats which are responsible for a great diversity of fauna and an extremely high density of plant species (almost 2300), including large numbers of endemic and endangered ('red data') species. CPNP has a higher species diversity for its size than anywhere else in the world, with more than 1000 species on Cape Point alone.

A brief outline of the processes, and timing, of the establishment of the Cape Peninsula National Park is useful to the ensuing discussion of the role of the Park in tourism and development. Shroyer *et al* (1998) describe the events as follows:

While some areas of the Cape Peninsula had some conservation status since the 17th century, it was not until 1978 that Table Mountain and the South Peninsula were recommended for proclamation as a nature reserve. In 1989 more than 60% of the Cape Peninsula was awarded protected status in terms of the Environment Conservation Act 73 of 1989 as the 'Cape Peninsula Protected Natural Environment' (CPPNE) although the land had multiple owners, including private landowners and local authorities. In 1994 a commissioned report by the University of Cape Town's Environmental Evaluation Unit recommended that SANP take over the management of the CPPNE. What became known as the Fuggle Report was followed by a recommendation by the Kahn Working Group that the responsibilities of existing management bodies be assigned, and land allocated, to any new statutory managing body.

A committee was then convened to consider submissions from a range of bodies with an interest in managing the CPPNE and recommended the appointment of the SANP; this was accepted by the Western Cape Provincial government. The SANP then established a project team to establish a new national park around the

54

CPPNE land. After "intensive negotiations" with private landowners as well as the three spheres of government this was achieved. Negotiations were characterised by "heated debates" between SANP and certain NGOs "mainly because of a lack of trust on both sides". An agreement was finalised and signed in April 1998 between SANP, Cape Metropolitan Council and the City of Cape Town and South Peninsula municipalities which involved the transfer of land to SANP. A month later the Cape Peninsula National Park was proclaimed.

CPNP is unusual in its juxtaposition of urban conurbation and protected land. This close proximity of people and park gives rise to unique opportunities for tourism-led economic development, opportunities far greater than those available to most of the country's national parks. Yet these require either a pro-active development-oriented Park management or intense pressure from government, development NGOs and community-based organisations if they are to be realised.

The establishment of a new park in an urban environment presents a number of challenges and issues not previously tackled by national parks, which are normally found in rural areas. In certain important respects, the CPNP is 'pioneering' (some say 'finding its feet') – the potential exists for the Park to produce a new model for managing the people/park interface and integrating the conservation/development demands of a country in transition. The case study attempts to examine the approach of the Park in addressing these challenges. The extensive network of South African national parks are an important development resource which, managed sensitively, could contribute substantially to local economic development (LED) and to the transformation of the tourism industry as well as visitor experience.

There are numerous ways in which protected areas can contribute to development. Firstly, there is the potential of tourism, although some might place a little too much emphasis on the value of this sector. Minister for Environmental Affairs and Tourism, for example, says the following:

> The wonders of the natural environment serve the needs of the tourists; and tourists, through
> their interest and support in visiting these areas, serve the interests of nature conservation.
> Without the economic advantage of eco-tourism there would be no incentive to preserve eco-
> systems and without preserved eco-systems, there would be no eco-tourism. (Moosa 2000)

While ecotourism is clearly an important means through which economic benefits from nature areas can be realised, there are multiple values to natural resources (including non-economic values such as education). Rural populations make use of wild grasses, for example, as an important part of multiple livelihood strategies (see the Wild Coast case study). Roots, berries, insects etc are sources of food, as is hunting. Resources such as bark are harvested for medicinal purposes and in some areas (including the CPNP) this has become a problem. Conservation through careful management is central to the continued exploitation of such resources. Then there is the (as yet undetermined) economic potential of plant and animal species for medicinal, horticultural and zoological research and development. As the conservation of biodiversity is a primary focus of protected areas, this potential is worth examining more closely. It has often been said that the Cape's unique

flora – fynbos[9] – is a "global epicentre of biodiversity" and may hold cures for current and future disease. Yet the rich resource faces numerous threats and more than 1400 plants are listed as critically rare, endangered or vulnerable (Cowling & Richardson 1995). The spread of alien vegetation such as pine and wattle means forests are taking over fynbos habitat at an alarming rate. Agriculture and urban encroachment are leaving only small patches of habitat outside of reserves. Too frequent fires (a serious problem around towns) are also threatening the species diversity.

The economic values of the Cape flora are relatively little-explored, yet the export markets for South African plants exist and are largely supplied by producers in the Netherlands and elsewhere. But of the 1400 bulb species in the Cape flora only a few have so far been used in horticulture. The potential to harvest plants for the pharmaceutical industry is also vast (Cowling & Richardson 1995). Research and development for both horticulture and medicinal purposes could be carried out in South Africa – the ancient and extremely popular traditional use of herbs and other plants in healing gives the country significant local market for herbal remedies as well as an extensive untapped medicinal knowledge. If appropriately recognised and valued, such knowledge could give the country a significant comparative advantage in the world's huge and growing herbal medicine industry. "Could South Africa's Rand belt, with its mineral output worth $14 billion a year, eventually be matched by the commercial muscle of the Cape Floral Kingdom?" Cowling and Richardson (1995) ask.

Although the Conservation White Paper recognises the need to reverse the historical trend which sees the benefits of conservation accrue mainly to foreign private business interests, both national and provincial governments were involved in a recent deal, brokered by the National Botanical Institute (NBI), which transferred certain rights to exploit the economic value of the country's plant resources to a US horticultural company. While Cape Nature Conservation appears to have been consulted on the deal it is not known if SANP were also involved (although their exclusion would be strange, given their custody of the bulk of protected areas).

The contract – signed some two years ago, yet only now coming to light – also gives the Ball Horticultural Company the "exclusive, irrevocable licence to make, use, sell, with the right to sub-licence, any plant material" received from the NBI, which would allow its exploitation for pharmaceutical development (*Cape Times* 2001b). Those expressing concern – in some cases outrage – at the deal include business organisations, investment promotion agencies, development NGOs and those involved in the floriculture and biotechnology industries. Their reasons for opposing the deal are worth elaborating on here as there is a strong link between protected areas and conservation trends and the commercial exploitation of plant resources, a central feature of the economic value of nature areas. Objections include:

---

[9] Fynbos (a name given by the Dutch meaning 'fine bush') covers 80% of the Cape Floral Kingdom, which extends some 90,000 square kilometres and supports in excess of 8,500 plant species, making it the richest floral kingdom – for its size – in the world. The density of species diversity in this small area is matched only by the Panamanian rain-forest, and two-thirds of the species are endemic (Fraser & McMahon 1994).

- Undermining of local economic development and job creation - flora has the potential to create wealth and jobs, as well as promote conservation through the association of plants and flowers with real economic value (outgoing Wesgro CEO Peter Pullen in *People's Post* 11/4/01);

- Destruction of the potential for local companies to develop the floriculture export industry (Melanie Gosling, *Cape Times* 6/4/01);

- Disruption to agreements made to give space to the local horticultural industry to develop, such as the prohibition on exports of indigenous plant material for the purposes of commercial breeding (outgoing Wesgro CEO Peter Pullen in *People's Post* 11/4/01);

- The sale of natural heritage which belongs to the people: in Namaqualand, for example, land is held in trust (pending land reform) by the Minister for Agriculture and Land Affairs, and is famous for its floral heritage – the Namaqualand daisy is one of the plants sold in the deal and a "major economic opportunity for Namaqualanders" has been lost when they could have been "partners in this development opportunity" (Glenda Glover, Surplus People's Project in *Cape Times* 10/4/01a);

- Negative impact on the future of South Africa's biotechnology industry (Heather Sherwin of Gensec Bank in *Cape Times* 6/4/01); the agreement gives space to the US horticultural company to sub-licence plant material to exploit the plants' biotechnology potential – revenue from drug development from those plants will be lost to this country (Patrick Bouic of University of Stellenbosch medical microbiology in *Cape Times* 10/4/01b);

- Failure of the US to ratify the International Convention on Biodiversity "which binds countries to pay for intellectual property rights over floral and faunal material from other countries" means the company may not be bound by the agreement to pay 2-8% royalties to South Africa. Furthermore, the beneficiaries of the royalties are unspecified (Melanie Gosling, *Cape Times* 6/4/01);

- The failure of the agreement to ensure the commercial development of hybrids takes place in South Africa where job opportunities could be maximised (*Saturday Argus* 14/4/01).

- The exclusion of key stakeholders, such as those currently involved in the flower industry, from discussion on the deal and the fact that it was concluded behind closed doors (*Cape Times* 16/4/01).

In response, the NBI and its defenders argued that until now many have benefited from a form of 'bio-piracy' where the wealth of the biodiversity of South Africa and other developing countries has been exploited by the industrialised nations without any benefits coming back in, and that the deal represents an advance in the right direction. But if protection of plants is a primary rationale for conservation, their commercial exploitation is surely a valuable means by which people can benefit from that conservation? This important economic opportunity appears threatened by a poorly formulated agreement which effectively devalues the resource, before the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism has finalised "legislation on genetic resources and intellectual property rights" to regulate such agreements.

If the protection of biodiversity is upheld as the key reason for the establishment and maintenance of protected areas (often at great cost to the state and communities pushed onto their periphery) then this type of deal could see already fragile public support for their *raison d'etre* failing fast.

6.1 Developing a framework

Since the Park's promulgation in 1998, the organisation has struggled to develop a policy framework for the area's management, a struggle at least in part reflecting divisions within the Park's own management structures. The tensions emerge in the two guiding documents produced so far – the draft Development Framework and the subsequent draft Conservation Development Framework. The documents are threaded through with the question of how much emphasis should be placed on development and how much on conservation. The SANP, as was noted above, defines its central role as one of conservation. But the question of conservation implies an emphasis on development, for without benefits from conservation there will be little 'buy-in' to its goals. But the issue of benefits from nature areas is about more than buy-in. As the NBI/Ball deal discussed above illustrates, parks are a national treasure which could be harnessed in addressing some of the country's development backlogs.

6.1.1 Draft Development Framework

Shortly after the Park's establishment, before a management plan had been put in place, the CPNP released its draft **Development Framework** for public comment. While the key objective of then CPNP-manager David Daitz was to examine ways in which the Park could generate its own income and the document was later thrown out, his proposals at least indicated a willingness to explore the question of economic opportunities. Although the document didn't elaborate the broader development role the Park could play, Daitz nevertheless recognises the key role nature areas can play in poverty reduction as the following extract from an article he wrote after leaving the CPNP to head Cape Nature Conservation demonstrates:

> Formal protected areas have long been seen as major drivers of rural economic development. Stimulating rural development as the only sustainable way to alleviate rural poverty is a national priority. The protected areas have a central role to play in this process. Tourism is the way to go, but tourism initiatives cannot succeed without the development of the appropriate facilities. Now there's the rub. The nature of these facilities must be defined by the needs of the potential customers, not by the purists defending the status quo (*Earthyear* 2000).

The DDF identified the need to create opportunities for private sector investment and noted that the Park was well-positioned to "guide" such investment in the CPNP. The principle of "equity" underpinned the conservation strategy wherein benefits would be "fairly and equitably released". The concept of a network of Gateways is developed, whereby impacts are channelled towards areas designed to absorb them without adverse environmental consequences: 90% of the traffic will impact on just 2% of the Park's area. Around 15 gateways would provide a minimum of secure parking and circular walks, while many would include public toilets, guides for hire, interpretive facilities, refreshments, informal trader markets, "eventually public transport connections and in some cases accommodation". The emphasis was on the development of Park assets to increase

income for the CPNP, rather than to maximise spin-offs for Cape Town's private sector, small business and informal enterprises. The document was 'inward-looking' in that it failed to consider the positioning of Gateways in relation to the social, economic, residential, and infrastructural profile of the city around it (with the exception of transport). Opportunities were to be offered mainly as public-private partnerships (PPPs) in the form of Build Operate and Transfer (BOT) schemes, and a share in turnover would also accrue to the CPNP.

The Development Framework proposes "additional systems of public transport", to link gateways; improve traffic flow; increase the access of those without private vehicles (including the 'previously' disadvantaged); and to spread the load of tourists around the Peninsula. In this way the document concretely addresses the need to improve access.

The desired effect of channelling visitors to specific gateways is to concentrate economic activity in those central nodes: the concept therefore has the potential negative consequence of detracting business from existing tourism enterprises elsewhere and stifling growth of tourism activity beyond the demarcated gateways. While the establishment of trading markets (both formal and informal) might be described as 'small-business-friendly', the contracting out of opportunities such as accommodation and restaurants within the gateways would favour larger businesses. Such facilities are currently provided by a range of operators outside the Park's boundaries including both small and large businesses. Furthermore, the development of small conference facilities proposed within the gateways would place the CNPN in direct competition with a broad range of existing facilities throughout the city. So while the strategy is 'development-friendly' it envisages this taking place solely within the Park's boundaries and in a manner which would not be pro-poor. The proposals could establish a form of 'enclave tourism' (ie. where the type and location of facilities "fail to take into account the needs and wishes of the surrounding community" – Ceballos-Lascurain 1998), confining the activities of the poor to areas outside the 'gateway'. After being released for comment, the Development Framework met with fierce opposition from the public, particularly the conservation lobby. Primary objections can be summarised as follows:

Process: inadequate public participation;
Context: lacked a policy framework and didn't form part of strategic planning and assessment framework;
Access and Gateways: had alternatives to gateways been considered? Confusion over function, scale and scope of gateways;
Over commercialisation: too much emphasis on commercial development inside the Park; need for CPNP to be financially self-sufficient challenged; and
Beyond the Park: development should take place outside the Park; need to address the 'bigger picture', not the Park in isolation. (CPNP 2000a).

The DDF was discarded and a new process began, following an IEMS.

6.1.2 Conservation Development Framework

The CPNP released its draft **Conservation Development Framework** in November 2000. The change in name is interesting, but the reasoning behind its choice is not explained. The CDF is described as "a spatial framework to guide and co-ordinate conservation and development initiatives in and surrounding the Park over the next 5 years" (CPNP 2000a).

The name change could reflect a desire to gloss over traditional conflicts in the protected area debate. The 'conservation *versus* development' polarisation appears to have been superceded by a 'development *through* conservation' approach within which a range of perspectives sit (see Kepe 2001, but not exhaustive). The 'new thinking' appears to derive from an influential body of opinion which views ecotourism as a primary means for developing nations to move their economies forward. As mentioned earlier, ecotourists generally require similar investments in facilities and infrastructure as do more 'traditional' tourists. Yet, as we shall see, there is little evidence of a development (ecotourism or otherwise) focus in the CDF, and the name change therefore appears to be more an exercise in obfuscation than a genuine shift in approach.

Key differences in content and emphasis between the DDF and the CDF include:

- Replacing the Gateway concept with 'use nodes' and 'development precincts', far fewer in number and primarily concentrated in the CBD and other areas of existing intensive use. The CBD, it is argued, is the most easily reachable part of the park for those living in lower-income areas.
- The development of transport infrastructure – which would provide for more equitable access (a key principle underpinning the management plan on which the CDF draws) does not feature in the CDF.
- Greater interest in the 'urban fringe' in relation to the impact of development activity on the 'core area' of the Park. This relates to the CDF's introduction of the notion of 'biosphere principles' (discussed later).
- Rejection of the DDF's emphasis on financial sustainability and commercialisation of the Park.

Six maps form part of the CDF:

- Terrestrial and Marine Ecological Significance Map (flora, fauna and habitats);
- Visual Features Map (scenic routes and visually prominent landscape features);
- Cultural and Historical Features Map (locality and nature of historical features and cultural landscapes);
- Unstable and Hazardous Areas Map (geological instability and recent fire damage);
- Access and Traffic Problem Areas Map (access routes, visitor sites, and congestion areas); and
- Current Land Use and Activities Map (land use patterns inside and along the fringes of the Park) facilities and activities.

The CDF does not include maps of the surrounding city showing its residential densities, location of disadvantaged communities, key transport interchanges and routes, existing tourism-related development,

60

non-CPNP nature areas (such as the CPA's Coastal Park which includes the Zeekovlei and Rondevlei wetlands) and a host of other features which would be considered essential in integrated planning. In fact, the emphasis in the consideration of the 'park/city interface', fails to go beyond the need to *control* the impact of people and urban development on the CPNP, and to *educate* those not currently interested in conservation.

> "National parks can no longer be treated as isolated scientific islands – they need to be viewed in the context of the whole socio-political and economic environment where they are located. It is a myth that Parks and other protected areas can be islands free of human impact – it is how we manage that impact that makes us relevant or not." (Mitchell in Joseph and Parris, 1999).

(i) Tourism opportunities

The CDF identifies opportunities that the "Cape Peninsula environment presents for tourism and recreation" in terms of its landscape, habitat and scenic diversity; its value as a refuge from city stress; its floral and faunal wealth; and its historical and cultural heritage. There is no recognition of the *contribution* the Park could make to the *development* of tourism. The view reflected here is of a *static* park that simply exists and is impacted upon.

(ii) Tourism constraints

The CDF outlines constraints on tourism in terms of difficulties of access due to rugged terrain; the undermining of abutting natural areas due to development pressures; vulnerability to human impact; and that the area is prone to fires. Interestingly, the 'constraints' imposed on tourism development by the need for conservation don't feature here. Neither does the question of the lack of public transport links to most of the Park, which present a major barrier to access for those without private transport: 87% of existing users access the Park via private transport (CPNP 2000b).

(iii) Visitor volumes

Nine of South Africa's top eleven tourist attractions are found in Cape Town. In 1998, 830,000 foreign tourists and 3.8 million domestic tourists visited the city, spending around R5 billion and R5.7 billion respectively (City of Cape Town 2001).

Growth in visitor numbers and increasing development in and around nature areas presents a key challenge for protected area management. Where large-scale tourism developments are concerned (particularly in isolated areas), degradation can be serious: once the site becomes less attractive, the tourists simply move on, leaving the local economy, people and environment devastated – in the case of protected areas this may mean the end of a valuable ecosystem (Boo 1990).

Almost 70% of Park users are foreign visitors and access the Park primarily for sightseeing (mostly to Table Mountain, Kirstenbosch and Cape Point). A large proportion of these international visitors to the Park (42%) spend less than an hour there, according to the CPNP's visitor survey findings, which indicates that fewer

foreign tourists to Cape Town are 'ecotourists' than is often assumed (although, as pointed out earlier, the needs of regular tourists and ecotourists in respect of infrastructure are similar). People from low-income areas make up only 11% of local visitors (against 89% from middle to upper income groups), indicating that the results of the visitor survey are not reflective of the views of the majority of local residents (as most Capetonians are from 'low-income' groups). It is therefore of some concern that the results of the visitor survey (combined with the inputs of local park users in the consultation process) feature quite strongly in determining the type of facilities and development envisaged for the Park in the CDF. The findings of the survey "provide useful insights into understanding" the challenge of "seeking consensus on value judgements" and are later used to back up the Parks' "conservation ethic":

> As stated in the preliminary findings of the Survey, **"there is evidently a strong common interest between the values expressed in Park policy and those of CPNP visitors, in that the comments of visitors were overwhelmingly in keeping with the primary conservation ethic expressed in SANP policy"** (Setplan/SANP 2001 – bold in original).

(iv) Revenue

That the CPNP is located in a major city with such a diversity of major tourist attractions both within and outside of its boundaries gives it good income generating potential. The question of how any surplus revenues from the Park should be distributed (although the potential for surplus will be substantially reduced if the CDF is adopted) is a contentious one; while the options formed part of an early draft of the Development Framework report, these were later omitted for "various reasons". Options included the use of surplus funds for:

- the benefit of the whole fynbos biome in the Western Cape province;
- the support of existing National Parks or proposed new National Parks;
- the support of metropolitan nature reserves or the creation of new conservation areas by provincial or local government;
- addressing "fundamental social and environmental issues in impoverished communities" by environmental NGOs;
- the purchase of "key private land" for inclusion into the CPNP; or the establishment of trust funds from which "derived interest income could sustain management needs into the future".[10]

The list could obviously be extended to include a range of economic development opportunities and projects within and around the Park. Such use would not be at odds with SANP policy. However, as the current framework closes down most opportunities for income generation, it is unlikely that the Park will have to engage in any debate around use of surplus funds.

---

[10] Memorandum from Derek Chittenden, Chittenden Nicks Partnership, to Paul Britton, CPNP, re "Cape Peninsula National Park as the 'golden goose' of conservation in the Western Cape province/South Africa", 17/12/97.

(v) Access and 'Use Zones'

The CPNP's existing patterns of usage have been historically determined. As the Draft CDF recognises, the location of disadvantaged residential areas is far removed from major access points to the Park and current (albeit very low level) access by black residents is primarily through the CBD. In highlighting the CBD as a 'priority area' for "channelling park access through suitable and appropriately located entry points" the CPNP is effectively compounding the existing inequitability of Park access, perhaps mistaking 'popularity' for 'preference'? Rather than engaging with key issues such as the need for improved transport infrastructure to enhance the capacity of disadvantaged residents to exercise what may be, or may become, their 'preference', (or integrating and further developing areas such as the proposed 'Coastal Park' into the CPNP which would bring Park facilities closer to some of the black residential areas) the Park's plans will consolidate existing use patterns. This falls short of realizing the Park's vision of *"A Park for All, Forever"*, but fits in with their 'use-zone' plans, whereby those sites which currently have high numbers of visitors (or 'high impact activity') are the only sites earmarked in the Draft CDF for further development.

Proposed 'use-zones' are intended, amongst others, to "provide a means of ensuring overall land use compatibility between the natural and built environments of the Cape Peninsula (in accordance with biosphere planning principles)" (CPNP 2000b). It is useful here to look at the concept of biosphere reserves, in order to understand these principles.

6.1.2.1 Biosphere Reserves

The concept of global network of biosphere reserves – in which conservation and sustainable development co-exist – is at the heart of the Unesco 'Man and the Biosphere' programme which assesses and registers the reserves throughout the world. Biosphere reserves are "areas where environmental conservation and eco-tourism are promoted, without compromising the development of economic activities therein, such as agriculture, industry and urban growth" (West Coast District Council, undated). Reserves are divided into 'core', 'buffer' and 'transition' zones:

Core Areas are strictly conservation areas with limited no-impact activities such as hiking, birdwatching or canoeing permitted;

Buffer Zones adjoin or surround the core area and activities which help in the management of the core are permitted – such areas include private nature reserves, mountain catchment areas and marine environments. Activities such as accommodation, flower harvesting, some agriculture, fishing and diving may be permitted; and

Transition Zones surround the core and buffer zones and typically include towns, farms and private developments. These areas would be "managed jointly with local communities and in harmony with the objectives of a biosphere reserve.... New developments will have to meet regulations stipulated by local communities." (Cape Nature Conservation 1997)

63

Primary functions of biosphere reserves are described as:

- **Conservation** of ecosystems, species, biodiversity and resources;
- **Development** to promote sustainable economic and human development; and
- **Support** for research, monitoring, education and training. (West Coast District Council, undated)

The West Coast District Council leaflet's stated benefits for local communities from biosphere reserves – apart from skills development, education, promotion of healthy living environment, protection of natural resources, and expanding understanding of the natural environment through scientific research – specifically include "providing a more stable and diverse economic base" (*ibid*). Those of Cape Nature Conservation include a link between "conservation and development" and allowing "local communities and authorities to become stakeholders in the development and conservation of the areas in which they live and work."

The CPNP's interest in adopting 'biosphere reserve principles", however, appears to be motivated by a desire to extend the reach of their protectionist ideology. Although the CPNP is not a Biosphere Reserve, the CDF "identifies the Biosphere Reserve option as a management model that warrants serious consideration." While reference is made to the 'use zones' identified in the CDF as possibly forming the "basis of demarcating the Reserve's core, buffer and transition zones", elsewhere in the CDF the interest of the CPNP in influencing development on the periphery of the Park is elaborated:

> "Whilst the Park does not have jurisdiction over surrounding land, the proposals put forward for comment are intended to focus attention and stimulate debate on how the new Park / Unicity interface should be managed. From the CPNP's perspective, resolution of this issue is important for the Park to fulfil its environmental conservation mandate."

Around the fringes of the Park the following 'use zones' are identified:

- **'agriculture'** (which should remain primarily farming land);
- **'peri-urban'** (which should remain mainly rural in character and be protected from pressure of urbanization);
- **'urban'** (to ensure an "equitable, efficient and environmentally sustainable urban form"); and
- **'conservation villages'** (to contain growth and urban development pressures and retain their unique historic character) are identified.

As mentioned earlier, the Park is currently researching means by which it can legally influence development on the fringes of the Park and into the city of Cape Town. Residents of 'historic' villages such as Scarborough, Noordhoek and Simon's Town would be keen to enter into conservancy-type relationships with the Park in order to realise the inter-linked objectives of increasing their property values and retaining the 'exclusivity' of their areas. Given the failure of the CPNP to engage with the broader development needs and issues of the

64

city, the implications of the Park's bid to influence development beyond its boundaries must be taken seriously by development planners. Indications are that the Park's development potential and planning is, at best, taken for granted by those outside the private sector.

6.1.3 Public Participation

A steering committee (appointed by the National Minister for Environmental Affairs and Tourism after an open process of nomination) was established in 1997 to be "the driving force" for the new Cape Peninsula National Park, but was not reconstituted in the same form after its term of office expired in March 2000. The CPNP had adopted "new procedures" for establishing committees which "made no provision for independent monitoring of park management, the members were appointed by the head of National Parks, not the environment minister, and the meetings would not be open to the public" (*Cape Times* 29/3/00).

After intervention by the Minister (following appeals from outgoing committee members and interest groups), a permanent CPNP committee was established with members appointed by the Minister rather than the SANP and, at least for a while, the meetings remained open to the public. Due to "opposition within the committee ranks", this changed recently and the public are no longer able to attend these meetings – while the CPNP has a local committee (the CPNP was in fact the first park to have this type of local input, due to an agreement at the CPNP's inception that Capetonians would have a say in the running of the Park), management is somewhat resentful of this input which makes it difficult to pursue its agenda unfettered by outside interests (Gubb 2001). It is, however, unclear how the CPNP's agenda differs, or would differ, significantly from that of the interest groups or 'stakeholders' involved in decision-making, as most appear to endorse the protectionist philosophy upheld by the Park. Gubb (2001) claims there was a consensus ("surprising to many") in the participation process – which included, at the "insistence of the SANP", a "large number of organisations from the Cape Flats (like unions, civics etc)" (ie. disadvantaged communities) – around the conservation-orientation of the CDF. The SANP had apparently hoped the involvement of previously marginalized groups would provide a counter-balance to the powerful conservation lobby and might lead to the inclusion of a greater level of economic development in the CDF. However, some suggest the issue of participation of marginalized people may be more complex than a 'numbers game'.

> "In terms of public involvement in the management of the park there are two general trends of either apathy towards park management or a high level of involvement. The challenge facing Park management is to engender a sense of ownership amongst all inhabitants of the metropole and to establish sustainable working partnerships" (Shroyer *et al* 1998).

As mentioned earlier, black residents of Cape Town – many of whom previously had strong attachments to the Mountain and other nature areas – were pushed away during the forced removal process and these connections were largely lost. The involvement of organisations such as unions, civics and RDP forums in a participation process to consider the future direction of these nature areas is therefore problematic. While conservation-oriented groups have a single focus to their work and have over many years dedicated their expertise to considering issues of this nature, the work of community based organisations such as civics and

65

unions has multiple roles or foci. Civics tend to be very local in their orientation and are concerned with readily identifiable 'bread-and-butter' issues such as interfacing with local authorities, service payments, welfare and employment; trade unions are mainly involved with labour disputes, wage negotiations, policy and legislation; and RDP forums – with notable exceptions – have been widely characterised by poor organisational capacity and community disinterest, mistrust or conflict.

It is not known what level of 'capacity building' formed part of the CDF participation process, yet capacity building for this type of purpose usually comprises one or more information workshops aimed to generate a greater understanding of content and procedures, rather than a process whereby interests and, perhaps most crucially *potential interests*, in the issue at stake are identified and worked through with participants. This is particularly important if people are to fully understand how the CPNP's development could affect them, articulate responses and make meaningful contributions to the formulation of options for the development of a Park *from which they have been systematically alienated.* As part of the process for developing an Environmental Management System, the social ecology department ran "educational workshops" in disadvantaged communities and these were followed by bus-tours for "community leaders" (many of whom had never visited the Park before) and more workshops facilitated by the Park's consultants Setplan (Selikowitz 2001). There was, however, "very limited input" from disadvantaged communities in the CDF process, which was dominated by traditional suburban Park users, partly because the document was technical in nature and did not therefore encourage broad involvement (Slayer 2001). Yet if the Park is serious in its commitment to public participation, it is incumbent upon the institution to present its plans in a form which can be readily understood by an audience far broader than those with a current vested interest in the Park.

The fact that tourism has been widely and popularly heralded – by local, provincial and national government, by tourism organisations, private sector bodies and by economic and investment NGOs and parastatals – as an 'engine of growth', a key tool for 'job creation' and 'economic empowerment' and a 'major sector for small business development', combined with the perception that the CPNP is central to tourism growth and development, cannot be ignored. Much has been made of the 'golden goose' argument whereby any change in land use is presented as a threat to the Park's value as an ecotourism attraction. Might this combination of factors result in the 'apathy' to which Shroyer *et al* refer? The CPNP's visitor survey found that nature areas were less highly rated amongst disadvantaged Cape Town residents, a finding which may relate to the historically determined disassociation, dislocation and distance (hence 'apathy') more than anything else. The presence of powerful conservation-oriented interest groups at public consultation sessions would also be likely to influence individuals and groups without strongly formulated views of their own.

'Conservation' itself has been described as a growth area for the South Peninsula. The number of environmental consultants based in the area is exceptionally high, due to the greater level of awareness of green issues and the greater number of professional opportunities (such as impact assessments, conferences, and environmental organisations and related departments in the universities of Stellenbosch and Cape Town) in Cape Town (Thomas 2001). Some 28-30% of the country's environmental consultants are based in the

Western Cape (which makes up only 10% of the overall population) and many make their homes in the South Peninsula's "idyllic" mountainside villages (eg. Scarborough, Glencairn, Noordhoek or Simon's Town). This is a significant trend, given that this growing body of professionals conducts the bulk of Environmental Impact Assessments (EIAs) in the area (ibid). The implication is that the inclination of consultants – who are well-positioned to influence planning and outcomes – may well lead to the adoption of anti-development, protectionist positions. The presentation of EIAs in general as 'neutral', 'scientific', 'technical' appraisals of development impacts must therefore be questioned.

In the participation process, the question of who is representing who is also important. Who decides which groups will be involved in the process, who or what they are representing, and what level of participation is sufficient before it can be said that the process was fully inclusive? (The process followed in the development of the CDF was managed by Park-appointed facilitators.) Many rely not on an RDP forum, a civic body or a trade union to represent them in such matters, but on democratically elected representatives. While there is local government representation on the Park Committee, the public hearings were marked by an absence of political representatives. While political representatives could have made written submissions on the draft CDF, none did. Nor did any of the 'Cape Flats' organisations who had been pulled into the earlier EMS process.

The CDF received a total of 151 written comments after the document was released in January 2001. These included:

- 122 submissions from individuals or groups of individuals.
- 18 submissions (although only 12 could be counted) from non-government organisations (NGOs), alliances or coalitions of NGOs.
- 4 submissions from government departments, quasi-government departments, local authorities or government bodies. (Setplan/SANP 2001)

Most individual submissions came from white residents; the bulk of NGOs were conservation, 'environmental action' groups or activity oriented organisations such as sports or dog clubs. An assessment of the South Peninsula's IDP public participation process also found a low level of involvement of "poor and marginalized sections of the community". Reasons suggested for this include:

- People only participate if they feel an issue affects them directly, and that there is a likelihood that they would be able to influence the outcome; and
- Historic interactions between communities and Local Authorities involved selective service delivery, discrimination and forced removal – this meant people were unlikely to feel they can influence the process. (Liebenberg 1999).

67

The CPNP processes is likely to have been similar, in that historical interaction with authorities governing nature areas has involved a denigration of the rights and needs of people. As mentioned above, in the South Peninsula, only councillors representing white residents were involved in the bi-lateral negotiations[11] with the CPNP around the incorporation of land. Written comments made on the CDF were almost exclusively from white residents and white dominated CBOs. While this does not necessarily imply a fault in the *process* (the CPNP and Setplan were recently awarded the International Association of Public Participation 'core values' award, although how that organisation assesses processes of this kind, and how it takes account of local dynamics and contexts, is not known) the *representivity* and *inclusivity* of the process necessarily influence the *outcome*.

But then the question needs to be asked, if organisations 'representative' of disadvantaged groups had attended in significant numbers, were in a position to negotiate effectively, *and* had changed the weight of total input to one that *challenged the protectionist approach*, to what extent might this affect the final framework? While this is largely a rhetorical question, the process followed after the first draft is interesting to look at here and sheds light on how participation processes can often be a form of rubber-stamping for decisions taken elsewhere.

While on the whole the process followed in drawing up the CDF was regarded as one in which the space for participation was far greater than that for the DDF (in which a report was compiled by the CPNP and its consultants, with minimal 'consultation', and then presented for public comment), some expressed unhappiness with the final stage in which inputs made can be accepted or rejected by the CPNP. Although by and large the current CDF report accords with the position of the civil society conservation bodies involved, "the SANP Board and the Minister may make changes later" (Gubb 2001). The table below lists those involved in drawing up the CDF:

KEY ROLE PLAYERS INVOLVED IN PREPARING THE CDF	
ROLE PLAYER	DESCRIPTION
Cape Peninsula National Park	Specific involvement of Environmental Management, Research and Information Systems, Planning, and Social Ecology divisions.
CPNP Planning Steering Committee	Advisory forum of planning, environmental, traffic and Tourism officials from SANP, Provincial Administration of the Western Cape, Cape Metropolitan Council, South Peninsula Municipality, City of Cape Town, South African Heritage Resources Agency and the

---

[11] Described as 'cooperative governance' by the CPNP (Setplan/SANP 2001).

	Department of Environmental and Cultural Affairs and Sport. This forum serves to co-ordinate CPNP planning initiatives with those of the other authorities.
Specialist Review Forums	'Peer review' teams of specialists in the fields of flora, fauna, geology, recreation, tourism, cultural heritage, visual aspects, spatial planning, financial and legal aspects. These forums, which include representatives from the Institutes of Architects and Landscape Architects and the CPNP's scientists research forum, will serve to guide, advise and monitor the interpretation of baseline information used to inform the CDF.
Consultants	Settlement Planning Services (Setplan) as lead CDF and baseline information consultants; deVilliers Brownlie Associates responsible for the synthesis of specialist and public inputs made in the course of the CDF's preparation.
The public	Targeted at those who made comments on the 1998 DDF report and those on the Park's stakeholder database, and opportunity for any other interested or affected party to make input.

(CPNP 2000b)

As can be seen from the above, 'the public' is but one of many role-players in the development of the CDF. Some claim the Park's Planning Steering Committee is the "real decision-making power-house". The Committee holds regular, monthly meetings "behind closed doors" (agendas and minutes are withheld from the public domain) and has been criticised as operating with a "DAAD – decide, action, announce and defend – system" (Gubb 2001). A number of written comments on the CDF criticised the 'top-down' nature of the process and the CPNP's "dictatorial attitude, autocracy, lack of openness, honesty and transparency, and lack of involvement of [the] public in decision-making" (Setplan/SANP 2001).

In targeting "those who made comments on the 1998 DDF report" the CPNP brought a powerful 'anti-development' lobby into the proceedings. As noted earlier, the DDF was greeted with loud disapproval, largely voiced by those resistant to any change in land use on even small parts of what is for them a cherished leisure resource. "People were very unhappy with the DDF" says Rene Selikowitz (2001), but the CDF "created comfort" through listening to the concerns of those using and visiting the Park, using these as a basis for the document, and satisfying people that their interests are protected. While noting that the Park needs to "be aware of the broader group", Selikowitz maintains that creating comfort is an important "part of the social ecology concept".

6.4 Public Sector Roles

While many argue that the state can drive development through the introduction of relevant policies and programmes (a commitment often made in principle and policy, but rarely – as we saw in the case of the Wild Coast SDI – supported with the necessary resources), others claim the public sector is simply not up to the task. Wesgro's chief economist Wolfgang Thomas (2001), for example, argues that the public sector can play a guiding and controlling role, but is not an appropriate management body as officials are administration rather than profit driven and therefore lack incentives for effective asset management. As mentioned earlier, the 'semi-privatisation' of the Park has therefore been advocated (Wesgro 1999), although the state/private sector roles and relationships envisaged are not elaborated on.

This could, however, mean a reduction in the potential for the Park, *given appropriate direction and management,* to become a key tool in pursuit of the state's development mandate. Currently a number of public sector bodies play a role in relation to the CPNP and the broader promotion of tourism-related development. These include the local authorities, provincial government, tourism promotion agencies, and the CPNP itself. This section briefly examines elements of these relationships.

6.4.1 South Peninsula Administration

Prior to the new single 'Unicity' Administration (now called the 'City of Cape Town') which came into existence with local government elections on 1 November 2000, the Cape Metropolitan Area was governed by seven Metropolitan Local Council's (MLCs). Two of these MLCs were directly involved in the establishment of the CPNP and were parties to the Heads of Agreement signed at that time. These were the Cape Town and the South Peninsula MLCs, within the boundaries of which the CPNP exclusively falls. The role of the local authority in relation to the CPNP is examined here through the South Peninsula Municipality (now South Peninsula Administration). There are two reasons for this. Firstly, the economy of the SPA has been described as driven largely by tourism, unlike that of central Cape Town which has a far greater spread of economic activity, and secondly a number of the areas considered in the case study are located in the SPA.

CPPNE land was divided into four categories for the purposes of the Heads of Agreement which governed land transfer to the Park. These were:

- **Category D** – transferred immediately to the Park
- **Category C** – minor technical issues still needed to be cleared up
- **Category B** – land containing local authority infrastructure – special arrangements needed to be made to govern continued control by local authorities over infrastructure (eg. dams)
- **Category A** – land in which the local authority had a vested commercial interest or which had trade-off potential – this land would need further negotiation.
  (Jackelman 2001).

While the bulk of SPM-controlled land falling within the CPPNE was transferred to CPNP for incorporation into the Park, a number of 'Category A' areas were held back from immediate transfer, including Soetwater, Orange Kloof, Silvermine and Miller's Point, Karbonkelberg, Dassenberg and Glencairn Quarry. These were to be subject to further discussion. Bi-lateral forums were held with the South Peninsula Municipality and the Cape Metropolitan Council. Meetings were not held with the Cape Town Municipality as there were "no contentious situations" to be negotiated: all their land was immediately incorporated into the Park (Category D). While the CMC forum was "technically-oriented" with a "strong environmental focus", the SPM forum was "highly political" and focused on "high-level decision-making". Councillors involved in the process were all NNP and DP, as the affected areas were on the boundaries of the Park (ie. mainly white residential areas) – ANC representatives would not have had a "strong interest" as their constituencies are more remote from the Park (Jackelman 2001). The SPM was to make an annual payment to the CPNP of R1.4 million (against the CMC's of R4 million and Cape Town Municipality's of R4.7 million) "as a contribution towards the management and maintenance costs of the park", and would transfer relevant staff (CPNP 1998).

As mentioned earlier, the economic and tourism development departments of the local authorities were not included in the negotiations leading up to the establishment of the CPNP, and the subsequent incorporation of municipal land into the Park: this was left largely to the spatial planning and environment departments, although these departments could "call in" the economic development heads "if they wished" (Gretton 2001). Within the CMC, the process was not given priority by the Department of Economic and Social Development. The lack of participation by the CMC's development personnel was not due to lack of opportunity, but was governed in part by a shortage of people within the Department and a sense that the Environmental Management department could handle the various issues at stake (the department uses a "very broad definition of environment, which encompasses all its aspects, including the economic and social dimensions") in addition to the "perception that the CPNP is a self-contained entity which is semi-under-control and doesn't need or want outside input" (Van Deventer 2001).

The risk of a process which excludes the economic development expertise within local authorities is, however, an approach that risks the removal of key aspects from the debating table and the application of what Amos (1992) terms an 'unreal technical logic', whereby the discussion around land use is governed by factors such as traffic, rather than engaging with various and differing sources of development pressure.

Director of Economic Development and Tourism for the South Peninsula, David Gretton is almost alone in viewing the CPNP as a "major economic opportunity" for Cape Town as a whole, and the South Peninsula administrative area in particular. The Park does not feature as a major project, investment or development opportunity in the literature of either the (former) Cape Metropolitan Council, Wesgro, or the tourism bodies.

The SPM's goals for LED included:

71

- Economic growth that is sustainable and distributes benefits;

- Empowerment of the previously disadvantaged; and the

- Development of partnerships with relevant role players. (Wesgro 1999)

Gretton (2001) is keen to ensure tourism-related business in the SPA continues to grow, and that people from disadvantaged communities have a stake in the industry. The SPM was instrumental in the establishment of the Noordhoek Valley Training Centre, a new campus of the South Peninsula Technical College to serve the low-income communities of Masiphumelele and Ocean View[12]. Flowing from the training centre is the Two Oceans Crafts and Culture Centre initiative which aims to establish a thriving craft and cultural venue on the main road adjacent to the Masiphumelele informal settlement (see section on Cape Metro Tourism below). The Centre would depend heavily on tourism traffic en route to Cape Point.

Given the obvious economic development implications of the CPNP, the exclusion of local authority economic development expertise from the negotiation processes – and the Park Committee – is of considerable concern.

6.4.2 Tourism Authorities

Three tourism authorities – Cape Metropolitan Tourism, Cape Town Tourism, and Peninsula Tourism – are important in relation to the CPNP. Two of these, Peninsula Tourism which is the local bureau for the South Peninsula area, and Cape Metro Tourism (CMT) which is responsible for tourism promotion and development in the entire CMA, will be looked at here in respect of their roles and approach.

(i) Peninsula Tourism

Peninsula Tourism is involved in a broad range of local activities including building the profile of local events. There is a close working relationship with the local authority, and the coordinator of Peninsula Tourism sits on the South Peninsula Administration's Integrated Tourism Working Group. There is, however, no direct relationship between the tourism body and the CPNP, although a 'partnership' was formed with Concor which operates the facilities at Cape Point. The CPNP engages with various organisations, including tourism bodies, on a project-by-project basis when a need arises (Selikowitz 2001).

(ii) Cape Metro Tourism (CMT)

Under the slogan 'tourism is everyone's business' Cape Metro Tourism is concerned with the "promotion, marketing and development of Cape Town" focusing on "(i) leisure, (ii) the MICE (meetings, incentives, conventions and exhibitions), (iii) events markets and on (iv) promoting year-round tourism via the 'Secret Season' campaign" (CMC Insight June 2000). The brief focus here is on its work in administering the Community Based Tourism Fund (although development represents only a small part of CMT's role) which

---

[12] The Centre provides affordable training for the unemployed in home management, bricklaying, sewing, pottery and other skills.

was established with a view to kick-starting community-based tourism (CBT) in the CMA. Projects applying for funding are assessed in relation to creating a "tangible tourism product... create businesses, ventures and jobs... [have a] good representation of members of disadvantaged communities... provide new tourism infrastructure, and build partnerships between public and private sector businesses and the community" (CMT Development Manager Nombulelo Mkefa, *Cape Times* 21/1/00). The Fund is being used to support initiatives designed to increase the development of skills and the participation of local communities in tourism.

Three such projects were approved for funding in the 2000/2001 financial year. Two of these – Adventure Kalk Bay and the Two Oceans Training Centre and Craft Market – are in the South Peninsula Administration area, while the third involves a cluster of developments around the new 'Lookout Point' in Khayelitsha. This falls outside Cape Town's major tourist route which focuses on and around the mountain chain (CPNP 'products') and is an effort to develop a 'new product' with the potential to direct tourism into disadvantaged areas.

The community-based tourism concept is described by Mkefa as "tourism in which a significant number of local people are involved in providing services to tourists and the tourism industry, and in which local people have meaningful ownership, power and participation in the various tourism and related enterprises". CMT established its Community Based Tourism Development Fund in the 1999/2000 financial year and most of the projects assisted so far are in their very early stages. The fund had just over R3m in its 2000/2001 budget for initiatives throughout the Cape Metropolitan Area (CMA).

Adventure Kalk Bay is one such initiative and was approved for funding only in 2000 (as was the Two Oceans Centre mentioned above). According to the project proposal, the primary objective of Adventure Kalk Bay is to generate income and employment opportunities for local people, particularly those of the small fishing community[13]. [The fishing industry is in decline throughout the Western Cape as a result of poor stock management, over-fishing and poaching.] The project aims to build on existing skills and knowledge, through offering fishing trips and boat tours to local attractions such as Seal Island, guiding visitors around the village and into the Kalk Bay Mountains, and the supply of traditional cuisine. The target market is groups of international visitors seeking "authentic experiences" (ie. the 'cultural ecotourist') which afford opportunities to sample local heritage and culture and get a sense of daily life in the area (Judy Herbert, *People's Post* 23/8/00 letters page). It is hoped that relationships can be built with tour-operators en-route to Cape Point.

The Two Oceans Cultural and Craft Market would provide an outlet for goods produced by ex-trainees of the Noordhoek Valley Training Centre to be sold to passing tourists, en route to Cape Point. The location of this venue is significant, in that the development of improved amenities and attractions at Soetwater could boost passing tourist traffic (much diminished since the closure of the Chapman's Peak scenic drive); conversely, the initiative could be negatively affected if the Park were to take steps to direct or channel traffic along particular

---

[13] The fishing community of Kalk Bay was one of only a few groups who successfully resisted apartheid's forced removal strategy to implement the Group Areas Act, under which Kalk Bay was declared a 'White Area'.

routes. The CBT initiatives demonstrate the need for a greater level of communication and cooperation between local authorities, tourism bodies and the CPNP, which has not yet integrated a consideration of developments outside the Park boundaries into its planning. Cape Town's tourism organisations have not, however, sought to seriously influence Park planning. This may, at least in part, result from the presence of 'products' other than the Park which secure a good flow of visitors, leading to a sense that the city's tourism industry is not dependent on CPNP attractions (Thomas 2001). While the relationship between Park and non-Park attractions may be indirect, it is nonetheless likely that the popularity of Cape Town as a destination would decline in the absence of the highly rated Park attractions, at least amongst the more lucrative (in respect of per person spend) international visitor component. It is, furthermore, foreign visitors that express the most interest in cultural-based products, widely touted as the best means for extending the reach of the tourist dollar into hitherto neglected areas. The case of CMT's CBT initiatives suggests the link between the Park and non-nature-based tourism activities is in some cases very direct and readily apparent.

It is clear that both Adventure Kalk Bay and the Two Oceans Craft Market will rely heavily on tourism traffic to Cape Point. The Park's plans in terms of 'channelling' visitors into particular areas of the Park are therefore of vital interest to this type of project. While small-scale, locally-based initiatives may achieve more positive results in relation to the involvement of the poor in tourism, transformation of the tourism industry is going to require far more than scattered ad-hoc projects. To achieve PPT in Cape Town a strategy is required through which resources are pooled in order that a much greater number and broader range of projects could be initiated and financed; and concerted efforts need to be made by all those involved in tourism – including the CPNP – to work together to ensure their objectives in respect of LED and tourism transformation are met.

6.4.3 CPNP

Firstly, let us examine the 'transformation' or 'development' discourse running through various CPNP documents. Since the country's first democratic elections in 1994, the institutional structure and culture of state, para-statal, non-government and private sector organisations has been under varying degrees of pressure to redress imbalance in jobs, occupations and incomes; to become more democratic, consultative and responsive; more representative of the country's racial and cultural diversity; and more oriented towards servicing the needs and aspirations of all the country's people.

SANP has not escaped this process (although the pace of progress has been criticised) and, having adopted a somewhat 'minimalist' approach to the endeavour, describes its transformation mission as one designed "...to transform an established system for managing the natural environment to one which encompasses cultural resources, and which engages all sections of the community" (CPNP 1999). It is acknowledged that park management must be guided in way that "addresses [the] well-being of the ecological, economic and social environment of the Park" (CPNP 1999). Guiding principles elaborated in the CPNP Management Plan include 'empowerment' and 'transformation': "the CPNP shall strive to empower stakeholders involved in the Park

through capacity building and access to economic opportunities as an essential component of implementing the SANP transformation policies" (CPNP 1999).

The CPNP commits itself to ensuring "that the SANP transformation policy is implemented by developing community partnerships and optimising benefits to local communities and community structures" (*ibid* p18). A focus on historically disadvantaged communities is mentioned, implying a corrective or redistributive element to the Park's work. A stated objective of the CPNP is "to institutionalise a mechanism of representative and accountable participation in advisory structures for the Park" and to this end the Park will "ensure that its policy decision-making is transparent and accountable and that it involves relevant stakeholders in considering policy formulation and changes" (CPNP 1999).

The CPNP's Management Plan (1999), from which the Draft CDF draws its 'starting-points', elaborates certain guiding principles which are important for this discussion around developments towards a 'new tourism' in Cape Town. These principles include:

> **Custodianship**: The Park and its environmental resources are held in the public trust by the CPNP management and it is the duty of all involved in managing the Park to respect, protect and promote it in the public interest....
>
> **Sustainability:** The management of the CPNP requires a balance between ecological sustainability, social equity, and economic efficiency to ensure that the needs of the present generation are met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs...
>
> **Equitable Access:** Stakeholders in the CPNP shall have organised equitable access to the Park and benefits that are derived from the Park and special measures may be taken to ensure access thereto by categories of disadvantaged persons.
>
> **Empowerment and Transformation:** The CPNP shall strive to empower stakeholders involved in the Park through capacity building and access to economic opportunities as an essential component of implementing the SANP transformation policies. (CPNP 1999)

The first principle, custodianship, recognises the need to promote the Park as a public asset and manage it in the *public interest*. The public to which the CPNP is responding, however, is that sector or class of the public which favours the conservative conservationist approach dominant within CPNP management. The interpretation of 'public interest' is therefore partial and fails to take account of the multiple and in many respects conflicting interests that make up the heterogeneous 'public'.

The second principle, sustainability, is particularly interesting given the earlier discussion around the concept of sustainability as highly contested. Note the use of Brundtland Commission's 'consensus definition' here (focusing on *time* or *nature* rather than *space* and *justice*). Note also the reduction of the economic dimension of sustainability to *economic efficiency*. In this way, the Park manages to internalise this important aspect of sustainability, looking not at the importance of the economic to the sustainability of conservation, or the sustainability of tourism, but merely of the Park's internal financial affairs.

The third principle, equitable access, is especially important given the historic imbalances in the distribution of benefits of the Park. Yet this principle is expressed in a woolly fashion: 'stakeholders' "shall" have "organised equitable access" – it is impossible to see how this could be achieved and it fails to commit the Park to taking concrete and meaningful steps to redress these imbalances eg. the CPNP "*may*" take "special measures" to improve access. As we saw, the CDF fails to address the critical issue of transport, without which it is impossible to move towards improving access.

The fourth principle, empowerment and transformation, commits the CPNP to SANP transformation policies. Again, there is little in the Park's draft guiding framework to suggest this commitment may translate into meaningful change. As the section on the Draft Development Framework illustrates, the CPNP's establishment was followed by a period in which, under the leadership of then-head David Daitz, a range of income-generating activities were proposed in order that the Park could become self-sustaining. At the time, the Park was supported by start-up funding through local authority and donor grants. Daitz warned that these would not be extended and that the Park would need to look to its own resources thereafter. Budgeted spending for the 1999/2000 financial year was R43 million while income was "slightly more than R44 million", made up of "projected rental of R3,68 million from the Table Mountain Aerial Cableway Company; R9,89 million in entrance fees to Cape Point[14]; R3 million from entrance fees at Boulders Beach; R3,1 million from the R140 annual family season ticket which gives entrance to Cape Point, Boulders, Silvermine and Oudekraal; R298,000 from Concor for operating visitor facilities at Cape Point; and R245,000 from permits to film in the park" (*Argus* 12/4/99). External sources of finance include: donations, the Table Mountain Fund, local authority grants, the Global Environmental Facility, French Grant Funds, National Parks Trust, Ukuvuka, the Working for Water programme and IDC soft loans, amongst others. (Setplan/SANP 2001). Only a small fraction of budgeted expenditure is therefore derived from the Park's own income generating activities.

Since that time, however, additional funding was received by the Park following a severe spate of fires and a consensus that the Park's alien vegetation clearance operations would need to be intensified. The pressure for the CPNP to look to income generation was therefore reduced, to the relief of the Park staff who are all conservationists and had felt "uncomfortable with the idea of commercial development" (Jackelman 2000). The CDF which followed the first development framework effectively closes down development opportunities, and confines future commercialisation of its activities to the outsourcing and upgrading of largely existing facilities. The CPNP has therefore retreated from the development-oriented approach encapsulated in the DDF and has become to a large degree isolated from the development pressures of the city surrounding it. Some warn, however, that the Park may be in for a shock when the money runs out, and will be forced again to look at income-generating development opportunities.

---

[14] Cape Point was formerly known as the Cape of Good Hope Nature Reserve

CPNP is one of only two major 'city-parks' in the world: the interaction of urban life and nature area is an important part of the Park's unique character and attraction. The popularity of Park attractions is inextricably linked to its urban location. Similarly, without the Park, Cape Town would boast three rather than five of the country's top ten overseas-visitor attractions (Grant Thornton Kessel Feinstein 2000), and these (the V&A Waterfront, Kirstenbosch Botanical Gardens and the Robben Island Museum) would likely drop in popularity without the Park-based attractions of Table Mountain and Cape Point. The tourism potential of Cape Town and the CPNP depends primarily on their co-existence.

Notwithstanding the CPNP's recognition of the importance of the 'park/city interface', the strategy of the Park retains a 'classic' conservation management orientation. Although the question of how to ensure the environment is protected while permitting a level of development which will satisfy the requirements of a growing population is undoubtedly complex (De Klerk 1995), the emphasis in the CPNP is on 'limits of acceptable change'. The CPNP's role is outlined in the CDF is as a *tourism destination*, rather than a tool which could be used in the *growth and development of tourism*; and the 'economic importance' of the Park is considered in terms of the need to *conserve the resource*, rather than to *use the resource* to maximise income and/or improve the level and spread of economic benefits from it. The CDF, as mentioned above, defines tourism opportunities solely in relation to the physical attributes of the Park and its recreational, experiential values. The constraints to tourism outlined in the document contained no consideration of the limits to facility/amenity and related development imposed by the conservation demands of the CPNP.

In part, the limited work of the Park's social ecology department, reflects this 'protectionist' approach:

> Informal settlements neighbouring the CPNP are expanding into the Park, with a consequent increase in the exploitation of natural resources and risk of fire. CPNP has established partnerships with these communities in an attempt to empower them to improve their economic and social circumstances. This includes direct employment on a contractual basis in the Park, the provision of informal trading opportunities at gateways, environmental education programmes and skills training. To date, interaction with poor communities living on the edge of the Park in Ocean View and Masiphumelele has proven to be fairly successful. (Shroyer *et al* 1998)

The work of social ecology in terms of economic empowerment has, however, been largely confined to the training and contracting of a small number of teams to carry out the CPNP's alien eradication work and footpath maintenance.

(i) Social Ecology

'Social ecology' is defined as a "new philosophy and approach to conservation in which ecological, cultural and socio-economic issues are recognised as critical to the management of national parks" which, amongst others, will facilitate beneficial partnerships with communities, educate, build capacity, and economically empower and support communities that were dislocated and marginalized at the time parks were established (*ibid*), objectives that accord with the popular understanding of the notion of 'transformation'. The social ecology

77

focus came in at the time national parks were undergoing a reorientation under the slogan *Parks are for People*. For the CPNP affected communities are not just those adjacent to the Park, as the Group Areas Act and the Coloured Labour Preferential Area meant people who are now spread throughout the CMA have been excluded from the Park and its benefits. The work of social ecology focuses – within the parameters of the CDF – on the creation of *mutually-beneficial partnerships* including volunteer training programmes which build skills and confidence, teacher training and resource packages for schools which encourage educators to use the Park as a resource (and relieve Park staff from direct interaction with learners) and an oral history project which documents how people relate, and have historically related, to the Park (Selikowitz 2001). The department's economic empowerment programme focuses on the eradication of alien vegetation as its "mainstay" (Joseph & Parris 1999). Social Ecology manager Rene Selikowitz, says the following about the CPNP's development role:

> We are not a development agency, we are an arm of the SANP. We are therefore not responsible for the development of communities. Communities must be able to see a benefit in the existence of the Parks, not expect us to solve their problems (*ibid*).

The above statement sits a little uneasily alongside the role of the department which is, in essence, a *developmental* one, although this doesn't involve "going into communities to see what the development issues are, but rather looking at the opportunities that are thrown up by the Park" (Selikowitz 2001). Although development may not be a core focus of the Park's activities, there can be no doubt that the CPNP is to an extent (however limited) a *development agency*. However much some of those working within the Park may resist this aspect of its work, the Park's mission, objectives and management plans all outline a role for the Park that engages on some level with *development* work. The idea of a development role for the Park has been difficult for Environmental Management people [the bulk of park staff fall under this department] who were initially very reluctant to embrace the introduction of social ecology. They later saw that the alien clearance training and empowerment work of social ecology could provide them with a ready and competent supply of short-term contractors and became more accommodating in their approach (Selikowitz 2001).

The limitations and conflicts within Social Ecology are perhaps not surprising, however, given the way the SANP describes it 'transformation mission' as to "...transform an established system for managing the natural environment to one which encompasses cultural resources, and which engages all sections of the community" (CPNP 1999). The shift is described as follows:

> Historically South Africa's National Parks focused on conserving the biophysical environment. Cultural heritage considerations were perceived to be something separate that took place outside Parks and involved the preservation of isolated buildings or sites designated as being of historic significance. SANP, in its Corporate Plan, commits itself to move away from this old paradigm and move towards Parks that embrace the natural and cultural heritage of South African society. (CPNP 2000b)

Whether 'cultural resources' are 'integrated' or 'added-on' to the role of the national parks is not particularly relevant to this paper as the resources being referred to exclude economic, livelihood issues as well as the broader role of the natural assets SANP controls. In important respects, the 'transformation' mission of SANP may also be constrained by its adoption of international perspectives on the role of national parks. The evident contradictions between developmental objectives and the planning and management of the Park seem to reflect the broader tensions between conservation and development discussed earlier. In other words, the CPNP has assimilated elements of the discourses of transformation and new professionalism, yet retained its traditional modus operandi.

The work of the new 'social ecology' department has not yet been mainstreamed into the central work and planning of the CPNP, a feature which may be common to South African parks in general, although the Park is in the process of restructuring away from its present 'silo' style organisational structure and towards a more integrative approach. This should improve the influence of social ecology (Silikowitz 2001). That the department did not have a direct hand in the drafting of the CDF will nonetheless continue to limit its work, in that fewer opportunities to expand its involvement with disadvantaged communities and individuals will be generated. Interestingly, some parks have dedicated *Tourism and Development* departments and the role of this division is further elaborated in the SANP Corporate Plan. While a department of this type has not featured in the CPNP's structure to date, the new staff structure allows for a 'tourism specialist'. The exclusion of the term 'development' here is worth noting.

(ii) High Intensity Zones ('development' nodes)

The CDF identifies a limited number of sites at which limited commercial development could take place. These are high volume (mainly in terms of existing use) and are also designated 'entry points' to the park. One of these is Tokai Manor, although this would be a 'new' high intensity zone.

The site includes the historic Tokai Manor House, which is currently being renovated by the provincial government which owns and manages the site under its property management and works portfolio. The CPNP is involved in negotiations with provincial government around the use of the site as a park entry point and the use of the Manor House as CPNP offices, following the transfer of the Tokai and Cecilia forest plantations (which would probably continue to be managed by Safcol) to the Park (*Saturday Argus* 31/3/01).

The Park's plans to use the building for its own offices would constrain or limit the development of a strategically important site, one which could be beneficially used for tourism-oriented facilities. When the Park's Draft Conservation Development Framework (which earmarks the Tokai area as a 'development node') was presented for the first time to the South Peninsula business community,[15] CPNP Director of Planning Paul Britton suggested the private sector might be interested in the conversion of the former-cells at neighbouring

---

[15] The event (held on 8/11/2000 at the Alphen Centre, Constantia) formed part of a series of monthly 'Business Encounter' meetings organised by Wesgro and then-South Peninsula Municipality.

Porter School (a redundant juvenile reform facility), one delegate responded: "How about we take the Manor and you lot have the cells?". The poor attendance at the meeting (some 25 people attended, around 10 of whom were linked to either the South Peninsula Municipality, Wesgro or the CPNP) is perhaps indicative of a certain cynicism on the part of local business around the type of private-sector 'partnership' the Park envisages.

This is not the first time the Park has advocated the use of a strategically important and economically valuable site. After calling for development proposals in 1997, (a large number was received, advocating uses of the property ranging from up-market restaurants to environmental education facilities) the CPNP renovated the historic Silvermine Homestead (just off Ou Kaapse Weg) for its own environmental management offices.

While these may appear to be decisions of minor importance, given the overall extent of the CPNP and its assets, they are a significant indicator of the CPNP's response to the development potential of assets coming under their control, and of their commitment (or lack thereof) to the question of economic development in the broader city context. This in part also reflects the Park's reluctance to engage with commercialisation opportunities which might provide them with financial self-sustainability (while the Park is currently 'self-sustaining', it is almost wholly dependent on external funding). A written comment on the CDF from David Daitz argues the CPNP "closes down options for commercial development in the park in circumstances where opportunity costs and risks of doing so are undetermined" and that all the options should be "kept on the table for careful consideration" even if the time is not right to make decisions around which to pursue. "Ecological sustainability is" Daitz claims "meaningless without financial sustainability" (Setplan/SANP 2001).

The South African Navy based in Simon's Town (which controls a number of sites suitable for tourism development) has reviewed its approach towards transferring land to the CPNP and now insists the Park outlines its plans for land first – this follows increasing dissatisfaction with the Park's tendency to acquire property and "do nothing with it" (Gretton 2001). In some instances, the Park has even managed to block development initiatives on land it does not yet control.

(iii) Adjacent land
In at least one instance, opposition from the CPNP has scared off potential developers. At Soetwater, a R50m perlemoen farm, projecting the employment of up to 60 local people from Ocean View township and Masiphumelele informal settlement (two areas of high unemployment in the 'Deep South'), was proposed early in 1999 (Gosling 1999). Owned by the South Peninsula Municipality, the site of the planned farm was at the time a Category D area and was being considered for inclusion into the Cape Peninsula National Park (CPNP) in terms of the Heads of Agreement. The CPNP "vigorously opposed" the development, a point picked up in the developers' environmental impact 'scoping exercise' (Jackelman 2001). Fearing the proposal would be blocked by the CPNP and conservation lobby, the developers decided to back out (Gretton 2001). According to the Park, the SPM acted in "bad faith" as the land was designated for potential incorporation into the CPNP

80

and consequently formed part of the area included in a draft application for World Heritage Status. The Municipality's entertainment of an "unsolicited bid" had "undermined their commitment to the agreement" and the CPNP was not prepared to give the proposed development any consideration "on principle" (Jackelman 2001).

(iv) Commercialisation

Whatever the views of park-users and CPNP management, it will not be possible for the Park to escape commercialisation entirely. The national Parks' Board has embarked on a broad commercialisation programme which involves offering park property to the private sector for development. Private operators will be granted concession rights to develop and use land and existing buildings for tourism facilities, a move forced by cuts in state subsidies to national parks.

6.4.4 Inter-departmental Cooperation

The need for cooperative governance and inter-departmental cooperation to achieve development objectives is a strong theme in the Local Government White Paper. While the SANP may not define a development mission for itself, the broader economic role of the assets in the Park's custodianship is one which needs to be taken up by a range of other roleplayers such as government, NGOs and CBOs, to ensure that development opportunities are maximised, without impacting negatively on the ecological health of the asset itself. The Parks are, after all, *public assets.*

In the sphere of inter-departmental cooperation, there are marked similarities between the consideration of the CPNP and the economic development of the broader Cape Town area and that of the Wild Coast SDI. The SDI sought to stimulate private-sector investment in projects on land to which the issue of rights and ownership had not been clarified. The cooperation (or lack of) between the Department of Public Works, Land Affairs, provincial and local authorities and the DTI (SDI Team) was noted and its impact (together with other neglected factors such as local political, economic and social dynamics) on the SDI programme for the Wild Coast ultimately led to its demise.

In the case of the CPNP the evidence presented in this report suggests the economic development potential of the Park cannot be realised without the cooperation of a number of entities including the CPNP, local authorities and national government departments and para-statals, within a climate that recognises the potential of the CPNP as a development catalyst. While not a clearly defined 'project' or 'programme' like the Wild Coast SDI, the Park is without doubt Cape Town's greatest natural asset and one which is largely responsible for the city's popularity as a domestic and international tourism destination. To date, it appears the management of this asset is being left largely to the Park authorities. Aside from the 'Heads of Agreement' signed at its inception, and limited local authority involvement in the development of the Draft Conservation Development Framework, local and provincial government has involvement or influence in the management and development of the Park.

81

We have seen that – apart from some outreach work on the part of the social ecology department – the CPNP operates largely as an independent entity, tending towards an isolationist approach in relation to the city around it. Combined with a relatively 'hands-off' approach on the part of local authorities towards the Park, and the lack of interaction and cooperation between the local authorities and strategically important bodies such as transport authorities this poses a severe constraint to tourism development in Cape Town. These limitations to the development of tourism in and around the Park reduce spin-off activities in sectors such as retailing, hospitality and transport; curtail income to local authorities and Revenue Services (which could be used to support training, entrepreneurship and other initiatives to broaden the distribution of benefits from tourism); and hamper the economic future of the city as a whole, and particularly of areas such as the South Peninsula for which tourism is the dominant economic activity.

The notable absence of pressure from local authority and/or other government structures for the Park to develop economic linkages and plans which provide 'action space' for small business and informal sector activities etc. will limit the extent to which the Park can be realised as a catalyst for tourism growth, development and redistribution. The language of 'responsible' or 'new' tourism embodied in national and provincial policy documents involves a reorientation of the industry towards greater involvement of the disadvantaged majority and implies a 'pro-poor' focus (discussed in preliminary sections of the paper). Although public policy is threaded through with multiple discourses (including an overarching need to satisfy the interests of capital), and public resources are lacking for implementation or support for this transformational shift, it is in relation to its capacity to satisfy these objectives that tourism must be assessed.

Neither of the development frameworks generated so far to guide the Park's activities suggest that the orientation of the CPNP will be a force for transformation in the sphere of tourism development in Cape Town. While certain public sector initiatives such as the CMC's Community-based Tourism Fund have enabled the development of tourism facilities and should lead to a greater level of community involvement in the industry, the general trend is for tourism promotion to be seen as an end in itself. Attention is therefore being given to the question of *growth*, rather than distribution of benefits.

In respect of the Park, there is little evidence of government intervention that would pressure the CPNP into orienting its activities in a way which would open up a greater number of opportunities for small-scale entrepreneurs and informal sector activities. The only department within the Park which focuses on this objective is subject to the provisions of the CDF and is not in a position to influence the expansion of opportunities or 'action space' for those previously excluded involvement in tourism or a share of the benefits therefrom. While the social ecology department has been instrumental in training initiatives, some of which have led to the creation of contracting opportunities, these are small-scale and cannot be considered to have made a significant impact given the systematic, large-scale and far-reaching scope of the problem.

6.5 Taking 'Man' out of the 'Biosphere'?

As De Klerk (1995) notes, "the need to protect the environment while permitting a degree of development and urbanisation which will satisfy the requirements of a growing population is an extremely complicated issue". Unfortunately this is recognised, but not addressed, by the CPNP.

The CPNP management appears to be adopting a preservationist ideology: much is made in the CDF and other CPNP documents of the challenges presented by the 'open-access' nature of the Park, suggesting the conservationists would be happier if the reserve was fenced (ie. the traditional 'fences and fines' model) and access strictly controlled. The growing influence of the North American 'deep ecology' movement – proponents of which have advocated the barricading of large parts of the globe against human incursion – on mainstream conservation thinking and planning has worried some observers (eg. Pimbert and Pretty 1997). While the pressures of managing a national park in a major city are no doubt immense, the 'disengagement' of the park from its social, political and economic environment evident in CPNP planning and implementation does not provide a coherent or sustainable way forward. The ascendancy of normal conservation professionalism in the management of the Park may lead to the obfuscation of important issues, challenges and options, which can only be fully explored through a multi-disciplinary approach.

The need for government bodies to engage more intensively – and, perhaps most importantly, more *critically* – with CPNP management and development of Park (ie. *public*) assets is made all the more urgent by the tendency for the all-pervasive positivist (ie. dominant) view to mask alternatives (Pimbert and Pretty 1997). That highly motivated conservationist interest groups often dominate consultative processes, and the lack of political representation in these forums for more marginalized (therefore less 'interested') sectors of the Cape Town population, further demonstrates this.

As was noted above, a key element of Unesco's Man and the Biosphere (MAB) programme is the promotion of sustainable economic development. It is about satisfying human needs adequately, without compromising the integrity of biodiversity. In the case of the CPNP (as well as the West Coast and Kogelberg biosphere reserves) the focus is on constraining development outside its boundaries that doesn't 'fit' with conservation principles, and on preventing any meaningful development within Park boundaries, 'fitting' or otherwise. The emphasis is on opposition to development – effectively making the Park a powerful anti-development lobby in itself – rather than the active encouragement of alternative opportunities. We saw that in the Wild Coast the danger exists of ecotourism clashing with other livelihood opportunities. In Cape Town the situation is similar, although perhaps less obvious due to the greater physical and psychological distance between people's needs and the operations of the Park. Another factor distancing 'man' (Capetonians) from the 'biosphere' (the Park) is the failure of political representatives to recognise the value of the CPNP as a catalyst for tourism growth and development. The absence of appropriate recognition in the literature and approach of relevant institutions assists in concealing the Park's potential from public awareness.

The original Draft Development Framework proposed a level of development which 'outraged' those with vested interests in the protection of Cape Town's nature areas from insensitive commercialisation projects. Some say the document was 'ahead of its time' in that it was released prior to a management plan and other guiding frameworks having been finalised, and in proposing a level of development that – due to its current level of external funding – the CPNP did not need to entertain. But here there appears to be a subtext. The 'maximalist' approach towards development in the Framework implies a barely credible naïveté: those framing the document could hardly have been ignorant of the strength of the conservation lobby and the way in which their work might be received. It appears possible, therefore, that the hard-core conservationists within the CPNP may have been well-served by the strong development thrust of the DDF. The result was a response so negative that the 'baby' was 'thrown out with the bath-water', so to speak.

The Park's influence over development outside its boundaries is a factor which enables it to close down opportunities for the growth of sectors other than ecotourism. At Soetwater, for example, the potential existed for aqua-culture development which could bring valuable jobs and a sustainable alternative to the scarce naturally-occurring perlemoen resource, currently much-threatened by poaching. The adoption of 'biosphere principles' in the CDF is not about promoting sustainable development – as the Unesco programme prescribes – but is motivated by a desire to extend the reach of the protectionist ethos of the Park. The CPNP is, in effect, *taking man out of the biosphere.*
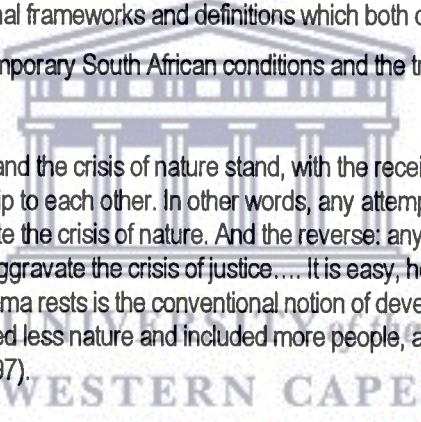
6.6 Conclusions

The CPNP case study sheds light on the struggle around and within the conservation/development discourses which, although they inter-relate and overlap in important ways, remain conflictual. While framing the conflict in these terms masks significant divergences of perspective within the discourses, this early stage of the CPNP's development has been characterised by a rather crude polarisation which needs to be emphasised. This is particularly necessary because the language of alternative discourses has been incorporated, or assimilated, into a traditional ideology and may therefore obfuscate key aspects of the CPNP modus operandi.

The policy and planning of the CPNP is threaded through with multiple, and in important respects, conflicting dialogues. On the one hand the language of transformation is clearly evident and within this the need to maximise and redistribute benefits accruing from nature areas and related tourism activity is recognised and elaborated. This does not flow through to the CDF, however, which removes these considerations from its discussion on tourism and the park/city interface. The conservation discourse on the other hand emphasises the need to constrain human impact and limit visitor numbers and makes nature conservation the over-riding mandate of parks management (with some concessions being made to 'cultural' conservation also). Then the need for parks to be managed in a way which maximises internal profit comes into the equation. CPNP documentation illustrates the tensions and incoherence created by these various paradigms, which can be seen as a reflection of competing interests in society, between stakeholders and within the park authority itself.

As the detailed discussion of the Draft CDF in previous sections illustrates, the document reflects a narrow view of 'public interest' that is centred around the concerns of existing Park users; insufficient attention is given to issues relating to economic growth and development; the question of 'equitable access' is not addressed; and there is no mention of either 'empowerment' or 'transformation'. The document is also narrow in its scope, defining 'benefits' in terms of recreational opportunity. The emphasis is on control and protection without concern for the development needs of the city with which it is 'interfacing' – management of the Park seems to be approached as a 'damage-limitation' exercise – this constitutes a major barrier to the full realisation of the economic potential of the CPNP.

Heavily influenced by international 'conservation partners' such as the IUCN, the CPNP uses a 'northern' model of sustainable development where the focus rests on 'nature' and concepts of 'justice' are less important (see Sachs 1997). In the documentation examined here – with the exception of the SANP Corporate Plan, which is heavier on the language of 'transformation' – the need for local benefits from the Park are largely ignored or are defined in terms of the value of environmental education, recognition of cultural resources, and conservation of the ecological heritage for the benefit of future generations. This derives largely from the Park's adoption of international frameworks and definitions which both constrain its work and render the Park's focus inappropriate to contemporary South African conditions and the transformation challenge.

"The crisis of justice and the crisis of nature stand, with the received notion of development, in an inverse relationship to each other. In other words, any attempt to ease the crisis of justice threatens to aggravate the crisis of nature. And the reverse: any attempt to ease the crisis of nature threatens to aggravate the crisis of justice.... It is easy, however, to see that the base upon which the dilemma rests is the conventional notion of development; for if there was a development that used less nature and included more people, a way out of the dilemma would open up." (Sachs 1997).

While the space existed for the CPNP to look at innovative ways to expand opportunities in and around parts of the Park, it failed to engage with the challenge. The draft CDF 'comforts' the Park's overwhelmingly privileged existing users and in doing so satisfies their political representatives – now collectively known as the Democratic Alliance (DA) and the main party in the coalition dominating the new Unicity Administration – and pleases the conservationists managing the Park. In essence, it is a situation in which the conditions defining the status quo (unequal access to both nature areas and the structures managing them, as a result of *and combined with* the historic marginalisation of the majority), lead to the maintenance of the status quo. While the Park speaks of the need to consider the interests of its *potential users*, this is not reflected in the CDF.

Were the CPNP to work within an alternative development paradigm, it may be in a position to begin resolving some of the challenges presented by the 'park/city interface' which are first recognised, then ignored, in its own literature, policy and programmes. If LED is to be successful in Cape Town it requires the commitment and radical reorientation of key stakeholders, but particularly those in control of powerful resources such as the Park:

One of the major challenges for all urban centres in South African towns, cities, and metropolitan neighbourhoods, is how to make LED happen? Clearly, new national and regional policies that are implemented by government will be vital for creating the correct environment for the building of local economies. The most critical component of LED, however, is what is done around the economy in each urban centre itself, by the people and stakeholders who live and work there. (Dauskardt 1994 in Wolpe, undated)

The rhetoric of national leaders such as "For us, tourism is part of the long walk to economic freedom in our country" (Moosa 2000) is echoed locally, but not in the realities of implementation, as the CPNP case study shows. If there had been greater consideration of economic issues in the guiding framework of the Park, without a supportive "local underpinning" this would not anyway be meaningful (Thomas 2001). The discussion of the CPNP here suggests that the existence and growth potential of this major tourism resource is either taken for granted or deliberately down-played. It is important to remember that tourism has only been a growth sector for South Africa since the country's transition to democracy in 1994. The national Minister for Environment and Tourism noted that with "relatively little marketing and even less strategic planning" foreign arrivals grew by 36 percent from 3,6 million in 1994 to 5,7 million in 1998 (Moosa 2000). However, while visitors to Cape Town have grown steadily since the early 1990s, the domestic and international airport arrival figures for 2000 and 2001 indicate that the number of visitors to the city is levelling off. This focuses attention on two important issues. Firstly, the need for Cape Town to develop a diverse and vibrant economy – one which is not dependent upon tourism and is able to survive fluctuations in that somewhat 'fickle' sector. This relates to the importance of locating tourism within the broader development dialogue (Britton in Mowforth & Munt 1998). The second is the need for Cape Town to look to *redistribution* of existing tourism benefits, if the poor are to gain from the industry, which is particularly important if growth cannot be relied upon to expand the volume of new opportunities.

In respect of the first issue, the trend towards constraining development within and around the borders of the Park is particularly problematic. The perlemoen farm near Soetwater, for example, was vigorously opposed by CPNP management, although the development posed no apparent threat to the eco-system. This signals a danger in transferring more state land to the Park, and in allowing the Park to influence development in 'transition zones' on the urban fringe.

7. CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Who Drives Tourism Development?

In the Wild Coast the state was criticised by observers for placing to much emphasis on the private sector to deliver on its development mandate. The Department of Trade and Industry's SDI strategy sharply reflects the contradictions between neo-liberal macro-economic policy and development objectives, in that public investment is limited to just 10% of the overall injection of capital into the programme and the emphasis is on economic growth, rather than development. Serious questions are consequently raised around the strategy's capacity to meet the developmental objectives it sets for itself, or those of the regions and communities on

which the initiatives are centred. Without substantial investments in basic infrastructure and clarity on issues such as land ownership, there was unlikely to be significant interest from investors, and the private sector could anyway not be responsible for economic upliftment and empowerment in the region.

In Cape Town, the tendency has been for the state to leave questions relating to the development of an extremely valuable, existing, tourism resource to CPNP management which has failed to locate the 'conservation challenge' in the context of the broader 'development challenge'. The Park management, in turn, has constructed a framework in which limited commercial activity within a few defined development nodes will be a private sector affair. As the example of Tokai Manor illustrated, the Park has yet to demonstrate a commitment to optimising the potential of these nodes for increasing economic benefits for itself, the private sector, or the broader community of Cape Town, disadvantaged or otherwise. 'Economic empowerment' is something the Park considers adequately addressed through its alien eradication programme which has so far created a limited number of small contractors, who then compete for work in the Park and elsewhere.

Although state subsidies to Parks are being reduced (forcing a limited level of commercial activities within the national park network), there is no indication that international donor funds will be similarly reduced. It is unlikely that, for the foreseeable future at least, the CPNP will in fact be forced to consider the broader economic values of the resource it controls. It will not therefore be possible to look to tender requirements and procurement strategies as a tool to ensure a greater level of involvement by the poor. The mechanisms of planning are subject to the power framework – how people influence patterns of planning and delivery – in which planning takes place (Amos 1992). LED strategies and local politicians have failed to ensure the CPNP becomes a tool in broader economic development. On the political side, those directly involved in the negotiation processes were primarily representing privileged white residents. While this is in part a reflection of the city's current political dispensation, it is also a result of the historic dislocation of black residents from nature areas. In the South Peninsula, ANC councillors felt the question of the Park was remote from the interests of their own constituencies.

So for the meantime, at least, tourism development in Cape Town will continue to be owned, driven and controlled by the private sector. The state's role has been confined to promoting tourism and investment for the benefit of the mainly white businesses dominating the industry, and supporting small-scale, ad hoc programmes of skills and entrepreneurship development among the disadvantaged, who are then 'free' to compete in an industry which currently offers little scope to those without private capital reserves.

Without resources being made available for local government to fulfil its developmental obligations, the scope exists for local authorities to define their core development responsibilities only in terms of delivery of basic services, as was the case with the South Peninsula IDP. Mechanisms need to be developed to ensure local authorities comply with range of legislation which requires them to give priority to social and economic development such as the Municipal Systems and Conservation Acts. Without this shift, people will continue to be denied many of the rights afforded by the Constitution, including those relating to the environment.

87

7.2 Who Should be Involved?

A common thread emerging from the limited process analysis in each of the case studies, was a tendency for programme and resource managers to ignore the social, political and economic dynamics of regions, communities, households and individuals, as well as those of both conservation and development. Pimbert and Pretty (1997) argue that the major reasons for the failure of protected areas can be found in the "norms and practices of conservation science itself": the reductionism employed in conservation science involves breaking down, analysing and 'solving' the constituent parts of complex systems; the result is a failure to recognise that all stakeholders have differing perspectives on what constitutes a problem and what represents an improvement to livelihoods.

In the Wild Coast, we saw deeply divided and highly competitive communities in conflict over the benefits perceived to be achievable through the SDI. Benefits to date had been largely captured by local elites and by men in particular – although the programme set out (at least on paper) to empower the rural poor, it's failure was at least in part attributed to the simplistic notion of a single beneficiary 'community' employed by the state agencies involved (Kepe 1999b). This contrasts with the Cape Town case, where class alliances were more apparent.

While the architects of SDIs argue that a lengthy planning processes mitigate against the 'crowding-in' factor so crucial to the success of the Initiatives, many believe a thorough and inclusive planning phase which fully integrates a project with the "local milieu" may be vital to their long-term success (Driver 1999b). The current planning process of the SDI programme is clearly not sufficient and, if pursued unchecked, will exacerbate class and gender inequality in the region. The approach needs to be redefined to give greater weight to civil society participation which can draw on the local knowledge of all sectors of the community and to ensure integration of the national strategy with local realities. The SDI strategy must also be aligned far more closely with local and regional planning processes such as the IDPs.

In the CPNP, a range of committees had been established to form part of the Park's consultative process. These were marked, however, by an absence of political representatives (except for the steering committee) and a large number of both civil society and official conservation bodies (which includes CPNP representatives). While the SANP's own document, *Visions of Change* (Joseph & Parris 1999) recognises that "green groups seldom consider the needs of the communities directly affected by their lobbying" it appears insufficient effort was made by CPNP and its consultants to ensure that these 'needs' were heard.

The visitor survey currently being conducted by the CPNP is being used as an implicit *justification* for the conservation focus of the Park. That the profile of park users is characterised by a very high proportion of historically advantaged individuals with only 11% of visitors from 'previously disadvantaged communities' is recognised, then discarded. Given the historical marginalisation of the majority of Cape Town residents from the protected area in question, the participation of a good spread of *elected representatives* is particularly

https://etd.uwc.ac.za/

important, as is the provision of information to enable participants to fully consider a wide range of experiences relating to the question of development in and around nature areas. Here the need for the active involvement of NGOs with a pro-poor development rather than a green conservation focus is also glaringly apparent.

In both the Wild Coast SDI and the CPNP the level of participation was weak, in the Wild Coast amounting to little more than telling people what was happening (although even this was not effectively done); while in the CPNP 'consultation' with 'IAPs' took place but without the transfer or joint holding of any decision-making power. Both processes were at the lower end of the 'typology of participation' described in section 4. In the Wild Coast SDI – at least in the early stages covered by the case study – the process was characterised by providing information to local people on decisions that had already been taken externally (ie. 'passive' - level 1). In the case of the CPNP's CDF, the public was 'consulted' (level 3) on a framework which had already been developed, although the self-mobilisation of the conservation lobby ranks highest on the scale of participation. Here we have something of a conceptual paradox. If Pimbert and Pretty's scale implies that a low level is 'poor' and a high level 'good', their methodology for measuring participation gives a lot of scope for the domination of participation processes by powerful and/or well-resourced interest groups. Clearly measurements of any kind need to be context specific, or flexible enough to allow for the complexity of different realities to influence results.

7.3 Process

The case studies illustrate strong similarities in the top-down normal professionalism being employed by the SDI team on the Wild Coast and that of the CPNP. While the SDI was both nationally conceptualised and driven, the CPNP draws heavily on international conservation models which it fails to synergise effectively with the transformational demands of the South African democratic transition and the development needs of Cape Town.

In the Wild Coast, the 'fast-track' mechanisms employed led the SDI team to overlook the importance of local dynamics. In both rural and urban areas, development planning processes need to incorporate mechanisms wherein the disadvantaged participate meaningfully to enhance organisational capacity, to integrate programmes with local needs and realities and to ensure that social capital is built. Where this cannot be achieved through the programme in question, parallel initiatives are required: in this, cooperation between public sector agencies, between public and private sector role-players and between the public and private sectors and civil society organisations is essential.

7.4 Need for a New Professionalism

"The professional challenge for protected-area management is to replace the top-down, standardized, simplified, rigid and short-term practices with local-level diversified, complicating, flexible, unregulated and long-term natural resource management practices" (Pimbert & Pretty 1997). Arguments for and against 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' approaches correlate strongly with debates around centralisation and decentralisation and the merits and demerits involved are in many respects similar. While the idea of exclusive local control

89

over nature resources should not be viewed uncritically – particularly in an environment characterised by chronically uneven patterns of development and an urgent need for resource redistribution – the evidence presented here suggests that local dynamics and power relations will impact on outcomes even where a blueprint or top-down approach is pursued. In the Wild Coast the externally-driven, fast-track SDI strategy found that the local milieu had a profound impact on the programme despite efforts to downplay or marginalize local factors, dynamics and issues. The CPNP on the other hand drew strength from the powerful and well developed local conservation interest group which enabled it to pursue its protectionist strategy in effective isolation from the broader development pressures of both the local environment and the national policy framework of its own parent body, the SANP. To what extent, then, is the challenge of the 'new professionalism' reflected in the case studies?

Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) explicitly reject the notion of consultation with stakeholders or community participation, in favour of 'fast-tracking' the 90% private funded projects (state investment is limited by GEAR's deficit targets) which aim to 'crowd-in' investment around areas with unexploited economic potential. Job creation and black empowerment are expected to spin off from the spurt of economic growth around SDIs which are, unapologetically, driven from the top and extremely narrow in their focus. The approach has its critics (including the Gender Commission) and the potential for private sector growth to spawn development has been widely questioned.

The CPNP has managed to use the public participation process to suit their own ends, taking on board the inputs that accord with their preferred approach. The rampant commercialisation advocated by the DDF, and subsequent resistance, played into the hands of the conservationists, and allowed the Park to retreat into a 'no-development-at-any-cost' position. The CPNP's explicit protectionist approach makes no apology for their failure to engage with development issues.

It is possible to take the position that without a fundamental restructuring of the socio-economic system and the inequality built into it at every level — between north and south, urban and rural, men and women, rich and poor and between the powerful and the powerless — the impact of 'new professionalism' will be limited to small scale projects where it will remain thwarted by the macro-economic environment in which it operates. Such a view would, however, be overly pessimistic and involves a denial of the positive changes that have taken place in many people's lives since the attainment of democracy.

What the development landscape in South Africa perhaps best illustrates is the incorporation, or "assimilation", of elements of the discourse of new professionalism into the existing modus operandi. The language of a new deal is there — 'people-driven', 'bottom-up', 'participatory', 'gendered' etc — but this is generally tacked-on to what remains primarily a normal professional approach. The challenge is to mainstream these principles into the daily work of government, statutory bodies, international agencies, NGOs and CBOs, but within guiding frameworks which recognise the broader developmental task and prevent the capture of benefits by local elites.

90

7.5 Putting Nature Areas on the Development Agenda

While there is evidence of a struggle over discourse (eg. in the contrasts between SANP and CPNP documentation; and in the marked differences between the approach of the SDI team and that of local interest groups in the Wild Coast), there is little to suggest that the economic values of South African nature areas are given appropriate recognition at the level of either national, provincial or local policy. The tardiness with which the government has approached the question of a legislative framework to guide the exploitation of biological resources and intellectual property is testimony to the low priority natural resources have been given. Only where existing industries (eg. mining, fishing etc.) have succeeded in exploiting natural wealth for economic gain has adequate attention been given to introducing frameworks to control this exploitation and to redistribute the benefits accruing from it.

Whereas in rural areas, shifts have occurred in natural resource management methods – CBWM, CBNRM etc. – in urban areas the value of protected areas and their management seems to have escaped scrutiny. Perhaps this is due to an absence of international models with which to work, yet an opportunity is presented for South Africa to pioneer a new approach to managing nature in an urban setting. Managing the 'park/city interface' is about more than controlling access and minimising impact. In the face of the massive development backlogs and the challenge of improving quality of life, managing nature areas like the CPNP has to both maximise and redistribute the economic values that exist. The multiple values of biodiversity (of which ecotourism is but one) must be exploited in a way that ensures justice, as well as nature, is advanced in the 'new South Africa'.

7.6 Weighing the Benefits

While some community members may win jobs arising from ecotourism, others find the pressures introduced by tourism such as the need for strictly protected zones or recreational fishing, for example, lead to the loss of a precious livelihood resources (cf, for example, Black & Cameron 2000, Tapscott 1997) or restrictions on grazing land for livestock. Where people pursue complex multi-livelihood strategies the costs and benefits of tourism activity must be carefully weighed: the 'benefits' cannot simply be taken for granted as an 'international' wisdom. As the section on the Wild Coast SDI illustrates, what is gained in the one hand may be lost from the other. The CPNP case study showed that a resource which should represent economic gain for the city could in some respects lead to economic loss: if the Park gains an influence over developments around its boundaries, Cape Town could lose valuable investments. Clearly, any constraints on development in and around protected areas need to be measured and, if appropriate, treated for the purposes of analysis, as a *cost* of the presence of that resource.

In expanding nature tourism Boo (1990) identifies two basic national strategies. The first is to lure tourists specially for nature tourism, while the second is to use nature tourism as an 'add-on' in areas with already high levels of tourism. The second is described as less risky, and could be applied to the case of Cape Town. In the Wild Coast, the danger exists for a dependence on ecotourism to develop, whereby diverse economic activity

is replaced by an 'ecotourism monoculture' (Pleumarom 1995). Most jobs in tourism involve low pay, low status and few prospects for advancement (*ibid*); small-scale enterprises offering greater returns – such as tour guiding, transport services, or setting up a B&B – require resources for entry that are beyond the reach of the poor (Belsky 1999). The value of 'community-based' ecotourism in Belize was found to be mainly in the benefit of skills development to feed into the up-market, more exclusive, often foreign owned ecotourism ventures (*ibid*). The dangers inherent in tourism dependence are potentially far more serious for rural areas than they are for diversified, complex urban economies. But is it less important for urban areas to be wary of tourism dependence?

In Cape Town, the quality of jobs in tourism was noted as of lesser value than those in other sectors, such as manufacturing. The seasonal nature of the industry presents particular challenges (although valuable efforts are being made to extend the traditional tourist season). The CPNP is a key tourism asset, yet its reluctance to engage seriously with development issues is likely to inhibit growth in the tourism sector. Furthermore, its adoption of 'biosphere' principles may constrain growth and development in other sectors which could provide more secure, year-round employment.

Clearly the question of dependence or heavy reliance on an industry subject to fluctuations, fashions, political manipulation and upheaval, economic recession and a host of other variables beyond the control of an individual nation-state is one that needs to be very carefully weighed against the benefits – too often tourism is heralded as a panacea for all, *the* proverbial 'engine of growth' for a region or country.

7.7 Towards a 'New Tourism'?

Responsible tourism implies a proactive approach by tourism industry partners to develop, market and manage the tourism industry in a responsible manner, so as to create a competitive advantage. Responsible tourism means responsibility of government and business to involve the local communities that are in close proximity to the tourism plant and attractions through the development of meaningful economic linkages (DEAT 1996).

Yet neither of the case studies examined here will contribute to changing the face of tourism in South Africa. The private-sector driven, neo-liberal approach in the Wild Coast is leading to ineffective efforts to stimulate tourism in a marginalized region. The protectionist ideology employed in the work of the CPNP has resulted in an isolationist approach which doesn't even begin to address the most important factors in the 'park/city interface'. The state's involvement in tourism here has been 'hands-off' at the level of policy and programme formulation, while simultaneously insignificant (in relation to the bigger picture), 'piecemeal' efforts are made with a small number of ad-hoc on-the-ground projects (by both the CPNP and tourism authorities).

The managerial malaise and inadequacies of bodies such as the CPNP leads to calls for privatisation. But if privatisation is not a route to development, how can progress be made? The reductionism implicit in correlating lack of public sector delivery with the absence of a profit-motive leads to a failure to engage with the

92

complexities and multi-dimensional realities of both the public bodies concerned and the development challenge itself. It becomes necessary to challenge the notion that the only solution to public sector ineffectiveness is privatisation and to seek innovative ways to ensure sufficient political pressure, management skills and frameworks (including the establishment of performance management systems provided for in the Municipal Systems Act), competence and commitment exist to achieve development goals and enhance the effectiveness of public officials and structures.

The golden-goose arguments employed by conservationists – that the resource on which tourism benefits depend will be irreparably damaged without strict conservation measures – are called into question when the question 'who benefits' is posed. In South Africa the benefits of conservation currently accrue to the privileged minority, both South African and foreign (in this respect, the questions of access to resources and recreational opportunities needs to be addressed more seriously than at present); and the benefits of tourism are largely enjoyed by large corporates, multi-nationals and white-dominated small business. Without comprehensive, integrated and broad-reaching strategies to ensure a greater distribution of tourism benefits it may become impossible to maintain such a (relatively) large network of national parks and other protected nature areas. To date, as the case studies show, insufficient attention is given to these issues: attempts are made to incorporate or 'assimilate' the language of alternative discourse into dominant paradigms and genuine change is elusive.

7.8 So Who's Interests are Served?

But if the normal professional has failed to deliver the goods in terms of development, whose interests has it served? Implicit in Chambers' work is the idea that the dominant paradigms have catered well to the interests of the ruling elite and the interests of big business. Visible efforts to ameliorate the worst affects of the inequality built into this system are a vital ingredient for its sustainability.

The evidence presented in this paper suggests that the development of the country's nature areas — and the state's involvement in this — continues to deny a significant stake to the disadvantaged and consistently fails to realise the substantial benefits which could result from the pursuit of a sustainable balance between the interests of ecological and environmental integrity and social justice. While locals have been encouraged to embrace conservation ideals, the level of direct and indirect benefits accruing therefrom have, for the most part, yet to be seen. In the Wild Coast, fuzziness around land ownership has deterred investors and made it hard for communities to play a key role in bargaining around land use and any subsequent benefits which may accrue from future developments. The picture emerging so far is one which sees the already powerful well-placed to capture future benefits. In Cape Town, communities don't directly own the land on which the nature resource is based. This is owned by the state, and controlled (in the 'public interest') by a combination of the CPNP and local authorities. Negotiations around land use are therefore subject more directly to the party political power dynamics in the area, whereas in the Wild Coast the power relations impacting on the SDI appear to be more complex. Here we see a complex interaction of the power vested in traditional authorities, local political alliances, the 'rights', as well as claims, of various land users and dispossessed groups, and that

of the state in its control over land reform, its holding of land 'in trust' for communities, and the introduction of the SDI.

The SDI is exacerbating tension and inequality in an already greatly impoverished region. National government priorities are driven at a macro level and involve a response to external pressures – the need to produce an environment conducive to foreign investment; the need to improve export earnings and boost foreign exchange reserves; and the need to make this happen within a neo-liberal economic framework. The CPNP is happy to respond to vested local interests – the adoption of a protectionist framework in relation to Cape Town's nature areas is attractive to those who have long enjoyed its benefits; and there is insufficient micro-level pressure for this to change.

In the case of the Wild Coast SDI delays in implementation have turned the programme into a sour promise for most, while in the CPNP the huge potential for the protected area to contribute to economic development is not being realised. In Cape Town, the value of the Park has yet to enter the popular consciousness as a development opportunity. The presentation of the conservation/environment issue as somehow politically neutral masks the reality wherein the interests of the privileged minorities – supported by the Park administration – retain their monopoly on the city's "idyllic" nature settings. A combination of apathy, already-established popularity as a tourist destination, a strong conservation lobby and a range of grants have made it possible for the CPNP to turn its back on development – the very body charged with the management of a key, *publicly owned*, environmental asset is playing a strong role in preventing full realisation of the environmental rights enshrined in the Constitution.

8. FURTHER AREAS OF INVESTIGATION

During the course of preparing this dissertation a range of issues arose which suggest a need for further interrogation. These include:

The need to understand more about emerging tourism patterns and for a 'cost/benefit' analysis of tourism activity. South Africa is a new entrant into the global tourism scene and in its short period of involvement has seen rapid growth in some areas of tourism infrastructure and product development. The sudden influx of tourists in the mid-90s caused many to see tourism as an industry capable of stimulating high levels of investment and job creation. The need to strengthen ecotourism products was identified and international recognition for some of the country's nature areas through the World Heritage Foundation and the UN's Man and the Biosphere Programme was sought. Yet little is known about what the local implications of this type of involvement might be. An assessment of the deterrent value of biosphere reserves, for example, on economic development around them might allow the measurement of the costs of this type of tourism to LED. Similarly, an assessment of the value of increased tourism in the area (measured in terms of related investment and job-

94

creation) as a result of the enhanced status of the nature resource, would indicate benefit. A study of this kind would fill an important information gap and enable political representatives, planners and environmentalists to better understand the impacts of conservation on the surrounding economy.

It is equally important to develop a detailed understanding of the participation processes pursued in relation to nature area development. The case studies examined here suggest wide variance in both the weight given to local input as well as the type of process followed. The establishment and management of nature areas has been the cause of much conflict, both historically and in recent years, yet there seems to be little 'institutional memory' on the part of the bodies charged with their custodianship around process methodology or conflict management. While numerous research papers have been compiled on individual experiences, it appears that a comprehensive assessment of a good sample of cases with a view to identifying workable models of participation would be useful. This might improve both local input and benefit as well as institutional understanding and responsiveness.

A related area of future work involves the critical examination of the capacity of community-based organisations and individuals from disadvantaged areas to adequately participate in negotiating nature area development. The quality and extent of capacity building required to 'level the playing field' in this type of situation requires serious investigation if interests are to be balanced and the unequal resource base of interest groups is to be accounted for.

Given the macro-economic neo-liberal framework within which government operates and the global pressures for privatisation, coupled with the financial pressures for local authorities to strip their roles down to bare necessities, there is a dire need to find positive models for strong public sector involvement in developing the economic potential of nature areas. The question of how fruitful public-private partnerships might be in the management of nature areas warrants further investigation, if the issue of privatisation or semi-privatisation is to be approached from an informed perspective.

REFERENCES

Adelzadeh 1996, *Growth, Jobs, Redistribution: Labour and Business Perspectives on Economic Development*, NIEP Occasional Paper Series, No 2, June

Adelzadeh 1997, *Gear and the Agricultural Sector*, NIEP, May

Amos FJC 1992, "Urban Planning Policies, Land and Institutional Factors" in *Regional Development Dialogue*, Vol 13/1:54-63

Argus 12/4/99, "Cape Peninsula Park faces up to paying its own way"

Arkwright D, De Beer G & Mmatli R 1998, *Spatial Development Initiatives in South Africa - Progress Achieved and Future Objectives*, paper delivered at SAPES Trust Annual Colloquium, Harare

Ashley C, C Boyd and H Goodwin 2000, *Pro-poor Tourism: putting poverty at the heart of the tourism agenda.* ODI (Overseas Development Institute) Natural Resource Perspective Series, No. 51, March.

Baden, Hasim & Meintjes 1998, *Country Gender Profile: South Africa*, (revised). Bridge Report No.45, prepared for the Swedish International Development Office (SIDA)

Bell T & Cattaneo N 1997, *Foreign Trade and Employment in South African Manufacturing Industry*, Occasional Report No 4, Employment and Training Department, ILO Geneva

Belsky JM 1999, "Misrepresenting Communities: the politics of community-based rural ecotourism in Gales Point Manatee, Belize" in *Rural Sociology*, 64(4):641-666

Black J & Cameron A 2000, "No more fish for the Wild Coast?" in *Earthyear* No 21 June-Dec

Blejer M and Khan M 1984, "Government Policy and Private Investment in Developing Countries" in *IMF Staff Papers* Vol 31:379-403

Bloom J 1998, *The Macro-economic Significance of Travel and Tourism to the Economy of the Western Cape.* (Revised) paper prepared for the Western Cape Tourism Board and Wesgro.

Bond P 1999, *Global Economic Crisis – A View from South Africa*, AIDC August, http://aidc.org.za

Boo E 1990, *Ecotourism: the Potentials and Pitfalls*, World Wildlife Fund

Business Report 3/12/99, "Tourism is a great opportunity for emerging business"

Cape Nature Conservation 1997, *Proposed Kogelberg Biosphere Reserve*, information leaflet.

Cape Times 10/4/01a, "What about the people to whom floral heritage belongs?" and "Botanical Society was not responsible for agreement". Letters page

Cape Times 10/4/01b, "Flora deal may hit SA medical research"

Cape Times 11/4/01, "Dept of Environmental Affairs to re-examine 'floral heritage' patent deal"

Cape Times 16/4/01, "Communities' labours ignored in floral deal". Letters Page

Cape Times 29/3/00, "Cape Peninsula Park is leg without steering committee"

Cape Times 6/4/01, "Millions of Rands Lost: SA's floral heritage sold to US company"

Ceballos-Lascuráin H 1996, *Tourism, Ecotourism and Protected Areas: the state of nature-based tourism around the world and guidelines for its development*, IUCN

Chambers 1993, "Normal Professionalism, New Paradigms and Development" in *Challenging the Professions: frontiers for rural development*, Intermediate Technology Publications, London

Charles Dr S 1999, *Critical issues in the Appraisal of a Tourism Development Strategy for South Africa*, NIEP Occasional Paper Series No 15, January

City of Cape Town 2001, *Cape Town's Economy: current trends and future prospects*. April

City of Cape Town 2001, *Major Investment and Development Opportunities (MIDO)*, a joint venture between the City of Cape Town and Wesgro – www.investcapetown.co.za

CMC 1995, *Informal Settlements and Townships Study*

CMC 2000, Cape *Metropolitan Council Helps Small Business Make it Happen*, CMC Economic and Social Development Directorate

Cohen M 1993, "Megacities and the Environment" in *Finance & Development*, World Bank, June

Cornwell L 1998, "Gender, Development & Democracy" in *Security Development and Gender in Africa*, ISS Monograph Series No. 27, August

Cousins B 2000, "Meaningful land reform must involve people at the grassroots level in order to avoid being fenced in by an ivory tower government agenda" in *Reconstruct, Sunday Independent*, February 20

Cowling R & D Richardson 1995, *Fynbos: South Africa's unique floral kingdom*. Cape Town: Fernwood Press

CPNP undated, *Corporate Plan*

CPNP 1998, *Draft Development Framework: channelling visitors in the Cape Peninsula National Park*, May

CPNP 1998b, *Heads of Agreement in respect of the allocation of local authority land in the Cape Peninsula Protected Natural Environment for the purpose of establishing a National Park*. April

CPNP 1999, *Management Policy*, Final Draft, prepared for CPNP by Common Ground Consulting, December

CPNP 2000a, *Towards a Conservation Development Framework for the Cape Peninsula National Park*. Report prepared to introduce and explain the CDF process.

CPNP 2000b, *Draft Conservation Development Framework for the Cape Peninsula National Park*. Prepared by Settlement Planning Services (Setplan) for the CPNP, November

Daitz D 2000, "Conservation needs to earn its keep: are our natural assets safe?", *Earthyear* No 21 June-Dec, pp128-129

DBSA 1997, *The Development of a Generic Tourism Institutional Model, Draft 1*, Working document for discussion, 25 July

De Beer G & S Elliffe 1997, *Tourism Development and the Empowerment of Local Communities*. DPRU Working Paper No 10, August

De Beer GRM, SG Mahlalela, A Mahumane, RA Mmatli & AT Maseko 1998, *A Regional Approach to Tourism Marketing, Management and Development*. Paper commissioned by the Maputo Corridor Company (a joint initiative of the South African and Mozambican governments), July

De Klerk H 1995, *Environmental Conservation*. South African Communication Service

De Waal J, I Currie & G Erasmus 2000, *The Bill of Rights Handbook*. Third edition. Cape Town: Juta in association with Lawyers for Human Rights and Law Society of South Africa

DEAT 1996, *Tourism White Paper*, May

DEAT 1997, *White Paper on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of South Africa's Biological Diversity*. Notice 1095 of 1997

DEAT 1998, *Coastal Policy Green Paper: Towards Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa*, September

DEAT 2000, *White Paper for Sustainable Coastal Development in South Africa*, April

DLA (Department of Land Affairs) 1998, *Quality of Life Report*

Driver A 1998, *The impact of the Fish River Spatial Development Initiative on industrial development in Port Elizabeth and East London: an initial evaluation*. MA thesis, Stellenbosch University, December

Driver A 1999, "Infrastructure, Corridors and Regional Integration in Southern Africa" in *Trade & Industry Monitor*, Vol 9, March

Driver A 1999b, Development Policy & Research Unit (DPRU), personal communication, July

EEU 1995, *Suitability of the National Parks Board to implement effective and appropriate management of multiple use of national parks in which there may be multiple ownerships*. Report No 7/95/139, Environmental Evaluation Unit, UCT: September 1995

Elliffe S, Rutsch P & De Beer G 1998, *Allocating Community Benefits: Institutional Options in Support of the Empo-tourism Models*. DPRU Working Paper 14, February

EPRI (Economic Policy Research Institute) 1999, *Resolution on a Macro-Economic Strategy for Poverty-eradicating Job Creation*. Presented to the AGM of SANGOCO, September

Fine B 1997, *Privatisation and the Restructuring of State Assets in South Africa: a strategic review*. NIEP Occasional Paper Series No 5, April

Fraser M & L McMahon 1994, *A Fynbos Year*. Cape Town: David Philip Publishers

Goga S & R Wolpe 1999, *National Economic Importance of South Africa's Metros*. May

Goodwin H, Kent I, Parker K & Walpole M 1998, *Tourism Conservation and Sustainable Development: case studies from Asia and Africa*, IIED Wildlife & Development Series No 12, December

Gosling M 1999, "Plan for R50m perlemoen farm: bid vies with National Park", *Cape Times*, 9 February

Gretton D 2001, (Director, Economic Affairs & Tourism, City of Cape Town South Peninsula Administration) *Personal communication*. April

Gubb A 2001, (Director, Wildlife and Environment Society of Southern Africa) *Personal communication*. April

Hall PV 1999, *Regional Institutional Structure and Industrial Strategy: Richards Bay and the Spatial Development Initiatives*. DPRU Working Paper 99/28 (Abstract), August

ILRIG 1997, *Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) and Industrial Development Zones (IDZs) in the Eastern Cape* http://aidc/ilrig.co.za

Institute for Management and Development Studies (IMDS) 1986, *Socio-economic Survey of Area 6, Eastern Pondoland (Bizana Sugar Project).* University of Transkei

Jackelman 2000, (Research & Information Manager, CPNP) *Personal Communication,* March

Jackelman 2001, (Research & Information Manager, CPNP) *Personal Communication,* April

Joseph E & D Parris 1999, *Visions of Change: social ecology and South African National Parks,* SANP

Jourdan P, Gordhan K, Arkwright D & De Beer G 1996, *Spatial Development Initiatives (Development Corridors): their potential contribution to investment and employment creation.* Department of Trade and Industry, Department of Transport & Development Bank of Southern Africa, October

Kabeer N 1994, *Reversed Realities: Gender Hierarchies in Development Thought,* London: Verso

Kepe T 1999, "Clearing the Ground in the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs): analysing 'process' on South Africa's Wild Coast" in Cousins B (ed) *At the Crossroads: land and agrarian reform in South Africa into the 21ˢᵗ century.* Bellville: PLAAS, UWC and NLC

Kepe T 1999b, "The Problem of Defining 'Community': challenges for the land reform programme in rural South Africa" in *Development Southern Africa,* Vol 16, No 3, Spring

Kepe T 2000, *Tourism, Protected Areas and Economic Development in South Africa: views of visitors to Mkambati Nature Reserve.* Unpublished document. Bellville: PLAAS, University of the Western Cape

Kepe T 2001, *Waking Up from the Dream: the pitfalls of 'fast-track' development on the Wild Coast of South Africa,* Research Report No 8, Bellville: PLAAS, UWC

Kepe T, Ntsebeza L & Cousins B 1999a, "Tempers Flare on the Wild Coast" in *Mail & Guardian Monitor,* May 8-14

Kepe T, L Ntsebeza & B Cousins 1999b, "It's not too late for Wild Coast negotiations" in *Mail & Guardian Monitor,* May 29-June 4

Kepe T, B Cousins & S Turner 1999c, *Resource Tenure and Power Relations in Community Wildlife Contexts: the case of the Mkambati area on the Wild Coast of South Africa.* Paper prepared for IIED project on Community Wildlife, Evaluating Eden Southern Africa, Phase II, July

Kepe, T, B Cousins and S Turner, 2000a, *Resource Tenure and Power Relations in Community Wildlife Contexts: the case of Mkambati area on the Wild Coast of South Africa.* Evaluating Eden Series, Discussion Paper No. 16

Kepe T, L Ntsebeza and L Pithers, 2000b, *The Impact of Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) on Rural Livelihoods: a case study of the Wild Coast SDI.* Johannesburg: National Land Committee (NLC)

Kepe T, L Ntsebeza and L Pithers 2001, *Agro-tourism Spatial Development Initiatives in South Africa: Are they enhancing rural livelihoods?* ODI (Overseas Development Institute) Natural Resource Perspective Series, No. 65, March

Koch E 1997, "Ecotourism and Rural Reconstruction in South Africa: reality or rhetoric?" in Ghimire &
Pimbert (eds) *Social Change and Conservation*, Earthscan, UK

Macleod F 2000, "New national park for Wild Coast" in *Mail & Guardian* 23/6/00

Mahlati V 1999a, *Integrated Planning and Implementation in Rural Areas: experiences from agri-tourism
Spatial Development Initiatives.* Paper presented at the Land and Agrarian Conference,
Broederstroom, 28 July

Mahlati V 1999b, "Nothing Wild about SDI Strategy" in *Mail & Guardian Monitor*, May 15-21

Manona, S and T Kepe 1997, *Mkambati Conflict Mediation.* A report to the Wild Coast SDI Team.
Ikhwezi Development Facilitators

Marais H 1998, "A Trade Strategy that Dreams of Jobs" in *Mail & Guardian* 18/9/98

Marsden D 1991, "What is Community Participation" in Crook C & Morten Jerve A (eds), *Government
and Participation: Institutional Development, Decentralisation and Democracy in the Third
World*, Chr Michelsen Institute Report

McAllister PA 1993, "Indigenous Beer in Southern Africa: Functions and Fluctuations" in *African Studies*,
Vol 52, No 1:71-88

McNeely JA & G Ness undated, *People, Parks and Biodiversity: issues in population-environment
dynamics.* The World Conservation Union (IUCN)

Merten M 2000, "Observers Concerned about New Land Reform Policy" in *Mail & Guardian* February 18-
24

Moosa MV 2000, "Building A Tourist Nation". Speech given in Cape Town, 4 February

Mowforth M and I Munt 1998, *Tourism & Sustainability: new tourism in the Third World.* London:
Routledge

Murphree MW 1999, *Governance and Community Capacity.* Paper delivered at CASS/PLAAS Inaugural
Meeting On "Community Based Natural Resource Management in Southern Africa: A Regional
Programme of Analysis and Communication", Harare 21-23 September

Naji J 1998, "Tourism and Growth" in *Palestine Economic Pulse*, Jan-Feb

Natal Witness 1997, "Wild Coast Road to Discontent". 21 August

PACD 1998, *The White Paper on Local Government.* Notice 423 of 1998. March

Palmer R, H Timmermans, K Kralo, D Lieberman, R Fox, D Hughes, K Sami, N Motteux and U Van
Harmelen 1997, *Indigenous Knowledge, Conservation Reform, Natural resource Management
and Rural Development in the Dwesa and Cwebe Nature Reserves and Neighbouring Village
Settlements.* Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University

People's Post 11/4/01, "Floral Sell-Off: A Recipe for Disaster"

Pimbert MP and JN Pretty 1997, "Parks, People and Professionals: putting 'participation' into protected-
area management" in Ghimire & Pimbert (eds) *Social Change and Conservation*, Earthscan,
UK

Platsky L 2000, (Deputy Director Western Cape Economic Affairs and Tourism) *Personal
communication*, February

Platsky L 1998, *Reconstructing and Developing South Africa: the role of Spatial Development Initiatives.* Ruth First Lecture, University of Durham, 5 May

Platsky L 1998b, *Can South Africa's New Spatial Development Initiatives turn Cumulative Disadvantages into Competitive Advantages?* Seminar paper, Durham University, 28 May

Pleumarom A 1995, *Eco-tourism or Eco-Terrorism?* Article excerpted from a briefing paper presented to the German Association for Political Economy, April 1995 - Third World Network Features/African Agenda

Roe D, Leader-Williams N & Dalal-Clayton B 1997, *Take only Photographs, Leave only Footprints: the environmental impacts of wildlife tourism.* IIED Wildlife & Development Series No 10, October

Sachs 1997, "The Need for the Home Perspective" in Rahnema & Bawtree (eds) *The Post-Development Reader,* Cape Town: David Philip

Saturday Argus 14/4/01, "Agreement not a threat to our floral heritage"

Saturday Argus 31/3/01, "Manor House gets a makeover", Douglas Carew

Setplan/SANP 2001, *Cape Peninsula National Park Draft Conservation Development Framework and Associated Maps Comments and Responses Report: synthesis of written submissions and responses.* Settlement Planning Services (Setplan) and SANP, January

Shroye M, D Kilian and J Jackelman 1998, *A Wilderness in an Urban Setting: Planning and Management of the Cape Peninsula National Park, Cape Town, South Africa.* Paper presented at 6th World Wilderness Congress, Bangalore, Karnataka, India, 24 - 29 October

Selikowitz 2001, (Social Ecology Manager, CPNP) *Personal communication,* April.

Sullivan and Associates 1996, *Coffee Bay Cluster Development.* Report prepared for Spatial Development Initiative, University of the Witwatersrand (unpublished)

Tapscott C 1997, *Dolla's Downs Project – Arniston: socio-economic impact analysis.* Survey conducted on behalf of CSIR Environmentek, Cape Town, December

Thomas W 2001, (Chief Economist, Wesgro) *Personal communication,* April

Urquhart C 1999, *Cape Urban Park Could Serve as World Model,* May www.woza.co.za

Van Deventer K 2001, (Director of CMC Economic & Social Development Directorate) *Personal communication,* April

Viljoen & Naicker 2000, "Nature-based tourism on communal land: the Mavhulani experience" in *Development Southern Africa,* Vol 17, No 1: 135-148, March

Wesgro undated, *The Tourism Industry in the Western Cape.* www.wesgro.org.za

Wesgro 1999, *South Peninsula Municipality in the Cape Metropolitan Area: a framework for local economic development.* Report prepared for the SPM

Wesgro 2001, *Tourism in the South Peninsula area: an overview.* Report by Wesgro and Economic Development Services for the South Peninsula Municipality

West Coast District Council, undated, *Proposed West Coast Biosphere Reserve,* information leaflet.

Wilkin (ed) 1998, *Poverty and Inequality in South Africa: summary report.* 13 May. (Original report prepared for the Office of the Executive Deputy President and the Inter-Ministerial Committee for Poverty and Inequality)

Williams JJ 1998, *Urban Policy Framework for Cape Town,* discussion document, June

Williams JJ 1999, "Development Trends in the 'New South Africa': some critical perspectives" in *Critical Arts,* Vol 13, No 1:102-120

Wolpe R, undated, *LED Role of Cape Town Municipality.* Overhead presentation sheets

Woolard I & C Barberton 1998, *The Extent of Poverty and Inequality in South Africa.* Data Research Africa and IDASA

World Bank 1998, SPA Status Report on Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa (SSA)