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Chapter 2: Rural community participation in Sustainable Tourism-based developments: Theoretical Overview

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Rural community participation in tourism-based developments is one of a whole range of concepts that form part of the complex framework of the sustainability paradigm. Aspects such as sustainable design, sustainable development and sustainable livelihoods predominated the focus of many of the books, articles and other publications in the social, economic and environmental fields and as a result gave rise to a vast amount of related literature over the last two to three decades.

Apart from the importance to the rest of the scientific societies of the world, the specific importance of the literature to this study will be to enable the author to extract a set of fundamental elements which are essential in the measurement of acceptable levels of participation that a rural community should have in the tourism industry of their area and the type of benefits that they should enjoy from this involvement. This set of fundamental elements can then be used as a guideline to measure the current state of involvement of the Mbila community in the tourism industry at Sodwana Bay. It can also be applied as a framework to instruct the future participation ofrural communities in the tourism-based developments at Sodwana Bay as well as in similar locations elsewhere.

The following section of this chapter will now proceed in discussing a few of the key concepts that forms part of the foundation of rural community participation in tourism-based developments.

2.2. KEY CONCEPTS WITHIN RURAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM-BASED DEVELOPMENTS

2.2.1 Sustainability and Sustainable Development

The sustainable development movement has received worldwide prominence and acceptance since the 1980s (Tillman Lyle, 1994; McIntosh, *et al.*, 1995). In essence it has become popular because it is an approach that offers the promise of maintaining a standard of living somewhat similar to that which we possess today, whilst recognizing that we cannot continue to exploit the global natural environment as we have in the past

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(Fuggle and Rabie, 1992; Tillman Lyle, 1994; McIntosh, *et al.*, 1995; Van Der Ryn and Cowan, 1995). The term sustainable development has had its fare share of criticism though, chiefly because of the conflicting ideas within the term itself as well as the variation in meaning it has, for those who deal with it on a day-to-day basis (Van Der Ryn and Cowan, 1995; IUCN, 1997; Hall and Lew, 1998).

The environmental educator David W. Orr, for instance, describes two kinds of approaches towards sustainability. Firstly, technological sustainability that centres around:' . . . expert interventions in which the planet's medical symptoms are carefully stabilized through high-profile international agreements and sophisticated management techniques'; and secondly, ecological sustainability, where, in contrast to technological sustainability, the task involves a practical ecological re-design of our current forms of agriculture, shelter, energy use, urban designing, transportation, economics, community patterns, resource use, forestry, our protected areas, and our central values (Orr, 1995). Similarly Van Der Ryn and Cowan (1995:5) state that: 'On the one hand, sustainability is the province of global policy-makers and environmental experts flying at thirty-five thousand feet from conference to conference, but on the other hand, sustainability is also the domain of grassroots, indigenous peoples who have been devoted in changing their own communities and in so doing lived sustainably within their traditional practices for centuries'.

The difference in emphasis of these approaches stems from the dissimilar backgrounds of the people involved. The most popular example of this kind of divergence in approach towards sustainability is probably that of the variation in approach between the industrialized North and the developing South. The quality of life considerations, which play such a large part in dictating the political priorities of the industrialized countries, surface distinctively because of the success of the industrialist capitalism in delivering the high standards of living for the majority of its population (Redclift, 1992). Although conflicts regarding the exploitation or conservation of the natural resources in the North can be highly charged, it is found that these debates more often than not involve aesthetic concerns and unease about the general state of the environment rather than the essential survival of the people (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Bell, 1987; Redclift, 1992).

In the developing South, rural communities form the majority of the populace (Kemf, 1993; IUCN, 1997) Here sustainable development translates into the most basic needs such as strategies for survival and the preservation of these people's cultural identity (Bell, 1987; Redclift, 1992; Vivian, 1995; IUCN, 1997). Where these rural community's

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traditional livelihoods historically incorporated utilization measures, which conserved the natural resources in order to ensure their future use, the Northern view usually favoured the removal of these peoples from conservation areas (usually significant sections of their traditional resource areas) and the strict protection of these areas in reserves and other protected areas (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Bell, 1987).

These people were then usually compensated for the resources they had lost (frequently in ways that were foreign to their traditional backgrounds) and expected to adapt to lifestyles without the sufficient utilization of their natural resources (Gibson and Marks, 1995). Therefore, although sustainable development practices such as natural resource conservation and protected areas did not significantly threaten the livelihoods of the people in the Industrial societies of the North, rural communities in the Developing South suffered severely because of the consequences of these measures, and in a number of cases openly opposed the sustainable development initiatives in their area (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Els, 1995).

Fortunately, research into appropriate sustainable development procedures and initiatives for the developing countries continued, and over the years, revealed various significant measures on how rural community participation should be approached to produce viable development initiatives in these developing countries (Wells and Brandon, 1992; IUCN, 1997). These initiatives would then not only focus on the conservation and protection of the environment, but also on the well-being of the scores of rural communities that live in and around these areas (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf 1993). In this way, rural community participation in sustainable development grew as one of the chief prerequisites on how to approach development in developing countries and also started to give instruction as to what kind of development initiatives would be the most fitting for the conditions in these areas (Ghai, 1994; IIED, 1994a; IIED, 1994b; Hall and Lew, 1998; Goodwin and Roe, 1999).

Nature-based tourism emerged as one of the most prominent methods of promoting the above-mentioned sustainable development initiatives in the developing countries of the world (Inskeep, 1998; Goodwin and Roe, 1999; Hall, 2000). Some of the more probable reasons for this development can be attributed to the international rise in environmental concern as well as the undeniable comparative advantage of the less developed countries in terms of the variety and extent of their unspoiled natural environments and the desire (especially of the industrialized world) to experience the natural and the cultural treasures of these last true natural havens (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 1993; Cater, 1994a; Augustyn, 1998).

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Although some of the tourism initiatives in these environments proved to be quite unsustainable in terms of resource depletion and cultural insensitivities (Kandelaars, 1997; Zeppel, 1998; Hall, 2000), indication exist of other instances where tourism-based developments contributed significantly to the sustainability of the local natural and cultural systems in terms of the reduction of direct environmental stresses and the contribution to the social and economic circumstances of the local communities involved (Campbell, 1998; Inskeep, 1998, Zeppel, 1998; Ashley and Jones, 1999).

Tourism has therefore exhibited its potential to meet the requirements of sustainable development in the developing countries by providing the rural communities with alternative developmental measures whereby they can supplement their basic livelihood essentials within their cultural traditions and without destroying their natural environment (Western, 1993; Zeppel, 1998; Ashley and Jones, 1999).

2.2.2 Sustainable Tourism

Sustainable tourism developed in direct response to the age of environmentalism (see sections 2.2.1 and 2.3.2.1) and the sustainable development paradigm. It advocates a form of tourism development that is increasingly aware of and sensitive towards the various environments of the globe (especially those in the developing world) and their indigenous inhabitants (Wheeler, 1993; Inskeep, 1998). Although the different varieties of sustainable tourism have been defined in a multitude of ways (ecotourism, nature tourism, green tourism, low-impact tourism, adventure tourism, alternative tourism, responsible tourism, soft tourism, appropriate tourism, quality tourism, and new tourism), the description that was found to be most fitting for this study was that of 'alternative tourism' and this primarily due to the reality that it describes an alternative type of tourism to that of the mass tourism phenomenon of the 1970s to 1980s (Prosser, 1994; McIntosh, *et al.*, 1995).

At the onset of the mass tourism boom, the tourism industry much resembled the all-consuming nature of the industrialist era. In the book '*The Golden Hordes*' by Turner and Ash (1975), the authors describe the mass tourist of that period as ' a plague of marauders spreading across the earth' (Turner and Ash in Prosser, 1994). Others described these tourists as 'landscape eaters' (Murphy and Urry in Prosser, 1994), which further illustrated the brand of tourist and tourism packages that were marketed at the time and the concern they raised. These types of mass tourism holidays were 'standardized, rigidly packaged and inflexible; produced through mass replication of

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identical packages; mass marketed to an undifferentiated clientele; and consumed *en masse*, with no real consideration by the tourists for the local norms, the cultures, the people, or the environment of the tourist-receiving destinations' (Poon, 1994; in Queiros, 2000).

In contrast to these modes of consumption and the developments that spawned from them, the Brundtland Report of 1987 and Agenda 21 (the latter having emanated from the World Summit on Sustainable Development at Rio de Janeiro in 1992) are universally known as two of the most prominent documents that guided the initial processes of changing these kinds of consumerist life styles and unsustainable developments. In addition, Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry was drawn up in accordance with Agenda 21 of the Rio Summit. It was developed because of the realization by the World Tourism Organization (WTO) that tourism, as the world's largest and fastest growing economic sector as well as one of the principal consumers of the world's natural and cultural resources, has the considerable potential to be a significant contributor to either the further destruction of these resources or the sustainable development thereof (Campbell, 1998; Hall and Lew, 1998; Inskeep, 1998; Hall, 2000).

The WTO therefore describes Sustainable Tourism as: ' Tourism that meets the needs of the present tourists and host regions whilst protecting and enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to the management of all the resources in such a way that economic, social, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled whilst maintaining the cultural integrity, the essential ecological processes, the biological diversity, and the necessary life support systems of the places where it occurs (Inskeep, 1998:5).

With regard to the type of tourism and tourism development that occurs in the Sodwana Bay region, it is important to highlight the main varieties of tourism that is currently being pursued there as well as the overlap that exists between these varieties. In Sodwana Bay, as in many other destinations worldwide, there seems to exist a level of confusion as to what form of tourism this specific area is offering. This confusion can be attributed to the fact that although many of the activities occur within the natural environment and therefore relate to nature-based tourism (as in the case of the Sodwana Bay area), most of them also fall within the adventure tourism category and can thus also be described in this manner.

In other cases, tourism ventures frequently involve purely ethnical, heritage, cultural or rural tourism activities, which fall under the cultural tourism category but again take place within a remote natural environment. Getz and Page (1997) link these cultural types of

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tourism to adventure tourism, although this type of tourism can also be seen as ecotourism if it adheres to all the fundamentals of what true ecotourism involves (Queiros, 2000). Bearing in mind the fact that a great deal of overlap exists between all of these tourism niches, the author agrees with Queiros, who states that even extensive overlap does not mean that these terms are synonymous.

According to the most recent development proposals it becomes evident that the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Conservation authorities wish to market the Sodwana Bay area as an Ecotourism destination (Hicks, 1991; Heynes and Hornby, 1994). Ecotourism can be defined as: ' an enlightening, interactive, participatory travel experience to environments, both natural and cultural, that ensures the sustainable use at an appropriate level of environmental resources, while producing viable economic opportunities for the ecotourism industry and host/local communities, which make the sound environmental management of the resources beneficial to all tourism role players' (Hattingh, 1996).

Nature-based tourism on the other hand is, as the name implies, tourism based on nature (Queiros, 2000). Although the activities of a nature-based tourism operation may involve the rural communities in various aspects of the tourism-based developments of a protected area, these operations often neglect the deeper involvement of the rural communities with the tourists where the tourists are able to interact with the rural communities in ways that foster a two-way understanding between the tourists and these communities. Therefore, according to Queiros (2000), the distinction between nature-based tourism and ecotourism lies within the level of interaction between the tourists and the rural community. Ecotourism, if it is practiced in its true form, will leave the tourist with an enlightened knowledge of not only the natural aspects of the area which they have visited, but also of that of the cultural characteristics of the host community of this area.

Currently, the Sodwana Bay area produces mainly the nature-based and adventure type of tourism activities (see section 3.4). The author feels that although the KZN Nature Conservation authorities aim to market the area as an ecotourism destination, this is not yet the case at Sodwana Bay. Reasons for this assumption originate from aspects such as the limited range of tourism activities that the area currently provides, the immature state of the tourism development in the area as a whole, as well as the specific nature of these tourism activities, which do not, at present, encourage enlightening and interactive community participation.

Fortunately, what is also true of this area is that the chief tourism administrators as well as some of the other tourism stakeholders in the region recognized these limitations and initiated the processes that they deemed to be appropriate to inform them on how to accomplish the dual feats of sustainable development and sustainable tourism development of the Sodwana Bay area (Wilson, 1999; LSDI, 2001b; LSDI, 2001c). What remains now is the implementation of the recommended measures so that Sodwana Bay can be referred to as a working example of a destination with a variety of tourism activities that contribute to sustainable tourism development and ultimately the sustainable development of the region.

2.2.3 Community participation

Rural community participation in tourism-based developments has emerged as a major trend throughout the world, but especially in developing countries where it is often promoted in association with protected areas (Brandon, 1993; Zeppel, 1998; Ashley and Jones, 1999, Goodwin and Roe, 1999; Weaver in Black, *et al.*, 2001). This form of participation has emerged from a wide range of developmental and academic interest groups and has also been described within the context of these perspectives (Drake, 1991, Cater, 1994b). Rural community participation has therefore been defined as:

- giving people more opportunities to participate effectively in development activities. It means empowering people to mobilize their own capacities, be social actors rather than passive subjects, manage resources, make decisions, and control the activities that affect their lives (Cernea, 1985 in Brandon, 1993);

- an active process by which beneficiary or client groups influence the decision and execution of a development project with a view to enhancing their well-being in terms of income, personal growth, self-reliance or other values they cherish (Paul, 1987; in Oakley, 1991 in Little, 1996);

- organized efforts to increase control over resources and regulative institutions in given social situations, on the part of groups and movements . . . hitherto excluded from such control (Colchester, 1994).

For the purposes of this study rural community participation embodies a process for creating opportunities for rural communities to participate effectively in the tourism-based developments of their region. It means empowering these people to mobilize their own

capacities to be able to sustainably manage their environmental resources and to eventually play the leading role in the control of their own community-based tourism developments in association with the other stakeholders involved.

In addition to the various frames of reference from which rural community participation has been described, it has also been used for the motivation of an array of political, commercial and socio-economic aspects (Drake, 1991: Ashley and Jones, 1999; Goodwin and Roe, 1999). These aspects have often provided the grounds for many of the tourism-based developments that were developed with community resources, but have more often than not failed to equitably share the benefits that accrue from these developments (Redclift, in Cater, 1994b, Butler, 1999). A number of examples exist where the tourism developers in an area have negotiated a land lease agreement with a rural community and where this agreement described the future involvement of the rural community only in terms of, for instance, the employment and infrastructural benefits that the development would provide this community (Mosidi, 1996; Goodwin and Roe, 1999).

Although the author believes that some of the tourism developers entered into these agreements with definitive ulterior motives, there is also the realization that due to the specific background of some of these developers (specifically those in the fast lane developmental fields of the Industrialist world), the meaning of what true Rural community participation in tourism-based developments consists of, is either not known or well underdeveloped. Table 2.1 describes some of the attitudes towards rural community participation and also illustrates the prevalent depth of understanding of what it entails.

TABLE 2.1: A Typology of Participation

Typology	Components of Each Type
Passive Participation	People participate by being told what is going to happen or has happened. It is a unilateral announcement by an administration or project management without listening to the people's responses. The information being shared belongs only to external professionals
Participation in Information Giving	People participate by giving answers to questions posed by extractive researchers and project managers using questionnaire surveys or similar approaches. People do not have the opportunity to influence proceedings, as the findings of the research or project design are neither shared nor checked for accuracy.

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TABLE 2.1: A Typology of Participation (Continued)

Typology	Components of Each Type
Participation by Consultation	People participate by being consulted, and external agents listen to their views. These external agents identify both problems and solutions, and may modify these in light of people's responses. Such a consultative process does not concede any share of decision-making and professionals are under no obligation to take on board people's views.
Participation for Material Incentives	People participate by providing resources, for example labour, in return for food, cash, or other material incentives. Much *in situ* research falls within this category, as rural people provide the setting but are not involved in the experimentation or process of learning. It is very common to see this called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging activities when these incentives end.
Functional Participation	People participate by forming groups to achieve pre-determined objectives related to the project, which can involve the development or promotion of an externally initiated social organization. Such involvement does not tend to be at early stages of project cycles or planning, but rather after major decisions have been made. These institutions tend to be dependent on external structures but may become independent in time.
Interactive Participation	People participate in joint analysis, which leads to action plans and the formation of new local groups or the strengthening of existing ones. It tends to involve interdisciplinary methods that seek multiple perspectives and make use of systematic and structured learning processes. These groups take control over local decisions, so that people have a stake in maintaining structures or practices.
Self-Mobilization/ Active Participation	People participate by taking initiatives (independent of external institutions) to change systems. Such self-initiated mobilization and collective action may or may not challenge existing distributions of power and wealth.
Source: Pimbert & Pretty 1994 cited in IIED, 1994:19	

For rural community participation to be truly effective in the control and management of the tourism-based activities and the conservation of the natural and cultural environments within and around protected areas it is necessary that the different stakeholders involved perform the same categorical changes that Orr describes in

Section 2.2.1. Table 2.2 illustrates that although some stakeholder groups foresee the process of rural community participation to be one that empowers a rural community (to the extent where the community can exert a significant degree of control over their resources and the development that occurs there), others still foster a view that places severe limitations on the level of rural community involvement, and therefore in the long term also decreases such a development's chances of being truly sustainable.

Together Johnson (1990), West and Brechin (1991 in Brandon, 1993) and Wells and Brandon (1992) described over fifty cases of tourism-based and other nature-based development projects that were initiated to tackle the dual objectives of protecting wild lands and creating positive economic and social benefits for the rural communities. From all of these initiatives the authors concluded that only a very small number actually achieved the dual objectives of rural community participation and environmental conservation and that insignificant community benefit flows accompanied the majority of these projects (Johnson, 1990; West and Brechin, 1991 in Brandon, 1993; Wells and Brandon, 1992). Furthermore, they established that the causes for these failures seemed to originate out of the fact that socially responsible and environmentally accountable tourism developments cannot be fostered without a dialogue being constructed and controlled along rural community needs and in rural community terms and that there are only certain conditions and planning actions that will allow for positive benefit flows to the rural community and a consequent rise in conservation priority with these rural communities.

These conditions and actions include aspects such as the fact that conservation bodies and developers need to consider the substantial costs that rural communities bordering these protected areas have already borne, and that if properly motivated, the rural communities will themselves protect the resources (and the tourists that visit them) that these conservation-based and tourism-based projects aim to protect (Kemf, 1993; Els, 1995; Timothy; 1999). In addition, the viewpoint of rural community participation being a beneficiary approach should be transformed so that it embodies empowerment which, in contrast to the beneficiary approach, represents characteristics such as the broadening of the rural community's opportunities in the sense of education and training and the building of their capacities in order for them to become increasingly secure in their own abilities to manage similar initiatives of their own (Redclift, 1992; Brandon, 1993).

In the same way that literature provides examples of where tourism-based and other developments failed to implement successful rural community participation measures, it also presents instances where the developers, the conservation authorities and the rural

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communities did manage to bridge the most recurrent difficulties of these types of initiatives (Brandon, 1993; Ashley and Jones, 1999; Wilderness Safaris, 1999a). In these instances the products of these partnerships often included projects which generated a rise in the quality of life of the rural communities involved, as well as increased environmental health in the midst of tourism packages that offered sought-after experiences for the tourists.

The aim of the rest of this chapter is to look at the causes of failure of rural community participation in tourism-based developments (Section 2.3.1), the changes that occurred in the face of these failures (Section 2.3.2) and to discuss a set of fundamental elements which the author considers to be crucial for true rural community participation in tourism-based developments (Section 2.4).

2.3 THE ORIGIN AND RISE OF RURAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM-BASED DEVELOPMENTS

2.3.1 History of the Rise of Tourism to Protected Areas

2.3.1.1 The Rise of the Top-Down Protectionist Approaches and the Origins of Protected Areas

The rise of the top-down protectionist approaches in Sub-Saharan Africa and in many other parts of the world seem to have originated from the initial perceptions of the Industrialized world of the bounty of natural resources in the remote rural areas of the world, especially in the underdeveloped South, as well as the need to protect this bounty for the benefit of humanity (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Kiss, 1990; Fuggle and Rabie, 1992a). Studies indicate however that the benefits that arose from these protected areas have, since the early days, been destined for a decidedly select group of beneficiaries only (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Mackenzie, 1987; Lindsay, 1987; Tapela, 2001). Furthermore, although the beneficiaries themselves were mostly from foreign backgrounds with foreign outlooks, they were usually the ones that decided how these indigenous reserves should be planned and managed, as well as how the benefits that arose from its protection should be distributed.

Bruton (1980), Mackenzie (1987) and Ghimire (1994) describe the establishment of many game parks and reserves during the late 1800s and the early 1900s. The parks and reserves in southern and eastern Africa in particular, were established during the

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height of the European colonial pursuits and also as a result of the considerable impacts that these pursuits had on the resources, that the region offered (Mackenzie, 1987). Mackenzie, for example, states the importance of the hunt as one of the major colonial exploits. He continues by identifying three principal phases of European hunting, specifically in the east African region. The first of these phases involved purely commercial hunting for ivory and skins. The second phase included hunting as a subsidy for the second level of European advance that was characterized as the period of acquisition, conquest and colonial settlement. The third phase was the transformation of hunting into 'The Hunt', in which it came to be associated with the collection of trophies and natural history specimens, the establishment of records and the pursuit of manliness and moral edification through 'sportsmanship' (Mackenzie, 1987).

Colonial hunters, traders and countless columns of colonial soldiers therefore hunted profusely to provide for the needs of their various exploits, thereby decimating the existing animal populations (Mackenzie, 1987). In addition, the rinderpest epidemic (which was also introduced through colonial contact) struck the continent early in 1896 (Mackenzie, 1987). The epidemic spread like wildfire and soon stretched over the upper parts of Zambia and Zimbabwe and had reached Cape Town by the end of 1896 already. (Baden-Powell, 1897 in Mackenzie). It ruined the cattle populations of the colonists and the locals and caused the complete destruction of many of the game populations (buffalo, kudu and eland in particular) that weren't immune to the disease (Baden-Powell, 1897 in Mackenzie).

The significant reductions in the quantity of game in southeast Africa eventually compelled the colonial authorities to introduce ways of protecting the resources that were once so bountiful, but which were now nearly depleted (Bruton, 1980; Mackenzie 1987; Anderson and Grove, 1987). The motives for this protection are, however believed, not to be entirely based on the protection of the wildlife for the sake of the future existence of the species, but rather out of the need to ensure the existence of a giant playground for the benefit of these colonial rulers (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Mackenzie 1987). Protected areas in the form of game reserves and wildlife parks were therefore proclaimed and patrolled and specific hunting seasons were declared with the clear understanding that these parks were now the domain of famous travellers, high-ranking officers, politicians, royalty and the occasional aristocrat (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Mackenzie, 1987).

Protectionist policies in these reserves were preservationist in nature and contained the non-utilitarian approach of preserving selected species and guarding them as well as

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large sections of their habitats against what the colonial managers of these reserves saw as inappropriate local uses (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Mackenzie, 1987; Lindsay, 1987; Tapela, 2001). Due to this non-utilitarian approach, the managers of these reserves (which usually consisted of a centralized government body) were generally unsympathetic towards the needs of the rural communities neighbouring the newly proclaimed protected areas and habitually imposed whatever measures they deemed necessary for the apt protection of the land and the animals (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Mackenzie, 1987). One rare African text of the time, written by an employee of the Methodist Episcopal Press (Jason Machiwanyika) described some of the difficulties that the rural communities in and around these areas faced. He stated that: 'Europeans took all guns from Africans and refused to let them shoot game. But Europeans shoot game. Africans have to eat relish only with vegetables. If an African shoots game with a gun, the African is arrested and the gun is confiscated' (Jason Machiwanyika, uncatalogued in Mackenzie, 1987).

To add to the difficulties of these rural communities, it was universally understood that although some of the colonial reserve managers made extensive use of the vast environmental knowledge of the rural communities during their hunting expeditions, they made no attempt to involve these rural communities when it came to the development and the management of these reserves (Mackenzie, 1987; Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994). Although rural community participation gained significant momentum in the development and management of protected areas from the 1980s onwards, the protectionist policy of the late 1800s and the better part of the rest of the twentieth century before the 1980s, clearly stipulated who would manage these reserves as well as how they would be managed. The preservationist approach effectively ignored the wealth of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) which the rural communities had developed over the years they had lived and survived in these places (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993). Preservation in protected areas was therefore employed in typical top-down managerial fashion and consisted of measures and methods deemed appropriate primarily from the European perspective (Vivian, 1995; Kemf, 1993; Tapela, 2001; Mathenjwa, 2003).

The environmental protection policies that sprouted from the protectionist perceptions proved to be generally inappropriate wherever they were implemented, however, and although many of these did initially benefit the environment, they usually became defunct quite quickly (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Mackenzie, 1987; Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993). Environmental rehabilitation resulting from the preservationist approach usually consisted of the recuperation of the animal populations and the reclamation of

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the natural environment where human settlements used to exist (Bruton, 1980; Mackenzie, 1987). These preserves were, however, effectively disconnected from the natural areas neighbouring them and soon began to suffer the consequences thereof. The preservation of selected species of animals resulted in unbalanced population growths, which in turn led to ecological imbalances such as inbreeding and habitat deterioration (Mackenzie, 1987).

Scholars like Anderson and Grove, (1987), Kiss (1990), Kemf (1993) and Els, (1995) suggest that the failures of these preservationist measures were related to the European perception of the African reality. The authors continue by stating that the problem with these perceptions lie in the nature of the colonial relationship itself, which allowed Europeans to impose their image of Africa upon the reality of the African landscape. Within this image European involvement in Africa regularly manifested itself in a wish to 'protect the natural environments of the South as a special kind of "Eden" for the purposes of the European psyche rather than a complex and changing environment in which people had actually had to live' (Anderson and Grove, 1987).

Apart from the ecological disorders, the most significant difficulties that protected areas would suffer originated from their interaction with the neighbouring rural communities. The centralized top-down fashion of conservation meant that the rural communities of the regions where these protected areas were being proclaimed would now begin to face increasing levels of alienation from their traditional territories. Furthermore, these rural communities also faced the loss of their traditional methods of managing natural resources as well as the traditional ways in which they provided for their families. The very resources with which these rural communities lived in harmony for centuries were now being controlled by a foreign agent who claimed exclusive rights to its management and who also retained the right to distribute its benefits as they saw fit. The fact that the natural environment represented such an immense part of the traditional lives of these peoples implied that they had therefore lost a significant degree of control over their traditional existence in these areas as well as in the future development thereof.

2.3.1.2 The Origins of Travel and Tourism to Protected Areas

Tourism, as described by the WTO, comprises the activities of persons travelling to and staying in places outside their usual environment for not more than one consecutive year for leisure, business and other purposes (Inskeep, 1998). Although some of the travels of the early religious pilgrims, exploratory conquistadors and traders cannot entirely be

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compared with this type of travel, tourism has been around for thousands of years (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 1993; Bosselman *et al.*, 1999). Formal travel narratives are often said to have begun around 1900 B.C. with the Babylonian *Epic of Gilgamesh*, and Homer's majestic *Odyssey,* even though the travels narrated here are decreed by their gods and not wholly voluntary or pleasurable (Bosselman *et al.*, 1999). History does, however, attest to people travelling from the earliest of times and in some cases repeatedly visiting special places where enterprising locals have, at a price, provided their visitors with shelter and sustenance as well as transportation and guides (Bosselman *et al.*, 1999).

Naturalist travellers akin to the nature-based and ecotourism forms of tourism have also been around for quite some time. Over the past 200 years people such as Humboldt and Darwin as well as Bates and Wallace travelled to some of the most distant and remote places on our planet experiencing pristine natural environments and cultures that had never been in contact with the developed world of their times (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 1993; Western, 1993; Bosselman *et al.*, 1999). Although not for entirely the same reasons, ecotourism, nature-based tourism and the other forms of sustainable tourism that we know today seem to have had their origins in the same interests. In these examples of travel and tourism, the people travelling developed a keen interest in the protected areas and the last of the remaining untouched environments of the planet and spared almost nothing in their quests to reach these places.

Fuggle and Rabie (1992) and Western (1993) depict the first authentic instances of travel to protected areas in their accounts of the flocks of tourists that visited the early American public reserves during the latter years of the nineteenth century. Places like the Yellowstone and Yosemite National Parks were created essentially for the protection of 'special places' with natural uniqueness for the educational and recreational needs of the 'public' (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994). Similarly, Anderson and Grove (1987) and Mackenzie (1987) describe the royal treatment that the early European and American visitors enjoyed at the game reserves and hunting parks that were established during the high point of the European colonial reign in Africa and Asia. These parks were originally established to protect the larger animals such as elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, lion and tiger, which were valued by these wealthy travellers for their safari viewing and hunting appeal (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Western, 1993; Ghimire, 1994).

In Africa especially, the original motives for travelling during the mid to late 1800s appear to have spawned out of the dual interest of exploiting the continent's natural wealth in the

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name of colonial empire building as well as visiting its exceptional aesthetic features (see Section 2.2.1.1). By the mid 1900s, however, photographic and game viewing journeys as well as biological expeditions to protected areas and other regions with pristine natural attractions were decidedly more popular than hunting (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Western, 1993). These varieties of travel and tourism were however still based on the larger animals, most probably because of the countless documentaries and publications on the romantic accounts of the adventures of the European hunters, filmmakers and writers in 'deepest, darkest Africa' (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Western, 1993).

The late 1960s to the early 1970s saw the onslaught of the mass tourism era (Western, 1993, Prosser, 1994; Bosselman *et al.*, 1999). Prosser calls this form of mass package tourism a travel 'phenomenon' and compares its insatiable energy with that of a tsunami that sweeps up everything in its path. According to writers like Bosselman *et al.*, (1999) and Inskeep (1998), the reasons for its explosive growth can be attributed primarily to late twentieth century occurrences. These include increasing wealth (especially the emergence of large middle classes); changed demographics (an increase in the number of retired persons with time to travel, especially in developed countries); greater mobility (increased personal transportation); global transportation improvements (especially the increased size and number of large airplanes and other tourism-oriented transportation methods combined with the proportional reduction in travelling costs); technological change (improved communications and globalization); and the maturation of the tourism industry (as evidenced for, example, by the creation of more consistent standards and methods of service delivery and the proliferation of package holidays and other varieties of tourism such as business tourism and sports tourism).

This variety of tourism represents an almost logical reaction of the post war industrialist and capitalist sway of the Developed world. During this time mass tourism holidays were standardized and produced through the mass replication of identical packages that were consistently insensitive to the natural environment and the rural communities of the tourist-receiving destination (Poon, 1994). Holidays that included beachfront activities were especially fashionable with tourists during this time and saw the proliferation of almost identical hotel and other holiday resort developments along most of the attractive beaches of the world. Small island states in the Pacific and Indian oceans were especially hard hit by these undifferentiated developments, some of which still bear the environmental and cultural scars today (Kandelaars, 1997; Hall, 2000). In Africa especially, the mass tourism phenomenon produced a type of tourist and tourism package that were characterized by the 'harrying of animals and the ruining of their

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habitats as well as a general insensitivity to the rural communities of the destination and a universal spoiling of the wilderness experience' (Prosser, 1994).

Fortunately though the rise of global environmental concern was at hand and would eventually also spread to the tourism industry. International concern about the earth's resources and the exploitation thereof was not only effecting change in development and conservation circles, but also slowly but surely initiating the creation of a new variety of tourist and tourism industry (Cater, 1994a; Prosser, 1994; Bosselman *et al.*, 1999). This brand of tourism would seek out environmentally and culturally sensitive travel experiences to environments that are being managed in sustainable ways, and would place increasing importance on the impact of tourists and the tourism industry as a whole on the tourist receiving-destinations. (Cater, 1994a; Ghimire, 1994; Prosser, 1994; Hall and Lew, 1998; Hall, 2000). Therefore, although visitor numbers would still guarantee huge challenges for tourism promoters and the tourist-receiving destinations, the tourism industry would now be able to endorse sustainable guidelines that should aid in decreasing the impact on these destinations whilst increasing the benefits accruing from its operations.

2.3.1.3 Initial Influences of Tourism-based developments in and around Protected Areas

Tourism developments have consistently been associated with the huge changes they usually bring to a destination. Sections 2.3.1.1 and 2.3.1.2 illustrated how the initial creation of protected areas and the exclusive rights that the early visitors to these reserves enjoyed influenced the environment and the rural communities that live in these areas. In section 2.2.2 and 2.3.1.2 some of the authors quoted described tourists as being a 'plague of marauders' or 'landscape eaters' who have spread across the earth and who through their shear numbers and activities have sometimes effected irreparable damage to the natural and cultural environments of the places they visit. It is therefore evident that although tourism can definitely benefit the areas in which it develops (e.g. positive economic impacts, increased job opportunities, heightened cultural identity of rural communities due to tourist interest), history has unfortunately shown that it has regularly brought more negative than positive consequences for its destination areas (Inskeep, 1998; Bosselman, *et al.*, 1999; Hall, 2000).

The negative impacts of the tourism industry on a destination are usually most visible in the decrease of the quality of the natural environment. This situation forms the basis of a

whole range of concerns on the part of the communities that live there as well as on the part of the tourism industry (Inskeep and Kallenberger, 1992; Prosser, 1992; Hall, 2000). To the tourism industry the concern is, of course, the popularity of the destination and whether it will achieve the financial returns for the investments were made have made in the infrastructure of the destination (Inskeep and Kallenberger, 1992; Prosser, 1992). The concerns for the resident rural communities are however, much greater. These types of environmental impacts not only influence their present circumstances in the sense of the possibility of increased economic opportunities but also influence their future and that of future generations, with regarding to, for example, the security of their prospective food resources (Brown, 1995; Hale, 1996; Mathenjwa, 2003).

Tourism developments associated with protected areas have unfortunately also created more negative than positive outcomes in the places that they were established. The National Park model of a protected area, which is undoubtedly the most popular form of protected area in the world, originated in the United States during the latter years of the nineteenth century (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994). Although this form of protected area was initially created for the protection of a natural resource base, it often utilized tourism as a means of generating funds for the operation of the park and for promoting the importance of the preservation of these areas to the international community. Boundaries were therefore drawn around these 'special places' so that they could be 'set aside' from the 'ravages' of ordinary use for the preservation of their natural resources and for the inspiration and enjoyment of their mainly Western and European visitors (Hales in Wells and Brandon, 1992).

One of the most famous of these National Parks, is the Yellowstone National Park, which was established on the traditional land of the Crow, the Blackfeet, and the Shoshone-Bannock Indian tribes of North America. It probably represents the first protected area where groups of indigenous people were forcibly removed from their ancestral territories to make way for the park and its tourists (Kemf, 1993). In the years following the proclamation of this wilderness preserve, many others were proclaimed in a similar fashion in North America and all over the world (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994). Writings of the North American park managers reflected the thinking of the time, expressing that although they acknowledged that these areas truly belonged to the indigenous peoples ' . . . nothing was outstanding about their history' and that ' . . . an essentially militaristic defence strategy' were required to keep these peoples out (Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994).

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Section 2.3.1.1 describes a similar situation in the African and southeast African European colonies of the 1800s and 1900s. Here the difference was, of course, in the sense of the purposeful exploitation of Africa's natural resources, which was apart from the tourists that visited it, almost exclusively destined for the colonial managers of these reserves, and almost entirely performed in the name of colonial empire building (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Mackenzie, 1987). Rural communities within and on the fringes of these reserves have therefore suffered immense difficulties on a large scale. Not only have they been expelled from and deprived of their traditional territories, but they have also been compensated with means that were totally inappropriate in the context of their needs (and even in today's terms), relocated to unsuitable localities and prohibited from making use of the natural resources within these reserves (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994).

Whilst the inability to live on their traditional lands in the way that their ancestors had lived for hundreds of years has certainly posed its share of difficulties, it does not even come close to what the rural communities have lost in the sense of management and control of these areas. Losing these abilities meant that they had, in fact, not only lost their present means of livelihood but that they had also lost their powers to manage their environment as well as the control of the forces that influence their future in the development of these areas. Although probably not recognized at the time, the question of local management and local control over the tourism and conservation activities that were being performed in these protected areas would eventually form the basis of the issue of equitable rural community participation in tourism-based developments in and around protected areas.

2.3.2 The Shift towards Participatory Approaches

2.3.2.1 The Rise of Environmentalism

The rise of international environmentalism and its influences on the rural landscapes and communities of the world had strong ties with the outcomes of the industrialist era in the Western world and in Europe especially. At first the roots of the pre-Industrialist interests sprang from the allure that the vast open African spaces presented to the relatively confined and man-made spaces of the European landscape (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Wells and Brandon, 1992; Cater, 1994a: Ghimire, 1994). In addition to this romanticism, Africa's seemingly inexhaustible resources and the economic value thereof also attracted the attention of the colonists (Mackenzie, 1987; Ghimire, 1994). These interests would

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ultimately lead to the creation of the first protected areas as well as their management regimes (see Section 2.3.1.) and also represented the first steps towards the global environmentalist movement of the post war times.

In short, the environmentalist movement can be described as an international rise in the awareness of the impacts of the human race on the environment and the formation of various interest and pressure groups that started campaigning for more environmentally sensitive approaches towards development (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992b; Tillman Lyle, 1994; Ghai, 1994; Tapela, 2001). In the years following the Second World War, the environmentalist movement grew with remarkable speed. Reasons for this can be attributed to the poor quality of life in the heavily industrialized cities of the North as well as to a general increase in the level of scientific understanding that was set in motion by the developments in the technological, economic and social sectors of the industrial revolution (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992b; Ghai, 1994). With the 1960's popular interest in the natural environment came an increase in the number of philosophical and scientific text. Rachel Carsten's book 'The Silent Spring' (1962) and a number of other academic publications focused on the influence of human developments and raised the all important notion of there being a limit to the earth's resources (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992b; Tillman Lyle, 1994).

The late 1960s and the 1970s saw a further proliferation in the amount of publications and articles concerning environmentally sensitive developments (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Fuggle and Rabie, 1992b; Tillman Lyle, 1994). By this time, environmental concern, (which was only considered to be a civil rights movement) was also being recognized by some of the foremost governments and institutional bodies of the world (Redclift, 1992; Chatterjee and Finger, 1994). Conferences such as the 1968 Biosphere conference in Paris and the 1972 United Nations Conference on Human Environment (the Stockholm Conference) focused specifically on the need for more and better research on ecosystems, human ecology and pollution, as well as genetic and natural resources, and also suggested the idea of 'eco-development' (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992b; Ghimire, 1994).

The effects of the recommendations and policies of the environmentalist movement were almost immediately deemed to be beneficial to all. These policies were however developed essentially in answer to the consequences of industrialization on the Developed world and were not at all appropriate for implementation in the developing South (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Redclift, 1992; Little, 1996). In fact, it was later recognized in much of the social science literature that the environmentalist development

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policies pursued by the colonial and post-colonial governments and their 'experts' have not only been economically unsuccessful in many respects, but have also frequently been extremely harmful to the natural environment as well as to the prospects of human survival in Africa in the long term (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Redclift, 1992).

2.3.2.2 Environmentalism and the Influence on Rural Communities in and around Protected Areas

In sub-Saharan Africa, as in many other parts of the developing world, the common cause for environmental concern was perceived to be the destruction of natural resources as well as the notion that the rural communities in these areas were incapable of the proper management of these resources (Fuggle and Rabie, 1992b; Redclift, 1992; IIED, 1994a). Apart from the massive number of European and North American aid programmes, the logical consequence of the perceived ecological crisis in Africa was a drastic rise in the number of protected areas (1300 of which were proclaimed in the 1970s alone, in contrast to the 600 proclaimed in the years between 1900 and 1949) (Redclift, 1992; Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993).

In contrast to the protected areas of the late 1800s and early 1900s (which was protectionist in approach) the newly proclaimed reserves were based on the environmentalist development philosophy that was conservationist in its approach. In 1971 UNESCO's Man and Biosphere Programme (MAB) together with the World Heritage and the RAMSAR site concepts developed the biosphere reserve model (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994; Tapela, 2001). This model was a basic forerunner of the IUCN's Commission on National Parks and Protected Areas (CNPPA) categories system and was developed as a guideline to direct the new variety of development in and around protected areas (Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994). This was perceived to then involve the rural communities in these areas in increasing levels, thereby raising their quality of life.

Conservationist thinking had a strong utilitarian approach which distinguished it from the preservationist approaches of the colonial era by actually recommending that the rural communities neighbouring the protected areas should share in the benefits accruing from the management of these areas (Makombe, 1993; Tapela, 2001). According to the prescriptions and policies of the development agencies of the industrialized world, development and the protection of Africa's natural resources were now idealized to happen simultaneously (Anderson and Grove, 1987; IIED, 1994; Little, 1996). In addition,

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the environmentalist policies suggested that the rural communities that were usually excluded from the activities of Africa's protected areas were now to be involved in such a fashion that it would affect drastic changes to the quality of life of these peoples thereby reducing the pressures on the natural resources and restoring ecological stability (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994).

Although environmentalist policies seemed worlds apart from the traditional preservationist approach to protected management, the results of its influence would ultimately not make a significant change to the plight of the rural communities. In effect, the critical element, which still eluded environmentalist practitioners, would again emerge as the level of control that the rural communities had in the protected area developments and consequently also on the degree of benefits which they would receive (Redclift, 1992; Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993). Research would reveal that although environmentalist policies like the Man and Biosphere programme and those developed at the UN conference on the Human Environment recognized that there should be much higher levels of Participation by the rural communities, these policies had clear misconceptions about the potential that the rural communities possessed to manage their own environments as well as what the real needs of these rural communities were (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; IIED, 1994a). This situation basically resulted in the predominantly European and North American developers of the environmentalist policies, regularly imposing rather inappropriate conservation practices in typical top-down colonial fashion (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Kemf, 1993; IIED, 1994a).

Rural communities were therefore still not properly involved. Protected areas were however still being proclaimed. Rural communities were however now being compensated for their lost resources and further attracted to protected area establishment by the possibility of employment. Compensation however, usually existed in terms of approved Developed world procedures (money), which were foreign to the rural community leadership institutions and consequently caused huge social problems within the traditional rural community societies themselves (Kemf, 1993; IIED, 1994a; Little, 1996). Compensation in the form of alternative land for settlement purposes was usually also insufficient in terms size and in location and frequently gave rise to the creation of informal settlements (squatter camps) right on the edge of the protected areas (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Ghimire, 1994). Rural community employment was also habitually structured in a way that ensured that the community stayed at the lower employment levels thereby prohibiting them from rising to the management levels and ensuring that the mostly foreign reserve managers retained the

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control of the management of these protected areas as well as the developments that occurred there (Cater, 1994a; Ghai, 1994; Campbell, 1998; Hall and Lew, 1998).

Although it is believed that the environmentalist policies that were developed during the 1960s and 1970s and even in the early 1980s were developed with the purpose of conserving the natural environment and its resources and to benefit the rural communities living on its boundaries, it is obvious that the influences of these policies caused more environmental and social degradation than it did conservation. The causes for this degradation seem to sprout from situations where foreign developers and policy makers neglected to fully acknowledge and explore the potential and the cultural identity of the rural communities of the developing world. The developments and protected areas that resulted, therefore usually rendered these people unable to manage their environments and have sufficient levels of control in the developments that influence their future in these areas. This situation unfortunately caused some rural communities to react negatively towards environmentally sensitive development and conservation and therefore put pressure on the international political community to find alternatives to these types of policies and programmes.

2.3.2.3 The Implications of Environmentalism on the Tourism Industry

The implications of the age of environmentalism on the tourism industry again seem to be a bittersweet affair. Section 2.3.1.1 described how the early European travellers discovered and instantly fell in love with the vast wilderness areas of the sub-Saharan African continent, and how they utilized its natural resources to subsidize their colonial interests. In addition, this section showed how these interests and the exploitation thereof eventually led the colonial governments to establish a network of protected areas and how the tourism developments in these parks were reserved for their predominantly European and North American visitors.

With the 1950s and the products of the industrial revolution came not only an increase in the interests and the availability of information about the natural environment but also the means to visit these areas because of the drastic improvements in long distance transportation (Prosser, 1994; Inskeep, 1998; Bosselman *et al*., 1999). The implication thereof was that the last untouched environments and cultural treasures of the developing world were now within reach of the regular upper middle class traveller. Initial increases in the number of visitors to the existing parks and reserves soon demonstrated

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their economic potential and subsequently caused a massive increase in the proclamation of additional protected areas (see Section 2.3.1.2).

By the late 1970s the mass tourism phenomenon had struck with all its might (Western, 1993; Ceballos-Lascuráin, 1993; Prosser, 1994). The world was now well aware of the perceived global environmental crisis and reacted with an increase in the number of publications and documentaries on the subjects of environmental health and the last remaining Edens of the planet (Anderson and Grove, 1987: Fuggle and Rabie, 1992b). Further developments in global communication and transportation also promoted tourism development to these areas and quickly established a roaring nature-based tourism market (Ceballos-Lascuráin, 1993; Prosser, 1994; Bosselman *et al.*, 1999).

To the developing world and its protected areas, this was good news because by implication it meant that these reserves and their surrounding rural communities would now be able to tap into the vast resources of the tourism industry (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; Hall and Lew, 1998). Although the trendy beach resorts of the world still received an increasing number of travellers, tourist numbers to developing countries were now rapidly escalating with tourism in Africa still based on the larger mammals (Western, 1993; Prosser, 1994; Kandelaars, 1997).

Before long, however, tourism to these more pristine areas was characterized by the same kind of mass tourism behaviour that existed at the hotel type of developments of the beach resorts (Cater, 1994a; Kandelaars, 1997). Local tourism operators were allowing too many tourists into the parks and reserves, which ultimately led to the harrying of animals and the ruining of their habitats, and the general spoiling of the wilderness experience (Boo, 1993, Western, 1993; Prosser, 1994). Although this is certainly not true of all the nature-based tourism developments of the time, tourism at the height of the environmentalist era definitely did not contribute significantly towards environmentally sensitive developments. Therefore, even though it undoubtedly marked the beginning of an increased environmental awareness of tourism developments in protected areas, it wasn't until the late 1980s and the arrival of the sustainable development doctrines that environmentally sensitive tourism developments developed in greater frequency.

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2.3.2.4 Sustainability and the Start of Equitable Rural community participation

Proper rural community participation in tourism-based and other developments has developed in conjunction with the emergence of the sustainability doctrines of the 1980s (Prosser, 1994; Hall and Lew, 1998). By this time, the international rural development and aid fraternities had realized that although rural community involvement was a move in the right direction, the means by which it was implemented, particularly in the developing world, were still far from what they should be (Little, 1996). In contrast to some of the environmentalist approaches, sustainable development principles recognized that conservation, as well as development, is needed and that these should occur in ways that sustain not only the environment, but also its peoples, in the present and in the future (Redclift, 1992; Cater, 1994a; IUCN, 1997a).

Much of the realities concerning rural community participation in rural development and conservation-based initiatives were discovered during the Western-inspired agricultural, irrigation and forestry development programmes of the 1950s to 1970s (Redclift, 1992; Vivian, 1995, IIED, 1994a). The need for proper rural community participation in rural development and conservation initiatives took on increasing importance in the 1970s in particular as disenchantment with these large-scale, centrally managed projects matured (IIED, 1994a; Little, 1996) It was also discovered that the newly independent states merely inherited the top-down management approaches of their colonial predecessors and that these approaches had to be abandoned for rural community participation to succeed (Kiss, 1990; Kemf, 1993; IUCN, 1997b).

Upon reflection, it is clear that the principal theme of all the research done on the participatory programmes of the 1950s to 1980s basically consisted of the various aspects surrounding appropriate rural community empowerment. Research would reveal that the major problems of the large scale, top-down programmes could be attributed to a lack of understanding of the true needs and aspirations of the rural communities involved as well as the doubt on the part of the Developed world that these communities would be successful protected area managers if they retained the main control of these development initiatives (Kemf, 1993; IIED, 1994a; Little, 1996). What proved to be some of the most critical concerns however were that the benefits, which the rural communities were supposed to receive from these programmes seldomly reached the poorer segments of the community where they were really needed, coupled

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with the fact that, like some of the development programmes themselves, the benefits were typically inappropriate (Kemf, 1993; IIED, 1994a).

The concept of sustainability and sustainable development can therefore almost be described as the next natural step in the progression of the environmentalist movement, with the important difference being that one of its main aims was to avoid the failures of the previous 30 years. By 1990 the subject of rural community participation conservation-based developments had accumulated a massive number of case studies and literature, which all concentrated on the role of rural communities in protected area management (IIED, 1994a; Little, 1996). Prominent community-based conservation and sustainable development literature includes documents such as the IUCN's World Conservation Strategy of 1980, the IUCN's CNPPA 1984 guidelines on suitable protected area interpretation concerning rural community participation as well as the all important Brundtland report of 1987.

In addition, publications such as 'Caring for the Earth' (1991) and the Strategies for National Sustainable Development (1994) (by the IUCN, the IIED, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) and the World Wildlife Fund (WWF) all attest to the fact that the focus had shifted to the point where it was now perceived that the world's natural resources should firstly be managed sustainably for the well-being of the people of the world (especially the previously neglected rural communities of the developing countries) and that this would in turn foster a renewed respect for the environment by these peoples (IIED, 1994a; IUCN, 1997a; Wells and Brandon, 1992).

In summary the IUCN and the IIED described sustainable development as 'improving and maintaining the well-being of people and ecosystems' (IIED, 1994a; IUCN, 1997a). Human well-being, therefore, exists when all the members of a society (Rural Communities) are able to define and meet their needs and have a large range of choices and opportunities to fulfil their potential (Vivian, 1995; IIED, 1994a; IUCN, 1997a). Furthermore, ecosystem well-being means that ecosystems maintain their quality and diversity and thus their potential to adapt to change and provide a wide range of options for the future (Ghai, 1994; IIED, 1994a; IUCN, 1997a).

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2.3.2.5 Sustainable Tourism and the Dawn of Rural Community Participation in the Tourism-Based Developments in and around Protected Areas

Sustainable forms of tourism, such as ecotourism, were developed during the emergence of the sustainable development doctrines and like many other forms of development during this age, also materialized due to the dissatisfaction with the results of some of its previous products (See Sections 2.2.1, 2.2.2 and 2.3.2.3) (Western, 1993; Ceballos-Lascuráin, 1992; Hall and Lew, 1998). Nature-based tourism during the 1960s and 1970s had in fact accomplished just the opposite of environmentally sensitive development (what it is believed to have originally intended) by introducing masses of tourists to environmentally and culturally sensitive areas, causing immense damage whilst rarely contributing to long-term consistent socio-economic development in these areas (Prosser, 1994; Inskeep, 1998; Bosselman, *et al.,* 1999).

Since the 1980s, however, alternative varieties of tourism emerged with their sights set on sociologically and ecologically sound developments (Poon, 1994; Hall and Lew, 1998; Hall, 2000; Ryan, *et al.,* 2000; Black *et al.,* 2001). International tourism authorities such as the WTO, the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC) and the Pacific Asia Travel Association (PATA) have, amongst others, fervently demonstrated their commitment to environmentally and culturally sensitive tourism developments (McIntosh, *et al.,* 1995; Inskeep, 1998). This is evidenced by the WTO's 1982 statement, which specifies that a tourism development should not occur at the cost of the social and economic interests of the rural communities at the tourism destinations or to the natural resources critical to the tourism attractions (McIntosh, *et al.,* 1995). Sustainable tourism therefore strived to be increasingly aware of the cultural and natural environments where it developed by promoting small-scale developments with local ownership and control and with the tourism industry and the tourists sufficiently educated in the ethics of environmentally sensitive travel (Wheeler, 1993; Hall and Lew, 1998; Campbell, 1998).

From the 1990s onwards, rural community involvement in nature-based tourism especially, became increasingly prevalent (Brandon, 1993; Campbell, 1998: Ashley and Jones, 1999; Goodwin and Roe, 1999). Nature-based tourism such as ecotourism had by this time become one of the fastest growing segments of the tourism industry (which itself was declared one of the largest economic industries in the world) and was also known to be a popular incentive of paying for nature conservation and the existence of protected areas (McIntosh, *et al.,* 1995; Hall; 2000: Ryan, *et al.,* 2000). In addition,

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conservationists, economists and tourists alike have awakened to the realization that nature can't be saved at the expense of the people living there - the traditional custodians of the land. Rural communities should be given an equitable share in the management of these areas and in the subsequent benefits that arise because of this management (Vivian, 1995; Kemf, 1993; Goodwin and Roe, 1999). Rural community participation has now evolved to the extent that rural communities, their governments and other non-governmental organizations are engaging in joint ventures in which these communities are given the appropriate legislative and institutional authority to participate equitably in tourism ventures in and around protected areas (Ashley and Jones, 1999; Goodwin and Roe; 1999).

Historical accounts of developments initiated by the colonial governments as well as by the donor and aid organizations of the 1950s to 1970s had accumulated a huge amount of literature, which described the inequities suffered by the rural communities in and around protected areas (IUCN, 1997a). These accounts have also illuminated the subsequent influences that these developments had had on the protected areas themselves as well as on the developments and the rural communities involved. (see Section 2.3)

Today the tourism industry stands at a point where it is clear that rural community participation in tourism-based developments in and around protected areas is almost non-negotiable. What remains now is for the industry to continue to guide and facilitate Rural community participation in sustainable Tourism Developments where communities are sufficiently empowered and endowed with the appropriate capacities to be able to contribute and share in the tourism developments in and around protected areas.

2.4 RURAL COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM-BASED DEVELOPMENTS

The previous sections of this chapter aimed to illustrate the specific events and the associated aspects that gave rise to the low levels of rural community participation in conservation and in the tourism-based developments of the past century. The objective of the following section is to draw from these events and to discuss a set of fundamental elements that could steer rural community participation in the tourism-based developments of the future.

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2.4.1 Aims and Objectives of Rural Community Participation in Tourism-Based Developments

In principle, rural community participation in tourism-based developments aims to change the traditional top-down centralized method of development to a decentralized situation where the rural communities are empowered by the possession of the correct institutional and tenurial powers to exert a suitable level of control in the development and management of the tourism-based developments in and around the protected areas where they reside (Brandon, 1993; Vivian, 1995, Hall and Lew, 1998). This implies that the relevant authoritative structures (on an international, national and regional level) should implement the necessary measures that will allow the rural communities to act as equal stakeholders in the development and management processes of the tourism-based developments (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Brandon, 1993; Zeppel, 1998). Research has shown that these levels of community control have not only provided communities with a sense of ownership and belonging but has also awarded developments with a cultural and economical significance which present them with a much better chance of success than the traditional centrally managed developments (Ashley, and Jones, 1999; Campbell, 1999; Wilderness Safaris, 1999a).

The fact that rural communities were excluded from such developments and that most developers have not really worked in cooperation with rural communities, means that these communities and developers probably do not have the development and administrative capacities to make informed decisions on certain matters of these developments right away (Pederson, 1991). Here, one of the objectives of the equitable involvement of the rural communities should be to supply the rural communities and the developers with the appropriate professional assistance to facilitate suitable capacity development programmes in order to be able to manage the developments sustainably and in unison (Ashley and Jones, 1999: Goodwin and Roe).

If these aims and objectives can be achieved, rural communities should find themselves with the benefits produced by the developments (McIntosh, *et al.,* 1995; Ashley and Jones, 1999, Bosselman, *et al.,* 1999;) Whereas traditional top-down developments usually only provided benefits in terms of employment and compensation, proper empowerment and involvement should now provide rural communities with a greater level of control over the benefits which are generated as well as the manner of their distribution in the communities and their application in the ongoing management of their developments (Ashley and Jones, 1999; Butler, 1999; Campbell, 1999).

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2.4.2 Fundamental Elements Required for Equitable Rural Community Participation in Tourism-Based Developments

The literature regarding rural community participation initiatives during the last century reveals that every community and their environment present their own set of unique opportunities and constraints regarding satisfactory community participation (Redclift, 1992; Vivian, 1995). Traditional approaches have frequently implemented model-type of approaches however and have thereby discounted much of the valuable qualities unique to a specific community. In recognition of this it is believed that a set of fundamental elements can be useful to determine the broad successes or failures of rural community participation initiatives with due understanding that further research will then be needed to determine the deeper realities of each specific community. A framework of the fundamental elements deemed significant for equitable rural community participation in Tourism-based developments according to this study will now be presented.

2.4.2.1 The Policy Framework

The literature studied in the previous sections of this chapter has shown how the traditional top-down fashion of planning and management in conservation and tourism-based developments have excluded rural communities from the developments in these places and from the benefits that arose out of their enterprises (See Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2). Policy-making, planning and management of these programmes have remained centralized and dominated by national and foreign technocrats, while the contribution of rural communities has been passive and limited to the provision of labour and information only (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Little, 1994; Timothy, 1999).

The critical areas of these developments have almost always revolved around the principal aspects of security of tenure and the level of control in the development and management of the conservation and tourism projects themselves (Kemf, 1993; IIED, 1994a; Campbell, 1998). Colonial governments and their successors as well as some of the modern day tourism developers have almost always ensured that they have the primary political monopolies over these assets and they also developed legislation which ensured that they had the principal stake in the future management of these developments and the benefits that they generated (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Ashley and Jones, 1999; Butler, 1999; Goodwin and Roe, 1999). Rural communities were swindled into relinquishing their tenurial rights for what seemed to be handsome

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compensation, only to realize that these were inappropriate short-term benefits with severely limited future involvement opportunities.

The original reasons for these types of disempowerment stem from the traditional colonial advances, but also include the more recent (1900s – 1970s) beliefs of governmental authorities and foreign aid and donor agencies that the rural communities lack the capacity to implement and manage sustainable conservation and tourism developments (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Kiss, 1990; Little, 1994; Tapela, 2001). The motivation behind these beliefs probably stems from the Western and European conviction that their approaches to development were superior to those of the Developing world's societies, as well as a lack of recognition of the wealth of indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) and their worth in the sustainable development of indigenous rural areas (Anderson and Grove, 1987; Little, 1994; IUCN, 1997b).

Fortunately, research into the failures of the rural development programmes of the previous forty years has revealed their inaccuracies (IIED, 1994b; IUCN, 1997b; Hall and Lew, 1998). In addition research has compelled the international authorities to develop policies which pressured governments and developers alike to devolve to integrated rural development projects where the expertise of the Developed world is added to the indigenous knowledge systems of the Developing world in sustainable development projects where all the stakeholders hold equal rights and responsibilities (Vivian, 1995; Ashley and Jones, 1999).

International sustainable development policies such as the World Conservation Strategy of the IUCN, Agenda 21 of the UN and Agenda 21 for the Travel and Tourism Industry of the WTO constitute some of the major international policies that guided their signatories to develop and execute the necessary constitutional changes that were needed to transform the policies and declarations into practicable environmental law and grassroots executable strategies (IUCN, 1980a; IUCN, 1980b; IUCN, 1980c; South Africa, 1997; Inskeep, 1998).

Other forms of international sustainable development policies which also had an impact on rural community participation in tourism-based developments include conventions such as the RAMSAR convention (convention on Wetlands of International Importance), the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD) and the World Heritage Convention (convention concerning the protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage) (Enviro, Info, 2001). These conventions also endorse practical sustainable development

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strategies and present clear guiding principles on how rural communities should participate in associated developments (Enviro Info, 2001).

On a National level, the South African government has disclosed its political will to adhere to the international surge towards sustainable development by implementing policies and strategies such as the Local Agenda 21 (LA 21), the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution programme (GEAR) (ANC, 1994; South Africa, 2000). These act as translations of the broader international policies into applicable strategies for the local level institutional governance structures to implement on a grassroots level (ANC, 1994; South Africa, 2000).

The White Paper on Environmental Management Policy for South Africa, the White Paper on the Conservation and Sustainable Use of South Africa's Biological Diversity and the White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa also affirm the government's position concerning the role of rural communities in the conservation and management of these resources as well as the subsequent benefits which should accrue to them as a result of these responsibilities (South Africa, 1996c, 1997, 1998a, 1998b).

On a local level the local institutional actors in the Sodwana Bay area such as the Uthungulu Regional Council (URC), the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) Wildlife authorities (Ezemvelo KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services) and the Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative (LSDI) have developed their own sets of community participation policy (Ezemvelo KZN, 2002; LSDI, 2001c; URC, 2002). Being the authorities that are in most frequent contact with the rural communities of the area, these institutions made rural community participation part of their mission on how to sustainably manage and develop the region successfully (LSDI, 2001c; Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Services, 2002; URC, 2002). A good example of this notion is the KZN Wildlife Services, which went as far as to change their name to affirm their conviction. The name was changed from KZN Nature Conservation Services to Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife Services where the Zulu word Ezemvelo means 'nature for the benefit of all.'

2.4.2.2 Legislative Structures

Legislative structures represent the second element of successful rural community participation in tourism-based developments. The true powers of an effective legislative

structure lie in its ability to translate the broad-based international and national policies into practical implementable laws (McIntosh, *et al.*, 1995; Hall, 2000). These laws serve as the legal vehicles required by the rural communities to substantiate the authority which they have gained as a result of the devolution of sustainable resource development and management authority (Ghai, 1994; Vivian, 1994; Ashley and Jones, 1999). Whereas there are still ways and means by which governments and developers can elude the guidelines set forth by broad policy declarations, these responsibilities are much harder to evade when specific legislation is provided which clearly stipulates what the rights and responsibilities of the relevant authorities, developers as well as the rural communities living in the area of interest, are.

Tourism-based developments in and around the protected areas of the world have been frequent offenders in this regard. Sections 2.3.1 and 2.3.2 present detailed evidence of the tight-fisted behaviour of some of the post-colonial governments and of private developers who cunningly ensured that they own the key shares in these developments. Whether this behaviour was motivated out of the protectionist approaches of the early environmentalist movement or out of the will to exploit the tourism potential of these environments for the monetary gain thereof, it caused huge inequalities which motivated rural communities to refrain from supporting these developments and even to revolt against them in some cases (see Sections 2.3.1.2. and 2.3.2.3).

The national government's role to provide legislation that would put an end to these kinds of developments and their subsequent results became increasingly important, especially so after the development of the sustainable development doctrines and conferences such as the 1992 World Summit on Sustainable Development (Brandon, 1993; Inskeep, 1998; Hall, 2000). Conferences like the 1992 World Summit on Sustainable Development had set the stage, and the focus was now directed on decentralizing the authoritative structure, which hampered rural communities and their right to self-determination.

Governments were now pressured to develop legislation (in relation to developments in protected areas such as sustainable tourism for instance) that would provide the rural communities with tenurial rights that guaranteed them their claim-making and entitlement privileges (Kemf, 1993; Little, 1996; IUCN, 1997b). Moreover legislation would also have to formulate clear definitions concerning equitable stakeholdership of the tourism-based developments, which would ensure that the rural communities received their fair share of the benefits that flow from these developments and that the benefits were distributed equitably throughout the whole of the community (Ashley and Jones, 1999; Bosselman,

et al., 1999; IUCN, 1997b). Legislation would therefore now have to focus on presenting explicit detail on the efficient participation of the rural communities at all the relevant levels of developments, from their initiation right through to their operation and administration.

On a broad scale, the first and foremost statutory tool which empowers all South Africans and especially the previously disadvantaged communities, must be Section 24b of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of South Africa. This Bill provides that everyone has the right to: *have his or her environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that:*

i. *prevent pollution and ecological degradation;*
ii. *promote conservation; and*
iii. *secure ecological sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development.* (South Africa, 1997)

According to this, the Mbila community therefore already possess the right to reasonable legislative and other measures as well as the right to sustainable developments and use of the natural resource base in order to implement justifiable economic and social development.

On a more site-specific scale, Section 25(7) of the Constitution focuses on the restoration of land rights (South Africa, 1996), and the Restitution of Land Rights Act 1994 (act 22 of 1994) as the specific legislative instrument on land restitution (South Africa, 1994). These acts are of the utmost importance as they entitle the Mbila community with the tenurial authority they need to legally participate in the developments that occur on their land and that may influence their future. It also provides them with the opportunity to initiate their own developments and to involve appropriate stakeholders as they see fit.

The Communal Property Associations Act, 1996 (Act 28 of 1996) (South Africa, 1996a) has legalized the formation of Community-based organizations such as the Mbila Tribal Authority. This legislation has provided the Mbila community with the approved legislative authority to represent themselves as a legal entity. Legislation has therefore already served the Mbila community well. A specific example is where the Mbila Tribal Authority represented itself as the approved legal entity in the land claim process in which they were involved. The Mbila Tribal Authority also represents the Mbila people in all the aspects that have an influence on them in the area and furthermore also

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possesses a tribal court which strengthens the traditional role of the Mbila Tribal Authority in the present Mbila community organization (see Section 3.2.2).

2.4.2.3 Institutional Framework

Institutional frameworks constitute the third element of the primary fundamental elements which are needed to sufficiently empower rural communities to participate in sustainable tourism-based developments. Research into effective rural community participation in tourism-based developments has revealed that for national and international polices and legislation to be really effective, these measures have to be implemented by the relevant government and nongovernmental institutional actors, who can convert these policies and legislation into practical implementable procedures that facilitate their objectives on a grassroots level (IIED, 1994a; Little 1996; IUCN, 1997b; Hall, 2000).

In addition to the government institutions and the nongovernmental private developers, for example there is also a need for relevant community-based organizations to represent the rural communities (IIED, 1996b; Ashley and Jones, 1999). Community-based organizations are not a new phenomenon, however, and have existed for centuries as indigenous tribal authorities (Little, 1996; IUCN, 1997a). Although traditional authoritative structures have existed within the social structures of rural communities, it is also true that the governmental authorities that govern the countries where these indigenous peoples live have rarely acknowledged these community-based organizations and what they represent (Little, 1996; IUCN, 1997a).

It is therefore important that these traditional community-based organizations should be recognized and provided with the appropriate authority to be able to participate effectively and at the correct levels (Zeppel, 1998; Ashley and Jones, 1999). This process will typically fall under the policy and legislative formulation practices described in Sections 2.4.2.1 and 2.4.2.2. Care should also be taken so that the community-based organizations and other institutional actors are integrated to the extent that effective communication and cooperation can take place (IIED, 1994b). This would probably involve an ongoing process of training on the part of the community-based organizations and other institutions and should not be neglected, as the communication and mutual cooperation between these various institutions can have vast consequences on the development and sustained management of the tourism-based developments and the Participation of the rural communities therein (IIED, 1994b; Timothy, 1999).

Proper empowerment and integration of the community-based organizations will therefore not only facilitate genuine Rural community participation in the decision-making processes, but will also ensure that the true needs and aspirations of the rural communities are put forward and are incorporated in the developments that follow (Brandon, 1993; IUCN, 1997b; Ashley and Jones, 1999). Local traditional institutions such as community-based organizations should also be involved whenever possible since, traditionally, these institutions have exhibited the capacities to manage local resources (natural and social) and to resolve conflicts over the use of mutual resources (see Sections 3.1 and 3.2) (IIED, 1994b; IUCN, 1997b). Successfully established and functioning local institutions will be able to implement the policies and legislation, which were developed to facilitate effective rural community participation. This should then enable proper participation, which will in turn lead to appropriate involvement of the rural communities in the tourism-based developments in their areas as well as the subsequent benefits that these developments generate.

In the case of the Mbila community, the South African government granted these rights in the form of the Communal Property Associations Act 1996 (Act 28 of 1996) (South Africa, 1996a). This is very significant and also exhibits the government's political will to effectively empower rural communities in South Africa. This legislation acknowledges the Mbila Tribal Authority as a proper local institution and also empowers it to represent the Mbila community and to participate as a legal institution in all matters that have an influence on them and their traditional territory.

2.4.2.4 Levels of Community Control

The importance of the appropriate levels of community control required to enable adequate rural community participation in tourism-based developments is made quite evident through the vast amount of literature published on this matter over the last two and a half decades (see Sections 2.4.2.1 to 2.4.2.3). Traditional conservation and tourism-based developments had effectively disempowered rural communities and subsequently caused increasing levels of environmental degradation combined with amplified human suffering as well as a rise in the aversion which rural communities felt towards these developments and their managers. For this situation to change it was, and still is, necessary to empower these communities in order to restore their ability of self-determination.

According to the investigations of this study the first three fundamental elements towards effective rural community empowerment include the policy frameworks (national and international), the legislative frameworks and the institutional frameworks. These elements represent the first and foremost requirements for equitable rural community participation and are almost entirely dependent on the political will of the relevant governing authorities to implement them. When these frameworks are adequately applied, the rural communities will have gained sufficient power to make it possible for them to legally participate in the tourism-based developments in their area. This level of empowerment constitutes a kind of foundation from which the next levels of involvement can commence. The community now stand at the starting point from which they must be involved in the deeper levels of the development and management of the tourism initiatives in their area.

For further integration to happen the literature in the study reveals that consideration must be given to the next three fundamental elements required for equitable rural community participation in tourism-based developments. These elements consist of the apt involvement of all the relevant stakeholders, the harnessing and development of existing capacities (external and local) and the management of the benefits that accrue from the tourism initiatives that are developed in the area. These elements will be discussed in Sections 2.4.2.5 to 2.4.2.7.

2.4.2.5 Creating Tourism Stakeholders

The creation of equitable stakeholders in tourism-based developments represents one of the primary steps towards the true involvement of the rural communities in the participation process that accompanies sustainable tourism-based developments in and around protected areas. For the rural communities to be able to function as equal stakeholders together with all of the other interested and affected parties it is of vital importance that these communities are sufficiently empowered (see Sections 2.4.2.1 to 2.4.2.4).

Although some examples exist where rural communities were in fact adequately supplied with the appropriate rights over their resources, this doesn't necessarily guarantee that they will be equally represented in the tourism-based developments that are developed in their territories. Instances exist where rural communities were swindled into agreements with tourism developers where they were promised to be involved in turn for development rights, but proceeded to be beneficiaries only and eventually merely took

part in the implementation and maintenance of these developments (IIED, 1994a; Ashley and Jones, 1999). In most of these examples resource management decisions were taken over by those with insufficient stake in the local environment, and resources were extracted at unsustainable levels in order to benefit exotic, often richer, societies (Vivian 1992; IUCN, 1997b).

In answer to these types of developments, Vivian (1992) states that 'True popular participation goes much beyond the mere provision of labour and other inputs into projects initiated from outside the community; it involves decisions being taken and plans being formulated on the local level'. In addition, true rural community participation in sustainable tourism-based developments also involves the creation of equal stakeholders where rural communities and tourism developers are involved in contractual partnerships that grant all the stakeholders legal ownership of the development and which present these stakeholders with rights and responsibilities to equally contribute and benefit from these developments (Ashley and Jones, 1999).

Some of the immediate benefits that arise from equitable stakeholdership in developments come in the form of environmentally and culturally sensitive developments (Brandon, 1993; IIED, 1994b). The reason for the sensitivity of these developments originates from the fact that these developments were entered into with the appreciation of the needs and requirements of all the stakeholders as well as that of the environment (Brandon, 1993; IIED, 1994b). This will not only allow the development to be sensitive to the environmental determinants but will also save time and avoid some of the conflicts that may arise later in the development process due to the fact that the stakeholders were already aware of most of these aspects from the very beginning of the development process.

For the creation of stakeholders to be truly equitable, attention must not only be given to the broad-based stakeholder representation, but also to the inner-community representation, in the case of the relevant rural community (Bell, 1987; Little, 1996). Research has revealed that some of the early developments that made use of stakeholder involvement had in fact only involved the male components of the rural community which meant that the female and juvenile segments were either represented in a very limited fashion or not at all (Ghai, 1994; Little, 1996). The women and the children, owing to their inadequate representation, still experienced substantial difficulties. Specific problems experienced seemed to be those regarding employment inequalities (in the sense of single parent situations for instance) as well as inadequate benefit flows to these minorities within the community (Little, 1996; Fany-Bryceson,

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1997). It is therefore clear that consideration must be given to all the relevant interested and affected stakeholders and that these groups should be sufficiently represented for successful involvement of the whole community to occur.

2.4.2.6 Rural Community Capacity and Capacity Building

Rural community capacity and capacity building can be described as the ability of the rural community in an area to use their ownership of and access to knowledge and technology as a means of sustainably managing their environmental and social resources for their own benefit and that of their future generations (IUCN, 1997b; South Africa, 1998b). Effective rural capacities and capacity building are therefore made up of a few critical elements, the first of which is the quality of the community's resource base and its access to it (IIED, 1994a; Little, 1996; IUCN, 1997b). Quality cultural and natural environments are likely to present more participation possibilities to the community and therefore also more possibilities to apply and develop the relevant capacities. The community's access to these resources is, therefore, of significant importance because of the fact that maximum participatory opportunity is needed to apply and develop the maximum capacities which are available and which are needed.

Further elements that have a bearing on the community's capacity and the further capacities that need to be extended, consist of their access to knowledge and technology and their ability to use these assets to manage their resources effectively (Laban, 1995; South Africa, 1998b). Although it is commonly perceived that it is only the rural communities who are in need of capacity building, research found that deficiencies also existed amongst the traditionally enlightened stakeholders such as the developers and some of the government departments (Little, 1996; IUCN, 1997b; Tapela, 2001). These deficiencies often include a lack of understanding of the ecological systems that are at work in these places as well as of the rural community's relationship with these systems (IIED, 1994b; Little, 1996; IUCN, 1997b).

Research found that while rural communities are often pushed toward overexploitation of their cultural and natural resources by the extreme nature of the poverty in their area, these communities usually possess a thorough understanding of the local natural systems and the cultural connotations thereof due to their years of traditional survival in these environments (IIED, 1994a; IUCN, 1997b). Findings also revealed that the traditional indigenous knowledge systems of rural communities in and around protected areas especially, play a huge part and should be harnessed to add value to the

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developments in these areas and to help expand the capacities of the stakeholders that lack these insights (Wells and Brandon, 1992; Kemf, 1993; IUCN, 1997b).

Examples of externally funded conservation and tourism-based developments have shown that these development agencies often also lack a deeper understanding of the local culture and the inner dynamics of its social structures as well as of how to integrate and be integrated into developments with these communities (see Sections 2.3.2.4 and 2.3.2.5). Therefore, in order to allow developments to achieve their full potential, these external agencies will have to undergo the necessary training that will allow them to understand the area of the development, socially and physically.

Finally it was also found that the rural communities themselves are often in need of training and extension programmes regarding the modern-day management and administration techniques of developments in and around protected areas (IUCN, 1997a, Ashley and Jones, 1999). Because of the fact that these management and administration systems are universally European and Western-based and the fact that most travellers currently also originate from these locations, it is of the utmost importance that the rural communities should be dually capacitated in these departments with the help of the relevant establishments. This will significantly aid their involvement in the development and implementation processes of the tourism-based developments in their areas and will also increase their employment opportunities at all the levels of these developments.

2.4.2.7 Tourism Benefits and the Community

The equitable supply and distribution of the benefits that accrue from the tourism-based developments in and around protected areas can play a significant role in the motivation of rural community participation in tourism-based developments (IIED, 1994b; Little, 1996; Bosselman, *et al.,* 1999). The literature on the matter affirms that tourism-based developments, that display a clear generation of benefits such as political benefits, income, services and products, provide sufficient incentives for rural communities to get actively involved in them (Brandon, 1992; Little, 1996; Bosselman, *et al.,* 1999). For rural communities like the Mbila tribe to really take part in the benefits that arise from the tourism-based developments in their region, it is important that they should firstly be adequately empowered (see Sections 2.4.2.1 to 2.4.2.4).

Benefits accruing from tourism and conservation-based initiatives have traditionally been in the form of compensation for the loss of resources (Brandon, 1992; IIED, 1994b).

Whether it was due to extra land being required for biodiversity conservation or as a result of property that was needed for the development of tourism facilities and activities, rural communities of protected areas frequently found themselves removed from their ancestral territories (Anderson, and Grove, 1987; Wells and Brandon, 1993). Furthermore they have also often found themselves with little to show for the transfer of their land rights, and all this for the sake of developments that were initiated by foreign developing agencies and primarily for the benefit of foreign societies (Little; 1996, IUCN, 1997b).

By the late 1960s and 1970s the environmentalist movement had realized the importance of benefit provision for rural communities involved in conservation and tourism-based developments, but still retained the right to determine how the various stakeholders should participate and how the benefits that arose out of these developments should be distributed (Prosser, 1994; Inskeep, 1998; Bosselman, *et al.*, 1999). Benefits typically consisted of monetary remuneration (which usually did not compare to the resources seized) and employment at the maintenance levels of developments (IIED, 1994b). Furthermore, benefits rarely filtered down through the whole of the community and therefore failed to find the people (women, children and the elderly) who were in real need thereof (Brandon, 1992; IIED, 1994b).

As a result, these developments succeeded in generating a very poor image of benefit provision to rural communities in the conservation and tourism-based developments of that time whilst not actually succeeding in managing the protected areas in a sustainable fashion (Mackenzie, 1987; Western, 1992). Rural communities were often forced to make 'illegal' use of the natural resources even though this was sometimes also done out of rebellion against the managers of the protected areas and the tourism-based developments that resided within the reserves (Mackenzie, 1987; Els, 1995). It was really only with the arrival of the sustainability doctrines that conservation and rural development bodies recognized the critical role that rural communities have to play in the developments in these areas and the importance of appropriate benefit generation and distribution (Western, 1993; Ceballos-Lascuráin, 1992; Hall and Lew, 1998).

Truly sustainable tourism-based developments present many varieties of benefits and do this at different levels of the developments (Brandon, 1992). In light of the equitable system of development, benefits to the rural communities in and around the areas where tourism-based developments develop are seen to have to move away from the passive beneficiary approach and move towards a more inclusive situation (Brandon, 1992; IIED, 1994b; Little, 1996). This is demonstrated in the sense that although the supply of

employment still represents a very important part of the benefits provided to the participating rural community it also represents only one layer of the benefit provision. Employment in sustainable tourism-based developments has moved away from the traditional way of only employing the locals in the lower levels of the development, by providing opportunities for capacity building so that the rural communities can develop skills that will enable them to eventually manage these kinds of developments for themselves (Brandon, 1992; IIED, 1994b; Inskeep, 1998).

In addition, the new variety of benefit supply focuses on distributing the benefits throughout the whole of the community social structure (Brandon, 1992; Little, 1996). This will ensure that the majority of the community members can enjoy at least some of the benefits accruing from the development and that these benefits do not reach a selected group of beneficiaries only (Brandon, 1992; Little, 1996). Benefits distribution should also be flexible and should consist of a mixture of individual and community-based benefits. This would ensure that benefits can be enjoyed by the community as a whole in the form of schools and clinics, and also that individuals such as entrepreneurs can receive individual funding for local development initiatives (Brandon, 1992; IIED, 1994b; Inskeep, 1998).

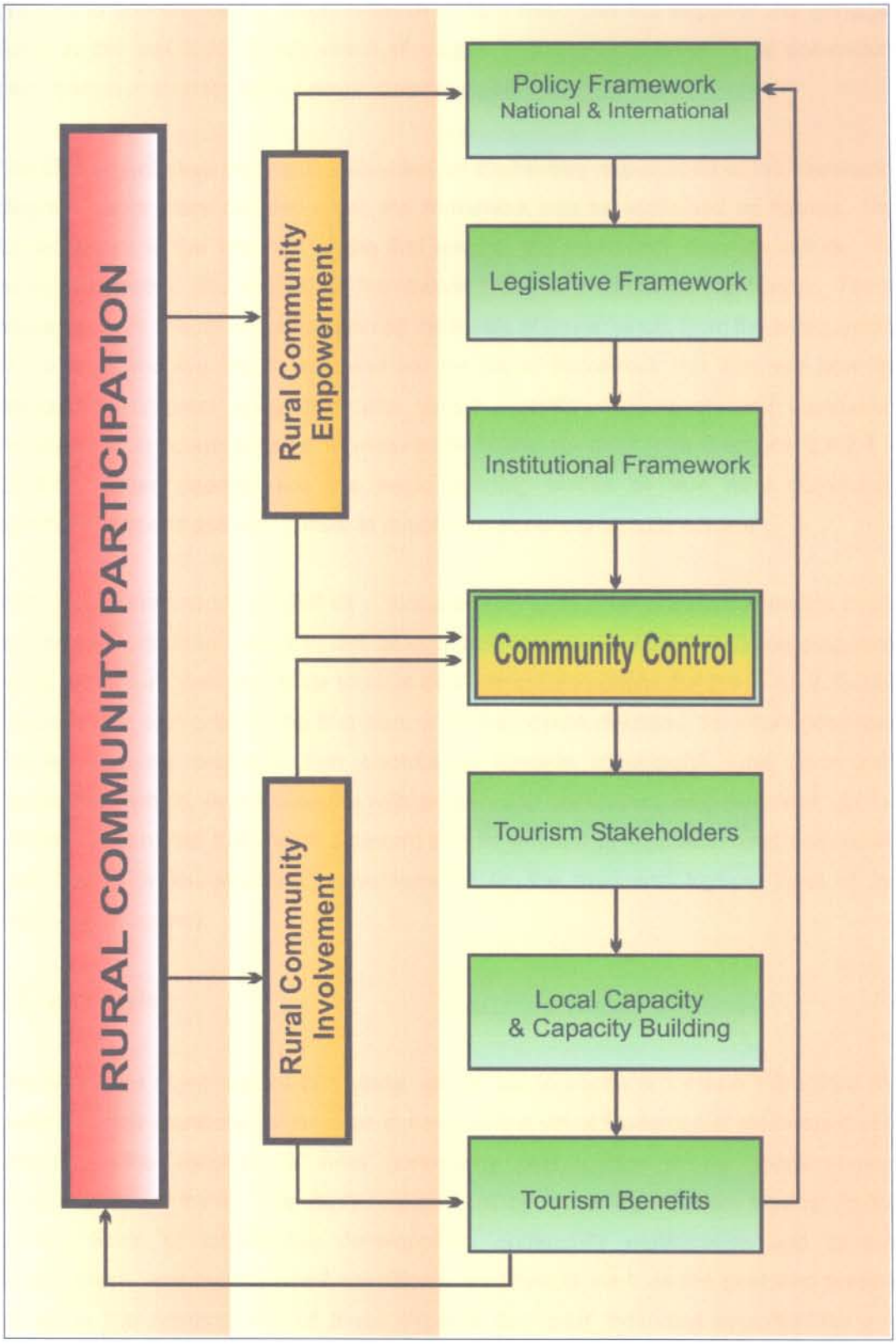
2.4.3 Fundamental Elements Required for Equitable Rural community participation in Tourism-based developments – The Framework

The previous section of this study, described each of the fundamental elements that is believed to be significant for equitable rural community participation in tourism-based developments, to occur. Although every one of these elements is believed to be significant on an individual level, it is also important that they should act as a functional system of combined elements where a certain hierarchy exists in which every element has a specific position where it will function at it's most productive state. Figure 2.1 presents these elements in the form of a framework diagram that illustrates the relationships between these elements as well as the most productive hierarchy in which they should be ordered according to this study. The following section will now provide a short description of the framework diagram.

2.4.3.1 Description of the Framework Diagram

The framework diagram is divided into three levels. (see Fig. 2.1) The first level (Green) describes all the fundamental elements, which is critical for the implementation of

Figure 2.1: Framework Diagram of the Fundamental Elements Required for Equitable Rural community participation in Tourism-based developments



meaningful rural community participation in tourism-based developments, as described in section 2.4.2. The height of the implementation of these fundamentals, depict the quality of the rural community empowerment and involvement, at the second level (Yellow) of the framework diagram which in turn describes the depth of the principal issue in the last level (Red), which of course is the quality of the rural community participation in tourism-based developments, itself.

The abovementioned description provided an elementary explanation of the framework diagram. On a more detailed level, the framework can be explained as follows. The fundamentals in the first part of the first level of the framework diagram include; the policy framework; the legislative framework and the institutional framework. These elements have critical importance on all the levels of governance, from the international to the local and regional levels, and are the broad framework that illustrate how the relevant government body, prescribe certain specific aspects of rural community participation in tourism-based developments to be handled (see Sections 2.4.2.1 – 2.4.2.3). These aspects are the basic building blocks of true rural community empowerment and are also critical in supplying proper community control.

With proper community control as a foundation, it should be possible to create even-handed tourism stakeholders as well as stakeholder specific capacity building programs, which will in turn yield equitable tourism benefits. (see Sections 2.4.2.4 – 2.4.2.7) This second set of elements (in the first level of the framework diagram), therefore describes the fundamental elements that contributes towards meaningful rural community involvement which, in combination with proper rural community empowerment, (in the second level of the framework diagram) should amount to equitable rural community participation In tourism-based developments (in the third and highest level of the framework diagram).

2.5 Conclusion

The aims and objectives of this study, as set out in sections 1.4 and 1.5 stated the purpose of the literature review to be to determine a set of fundamental elements that is critical to the success of rural community participation in the tourism-based developments of today. The study realized this by reviewing literature sources in the primary fields of sustainable development, community participation and tourism development, and concentrated specifically on aspects such as the past and present trends in the development of these aspects and their individual opportunities and

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constraints. A set of fundamental elements was subsequently developed and is described in section 2.4. Chapter 3 will now continue in describing the current socio economic situation of the Mbila community of the Sodwana Bay area in Maputaland with specific reference to the participation of this rural community in the tourism-based developments in the region. The fundamental set of elements that were developed in this chapter will then be used to determine the current success of their involvement (Chapter 4) and how this success rate can be enhanced by making the changes that is necessary to get the tourism-based participation of the Mbila community at its most productive possible level. (Chapter 5)