

THE IMPLICATIONS OF TOURISM FOR RURAL
LIVELIHOODS: THE CASE OF MADJADJANE
COMMUNITY, MATUTUINE DISTRICT, MOZAMBIQUE

By

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COMPONENT A

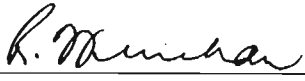
PREFACE

The work described herein was undertaken in the Centre for Environment, Agriculture and Development, Faculty of Sciences and Agriculture, University of KwaZulu Natal, under the supervision of Professor Robert J. Fincham and Professor Charles M. Breen.

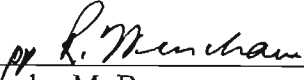
I, Felismina Atanásio Longamane Langa, hereby declare that this is an authentic record of my work that has not in its entirety, nor in part, previously formed the basis for the award of any degree of this or any other university. Wherever use is made of other's work, it is duly acknowledged in the text.

Signed 
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Last, but not least, to all persons that directly or indirectly contributed to the completion of this dissertation.

To all of you, my sincere thank you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AFR/SD	USAID's Africa Bureau
CBT	Community Based Tourism
CBNRM	Community Based Natural Resources Management
CEAD	Centre of Environmental, Agriculture & Development
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IUCN	World Conservation Union
LCNRM	Local Structure for Natural Resources Management in Madjadjane
MSR	Maputo Special Reserve
NGOs	Non-Governmental Organizations
NRM	Natural Resources Management
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
OMT	Organizacao Mundial do Turismo (World Tourism Organization)
PPT	Pro-Poor Tourism
P. Sector	Private Sector
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SADC	Southern Africa Development Community
SL	Sustainable Livelihoods
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
USAID	United States of America's Aid

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the level of the implications of a community based project in Madjadjane area, Matutuine District in Mozambique and constitutes a Mini-dissertation for a Masters Degree in Environment and Development. It is composed of two parts. Component A comprises a literature review and was written following CEAD guidelines and Component B, which constitutes the research paper written in the stylesheet for publication in the South African Geographical Journal (Appendix 2 of the Component A). The literature review charts the evolution of tourism from the ancient forms to the mass tourism after the Second World War and then to the more recent forms of tourism. The review also discusses approaches related to development, sustainable development, rural development, community based natural resources management and livelihoods, which are critical to understanding the context in which tourism takes place. Alternative tourism approaches such as sustainable tourism, nature based tourism, eco-tourism, rural tourism, pro-poor tourism and community based tourism are evaluated in terms of their impacts on host communities. From this discussion, community based tourism with its focus on poverty alleviation and livelihood improvement emerges as one of the more appropriate options for tourism development in poor countries. The study concluded that from the Madjadjane community perspective, although the project emerged along with small commercial activities, it has not yet brought significant economic benefits, nor improvement of their livelihoods. The positive impact is the increased awareness of the value of the conservation of natural resources amongst the local residents.

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CHAPTER ONE: BACKGROUND AND RESEARCH PURPOSE

This chapter focuses on providing the context to and focus of the issues of the study. The approach has been to give the historical background of tourism growth in general and specially that of the Southern African sub-region, and Mozambique in particular. The chapter also deals with the justification and purpose of this study.

1.1 Background

Tourism is an industry that has been practiced for a long time (Keyser, 2002) and until 1945 the ability to take part in tourism was not extended to everybody as it was linked to social class (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Keyser, 2002). After the Second World War, factors such as development in transport, reduced working hours, lower travel costs and increased leisure time, amongst others, contributed to an explosive growth of tourism and it became mass tourism, in such a way that anyone could afford it (Coccosis, 1996, Butler, 2000, Prideaux, 2001, Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Keyser, 2002). The notable growth of tourism, which characterised the 1950s and 1960s, enhanced by changes in attitudes, technological progression and economic expansion, has slowed down somewhat, but the activity continues showing regular growth and a considerable economic contribution as well as job creation. For example, in 2000, international arrivals and tourism revenues exceeded US\$698 million and US\$476 billion respectively, in the world (Keyser, 2002). On the other hand, “tourism industry in 2001 contributed with 4.2 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the global economy and employed 8.2 percent of the world’s economically active population” (Ministry of Tourism, 2003:8). Due to this growing importance of tourism within the economy worldwide, tourism-led initiatives for local economic development have been adopted and are considered important in most countries (Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002; Rogerson, 2004). Tourism can bring large benefits for economies, as a result of the continuous increase in the number of tourists in the world. In the case of Mozambique, although tourism remains in the early stages of development, “visitor arrivals totalled approximately 400 000 in 2001” (Ministry of Tourism, 2003:7).

The Southern African Region with a wide diversity of products such as wildlife, particularly the 'big five', a high diversity of bird species, beaches, sun, sea and many other attractions, has potential for growth of tourism based on these natural assets (Poonyth *et al*, 2002). Regarding this potential growth, it is predicted that the tourism sector will grow to be one of the main drivers of economic growth and employment creation in the region over the next years. To reach this potential, there is a need to adopt new forms of tourism, which will involve the participation of local residents. According to the former South African Minister of tourism Vali Moosa (Streek, 2000 cited in Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002:29) "...the content of such transformation should seek to place the disadvantaged people in firm positions where they can own and run tourism businesses". The growth rates of tourism in the Southern African sub-region are likely to be 8.4 percent in 1995-2010 and 6.1 percent in 2010-2020, producing an overall rate of growth between 1995 and 2020 of 7.5 percent a year (Cleverdon, 2002). This expected regional growth is higher than the global average rate of an increase of 4.3 percent per annum for the period to 2020 (Cleverdon, 2002; Keyser, 2002). Considering the wide range of region's tourism products and the projected attraction of about 36 million tourists by 2020 to the Southern African sub-region, as well as the global forecasts that show that tourism is likely to continue growing in the future, countries of the region have considerable potential for tourism growth (Cocossis, 1996; Ministry of Tourism, 2003).

Tourism is recognized as one of the key sectors for African economic and social development. For example, the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) highlights tourism potential (Rogerson & Visser, 2004), and the governments of SADC created the SADC Coordinating Unit to address tourism issues. In line with this recognised role, some governments have started to set up joint public-private sector tourism boards or councils and some have established a Ministry of Tourism (Cleverdon, 2002). Mozambique for example, established its Ministry of Tourism in January 2000. Tourism activities can have both negative and positive effects on a community. The traditional activities practiced by many poor people can be affected by tourism, resulting in the abandonment of agricultural occupations; destruction of customs, traditions and social relations; changes to natural environment; and threats to natural integrity. On the positive side, it can improve the quality of life for local residents through increased services, infrastructure development, job creation, income and revitalisation of local economies (Cocossis, 1996; Ashley *et al*, 2001; Wahab, S. & Pigram, 2000; Ministério do Turismo, 2004;

Rátz, 2005). Tourism activities are drawn to some of the most fragile and sensitive areas, largely because such factors add to environmental attractiveness and tourists are searching for these places (Shaw & Williams, 2002) and in doing so, tourism can threaten rural ecosystems by pressure for construction, affecting local livelihood strategies of rural poor as normally people living in such areas struggle to sustain their living, and tourism activities result in reduction of available land for locals. These different types of impacts show the complexity of tourism, and tourism becomes a complex and controversial area of debate (Lawton & Weaver, 2001; Shaw & Williams, 2002).

Although tourism is considered as one of the main driving sectors for development of poor countries, recent studies show that it has multiple effects in economic, social, cultural and environmental terms, and that it can not be assumed that the results are similar in all places and equal for all people involved. The implications are different in costs and benefit distribution and in terms of the distribution of benefits accruing from tourism development, tourism initiatives have resulted in an unequal pattern of beneficiaries, not often resulting in spreading of development into surrounding poor communities (Organizacao Mundial do Turismo - OMT, 1994; Lage & Milone, 2000, Rogerson, 2004). Besides the possible unequal distribution of benefits, it is argued that in the suitable policy environment, tourism can contribute efficiently to economic and social development, including poverty alleviation (Rogerson and Visser, 2004).

Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is defined as “tourism that generates economic, social, environmental or cultural benefits for the poor” (Ashley, *et al*, 2001:2) and current indications show that these kind of initiatives have the potential to bring direct and indirect impacts for the local communities through income and or non-financial livelihood benefits, which contributes to poverty alleviation (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002).

Baez (1996) in her research in the Monteverde Cloud Forest, stated that tourism resulted in the improvement of education among local residents and it also played a considerable role in the conservation of natural resources, not only through generation of income and self-financing, but also in regard to the local community’s evaluation of the value of natural resources. The importance of tourism is also addressed by Mahony & van Zyl (2002:99) in their research on the impacts of tourism investment on rural communities based on three case studies in South Africa, where they say that “it is vital to be realistic about the impacts of tourism investment on rural

development and economic growth” and argue that though all tourism initiatives can contribute to solving local socio-economic needs, they have had limited impacts at the macro level and investment in the tourism sector should not be seen as the solution for rural development, but as “a component of a larger rural development programme for the area” (Mahony & van Zyl, 2002:99).

Research in other areas reveals the capacity that tourism has as a sector that creates income and jobs, through fees and foreign currency. Such benefits are not only for the sectors directly related to tourism, but also for those indirectly related. Specifically, tourism has an important role in developing countries, providing new opportunities for jobs, income and promoting infrastructure development (Potts, *et al*, 1996; Ashley, 2000; Sorensen, 2003).

1.2 Conventional Approaches to Tourism

Different stakeholders view tourism from various perspectives. Firstly, tourism is seen by economists as the way to macro-economic growth, and particularly as a source of generating foreign exchange. Secondly, the private sector sees tourism as a commercial and economic activity, where the major concerns are related to product development, competitiveness and commercial returns. Thirdly, conservationists and environmentalists consider tourism as a form of sustainable use of wild resources, and therefore, as a way to enhance incentives for conservation. Fourthly rural people and NGOs view tourism as one component of rural development, which can improve people’s livelihoods (Ashley, 2000).

The first three seem to be more concerned about tourism’s contribution to growth, protection of the product and generation of conservation incentives and do not place the interests of the poor at the centre, which contrasts with the last perspective (Ashley, 2000). In this regard, the livelihood approach is used to help develop the fourth perspective, to explore how development impacts can be expanded while recognising the continuing prevalence of the other three perspectives. A livelihood approach helps broaden the scope of analysis to a wide range of livelihood impacts, as “it does away with conflicts and disagreements and reminds us that the goal of our labours is the enhancement of our lives and livelihoods” (de Gruchy, 2005:45). In doing so, it seeks to reflect better the more complex reality of poor people’s concerns and aspirations.

With the involvement of local communities in management of natural resources, as part of their development strategies, concepts such as Community Based Tourism (CBT), pro-poor tourism, eco-tourism, and others become important. These concepts appear to be the basis for approaches that can potentially improve benefits for local communities because they offer the chance for their direct involvement in tourism activities.

1. 3 Research Purpose

Notwithstanding the growth of community based tourism initiatives, it is uncertain how these initiatives benefit local communities, as well as how benefit-sharing amongst community members occurs. Many projects have as one of their objectives 'to benefit local communities', but often nothing appears to happen in this regard. On the other hand it seems that locals lose their values, land and customs as a result of implementation of such projects.

One could ask the question to what extent community based tourism initiatives benefit the local communities. And when such interventions have benefits, to what extent do such benefits reflect in the families' livelihood. From these points it is possible to formulate the following research questions:

1. Are benefits (improvement of livelihood) from tourism visible for local communities?
2. Do communities have a clear perception of the importance of tourism?
3. Are the implications (positive or negative) of tourism initiatives on the livelihoods clear for the locals?

In relation to the above questions, it can be argued that a desirable situation is one in which:

1. Benefits from tourism for local communities are clear and the community perception of tourism is that it is important for them;
2. Positive implications of tourism initiatives are clearly identified; and

3. Appropriate structures exist for community representation in management institutions for community based tourism initiatives, as this reduces vulnerability to exploitation due to illiteracy and poverty.

1.4 Problem Statement

Tourism in developing countries has had problems related to inadequate planning and inadequate involvement of local communities. Lack of technical capacity at local level and lack of adequate infrastructures are other issues that contribute substantially to unsustainability and uncertainty of community based tourism projects. The outcome is that these projects do not have the positive benefits expected.

1.5 Research Justification

As tourism is being viewed as an important component for development, it has become necessary to research and provide evidence of the real benefits of such a sector in the improvement of rural livelihoods. For that reason the present research is intended to bring information on tourism and livelihood implications that can support the decision-making processes at different levels. Although community based tourism seems to be a small segment of the tourism market, the initiatives that closely involve local communities could be particularly useful for understanding the wide range of livelihood impacts, and how plans and projects can be adapted to local needs. Although the economic implications of community based projects can be considered at local, national, regional and international levels (Richards & Hall, 2003), here the emphasis is on the local and the impact on people's livelihoods and the key issue is whether community based tourism in Madjadjane provides clearly perceived social and economic benefits to the local people.

The area of study is located in the buffer zone of the Maputo Special Reserve (see Figure 4, page 35), where elephants attack and damage people's crops frequently, which causes tensions and bad relationships between local residents and the management structure of the Reserve. For that reason, the community based tourism project in the area can represent on the one hand, an alternative to help locals deal with the problem of crop damage, and on the other hand, can

contribute to improvement of their livelihoods. In order to understand the implications of tourism for community's livelihoods, there is a need to assess community perceptions of the initiative. This is the reason for choosing the topic and the area of study. The findings will illuminate whether or not community based tourism can improve people's living conditions and promote rural development.

1.6 Research Aim

The aim of this study is to examine the social, economic and environmental implications of a community based tourism venture on a rural community, in order to assess how it influences the livelihoods of the local people. The assessment is based on a case study in the Madjadjane area, in the Matutuine District in Mozambique.

1.7 Research Objectives

The study has the following three objectives.

1. Describe the livelihood strategies adopted by people in the community of Madjadjane.
2. Examine how these livelihood strategies have been shaped by the community based tourism project in the area through an analysis of risks and opportunities.
3. Determine the attitudes to conservation and how these are shaped by the community based tourism project in the area.

1.8 Structure of the Report

This study is presented in four chapters arranged as follows:

Chapter one provides the context to and focus of the issues of the study. The chapter also deals with the justification for undertaking this particular study.

Chapter two provides some theories and the theoretical framework used in the study. The conceptual framework to be used to assess the information is introduced.

Chapter three presents the area of study to familiarize the reader with the characteristics of the study area.

Chapter four discusses the sampling procedures, data collection and data analysis adopted in this study. Ethical issues are also discussed in this chapter.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter presents tourism as one of the world's industries, which has the ability to contribute to economic growth, and to the improvement of livelihoods of poor people. Although various stakeholders have different approaches to tourism, they recognise its role for local development and as a means to highlight and spread benefits amongst local communities. The present study will emphasise the impact of tourism on people's livelihood, particularly in the Madjadjane area, and the key issue is whether community based tourism provides clearly perceived social and economic benefits to local people.

The purpose of this chapter is to give an overview of theories related to the subject of the study. Definitions, concepts and theories are often subject to interpretation; different schools of thoughts are used. In addressing the questions asked above, this chapter uses a combination of ideas to set out a theoretical framework as the basis for the background to the study. The first set of ideas is around the concepts of development, sustainable development, rural development and Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM), which are critical to understanding the context in which tourism initiatives take place. The first set of ideas also incorporates livelihoods, as improving livelihoods is part of the goal of rural development and also offers a useful perspective on tourism for enhancing local benefits. A second set of ideas is related to the way in which tourism can be conceptualised. In this respect the terms community based tourism, pro-poor tourism, eco-tourism, and others become important. The chapter also brings policies and plans to facilitate community and private sector interactions in tourism and management of natural resources. The last part of the chapter discusses the conceptual framework adopted for analysing and addressing the primary information.

2.1 Development

Development can be defined as a process that enables people to improve the quality of living conditions (Ferrinho, 1991). As a process of problem solving and achievement of cultural and social conditions, which provide individual and collective happiness, development should have simultaneous dimensions (Negrão, 2001). Development should obey a policy that aspires to satisfaction of concrete basic needs such as food, water, clothes and housing as well as satisfaction of abstract necessities such as self-confidence, happiness and dignity. For example Swanepoel and de Beer (1996:24) state that “while communities struggle for satisfaction of concrete basic needs, their abstract needs should also be fulfilled. For this reason, concrete needs and abstract needs cannot be separated”. Development should not be understood only as equal to economic development, although many people and particularly economists continue to

consider it as economic development that is basically related to economic growth (measured by the GDP growth) and technologic modernisation. No consensus seems to exist on the concept of development when it comes to evolving theories and approaches to development. It is a term widely used for different meanings and there is no unified understanding of what development is, what it should be, how it is best secured or why it is difficult for most poor countries to promote prosperous development? (Bramwell & Sharman, 2003, Sorensen, 2003)

In order to ensure that development is effective and involves all social spheres, Negrão (2001) argues that the past paradigms no longer offer an adequate answer for incoming problems, therefore, a new development paradigm should be adopted and incorporate the following aspects: distribution of costs and benefits in the same way among all stakeholders (equitably distributed); equitable access to benefits among women and men (gender balanced); planning, taking into account the region as a whole, using a participatory approach to contemplate the needs of all (regionally sensitive) and balance economic aspects with the needs of people and environmental aspects (sustainability).

In the struggle for addressing problems related to development, a new approach is emerging centering on notions of sustainability and a practical consensus between different thoughts is replacing the past theoretical contests (Munslow *et al*, 1999).

2.1.1 Sustainable Development

Sustainable development means moving beyond the important concern with economic growth to considerations of ensuring that people's basic needs are also met, the resource base is conserved, and that environment and other sector concerns are integrated into decision-making processes as well as community empowerment (Munslow *et al*, 1999). The Brundtland Commission defined sustainable development as: development that meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (Redclift, 2002; de Gruchy, 2005). It is argued that the term 'sustainable development' is used in the absence of agreement about a process, which everybody thinks is desirable, because 'sustainable development' as understood by different people, is contradictory, obscure and illuminating at the same time (Redclift, 2002; de Gruchy, 2005). The expression "sustainable development" has been used in a variety of forms, particularly within the context of

development studies and it has different discourses, some of which are mutually exclusive. For example, campaigners for greater global equality between nations, huge international corporations and local housing associations have all used the term “sustainable development” to justify, or embellish, their actions. Meanwhile, many development assistance agencies aspire to the dual missions of alleviating poverty and conserving the environment, and conservation organisations are claiming that their activities are yielding benefits for the poor (Redclift, 2002; Sayer & Campbell, 2004). All these actions imply that natural resources can be managed to achieve immediate benefits for local people whilst sustaining long-term local and global environmental values. In the line of this, rural development gains notable importance and should be centred in rural people’s necessities.

2.1.2 Rural Development

One of the greatest challenges of development strategies concerns how to assist poor people to enhance their livelihoods in a sustainable way; however the objectives of development have not always been about combating poverty and improving living conditions of the poor. Before the 1970s, development was merely perceived as an economic phenomenon, and problems of poverty, unemployment and income distribution were of secondary importance to overall economic growth (Todaro, 1997, cited in Sorensen, 2003). In most countries poverty and inequality is increasing in both urban and rural areas and most poor are still among the rural poor. For that reason, rural development efforts are centred on poverty alleviation along with other strategies and policies aimed at improving the standard of living of the poor, and rural economic stimulation (Harriss, 1982; Ashley & Maxwell, 2001; Ashley & Wolmer, 2003; Zoomers, 2003). This anti-poverty rhetoric has been successfully incorporated in the development discourses since the 1970s along with international political agreements on fighting poverty on a global scale (Sorensen, 2003). Although there has been focus on the poor for decades and a wealth of development projects have been carried out in different areas, it seems that the approach had some limitations as projects failed to meet their objectives and be sustainable, resulting in rural poverty persistence, few improvements in the lives of rural people and as a result, poverty has become a local survival issue, without global concepts (Zoomers, 1999; Sorensen, 2003; AFR/SD, 2003; IUCN, 2003).

What is the reason for the achievement of little improvement in the living conditions of rural people despite all efforts? Implementing appropriate rural development policies and facilitating popular participation requires understanding the rural reality, including the driving forces behind livelihood strategies and their intended path of development. On the other hand, most evaluations of rural development programmes seem to be based exclusively on project goals, reflecting the development agency's points of view. The overall impact of the full range of projects carried out in a particular village is rarely assessed and little attention is paid to understand the side effects of the intervention or outside impacts. The views of local communities, the implications on their livelihood strategies and the relationships with other families are rarely used as guiding an assessment, even though they are crucial to explanations of failure and success (Zoomers, 1999).

The apparent failure of projects resulted in more economically realistic approaches that were more successful, but inequalities and inefficiencies still existed and recently it has become clear that the governance aspects of rural development are also important (AFR/SD, 2003). On the one hand, agriculture along with other actual and potential rural and non-rural activities that are important to the construction of viable livelihoods should be considered as a new paradigm of rural development. It is in this sense that the cross-sectoral and multi-occupational diversity of rural livelihoods may need to become the foundation of rural development policy in order that efforts to reduce rural poverty become effective in the future (Ellis & Biggs, 2001). On the other hand, experience demonstrates that programmes that integrate environmental management, economic concerns and good governance have promising results and proven strategies demonstrate where the management of natural resources has simultaneously led to an increase in the productivity of the resource base and conserved biodiversity and provided economic growth for local communities and national accounts (AFR/SD, 2003).

The Figure below shows definitions and links of nature, wealth and power.

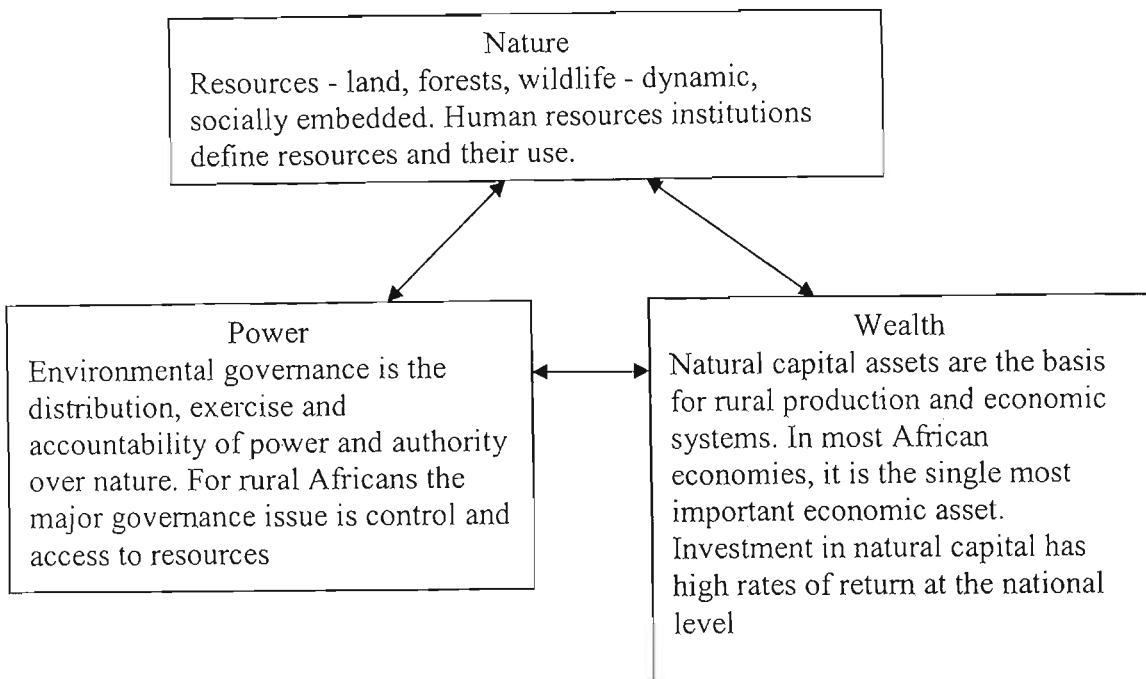


Figure 1: Definitions and links of nature, wealth and power (Source: AFR/SD, 2003:4).

Natural resources are a major source of wealth and power in Africa; they are also a key to rural development. Natural resources - land, minerals, forests, wildlife and water are central to the livelihoods of 70% of the population and dominate some African economies (AFR/SD, 2003), for that reason, Natural Resources Management (NRM) is central to good governance and increasing well being of rural people, and can drive the economy of Africa for decades to come.

Summary

Earlier theories in development considered it as synonymous to economic growth and neglected the social and environmental considerations, which apparently led to unsuccessful programmes. In line with this, a new approach centering on notions of sustainability emerged, which goes beyond the concern with economic growth to considerations of ensuring that people's basic needs are also met and that the environment and other sector concerns are integrated into decision-making processes as well as a community's empowerment. Because the majority of people in poor countries live in rural areas, rural development gains notable importance for addressing rural

people's necessities and agriculture along with other activities that are important to the construction of viable livelihoods, which should be considered as a new paradigm of rural development and it is in this sense that rural livelihoods should become the foundation of rural development policy to ensure the reduction of rural poverty.

2.2 Livelihoods

Most people living in rural areas of poor countries are engaged in a constant struggle to secure livelihoods in the face of adverse social, economic and sometimes political circumstances and in this struggle, adopt different forms of activities, essentially linked to the use of natural resources, which mostly may derive from subsistence farming; from migrant labour undertaken by absent household members in urban areas or other rural areas; and from a wide range of other activities (Murray, 2002). The institutional context of rural livelihoods is significantly altered, by decentralisation, and livelihood precepts can help track the effects of these changes on the expansion or contraction of opportunities that permit the poor to build their own pathways out of poverty (Ellis & Freeman, 2004).

2.2.1 Livelihood Assets

A livelihood system can comprise the portfolio of assets (Table 1) available to the household, the transformational activities, or strategies, undertaken by household members to secure survival, and the resulting livelihood outcomes. The DFID Sustainable Livelihood (SL) framework uses a capital assets terminology, which identifies 5 types of assets: human, natural, financial, social, and physical and the access to and use of those assets, and the pattern of activities adopted by rural households are facilitated or constrained by additional factors, which are referred to as the transforming structures and the processes, such as policies, institutions and processes and the vulnerability context as for example trends, shocks and seasonality (Morris *et al*, 2002).

Table 1: Types of assets that contribute to livelihoods

Assets	Accessibility differs for and between individual and households
Natural	Natural resources (e.g. water, land, wildlife, biodiversity)
Physical	Production equipment (e.g. hoe, plough); basic infrastructure (e.g. shelter, transport, water, energy, communications)
Financial	Savings, credit, remittances, pensions
Human	Skills, knowledge, health, ability to labour
Social	Networks, membership of groups, relationships of trust, access to wider institutions of society

(Source Morris et al, 2002: 2)

The assets available for the livelihoods make up the living building blocks on which the household can build up capital or draw upon in times of scarcity (Morris et al, 2002). A division between tangible and intangible assets is made by Chambers and Conway, 1992 (cited in Sorensen, 2003) where the tangible assets commanded by the household are food stocks, stores of value, cash savings and resources (land, water, trees, and livestock, and farm equipment, tools, and domestic utensils) and intangible assets are the claims (demands, appeals and support), which can be called upon and access to use resources, stores or services or to obtain information, employment, materials and so on (Beck & Nesmith 2001; Sorensen 2003). The assets available to a household or individual, therefore, do not just include assets which belong to the individual or household, but additionally assets held in common with a broader user group. Common property resources are a central part of rural people's livelihoods as well as services provided by the state.

The state of the assets provides space for household's options and ability to adapt to changing internal and external circumstances. Investments to maintain or improve in capital assets occur when production or income generation leads to a surplus beyond immediate consumption needs (Chambers & Conway, 1992, cited in Sorensen, 2003). An impact on livelihood asset will result in adoption of livelihood strategies in accordance with the change occurred. This research

sought to understand how communities accessed these assets with the introduction of tourism in Madjadjane and how they were able to use these assets to optimise their livelihoods outcomes.

2.2.2 Livelihood Strategies

Livelihood diversification is defined as “the process by which rural families construct a diverse portfolio of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival and in order to improve their standard of living” (Ellis, 1998:4). Livelihood strategies are the patterns of behaviour adopted by the household as a result of the household assets and as an intrinsic part of the assets-activities-outcomes. Livelihood strategies are generally adaptive over time, responding to both opportunities and changing constraints (Morris *et al*, 2002). Household survival strategies concern many different kinds of activities - producing food, making a cash income, conserving access to resources, bringing up children, negotiating different kinds of social relations within and between households, and dealing with the effects of agrarian change or social and political disturbance as well as access to and benefits derived from social and public services provided by the state such as education, health services, roads, water supplies, amongst others (Ellis, 1998, Morris *et al*, 2002).

Livelihood strategies have been classified according to different criteria and distinction was made between survival, coping, adaptive and accumulative strategies (Morris *et al*, 2002).

Table 2: Typology and examples of different livelihood strategies

Type of Livelihood strategy	Internal Livelihood system components		
	Change of assets	Strategies/activities	Consumption outcomes
Accumulative	Increased stock of assets. Increased flexibility across asset base.	Extensification (cultivation of more land). On-farm & off-farm diversification (e.g. change in cropping mix, wage labour). Intensification of cash cropping. Investments in social capital. Migration.	More income. Improved nutrition. Increased security.
Adaptive	Change in mix of assets. Precautionary saving of financial & other assets.	Extensification (cultivation of more land). On-farm & off-farm diversification (e.g. change in cropping mix, wage labour). Intensification of cash cropping. Investments in social capital. Migration.	Income and consumption smoothing. Risk reduction. Risk spreading. Labour smoothing.
Coping	Intensified sale of livestock. Calling down informal claims (e.g. through kin networks).	Piecework, agricultural labour. Temporary migration. Withdrawing children from school.	Reduced frequency, quantity and quality of meals. Use where available of relief food. Social and ceremonial obligations reduced.
Survival	Sale of productive assets (e.g. land, bicycle). Sale of household effects (e.g. bed)	Illegal activities. Begging. Permanent out-migration.	Starvation and destitution.

(Source: Devereaux and Davies in Morris et al, 2002:9).

As previously seen, the impact of tourism activities can result in changing livelihood strategies, and as in many cases' tourism has many positive impacts on assets (Ashley, 2000) it can be argued that such changes should result in livelihoods improvement.

A simplified sustainable livelihood framework is shown below, with the following key elements: Assets or capital endowments, livelihoods activities, outcomes, external influences, context, people's strategies, priorities and preferences among the other aspects.

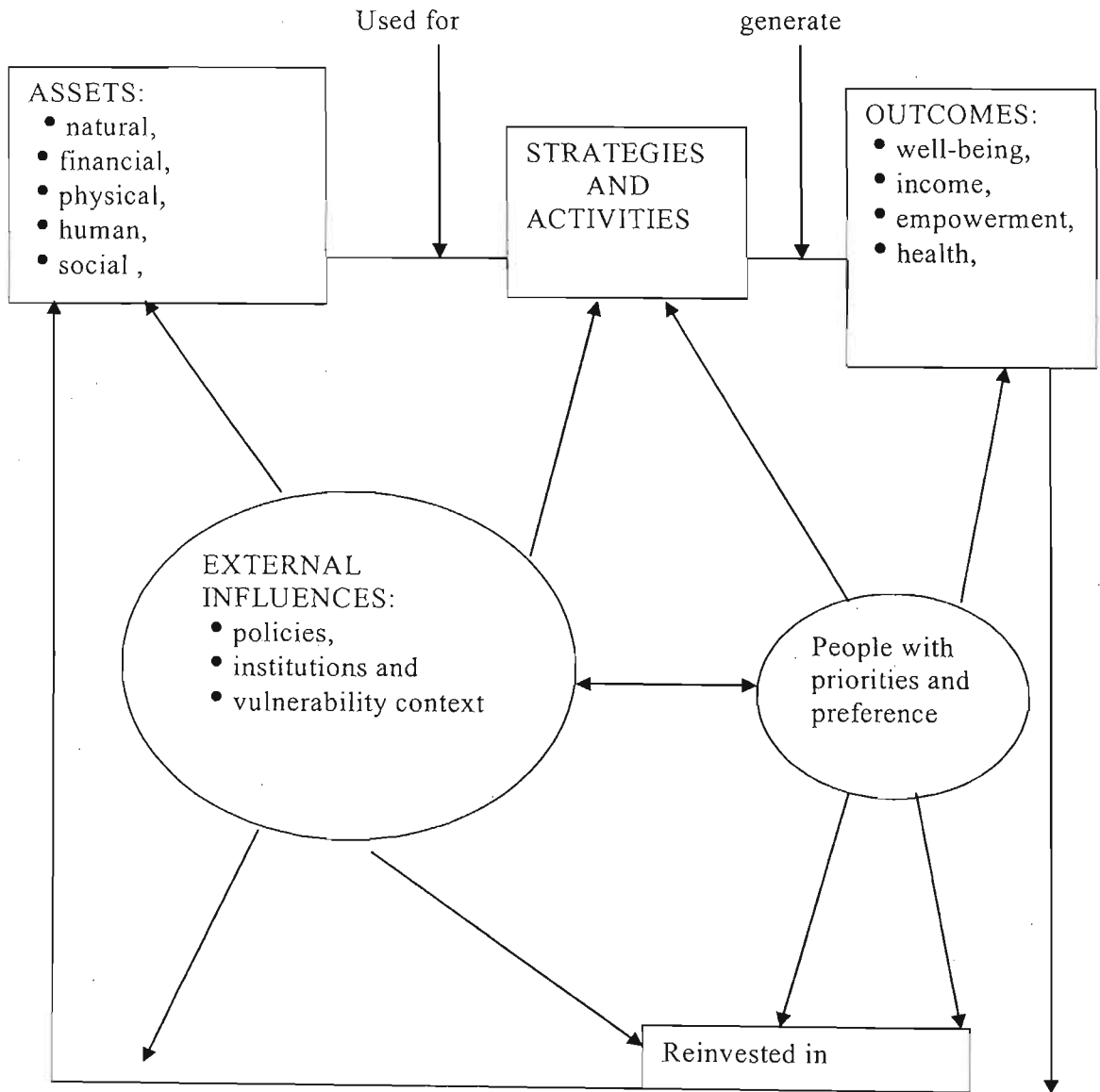


Figure 2: A simplified sustainable livelihood framework (Source Ashley, 2000: 14).

In making an assessment of whether or not livelihoods are shaped by community based tourism in the area of study, further discussions will be guided by this vision of sustainable livelihood framework regarding what constitutes sustainability. From attempts to ensure sustainable use of natural resources to increase well being of local communities, a new approach emerged, named community based natural resources management.

2.3 Community Based Natural Resources Management

A new approach combining rural development with conservation of natural resources emerged in the 1980s. The approach has popularly become known as community based natural resources management, which is a term covering a range of similar approaches, such as self-governance of common pool of resources, local resource management, village-land management, etc (Ostrom, 1990; Sihlophe, 2005). The objectives of community based natural resources management can be considered dual: to achieve both socio-economic development and conservation of natural resources by establishing community based organisations working with income generation through sustainable resource utilisation for people's livelihood improvement (Sorensen, 2003; Sihlophe, 2005). Sayer & Campbell (2004:4) consider that "community based natural resources management, being part of integrated natural resource management, is the integrated management of a multitude of open-access, common property and privately owned natural resources at the 'community' level".

Community based natural resources management programmes were originally initiated as efforts to conserve and rehabilitate the environment where it had been locally degraded. As this approach evolved, it has increasingly focused on the economic and governance benefits of involving communities in the management of natural resources, since control of, and access to, resources is a major governance concern for rural people (USAID, 2003). It is argued that the community based natural resources management approach is widely gaining favour as the appropriate approach to natural resource management as it located local communities at the centre of natural resources management at local level (Sihlophe, 2005). For example, analysis of rural production systems focusing on wildlife in Botswana and Namibia shows that compared to crops and livestock, community based natural resources management programmes not only

have greater economic rates of return but they also support conservation of the environment and biodiversity (Ashley, 2000; Sorensen, 2003).

Community based natural resources management is based on the arguments and assumptions underlying decentralisation of natural resource management and common property theory and this approach holds the potential to combat environmental degradation, rural poverty and to reduce rural people's negative attitudes towards conservation and related authority structures (Potts *et al*, 1996; Sihlope, 2005).

Community based natural resources management is made possible mainly through politico-legal changes regarding land use and tenure rights to land and natural resources. Through devolution of tenure rights and responsibility, communities are given the opportunity to use their communal land as they see fit, on condition that it does not disadvantage the natural resources (Potts *et al*, 1996). Initially most community based natural resources management projects undertook a process of co-management and sharing of responsibilities between government, local and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs), foreign donors, and the community. However, as projects mature and become more established, responsibility and control are increasingly handed over to the community. Ideally, community should be involved in all stages and at all levels of the project implementation (Sorensen, 2003).

The adapted resources management techniques in community based natural resource management are based on assumptions to develop co-management models, where the key assumptions are the following: firstly that devolution of management responsibility over local natural resources to community level will encourage the community to use these resources sustainably; secondly that communities are willing to invest time and resources in natural resources management when they see the benefits arising from sustainable utilisation; and thirdly that the "community" represents the interests of all members (Rodrigues, 2001; Sorenson, 2003).

Positive and negative implications of community based natural resource management projects should be considered together since an implicit precondition is that the benefits of conservation or utilisation of natural resources in a sustainable way has to exceed the costs to engage local people in the process. The positive and negative implications comprise economic, social and

environmental aspects, which produce various possibilities and constraints for the community members and their livelihoods. Examples of positive implications for different stakeholders: for conservation, communities and entrepreneurs are encouraged to assume larger responsibilities; for the national economy, because the incomes from tourism are diversified, in particular those from eco-tourism; for the private sector since the costs destined to assure protection of the means and the tourists' safety or the costs incurred in the replacement of destroyed infrastructure are reduced; for the communities, resulting from employment opportunities and access to the market due to local economic growth as a result of reinforcement of their capacities related to the administration and management of natural resources (Sorensen, 2003; IUCN,1998).

Some literature considers that Africa has different visions on community participation. For example, the Southern African sub-region adopts the instrumentalist vision that defends sharing of benefits in exchange for conservation. The utilitarian vision, most common in the East African sub-region, has as its principle that communities have traditional knowledge and are entitled to the land, and benefit sharing gives them compensation as they can no longer use the resources as they did in the past (Negrão,1999). In the meantime, in policy and practice, three major types of community conservation approaches can be identified: the protected area outreach, which seeks to enhance the biological integrity of National Parks and Reserves; collaborative management, which seeks to create agreements between local communities or groups of resource users and conservation authorities for negotiated access to natural resources and community based conservation, which has the sustainable management of natural resources through the devolution of control over these resources to the community as its principal objective (Barrow & Murphree, 2001).

Experiences in South Africa and Mozambique, indicate four models for management of natural resources, namely: Model 1, which consists in the creation of joint ventures between the investor, the State and local community, where each part has capital in goods or services, with proportioned benefits; Model 2, consisting of a partnership between a tourist operator and local community and or State for benefit sharing from fees and or revenues; Model 3, where a private company is given a concession and complete control of business and Model 4, where the management of resources is totally controlled by communities, which acquire legal instruments.

Model 2, in the majority of cases, brought as benefits not only job creation for some members, but also supplementary socio-economic revenues, creation of responsibility of natural resources in their zones, reinforcement of community organisation and capacity building (Rodrigues, 2001).

Experiences elsewhere show that community based wildlife and ecosystem tourism can generate substantial economic revenue both through consumptive and non-consumptive utilisation, like sport hunting, photographic safaris and wilderness experiences. Communities can choose to run a tourism business as a joint venture, while engaging in other livelihood activities. The essential need of maintaining other livelihood activities can constrain people from participating in a community project and what might be a possibility for some, can, therefore, be a constraint for others (Sorensen, 2003).

Summary

As the development of most developing countries relies on natural resources, community based natural resources management emerged as a new approach in attempts to ensure sustainable use of natural resources in order to increase the well being of local communities.

2.4 Tourism

The concept of tourism has been seen from different perspectives and has generated a range of definitions, as more academics discuss tourism, definitions changed (Keyser, 2002). For the purpose of this study, the definition by Jafari (1997) will be used. He described tourism as the study of the man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both man and the industry have on the host's socio-cultural, economic and physical environment (cited in Keyser, 2002).

The importance of tourism to national economic development can be measured in different forms, where one of the most important contributions is to the balance of payments, income/GDP, employment and other sectors of the economy and among these forms, the balance-of-payments contribution has received most attention (Williams & Shaw, 1991). The ability of the tourism sector to contribute significantly to employment creation and entrepreneurship

development is dependent on the nature and location of the tourism project, the size and source of investment, as well as the policy intentions accompanying it (Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002).

Tourism cannot be seen as an activity that drives development of an area in the short term. Due to the fragility of the economic structures and significant poverty of social spheres, it has been seen as a viable alternative in the search of development to solve such problems. However, the results of implementation of tourism projects are not similar in all places, and there is a need for careful examination before the adoption and implementation in a given place as it is stated by OMT (1994:4) “tourism is not necessarily desirable or viable in all the places. Therefore, the potential for the development of tourism has to be examined for each community”.

In general, the establishment of new tourism projects has been directly related to job creation and revenues, which can constitute help for communities as the arguments used for such projects are related to job creation, revenues for service delivery, and foreign currency for the government. Such projects do not question whether the development promotes equitable sharing of benefits and or improvement of living conditions for the entire population. On the other hand, although the gross economic benefits related to travel and tourism are clear and measurable, the importance of travel and tourism go far beyond simple revenues and job creation, as it, perhaps more than any other industry, creates a wealth of opportunities and challenges particularly at the community level (Hatton in [www. community-tourism.org](http://www.community-tourism.org); Rodrigues, 1997).

Despite the fact that tourism is increasingly being recognised as a massive global industry and potentially a key sector for some developing countries including those in Africa, it is a sector that has not achieved its potential and needs government leverage to attract private investment. Because there are factors which can reduce the economic benefits of tourism development, one of them the lack of building strong linkages to the surrounding community that result in little impact on the citizens who live close to tourism ventures, within international tourism debates there is a strong sub-element relating to responsible, sustainable, ethical, and eco- and pro-poor tourism, terms that include an element of ‘community benefit’ though have a core focus on poverty and people (Telfer, 2002; Ashley & Wolmer, 2003).

Within the alternative development paradigm, sustainable tourism has come to the forefront and along with it are codes of appropriate behaviour and forms of tourism.

2.4.1 Sustainable Tourism

The notion of sustainable tourism has its roots in the concept of sustainable development (Wahab & Pigram, 2000). Although various definitions exist, for the purpose of this study, sustainable tourism will be defined as tourism and its associated infrastructure that, both now and in the future maintain its viability, as a result of operations within natural capacities for the regeneration of and future productivity of natural resources; recognition of the contribution that people and communities, customs and lifestyles make to the tourist experience; acceptance of the fact that these people must have an equitable share in the economic benefits and guidance by the wishes of local people and communities in host areas (Wall, 2000; Shaw & Williams, 2002; Richards & Hall, 2003; Bramwell & Sharman, 2005).

Agenda 21:30 defines sustainable tourism products as “products which are operated in harmony with the local environment, community and cultures, so that these become the permanent beneficiaries, not the victims of tourism development”.

Sustainable tourism is a positive approach intended to reduce the tensions and frictions created by the complex interactions between the tourism industry, visitors, the environment and communities that host tourists, which is one of the key elements that is fundamental to the concept and more in line with the definition of sustainable development and seeks to integrate tourism use, environmental conservation and improvement of the livelihoods of local communities. Sustainable tourism has the potential to contribute to biodiversity conservation within and outside protected areas, as well as to promote community livelihoods (Rodrigues, 1997; de Kadt 1992 in Shaw & Williams, 2002; Salazar 2002). Sustainable tourism development recognises that for many areas, tourism is an important form of economic development, and as such should be managed effectively for the prevalence of local value systems and cultural integrity (Wahab & Pigram, 2000; Shaw & Williams, 2002). Attention should be directed at tourists and in these terms sustainable tourism development highlights the need to educate tourists to become more concerned about and sensitive to the local communities they visit and to achieve this, “tourism planning should take into account all relevant components of tourism and the physical space utilisation plan should be based on community” (OMT, 1994:54). Across the developing world, it is argued that alternative tourism strategies might be promoted to foster greater community participation in tourism planning, a more equitable distribution of the costs

and benefits of tourism, and more culturally appropriate and environmentally sustainable forms of tourism (Kirsten & Rogerson, 2002) and in the search for sustainability in tourism, concepts related to local communities such as pro-poor tourism, eco-tourism, community-based tourism, amongst others, have been adopted.

2.4.2 Pro-poor Tourism (PPT)

Pro-Poor Tourism is an approach that can be driven by the state, the private sector or the community (Mahony & van Zyl, 2002). Pro-poor tourism interventions aim to increase the net benefits for the poor from tourism, and ensure that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction. Pro-Poor Tourism is not a specific product or sector of tourism, but an approach. PPT strategies aim to unlock opportunities for the poor - whether for economic gain, other livelihood benefits, or participation in decision-making (Ashley, *et al*, 2001).

Southern African has enough reasons for linking tourism with poverty reduction because the sector has high potential and many Southern African countries are poor. The growing of tourism should reduce poverty because the sector can employ unskilled people and has certain characteristics that can make it more conducive to pro-poor growth as it is labor intensive; it is based on natural and cultural assets; and is suitable for poor rural areas with few other developmental options (Ashley & Roe, 2002). For example the government of South Africa considers tourism as one of the key sectors for economic growth, and a number of policy objectives derive from the aim of increasing its contribution to the economy. Key components of the national tourism strategy focus on the economic transformation of the sector and, more specifically, on the potential of the industry to make a positive, direct, substantial and lasting impact on the lives of poor people (Mahony & van Zyl, 2002).

It is argued that poverty reduction is not usually at the heart of the tourism agenda. Yet tourism is significant in many poor countries and is already affecting the livelihoods of millions of poor people, positively and negatively. Poverty reduction requires strategies directed to pro-poor growth (Ashley, *et al*, 2001). In order to achieve success in poverty alleviation, governments, the private sector, NGOs, community organizations and the local communities should be involved as all have important and different roles to play and can complement each other. For example, the

private sector can be directly involved in pro-poor partnerships, as private operators can participate in product and market development to ensure commercial realism; the government can take the leading role, through creation of adequate policies that facilitate Pro-Poor Tourism initiatives; local communities are critical to Pro-Poor Tourism ventures and NGOs can catalyze and support Pro-Poor Tourism efforts (Ashley, *et al*, 2001).

Pro-Poor Tourism can overlap with both ecotourism and community based tourism, but is not synonymous with either as on the one hand, Pro-Poor Tourism involves more than a community focus - it requires mechanisms to unlock opportunities for the poor at all levels and scales of operation, and on the other hand, Pro-Poor Tourism aims to deliver nett benefits to the poor as a goal in itself and environmental concerns are not always part of it (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Ashley, *et al*, 2001).

2.4.3 Community Based Tourism

Community Based Tourism (CBT) is defined as a “form of tourism, which aims to include and benefit local communities” (UNDP/Equator Initiative, 2001:3). For instance, local residents should host tourists in their village, managing the scheme communally and sharing the profits. CBT initiatives aim to increase local people’s involvement in tourism and benefit local economy; tourism should also be dedicated to improve livelihoods of communities in the area influenced by tourism (OMT, 1994). There are many types CBT projects, including some in which the community establishes a joint-venture partnership with the private sector, but all community based tourism projects should provide equitable participation of the community in order to get a fair share of the benefits and a role in decision-making on how incoming tourism is managed (UNDP/Equator Initiative, 2001; Rozemeijer *et al*, 2001).

It is argued that for CBT to be sustainable, it should be economically viable, institutionally consolidated, respect traditional culture and social structures, ecologically sustainable, involve community rather than individuals and should provide equitable distribution of costs and benefits (Rozemeijer *et al*, 2001, UNDP/Equator Initiative, 2001). For this, and contrary to the conventional mass tourism, community based tourism is considered a more sustainable form of development (Rozemeijer *et al*, 2001). In this regard, community based tourism appears to be a

way for decentralization of tourism down to the community level, as well as generation of additional funding, which circulates locally and revitalizes the local economy, which can result in self-confidence enhancement amongst the unprivileged people. To corroborate this, Weaver and Oppermann (2000) state that CBT can help to empower the local residents and help improve self-determination, because income and employment created by tourism can result in promotion of economic development conducive to increased social well-being, involve community rather than individuals and create stability (cited in Telfer, 2002).

Although there are many potential benefits from community based tourism projects, there seems to be a growing realisation that the participation of local communities in most parts has been constrained by the lack of relevant skills, knowledge and experience, the lack of access to capital for investment and by its inability to compete with well-established commercial operations. On the other hand and importantly, the participation of local communities in tourism has been constrained by the lack of land ownership rights, which has put local people in inferior and weak positions within the tourism industry, especially in developing countries (Loibooki, 2003).

Research in Zimbabwe and Botswana has shown that community based wildlife tourism offers a way of improving rural livelihoods in areas where agricultural prospects are marginal, decreases poaching and may provide a way for spreading non-consumptive tourism into surrounding areas (Potts, *et al*, 1996; Sorensen, 2003).

2.4.4 Rural Tourism

Rural areas are an adequate escape for urban residents searching for relaxation and fresh air, and attract many people on weekends and holidays, and this has an important role to play in tourism and leisure activities (Shaw & Williams, 2002). The distinguishing feature of rural tourism is the wish to give visitors personalized contact with the countryside where local people and their way of life are the key component (OECD, 1994 cited in Keyser, 2002; Mafunzwaini & Hugo, 2005). Rural tourism usually includes programmes such as cultural festivals and traditional activities and can offer a range of specific benefits in rural areas, with the provision of additional means of strengthening their economic structure by attracting higher numbers of visitors and visitors' expenditure (Keyser, 2002,).

2.4.5 Nature Based Tourism

Nature based tourism involves travel to places for activities and experiences that are entirely dependent on nature and can be defined as a “form of tourism that has a dependent, enhance or incidental relationship with the natural environment in terms of attractions and or settings” (Lawton & Weaver, 2001: 35). Nature based tourism is sometimes called resource-based tourism (Lawton & Weaver, 2001; Keyser, 2002). Nature based tourism does not necessarily lead to the conservation of the natural environment and may exploit host communities, which make it different from eco-tourism (Keyser, 2002).

2.4.6 Eco-Tourism

Eco-tourism can be described as any tourism that: provides experience with natural environments; provides an educational experience that develops visitor’s understanding and appreciation of the place visited, and promotes appropriate behaviors and a conservation ethic and is environmentally responsible as it uses various strategies to minimize impacts (Lawton & Weaver, 2001; Keyser, 2002). Eco-tourism initiatives may provide benefits to people, but they are mostly concerned with the environment. Conservation approaches emphasize the need for broadly distributed local benefits as incentives for conservation, or they may support activities that provide an alternative to unsustainable actions (Ashley & Roe, 2002; Ashley, *et al*, 2001).

Summary

Sustainable tourism, nature based tourism, eco-tourism, rural tourism, pro-poor-tourism and community based tourism seem to have some similarities. Community based tourism, with its focus on poverty alleviation and livelihood development emerges as one of the more appropriate options for tourism development in poor countries, because it is planned and implemented with involvement of local communities at all levels leading to the retention of income in the host area and an increase of well-being among the local communities. On the other hand, because community based tourism is usually based on natural resource assets, it is also concerned with environmental aspects. However, the lack of infrastructure, finance, human and material

resources to run community based tourism appears as the major concern for development of this kind of initiative.

2.5 Policies and Trends in Tourism in Southern Africa

Policy making seems to leave tourism to the private sector; nowadays the tendency is to gradually change this aspect, which can constitute an advantage considering that governments can establish policies that set conditions for tourism development according to government priorities and strategies, in addition to the control of investments and financial concessions, conditions of access to land, etc that most governments already hold (Wahab & Pigram, 2000). For example, the policy instruments in Southern Africa rely on growth and natural resource management and the trends underlie the growing emphasis on private sector and community interactions, namely: *a focus on private sector led growth*, mostly seen in the policies of the South African and Mozambican Governments and less dominant in Zimbabwe; *pro-poor Growth*, within the overall emphasis on economic growth, has a strong tendency that calls for this growth to be 'pro-poor', or inclusive of the disadvantaged; *the commercialisation of wild resources*, where wildlife, forests and wilderness areas are no longer only viewed merely as subsistence resources for rural households or simple areas of rich biodiversity for the concern of conservationists, but are seen as commercial assets on which enterprise, investment and growth should be built and *a growing role for local people in managing natural resources*, where Southern African has been showing attempts to promote community based natural resource management (Ashley & Wolmer, 2003).

2.5.1 Policy and Plans for Tourism Development in Mozambique

The Mozambique Government, since the establishment of the Ministry of Tourism in 2000, has created three important instruments for tourism development, namely Tourism Policy and Implementation Strategy, Strategic Plan for Tourism Development in Mozambique and Tourism Law. In this regard, involvement of community and job creation at different professional levels for Mozambicans constitutes one of the priorities (Ministry of Tourism, 2003). Such instruments clearly indicate that the main challenge lies in promotion and development of

tourism as an engine for economic growth and in the engagement of public and private sectors as well as communities in making the delivery of services in the tourism sector a reality.

The government decided to review and update the past instruments, based on the following premises: the necessity to demonstrate a more flexible approach towards the dynamics shown by the tourism sector; the reflection of the real value of conservation areas and the role of such areas in promotion of tourism; a new approach towards the involvement of local communities and the contribution towards poverty alleviation and an approach towards new product development targeted to various market segments (Ministry of Tourism, 2003). For implementation of its tourism policy and strategy for its implementation, the Government of Mozambique has various principles and objectives, namely: promotion of partnerships between public and private sector and communities in the development of the sector; adoption of sustainable tourism planning principles and effective approaches to implementation; promotion of effective involvement of communities in programmes aimed at development, contribution to employment creation, economic growth and poverty alleviation; enhancement of the quality of life for all Mozambicans; encouragement of active participation of Mozambicans in tourism planning, development and management and minimisation of possible adverse social impact of tourism (Ministry of Tourism, 2003).

In order to implement the objectives and principles established in the Tourism Policy regarding community involvement, the government adopted, amongst others, the following strategies: support of the involvement of communities in the management of tourism products and resources and of the cultural heritage; promotion of participation of local communities in tourism by influencing the provision of both technical and financial assistance, focusing on community leadership in decision making and creating a platform for developing strategic partnerships; support of the partnerships between community initiatives and the formal sector to maximise opportunities for community based tourism; and encouragement of financial institutions to provide local tourism entrepreneurs and community initiatives with access to capital (Ministry of Tourism, 2003).

2.6 Conceptual Framework

It is clear that factors influencing the attitudes and behavior of local communities to community-based tourism are complex and dynamic. The review of literature and the theoretical framework enabled the design of the conceptual framework (Figure 3), which presents the current understanding. It also enables contextualization of particular determinants selected for the research.

Maintaining livelihoods lies at the heart of the survival strategies of poor people. Therefore, it can reasonably be postulated that perceptions poor people have of any project that is intended to benefit them, will be largely determined by the impact it has on immediate livelihoods. Whilst such short-term perceptions of benefits may dominate, poor people, just as with all others, act strategically, seeking to secure their future. Thus the longer-term benefits of security are likely to also be determinants of how poor people perceive development projects. Because of the vulnerability of rural livelihoods, development projects may be perceived as a threat to and as an opportunity for livelihood security. This understanding forms the base on which this research is founded, namely perceptions of the contribution of the tourism project in the Madjadjane community reflect the extent to which livelihoods have been improved and made more secure.

The findings of the research can contribute to problem solving by the IUCN, which is the driver institution for the Madjadjane community based project. The attitudes of community toward the community based tourism project can be used to influence the implementation of the project. On the other hand, the result can be used to verify whether the policies are correctly implemented or not, and help to correct the situation if necessary.

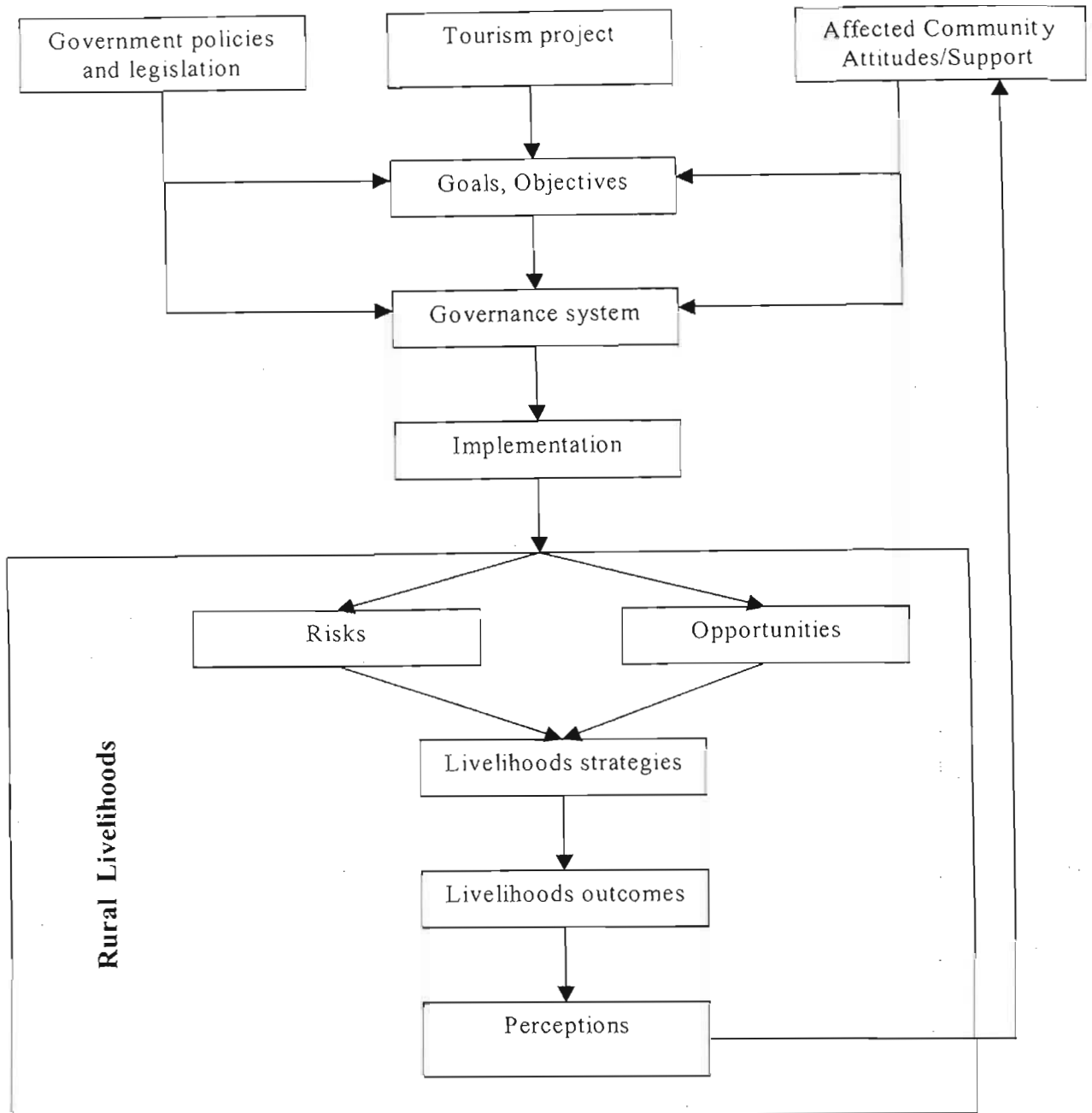


Figure 3: Conceptual framework

From the conceptual framework, can be identified components considered as affecting people's livelihoods and the relationship between them, namely government policies and legislation, community based tourism project and attitudes of community toward the project. The behavior patterns around the community based tourism project in terms of being supportive or not supportive will be influenced and opportunities and risks derived from the implementation of

community based tourism, the way these influence the livelihood strategies and livelihood outcomes. The livelihood outcomes will determine the perceptions, that at the end, will determine if local residents support or are against the tourism venture.

In order to properly evaluate the status quo of tourism in the area of study, the above model will be used for understanding all aspects described. The livelihood outcomes will address issues of increased income, improved well being as well as conservation aspects of the environment.

2.7 Conclusion

The definition of key concepts for this study and incorporation of existing literature review, particularly in tourism, has set some parameters within which this activity can be seen as viable or sustainable. It is argued that community-based tourism is a more sustainable form of development than conventional mass tourism as it allows communities to actively participate in the conception and implementation of tourism projects. In line with of such approaches, policies in Southern Africa tend to recognise and highlight the growing role of local people in managing natural resources. The lessons from the theories of development is that earlier thinking assumed that development meant economic growth, without considering costs to the natural or social environment. Theories of sustainable development brought a healthier view of development in that economic, social and environmental aspects were treated in the same manner. Livelihoods were presented as dependant on the surrounding environment and for that reason, any programme implemented will have an effect in the short term on the livelihood strategies, improving or threatening it. The conceptual framework identified the government policies and the tourism project as the main factors that can have an effect on people's livelihoods and the advantage in using this model is that it will be possible to understand and evaluate the linkage between the various elements.

CHAPTER THREE: THE STUDY AREA

This chapter describes the location of the area where the research was conducted. For a better understanding, it gives briefly the origin of community based natural resources management in Mozambique as well as the description of the community based tourism project that will be evaluated.

3.1 Location of the Study Area and the Biophysical Environment

Mozambique is located in the Southern Region of Africa, sharing its borders with South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania. In 1992, with the establishment of peace, the country emerged from twenty-six years of anti-colonial and post-colonial wars, which degraded infrastructures, and currently it is struggling for national reconstruction. The economy of the country has experienced relatively high growth in recent years at around 8% in real terms, but much of the growth is concentrated around Maputo, which accounts for 40% of the nation's GDP. Rural areas are poor and the United Nation's Human Development Index ranks Mozambique as one of the poorest nations. The majority of population is poor and live in rural areas, with lack of access to potable water and other basic infrastructure such as schools and hospitals. The economy is dependant on donor funding, which is equivalent to 60% of the government budget (Ashley & Wolmer, 2003).

Matutuine District is situated in the Southern part of Maputo Province, bordering with South Africa and Swaziland. In this district is situated the Maputo Special Reserve, which, with its beautiful landscape and high biodiversity, constitutes attraction for tourists from worldwide. For that reason, "its natural resources must be conserved in order to be accessible for tourists, while maintaining its attractions" (Ministerio do Turismo, 2004: 30). The Ministry of Tourism recognises the area as one of the priority areas for tourism development (Ministry of Tourism, 2003). Madjadjane is located in the following co-ordinates 26°29'873" S; 32°42'752" E, in the left margin of the Futi River. The area (Figure 4) is located in the buffer zone of Maputo Special

involving tourism development in northern KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, eastern Swaziland and the southernmost part of Mozambique and the area is also part of Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area (Parker & de Boer, 2000; Soto & Chongo, 2002, Ministry of tourism, 2003). The annual rainfall is 690-1000 mm and the mean annual temperature is 23°C (DNFFB, 1994, cited in Parker & de Boer, 2000:1). The same author reports that “there is a rainy hot season from October to March and a drier and colder period from April to September”. SACS, 1980, cited in Parker & de Boer (2000:1) reports that “the soils are mainly Aeolian sand deposits of marine origin, which rest on an undulating impermeable cretaceous siltstone floor”.

More than sixty percent of the area consists of open forest and savannah, and presents signals of degradation due the practice of subsistence agriculture, exploitation of charcoal and firewood. In spite of annual fires and uncontrolled settlements, the area still presents a reasonable conservation status due the low level of inhabitants, the type of agriculture and the nature of charcoal and firewood exploitation. The level of poverty is high amongst the residents (Soto & Chongo, 2002). The Futi River and the Hlongute Lagoon are the main hydrometrics factors and both have water along the year. Temporary lagoons also characterise Madjadjane during the raining season, depending on the amount of water (Ford Foundation & IUCN, 2004).

3. 2 Community Based Natural Resources Management in Mozambique

Shortly after sixteen years of civil war, with the beginning of the Tchuma-Tchato initiative in 1995, Mozambique had a notable tendency towards community based natural resources management programmes, possibly caused by factors such as the search for alternatives as government agencies were observing some of the limitations of state-private sector natural resources management due the fragile regulatory, monitoring and enforcement capacity as well as conflict with local people. Secondly, the influence of promotion of non-conventional approaches to natural resources management based on regional experiences by some NGOs, donors and individuals, and a possible means of increasing access to aid funds and technical assistance at a time when conventional sources of support for forest and wildlife were declining (Anstey, 2001; Matakala & Mushove, 2001).

3.3 Description of the Community Based Tourism Project (Venture) in Madjadjane

The community based tourism project in Madjadjane is part of a community based natural resources management project that began in 1999 and is facilitated by the World Conservation Union (IUCN) in Mozambique (Mathe, 2005, pers. comm.¹). The community based natural resources management was promoted in the area of study by IUCN, because it was observed that natural resources were used in an unsustainable way by local residents and outsiders (Nhantumbo, 2005, pers. comm.²). In order to organize the local community and to ensure more benefits were derived from the responsible use of natural resources in the area, local people according to their abilities and wishes were divided into groups of interest, amongst them the following: tourism group with 25 members, group for agriculture with 100 members, group of bee keepers with 30 members, group for culture with 16, group for crafting with 8 members, charcoal burning group with 14 members, medicinal plants group with 9 members (Mathe, 2005, pers. comm.¹, Nhantumbo, 2005, pers. comm.²). The tourism project was recommended by the management plan of the resources of the area as a result of the existence of high potential for tourism development (Nhantumbo, 2005, pers. comm.²) and the local community runs a lodge, called Tsakane ka Madjadjane (translated into English, it means 'joy in Madjadjane'). The lodge has the following facilities: camping and cottage, museum and souvenir shop with local honey, arts and crafts, bar and tearoom and conference room. The cottage has 3 rooms with a private bathroom (IUCN, 2005). The project has a wide range of activities for tourist recreation: community tours and picnics, cultural events such as dance, music and community theatre, local traditional foods, guided bird, butterfly and medicinal botany walks in the sand forests, wildflower honey harvests, weave mats, river fishing, river watch and guided crocodile and hippo walks and arranged guided visits to the Maputo Special Reserve (IUCN, 2005). The IUCN Mozambique - driver of the project started the one year phasing out in April 2005 (Cuco, 2005, pers. comm.³). From the opening of the lodge in October 2004, until the end of October 2005 the lodge received 539 visitors. Currently, 25 people 'work' without payment (Mingani, 2005, pers. comm.⁴).

¹ D. Mathe, leader of local community structure of natural resources management

² Dr. J. Nhantumbo, coordinator of the IUCN regional forestry programme

³ E. Cuco, IUCN field officer in Madjadjane

⁴ J. Mingani, Member of Madjadjane community

As previously seen, the impact of tourism activities can result in changing livelihoods strategies, if this is the case of Madjadjane, discussions will show how livelihoods were shaped by tourism and how livelihood outcomes changed with the implementation of tourism in the zone. As referred to in the research justification, Madjadjane is an area where the residents have frequently had their crops damaged by elephants. For that reason, the community based tourism project in the area is particularly important as it can represent on the one hand, an alternative to help locals deal with the problem of crop damage increasing livelihood strategies.

3.4 Conclusion

The Madjadjane area is located in the buffer zone of a protected area (Maputo Special Reserve), an area that frequently suffers from crop damage caused by elephants. Although the existing community-based tourism project is still in its initial stages, it has the potential to improve community livelihoods. The study will examine this potential through field work that will be conducted in the community.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODS

This Chapter discusses the research design and methodological paradigm adopted to achieve the objectives of the study. The methodological paradigm includes sampling procedures, data collection and tools for data analysis. Ethical issues and possible constraints are also discussed in this chapter and lastly how data will be presented after analysis is discussed.

4.1 Methodological Paradigm

Three broad methodological paradigms have dominated the scene in recent social research: the qualitative, quantitative and participatory action paradigms (de Vaus, 2001). This study concentrates mainly on the qualitative paradigm, being analytic and descriptive, searching to exploit written documents, oral sources, and mainly from questioning community members.

The main objective of the study is to understand the implications of community based tourism on livelihoods of people in Madjadjane and emphasises the need to understand and interpret the experiences and perceptions of locals. The methods design needs to have the capacity to capture the emotions, views, opinions and attitudes of the locals and understand the meaning that these locals give to tourism. On the basis of this, a qualitative approach will be followed. The choice of a qualitative approach is driven by the recognition that social research has to take into account the fact that human beings are conscious and self-directing (de Vaus, 2001). On the other hand, the choice of a qualitative approach was also due to the fact that the quantitative approach would not be suitable for the nature of this study. Further, the advantage of qualitative research in this regard is the ability to incorporate individual accounts of their attitudes, perceptions and behaviour.

4.2 Source of Data

Data to answer the research objectives will be collected in the area of study, through interviewed self-administered questionnaires (due the shortage of time) with 40 selected heads

of families living in the area. People directly linked to tourism activities will be interviewed as well as those not directly related to the tourism venture.

4.3 Sampling

The primary goal of researchers who use the quantitative style is to get a representative sample from a much larger collection or population, such that the researcher can study the smaller group and produce accurate generalisations about the larger group (Newman, 2000).

Researchers tend to use a type of sampling based on theories of probability and have two motivations for using probability or random sampling. The first is time and cost and the second purpose of random sampling is accuracy. The results of well-designed, carefully executed probability sampling will produce results that are equally, if not more, accurate than trying to reach every single person in the whole population (Newman, 2000). This research will adopt simple random sampling, where the houses will be labelled alternatively one and two and the heads of households in houses with the number 1 will be interviewed.

There are 124 households in the area and at least thirty two percent (40 persons) out of the total households will be used as a sample. It is estimated that this will be the number of households than can be covered in the fifteen days allocated for the field work. The size of the sample is in accordance with Newman (2000) who states that for populations of 1000 residents or less to get better accuracy the sample should be thirty percent. The interviews will be semi-structured and topic-focused in order to provide essential in-depth information for the assessment of livelihoods strategies and perceptions about the community based tourism project in Madjadjane. A pre-elaborated questionnaire (Appendix 1) with Likert scale questions and open-ended questions will be used to guide the interviews. In order to understand the livelihood strategies direct observations will complement the questionnaires, which will enable the researcher to apply the “logic in practice” perspective.

The methods pointed out above are part of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) methods and according to Cernea, (1991:526) “the cost-effectiveness of these methods depends on how appropriately and well they are used. However, where RRA methods have been compared with more conventional methods, they have proved accurate and almost always more cost-effective”.

4.4 Data Analysis and Interpretation

Data collected through qualitative methods is unstructured, so it will be labelled in numbers. Same answers for same questions will be put together in order to analyse and interpret the results in a structured form and the presentation will be in the form of graphics and tables. The analysis will be through content analysis.

4.5 Ethical Consideration

Any research has potential to interfere with other people's lives. Social researchers have identified key ethical issues, which include voluntary participation, informed consent, no harm to participants and anonymity and confidentiality (de Vaus, 2001). For data collection, it will be ensured that participation is voluntary by asking them to participate in the interview. Regarding informed consent, the approach of the study will be to provide as much information as necessary for the participants to be able to make decisions about their participation. During data analysis, the researcher will consider data so as to avoid information that might cause conflict or jeopardise the status of participants without compromising proper reporting of the study. The added advantage in this regard is that the subject of this study deals with issues that are part of public debate as opposed to personal matters. Anonymity will not be applicable to this study, as the researcher will interview identifiable respondents. Data will however be treated with confidentiality.

4.6 Conclusion

The research will fall mainly within the interpretative paradigm. At least thirty percent of the total households will be used as a sample where the heads of the households will be interviewed during 15 days, using the interview-administered questionnaire. Data will be categorized into themes and tables and graphs will be used to demonstrate the findings. The discussion on ethical consideration showed that conducting research brings about the dilemma and sometimes conflict of interest between the need to do research and the rights of individuals being researched. Taking into account ethical issues, the present study will ensure that the participation is voluntary, there is not any type of harm to participants, participants will be informed and information will be confidential.

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THE IMPLICATIONS OF TOURISM FOR RURAL
LIVELIHOODS: THE CASE OF MADJADJANE
COMMUNITY, MATUTUINE DISTRICT, MOZAMBIQUE

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COMPONENT B

THE IMPLICATIONS OF TOURISM FOR RURAL LIVELIHOODS: THE CASE OF MADJADJANE COMMUNITY, MATUTUINE DISTRICT, MOZAMBIQUE

Abstract

The tourism industry has the ability to contribute to economic growth, and for improvement of livelihoods of poor people. Although various stakeholders have different approaches to tourism, they recognise its role for local development and as a means to highlight and spread benefits amongst local communities. This research investigates the impact of tourism development through an assessment of local community perceptions of it. It considers the risks and opportunities afforded by the tourism venture run by local people in the Madjadjane area, Mozambique. As a developmental project, the community based tourism in the Madjadjane area should play an important role for improvement of people's livelihoods. The introduction of tourism in Madjadjane was initially motivated by the prospects of making money, the creation of jobs and guaranteed access to a market for selling honey, crafts and other products. Prospects have not been as positive as anticipated. The study suggests that it has developed very little and had little or no impact among the local residents, as a result local people still rely on small-scale farming for sustaining their livelihoods. A positive impact is the increased awareness of the value of the conservation of natural resources. In general, from the community perspective, the venture has not brought significant economic benefits to them, neither improvement of their livelihoods.

Introduction

This paper is built on the theoretical foundation of the literature review in order to better understand the social, economic and environmental implications of tourism ventures for community livelihoods in the area of study. As tourism is being viewed as an important constituent for development, it has become necessary to research and supply assessments of the benefits of such a sector in the improvement of rural livelihoods. For that reason the present research is designed to bring information about the implications of tourism on livelihoods in Madjadjane that can support the decision-making processes at different levels. The area of study is located in an area where elephants attack and damage people's crops frequently, which causes a situation of food scarcity, resulting in tensions and a bad relationship between local residents and the management structure of the Maputo Special Reserve. The community based tourism (CBT) venture in the area can represent an alternative to help the local community to deal with the problem of crop damage as it can contribute to the improvement of their livelihoods. The paper has the following objectives: description of the livelihood strategies adopted by people in Madjadjane; determination of how these livelihood strategies have been shaped by community based tourism in the area through an analysis of risks and opportunities; and determination of the peoples' attitudes toward conservation and how these are shaped by community based tourism in the area.

The paper is divided into five parts. The first section provides the literature review charting the evolution of tourism from the ancient forms to mass tourism after the Second World War and then to the more recent forms of alternative forms of tourism and the

focus is on options for tourism oriented to local development and improvement of hosts' livelihoods. The second section gives a description of the methodology employed and the context of the area where the study took place. Section three provides the results against the set objectives. The fourth section discusses the results and lastly, the paper ends with the section dedicated to the conclusions.

The Challenges of Tourism for Improving Livelihoods of the Rural Poor

Tourism is an industry that has been practiced for a long time (Keyser, 2002) and until 1945 the ability to take part in tourism was not extended to everybody as it was linked to social class (Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Keyser, 2002). After the Second World War, factors such as development in transport, reduced working hours, lower travel costs, increased leisure time, amongst others, contributed to an explosive growth of tourism and it became mass tourism (Coccossis, 1996; Butler, 2000; Prideaux, 2001; Sharpley & Telfer, 2002; Keyser, 2002). The notable growth of tourism, which characterised the 1950s and 1960s, enhanced by changes in attitudes, technological progression, and economic expansion, has slowed down somewhat, but the activity continues showing regular growth and has shown considerable economic contribution as well as job creation. For example, in 2000, international arrivals and tourism revenues exceeded US\$698 million and US\$476 billion respectively in the world (Keyser, 2002). On the other hand, the "tourism industry in 2001 contributed with 4.2 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the global economy and employed 8.2 percent of the world's economically active population" (Ministry of Tourism, 2003:8). In the case of Mozambique, although tourism remains in the early stages of development, "visitor

arrivals totalled approximately 400 000 in 2001” (Ministry of Tourism, 2003:7). Tourism is recognized as one of the key sectors for African economic and social development and this recognition is highlighted for example by the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) (Rogerson & Visser, 2004).

The Southern African region with a high diversity of products such as wildlife, particularly the big five, beaches, sun, sea and others, has high potential for tourism growth (Poonyth *et al*, 2002). Regarding this potential, it is significantly predicted that the tourism sector will grow to be one of the main drivers of economic growth and employment creation in the region over the next years. Considering the wide range of the region’s tourism products and the projected attraction of about 36 million tourists by 2020 to the Southern African sub-region as well as the global forecasts that show that tourism is likely to continue growing in the future, countries of the region have considerable potential for tourism growth (Cocossis, 1996; Ministry of Tourism, 2003). For this reason, governments of SADC created the SADC Coordinating Unit to address tourism issues and some have established a Ministry of Tourism or have started to set up joint public-private sector tourism boards or councils (Cleverdon, 2002). The government of Mozambique, for example, established its Ministry of Tourism in January 2000. Meanwhile, it is also known that tourism activities can have positive and negative effects as it affects the livelihoods of poor people in the world as the traditional activities practiced might be affected, resulting in the abandonment of agricultural occupations, destruction of customs, traditions and social relations, changes natural environments, threatens natural integrity, while at the same time it can improve the quality of life for local residents through increased supplementation of services as well as infrastructural

development, job creation, income and revitalisation of local economies (Coccosis, 1996, Ashley *et al*, 2001; Wahab & Pigram, 2000; Ministério do Turismo, 2004; Rátz, 2005).

International experiences propose that mass tourism has recently been complemented by the appearance of alternative forms of tourism (Rogerson, 2001a), although since its emergence in the 1980s, there is no agreement on the definition of such a concept, even though in the broader analysis, alternative tourism is considered to include tourism approaches such as eco-tourism, green-tourism, responsible tourism, pro-poor tourism, community based tourism, among the other forms (Rogerson, 2001 b). Such approaches are critically evaluated in terms of positive and negative impacts on host regions in a wide range of literature. From this discussion, community based tourism with its focus on poverty alleviation and livelihood development seems to emerge as one of the more appropriate options for tourism development (Ashley, 2000; Sorensen, 2003). As many poor live in developing countries, community based tourism has a huge challenge in improving the livelihoods of local communities, allowing them to actively participate in the conception and implementation of tourism projects and improving the possibilities of retaining the benefits in the area. In line with such an approach, policies in Southern Africa tend to recognize and highlight the growing role of local people in managing natural resources (Ashley and Wolmer, 2003), which are the natural asset base for community based tourism.

Livelihood strategies are generally adaptive over time, responding to both opportunities and changing constraints (Morris *et al*, 2002), and considering that tourism activities can

affect many people, they will have to change their livelihood strategies as a response to the impact of tourism and adjust to the new situation (Ashley, 2000).

Methods and Context

Data to answer the research objectives was collected in the area of study, through questionnaires. Interviews were held with the heads of households. Complementary data was collected from a literature review, specifically to describe the status of the broader area of which Madjadjane is part, and from interviews with the leader of the local community structure for the management of natural resources, a IUCN field officer in the area, a member of the local community and 'working' for tourism and the coordinator of the IUCN regional forestry programme representing IUCN Mozambique, as the driver institution of the community based project in Madjadjane.

A sampling was applied for selection of households where the heads would be interviewed. The houses were labelled with numbers one or two and the heads of houses with the number 1 were interviewed. Fifty three households (43% of total households in the area) were used as a sample. Data was collected during 15 days, from 22 October to 5 November, 2005. The interviews were structured and topic-focused in order to provide essential in-depth information for the assessment of livelihood strategies and perceptions about the community based tourism project in Madjadjane. A pre-elaborated questionnaire with Likert scale questions and open-ended questions was used to guide the interviews. In order to understand the livelihood strategies direct

observations complemented the questionnaires, which enabled the researcher to apply the “logic in practice” perspective.

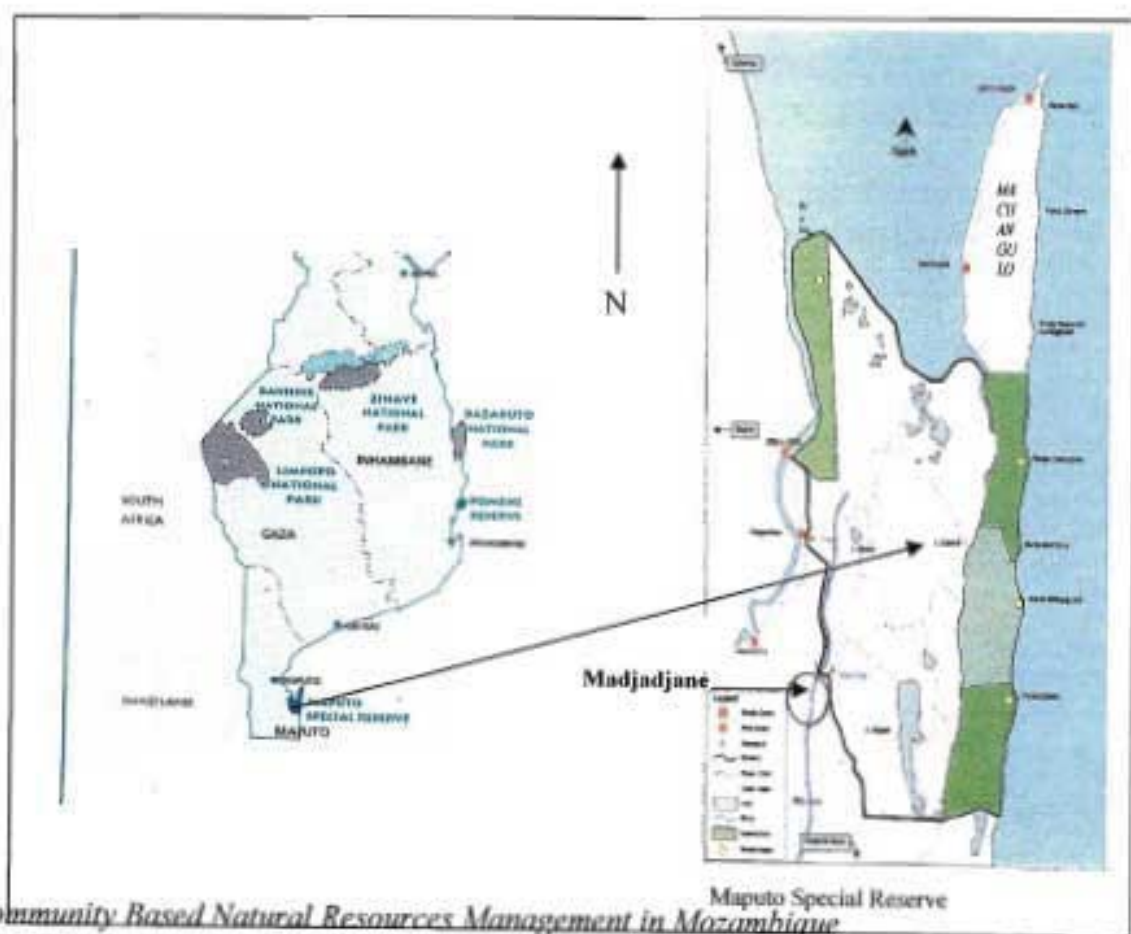
Madjadjane Area in Context

Mozambique is located in the Southern Region of Africa, sharing its borders with South Africa, Swaziland, Zambia, Zimbabwe, Malawi and Tanzania. After the end of tumultuous decades of anti-colonial and post-colonial wars with the establishment of peace in 1992, the economy of the country has experienced relatively high growth in recent years at around 8% in real terms, but starting from a very low base, and with much of the growth concentrated around Maputo. The United Nation’s Human Development Index ranks Mozambique as one of the poorest nations and as the majority of population are poor and live in rural areas, with lack of access to potable water and facing the constant natural disasters in the country, their struggle is to secure livelihood (Ashley and Wolmer, 2003).

Matutuine District is situated in the Southern part of Maputo Province, bordering with South Africa and Swaziland. In this district is situated the Maputo Special Reserve, which, with its beautiful landscape and high biodiversity, constitutes an attraction for tourists from worldwide. Madjadjane (Figure 1) is located in the buffer zone of Maputo Special Reserve (Ford Foundation & IUCN, 2004), along the EN201, the road from Maputo to Ponta do Ouro, 8 kilometres south of Salamanga (IUCN, 2005). It has an area of 7 150 ha with 584 residents (268 male and 316 female), divided into 124 households

(Soto & Chongo, 2002; D. Mathe, 2005 pers. comm.¹). Madjadjane with its sub-tropical forest and diverse wildlife of small and medium size, whose numbers are increasing, falls within the Lubombo Spatial Development Initiative, an international venture involving tourism development in northern KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa, eastern Swaziland and the southern part of Mozambique and the Lubombo Transfrontier conservation area (Soto and Chongo, 2002; Parker and de Boer, 2000; Ministry of Tourism, 2003).

Figure 1: Study area location (Map adapted from Maputo Special Reserve Management Plan 2002/2006 and Tourism Policy and Implementation Strategy, 2002) (Not to scale)



Community Based Natural Resources Management in Mozambique

¹ D. Mathe, member of Madjadjane community and leader of the local structure for management of natural resources

Shortly after sixteen years of civil war, Mozambique had a notable tendency towards community natural resource management programmes. The search for alternatives by the government agencies as they were observing some limitations in managing natural resources due to the fragile regulatory, monitoring and enforcement capacity as well as conflict with local people and the promotion of non-conventional approaches to natural resources management by some NGOs, donors and individuals had an influence on the beginning of community natural resources management programmes in Mozambique (Anstey, 2001, Matakala and Mushove, 2001).

Description of the Community Based Tourism Venture (Project) in Madjadjane

The community based tourism project in Madjadjane is part of a community based natural resources management project that began in 1999 and is facilitated by the World Conservation Union (IUCN) in Mozambique. The community based natural resources management was promoted in the area of study by IUCN, because it was observed that natural resources were used in an unsustainable way by local residents and outsiders (Nhantumbo, 2005, pers. comm.²). In order to organize the local community and ensure more benefits were derived from the responsible use of natural resources in the area, local residents, according to their abilities and wishes were divided into groups of interest, amongst them the following: tourism group with 25 members, agricultural group with 100 members, bee-keeping group with 30 members, culture group with 16, crafting group with 8 members, charcoal burning group with 14 members, medicinal plant group with 9 members (Mathe, 2005, pers. comm.¹; Nhantumbo, 2005, pers. comm.²). The tourism project was recommended by the management plan of the natural resources of the area as

² Dr. I. Nhantumbo, coordinator of the IUCN regional forestry programme

a result of the existence of high potential for tourism development (Nhantumbo, 2005, pers. comm.²). The local community runs a lodge, named Tsakane ka Madjadjane (the translation in English means 'joy in Madjadjane'), with the following facilities: camping and cottages, museum and souvenir shop with local honey, arts and crafts, bar & tearoom, conference room. At the beginning of the tourism project the 'workers' used to receive a small allowance paid by the IUCN, but currently there are no allowances at all (Mingani, 2005, pers. comm.³). From the opening of the lodge in October 2004, until the end of October 2005 the lodge received 539 visitors. Actually the IUCN Mozambique - driver of the project worked for one year phasing out in April 2005 (Cuco, 2005, pers. comm.⁴). Currently, 25 people work on a voluntary basis, without payment (Mingani, 2005, pers. comm.³).

Research Findings

This section presents the research findings under four sub-sections, as a result of interviews held with 53 households in the area of study. The results are in the form of graphics and tables. The analysis will be undertaken through content analysis, in accordance with answers related to the study objectives. Before that, an overview of the characteristics of the respondents is given to contextualise the other results.

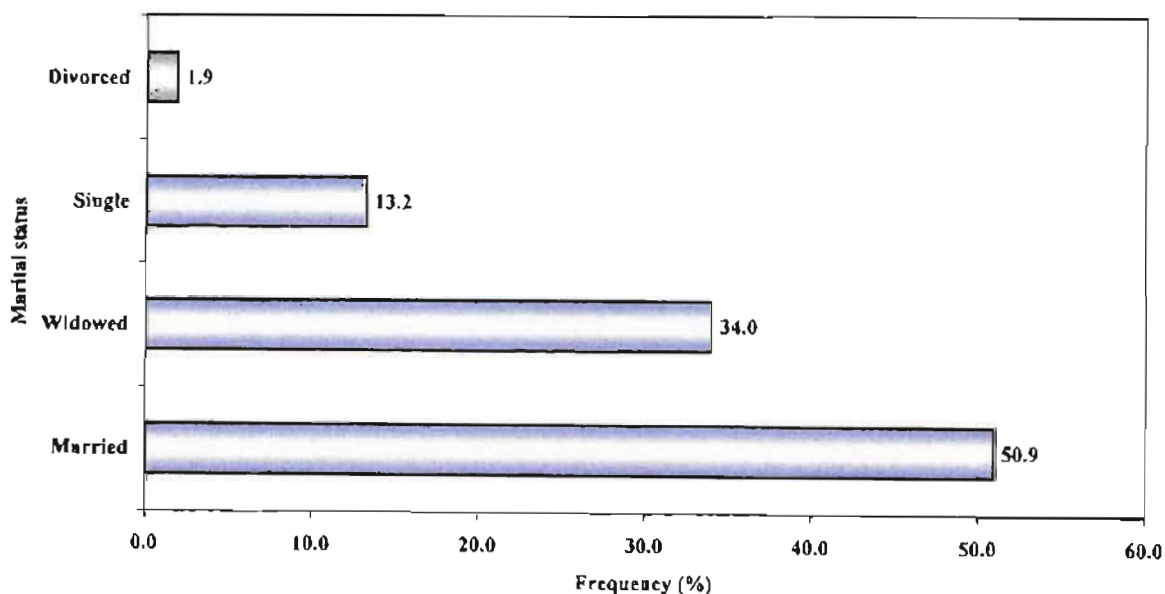
³ J. Mingani, member of community and tourism 'worker'

⁴ E. Cuco, IUCN field officer

Respondents' Characterization

All respondents were Mozambicans in the proportion of 72 percent for female and 28 percent for male. The academic level among the interviewees was very low, where 79 percent of the respondents had never attended school, 19 percent had primary school level, and about 2 percent had secondary school level. No one had certificate level or a university degree. In terms of marital status, 51 percent of respondents were married, 34 percent were widows, 13 percent were single and 2 percent were divorced (Figure 2).

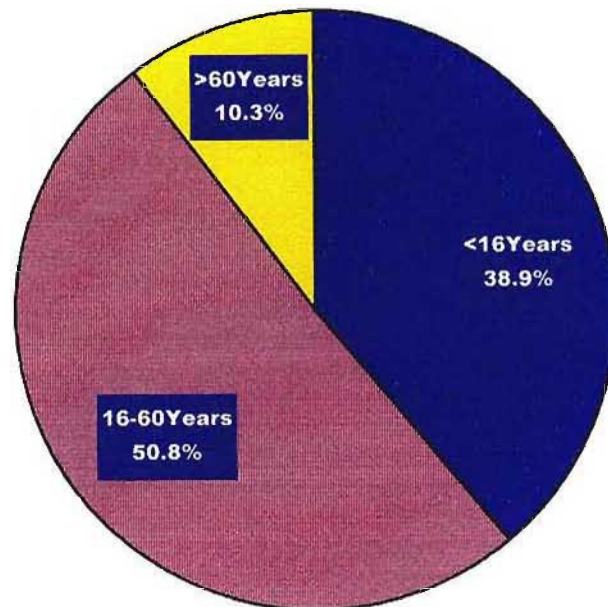
Figure 2: Percentage distribution of marital status of the interviewed households



In terms of age, the respondents ranged from 18 to 70 years old. Regarding the family size, the numbers of the members of the respondents' households were highly diverse, ranging from 1 member to 18 members, where the majority, with 51 percent, fall within

the age group of economically active people, with the age ranging from 16 years to 60 years old (Figure 3).

Figure 3: Age groups of household's members amongst the interviewed people



Regarding the respondents' occupation, all 53 interviewees practice small-scale farming. Amongst them 58 percent are formally or informally employed doing different types of work, usually requiring low skills, including those 'working' for the tourism project (Table 1).

Table 1: Respondents' occupations in Madjadjane

Occupation	Activities Descriptions	Number of respondents	%
Agriculture only	Small-scale farming Livestock keeping	24	45.3
Agriculture, formally employed & tourism 'employees'	Small-scale farming, livestock keeping Cleaning Cooking, bar woman, receptionist, 'sellers' Teaching and guards	21	35.8
Agriculture & handcrafting	Small-scale farming, livestock keeping Crafts such as mats, hats, sieve	6	11.3
Agriculture & others	Small-scale farming, livestock keeping Bee keeping Carpentry and charcoal burning	4	7.6
Total		53	100.0

Livelihood Strategies in Madjadjane

Questions regarding livelihood strategies adopted by the households in Madjadjane, before the beginning of the tourism venture in the area and at the present moment, were asked, with the interest of understanding trends that have occurred over time, particularly with respect to the impact that tourism has had on livelihood strategies. In general, the majority of respondents make their livelihood out of agriculture (Table 2).

Table 2: Major livelihood activities in Madjadjane

Activity with the major contribution to household livelihood	Number of respondents	%
Small-scale farming	37	69.5
Formal employment	11	20.7
Crafting	3	5.7
Charcoal burning	2	3.8
Total	53	100.0

Additionally, handcrafting, bee-keeping and charcoal burning and other small commercial activities for cash return are undertaken and a small number have formal employment. Small-scale farming includes crops and livestock keeping, especially chickens and goats. Staple crops include maize, groundnut, beans, sugar cane and sweet potatoes. Seasonal vegetables and fruit trees supplement food crops. Figure 4 shows clearly the type of farming practised by the small-scale farmers in Madjadjane while Figure 5 shows some examples of other small commercial activities also practised by those farmers.

Figure 4: Type of farming practiced by small-scale farming in Madjadjane



Figure 5: Examples of small commercial activities in Madjadjane (reeds and bee keeping)



Tourism Effects on Livelihood Strategies

Livelihoods activities in the Madjadjane area before and after tourism are shown in Table 3, with an increase of 'employment' from 23 percent to 60 percent. Although this is an apparent substantial increase, it can not be considered as a positive contribution since this tourism venture does not produce enough revenue. However, people continue with their work hoping that in the near future the tourism venture will yield benefits. Though there are no tangible benefits for people directly involved in the project activities, presently, it is notable in the project area that there are some emerging small businesses such as honey, handcrafting products and other forest products, which are locally marketed, and

more importantly the growing awareness about conservation of natural resources in the area.

Table 3: Livelihood activities in Madjadjane community

<i>Livelihood activities</i>	<i>Before CBT</i>		<i>After CBT</i>	
	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>%</i>
Small-scale farming	50	94.3	51	96.2
Formal employment & 'tourism workers'	12	22.6	32	60.4
Crafting	8	15.1	9	17.0
Bee Keeping	0	0.0	5	9.4
Charcoal burning	2	3.8	2	3.8
Others	1	1.9	7	13.2

The introduction of tourism activities at Madjadjane had little effect on the farming activities because almost all community members continue doing their farming. Before tourism in the area, 51 percent of respondents practiced one activity for their livelihoods and 49 percent had additional activities. With the tourism venture, the number of activities increased (for example those related to crafting and bee-keeping) in such a way that 81 percent of respondents practice, in addition to small-scale farming some of these activities (Table 4).

Table 4: Combination of different livelihood activities in Madjadjane

<i>Number of Livelihood activities</i>	<i>Before CBT</i>		<i>After CBT</i>	
	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Number of respondents</i>	<i>%</i>
Only 1 Activity	27	50.9	10	18.9
2 Activities	24	45.3	34	64.2
3 Activities	2	3.8	8	15.1
4 Activities	0	0	1	1.9
<i>Total</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>100</i>	<i>53</i>	<i>100.0</i>

Regarding the local people's perceptions on the effects of tourism on livelihood activities in Madjadjane, 49 percent of respondents strongly disagreed that the tourism project changed the livelihood activities in the area, while 26 percent disagreed. In addition to that, 68 percent of the respondents strongly agreed that the implementation of tourism in the area did not cause abandonment of any of those activities previously practiced in the area, seconded by 28 percent of respondents, who disagreed that the practice of some livelihood activities had stopped as a result of tourism effect in the area. Related to possible future positive changes on livelihood activities in the long term, 53 percent of respondents were not sure, 17 percent strongly disagreed and about 8 percent disagreed, in contrast to 17 percent that agreed that in the long term tourism can cause changes in their livelihood activities and two percent of the respondents strongly agreed with the possible changes (Table 5).

Table 5: Tourism effects on livelihood strategies in Madjadjane

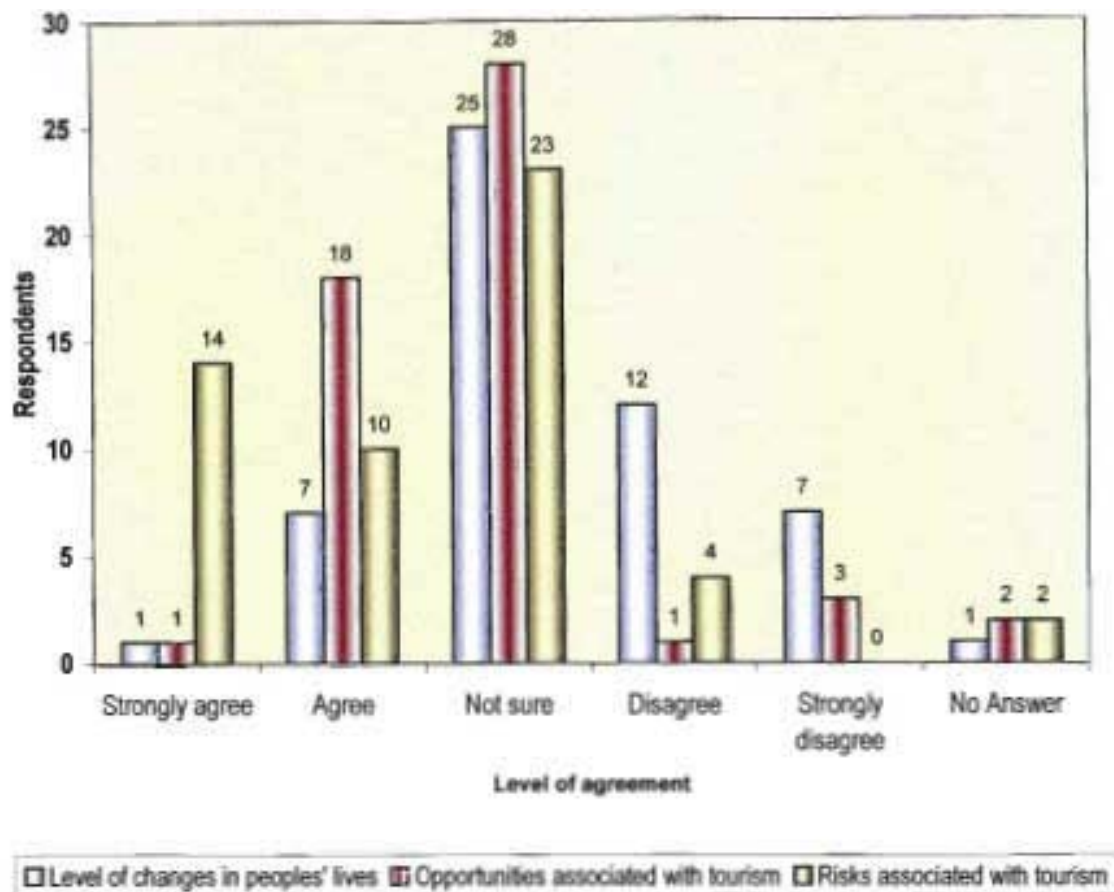
Effects of tourism activities on livelihood strategies	Level of agreement or disagreement						Total
	Strongly Agree	Agree	Not Sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree	No answer	
Livelihood activities changed since beginning of tourism	3 (5.7%)	8 (15.1%)	2 (3.8%)	14 (26.4%)	26 (49.1%)	0 (0.0%)	53 (100.0%)
The practice of some livelihood activities was abandoned after tourism	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (1.9%)	15 (28.3%)	36 (67.9%)	1 (1.9%)	53 (100.0%)
Long term change of livelihood activities expected	1 (1.9%)	9 (17.0%)	28 (52.8%)	9 (17.0%)	4 (7.5%)	2 (3.8%)	53 (100.0%)
Expected positive change in livelihood activities	1 (1.9%)	10 (18.9%)	30 (56.6%)	2 (3.8%)	4 (7.5%)	6 (11.3)	53 (100.0%)

Local People's Perceptions of Risks and Opportunities Associated with Tourism in Madjadjane

The tourism venture has the potential to increase income, which can then be used to improve food security and the quality of life of local residents. Benefits from tourism can be viewed from different perspectives: creation of employment for those who are directly involved, contribution for agriculture and craft production from those who are indirectly involved and infrastructure development by government using fees collected from the venture. For the purpose of this study, anything related to tourism that could lead to negative impacts in the area was considered as risk and anything related to tourism which could bring benefits improving the livelihoods of the local community, was considered as opportunity.

Regarding the change of their life as a result of tourism implementation, 25 respondents (47%) were not sure, while seven respondents (13%) agreed that the level of life had changed in Madjadjane, meanwhile, 12 respondents (23%) did not agree in addition to seven respondents (13%) that strongly disagreed. In relation to the kind of life changing, 21 percent of respondents said that their level of life had improved; while 60 percent claimed that their life had not improved or worsened. Relative to opportunities associated with tourism in Madjadjane, 28 respondents (53 %) were not sure, 18 respondents (34%) agreed that there are opportunities associated with tourism in Madjadjane, in addition to 2 percent that strongly agreed. Although 70 percent of respondents did not identify the opportunities, amongst those who did, 63 percent considered the distribution of agricultural instruments and seeds as the major opportunity, followed by bee-keeping with 11 percent and job creation with 9 percent of respondents. Finally, while 23 respondents (44 %) were not sure about the risks related to the tourism venture in Madjadjane, ten respondents (18%) agreed that there are risks, in addition to the 14 respondents (26%) that strongly agreed with the existence of risks (Figure 6). Even though 45 percent of respondents did not identify the risks associated with tourism, among those who did, about 40 percent considered the lack of payment of salaries as the major risk, followed by labour conflicts with 11 percent of respondents and mismanagement with 8 percent of respondents. Some of the respondents also claimed that problematic animals, mainly elephants that damage crops in the field constitute a serious risk for subsistence of their households, leading to an increase of poverty in the area.

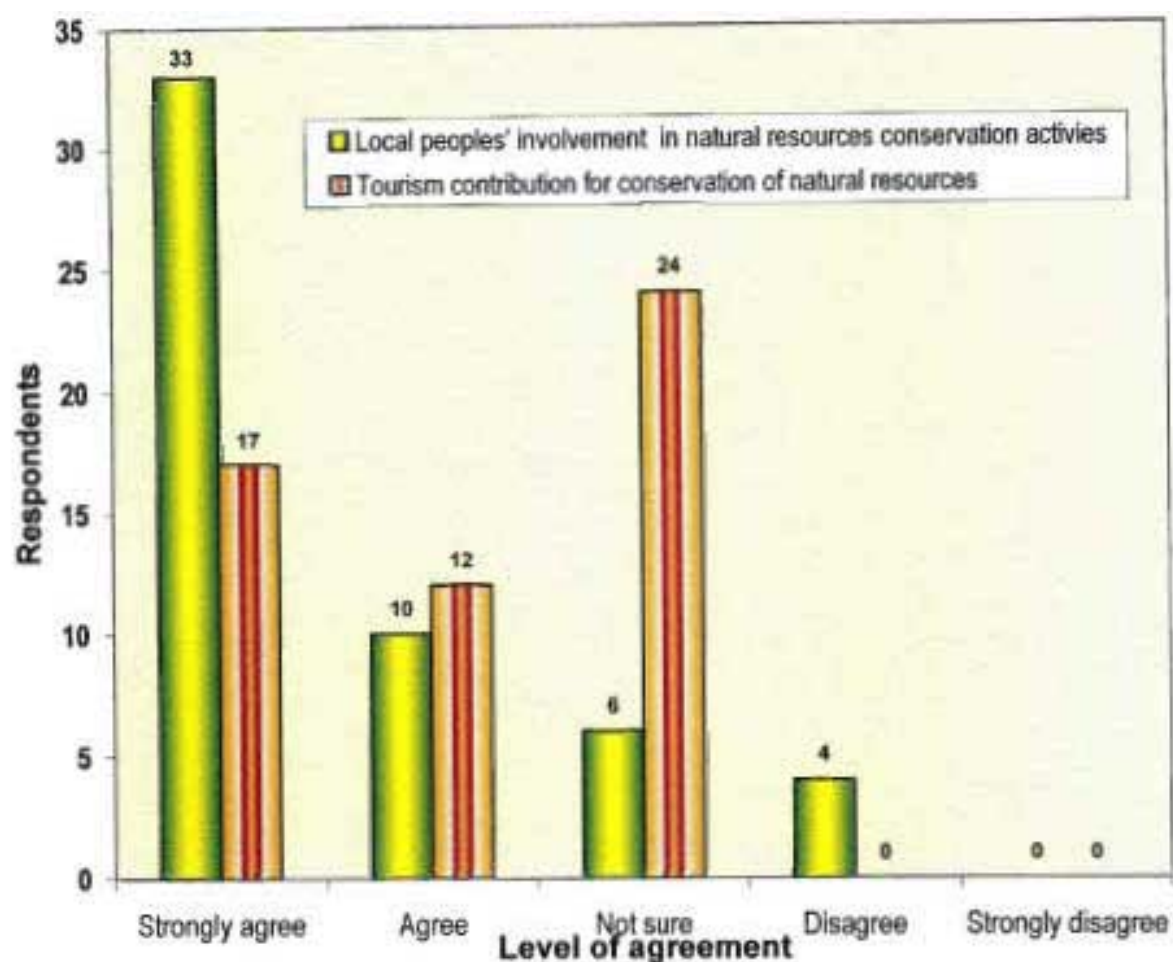
Figure 6: Local people's perceptions of opportunities, risks and the possible change of their level of life as a result of tourism ventures in Madjadjane



Local People's Attitudes toward Conservation and Perceptions about Tourism

Respondents' opinions about their attitudes toward conservation of natural resources and the role of tourism for conservation are illustrated in Figure 7.

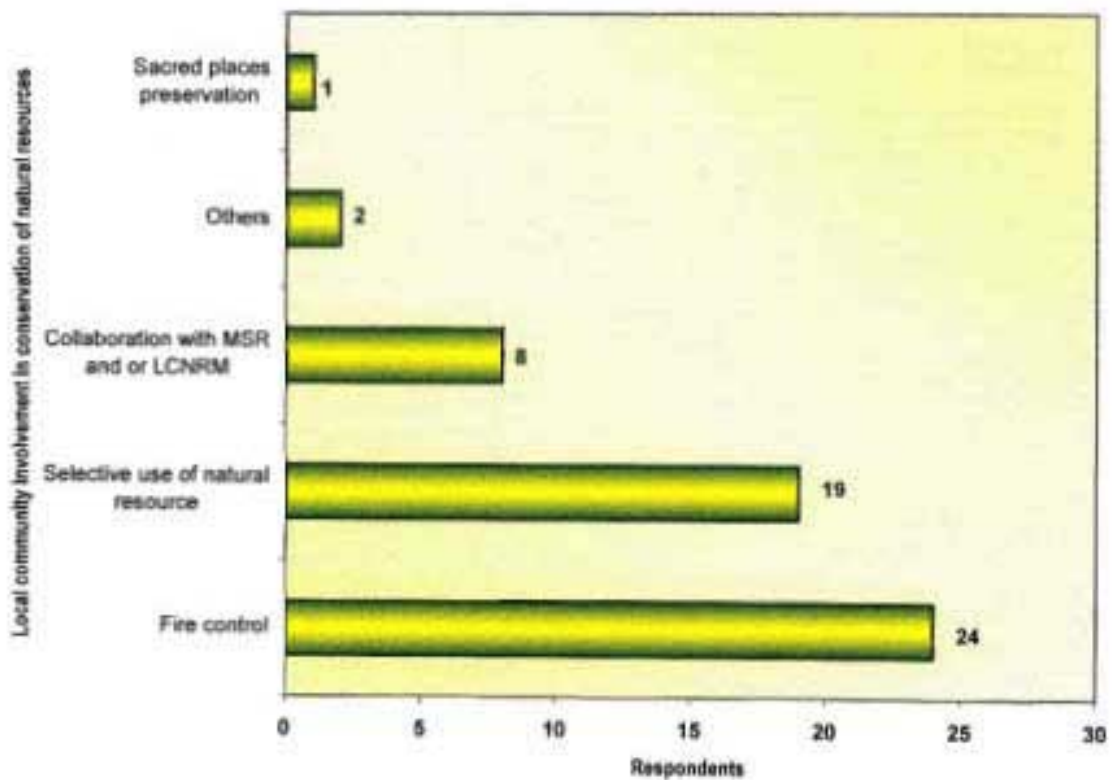
Figure 7: Local people's perceptions of tourism influence in the conservation of natural resources in the area



The majority of respondents (62%) strongly agreed that local community is engaged in activities concerning natural resources conservation, seconded by 19 percent that agreed. In relation to tourism's contribution to conservation of natural resources in the area, 45 percent of respondents were not sure about it, while 31 percent strongly agreed that tourism contributes to the conservation of natural resources in the area, seconded by 23 percent of respondents that agree. No respondent disagreed with the contribution of tourism to the conservation of natural resources. Regarding the way the local community participates in the conservation of natural resources in the area (Figure 8), results show that 45 percent of respondents said that such involvement is through fire control,

followed by 36 percent of respondents who stated that the conservation of natural resources was done through selective use of natural resources and 15 percent stated that local residents are committed to conservation activities as they collaborate with the Maputo Special Reserve management structure and or with the local structure for natural resources management.

Figure 8: Ways local people participate in the conservation of natural resources in Madjadjane



Discussion of the Results

Although it is still too early to tell, considering that tourism activities are recent, results showed that a high level of illiteracy affects the Madjadjane community. Despite the high level of illiteracy, locals have indigenous knowledge and have utilized natural resources as subsistence farmers, and they are struggling to manage their tourism project without any kind of partnership or someone with management skills. This is because this new practice requires a new level of expertise in tourism and business management, marketing, and interaction with the market, amongst others. The gap created due to the lack of such knowledge by locals is one of the biggest problems faced by those who are involved in the tourism venture. Generally, running a business requires constant investment in training with a view to improving particular practices. Limitations to capital investment preclude locals from investing in training, which at the moment constitutes one of the crucial aspects since locals are not skilled enough to run the tourism venture. In other words, an opportunity for growth through empowering its own members is non-existent, and as a result locals will remain without expertise for a long time. These results can be accepted considering that Rogerson (2001b: 109) states that “a key failing is the weakness of tourism entrepreneurial training in many countries.” Also considering that Sihlope (2005), based on the analysis of the Amadiba case, observed that poor performance of community based natural resources management is caused by the failure of community based natural resources enterprises to become financially viable and to demonstrate benefits of conservation to rural communities.

Livelihood Strategies in Madjadjane and Tourism Effects on Livelihood Strategies

Results related to livelihood activities practiced by local residents in Madjadjane showed that respondents directly involved in tourism, and those not directly involved, have as the main livelihood activity small-scale farming. This aspect shows that respondents directly involved in the venture are not earning enough from tourism to sustain their livelihoods, but in general tourism improved livelihood strategies as shown by the emergence of small commercial activities such as handcrafting and bee-keeping, that bring cash income, and honey that is also used for local consumption. For their survival strategies, locals are engaged in many livelihood activities and tourism offers another survival strategy, even though, at this stage, the overall livelihood's levels are still tiny.

Local people's Perceptions of Risks and Opportunities Associated with Tourism in Madjadjane

The majority of respondents were not sure about the risks and opportunities associated with the tourism venture in Madjadjane, which clearly indicates that at the moment, it does not offer perceived opportunities and risks for improvement of local people's livelihoods as well as opportunities and risks that can contribute to the success or failure of the project. There seems to be an apparent misunderstanding between the promoters of this initiative and the tourism group members as the community members expect at least a small salary, because they consider their involvement in cleaning, cooking and other activities as formal employment, while the promoters understand that this involvement is

done on a voluntary basis. This situation influenced the respondents in the consideration of the lack of salary as the major risk faced by the project, as working for no payment does not seem to be an option in the longer term. The lack of management skills is also a serious risk, as it limits the capacity of local people to properly manage their project, which contributes to scarcity of revenues and other benefits. This shows that the venture, although it does not represent risk for livelihoods of local residents, at this stage, it is in danger and probably one of the ways to secure its sustainability is the adoption of new strategies, such as partnerships with the private sector, which could bring business management knowledge. Experiences show that community enterprises are likely to become successful when they are based on partnerships with the private sector and or state and in the majority of cases bring as benefits not only job creation, but also supplemented socio-economic benefits (Rodrigues, 2001) and it is argued that for community based tourism to be sustainable, it should also be economically viable, showing in fact that it can effectively contribute to the well-being of local residents (Wahab and Pigram, 2000; Rozemeijer, *et al*, 2001). Labour conflicts in conjunction with lack of salary in Madjadjane could also lead to discontentment and abandonment of people directly involved in tourism activities.

Relative to the opportunities, respondents pointed out, as the most important benefit obtained, the distribution of agricultural instruments and seeds and instruments for bee-keeping, which in fact are more directly related to the community based natural resource management project, which is the umbrella of the tourism project. This opportunity is not reflected in the improvement of livelihoods, because problematic animals damaged crops

and the local people still face scarcity of food. On the other hand, the absence of a market for selling honey and other products limit the opportunity for cash income, and tourism taking place on a small scale does not offer help for marketing products in Madjadjane.

Livelihood Outcomes

The livelihood outcomes of any livelihood activity are supposed to improve the situation of the participants by providing more income, increased well-being, reduced vulnerability, improved food security and more sustainable use of natural resources. Under the circumstances described above, an improvement in the quality of life could take place at the minimum level. In terms of sustainable use of natural resources, considering that one of the motivations for the establishment of community based natural resources management in 1999 by IUCN was the unsustainable harvesting of natural resources, the project is bringing a positive impact in terms of conservation of natural resources, as local residents seem to be more aware and are engaged in conservation of natural resources. Such a fact constitutes a key benefit from the project.

Considering that the tourism project in Madjadjane is part of a broader community based natural resources management project, the trends that are emerging suggest that in Madjadjane there are problems with the anticipated outcomes, which appear to be in line with Dzingirai and Breen (2005) who stated that in most cases, community based natural resources management, against the expectation, fails to improve rural livelihoods.

Local People's Attitudes toward Conservation and Perceptions about Tourism

The perceptions of respondents regarding the implications of tourism in their livelihoods showed that the majority of respondents are not sure whether tourism will favourably affect their livelihoods and change their lives, as the project has only been on-going since October, 2004 and thus is too short a period to bring perceived benefits. Meanwhile, the majority of respondents stated that locals are engaged in activities related to conservation of natural resources, and tourism plays an important role for conservation of natural resources in the area and preservation of the natural landscape. These results are in accordance with the findings of Baez (1996) in her research in the Monteverde Cloud Forest, where it was seen that tourism played an important role in the conservation of natural resources, not only through generation of revenues and self-financing, but also in regard to the local community's assessment of the value of natural resources. This seems to suggest that although tourism in its initial stage is not improving people's livelihoods in Madjadjane, locals have positive perceptions about the project and have hope that in the long term it can bring positive results into their lives.

CONCLUSIONS

The majority of people in the Madjadjane community are illiterate and women head the majority of households. The livelihood strategies of this community are made out of small-scale farming, crafting, charcoal burning and bee-keeping. The tourism project in Madjadjane is an emerging activity; therefore, it faces management problems, scarcity of

funds and lack of market. The results showed that the tourism project in Madjadjane, along with other small emerging commercial activities, is not yet in a position to effectively improve the livelihoods of local people. There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, the lack of capacity to tackle the management of the business adequately and to transform this kind of project to be favourable to local people. Local communities are, therefore, not able to take full advantage of the opportunities associated with the project and improve their livelihood outcomes. Secondly, the lack of necessary material and financial resources constitutes a serious risk because the potential benefits are not realised, which leads to the conclusion that the tourism project in its current situation is not sustainable, although local people still believe in tourism's potential positive impacts. This study also observed that local people consider the distribution of agricultural instruments and seeds as the major opportunity associated with tourism. The introduction of tourism in Madjadjane improved awareness of sustainable use of natural resources and as a result local residents are engaged in selective use of resources and burning control in order to ensure sustainability of their resources.

Acknowledgements

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6. APPENDICES

6.1 Appendix 1

Questionnaire for data collection and information

- 1-Introduce yourself, ask permission to conduct the interview
- 2-Explain the objectives of the study and inform how the interview will be conducted
- 3-Explain that collected data will be confidential and used only for master dissertation. There will be feed-back

No.: _____ Interviewed coded identification : _____

I-Characterization of the respondents and respondents households

1. Age _____ 2. _____ 3. Nationality _____
- Sex: _____ F _____ M _____
4. Academic level: _____ 5. Marital status: _____
6. Respondent occupation: _____
- 7.1 No. Of people in the household: _____ 7.2. Number of adults: (>60) _____ (16- 60) _____ 7.3 Number of children:(<15) _____

II- Description of the livelihood strategies adopted by households in Madjadjane

8. Identify the activities for your household livelihood _____

- 8.1. Among the activities listed above, choose one with the major contribution for your household livelihood _____
- 8.2 Choose one activity considered the second contributor for your household livelihood _____
- 8.3 Choose another activity considered the third contributor for your livelihood _____
9. Livelihood activities changed since the beginning of tourism in the area
1. Strongly agree _____ 2. Agree _____ 3. Not sure _____ 4. Disagree _____ 5. Strongly disagree _____
- 9.1. Identify livelihood activities for your household before the effect of CBT:

- 9.2 Previous livelihood activities stopped after the beginning of CBT
1. Strongly agree _____ 2. Agree _____ 3. Not sure _____ 4. Disagree _____ 5. Strongly disagree _____
10. In your point of view, will the changes in livelihood strategies be long term?

1. Strongly agree _____ 2. Agree _____ 3. Not sure _____ 4. Disagree _____ 5. Strongly disagree _____

10.1 The expected changes are positive?

1. Strongly agree _____ 2. Agree _____ 3. Not sure _____ 4. Disagree _____ 5. Strongly disagree _____

10.2 Can you please elaborate on your answer? _____

III- Implications determination of CBT on livelihood strategies through an analysis of risks and opportunities

11. Did the introduction of tourism in this area has changed the level of people's life?

1. Strongly agree _____ 2. Agree _____ 3. Not sure _____ 4. Disagree _____ 5. Strongly disagree _____

11.1. The level of people's life in Madjadjane changed to the following situation:

a) Worse _____ ; b) bad _____ c) not bad neither good _____ d) good _____ ; e) very good _____ f) Excellent _____

11.2. Can you elaborate on your answer? _____

12. Do exist opportunities associated to CBT in Madjadjane?

1. Strongly agree _____ 2. Agree _____ 3. Not sure _____ 4. Disagree _____ 5. Strongly disagree _____

12.1. Identify only the first 3 opportunities associated to CTB in Madjadjane considered more important:

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

13. Identify only 3 first measures that would you like to see implemented for better use of opportunities from CTB for livelihood of community in Madjadjane:

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

14. Do risks exist associated to CBT in Madjadjane?

1. Strongly agree _____ 2. Agree _____ 3. Not sure _____ 4. Disagree _____ 5. Strongly disagree _____

14.1. Identify only the first 3 risks associated to CTB in Madjadjane considered more important:

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

14.2. Identify only the first 3 measures that can contribute to minimize risks associated to CTB in Madjadjane:

a) _____

b) _____

c) _____

IV- Assess of people's attitudes regarding conservation and how such attitudes are shaped by CBT

15. Is local community involved in conservation of natural resources?

1. Strongly agree _____ 2. Agree _____ 3. Not sure _____ 4. Disagree _____ 5. Strongly disagree _____

15.1 Can you elaborate your answer? _____

16. What benefits does conservation of natural resources bring to local communities? _____

17. Does CBT contribute for conservation of natural resources?

1. Strongly agree _____ 2. Agree _____ 3. Not sure _____ 4. Disagree _____ 5. Strongly disagree _____

17.1 Can you elaborate your answer? _____

18.
Observations:

The interviewer: _____ place: _____ Date: __/__/2005

6.2 Appendix 2

THE SOUTH AFRICAN GEOGRAPHICAL JOURNAL

STYLESHEET FOR CONTRIBUTORS

Authors **must** adhere to the style as laid out here when preparing manuscripts for submission to the *Journal*. Failure to do so will delay refereeing and publication. Note: S.I. units must be used throughout; tables should be appended on separate sheets; a separate list of figure captions must precede the figures; and figures should be appended on separate sheets. Figures must be clear and legible for reproduction at single column width; computer graphics of high quality are only acceptable if the linework and lettering is comparable to conventional productions.

The first page of the typescript should contain the title of the paper and the name(s) and full address(es) of the author(s) in the style shown eg:

RAINFALL AND AGRICULTURE IN THE EASTERN CAPE, 1900-1994

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The second page must repeat the title of the paper, followed by an **abstract** of approximately 100-200 words in which the principal findings of the research should appear.

RAINFALL AND AGRICULTURE IN THE EASTERN CAPE, 1900-1994

Abstract

Climatological records show dramatic variability of rainfall in South Africa as a whole during the twentieth century. In theory, agricultural productivity should match these variations, a proposition that is tested with specific reference to crop yields in the eastern Cape. Strong associations do indeed exist between rainfall patterns and agricultural activity. Other changes, such as variations in farm size and farming technologies, appear to exert little effect.

The introduction (and subsequent text) must be typed in double-spacing. The introduction should not contain any subheadings. Leave a space between paragraphs. References to be cited as shown. List citations in ascending date order, and alphabetically within the same year. One or more publications by an author in the same year must be distinguished by appending letters a, b, c to the citations. Main headings should be in bold type.

Introduction

Throughout the history, human activity on the land has been governed by the availability of water. In all the available historical research, however, little attention has been given to quantitative estimates of the precise relationship between Furthermore, in South Africa, data are now available for the first time which allow detailed examination of the effect of changes in farming practices on crop yields.

In their discussion the historical geography of agriculture, both Smith (1977) and Andrews (1978) show a keen awareness of the climatological constraints ...

Indent and punctuate particular points as shown, and designate alphabetically. The expression *et al.* is used when the work of more than two authors of one work is being cited. Use 'n.d.' to show that a work has no publishing date. Footnoted material to be marked with a superscript.

Rainfall Variability in South Africa

The principal rainfall variations in South Africa have been studied only recently (Reed, 1994). Preliminary screening of climatological data in Southern Africa by Deane (1980, 1983b) shows that numerous sites in the eastern Cape are subject to extreme variations (Fig. 1). Data on precipitation at selected mission stations in the nineteenth century show that:

- (a) rainfall was heaviest in summer;
- (b) rainfall exhibited great variations within decades¹; and
- (c) yields varied in concert with rainfall, with a lag of several months (Parker *et al.*, n.d.).

These findings differ markedly from those reported in the study undertaken ten years ago during storm conditions (Brown, 1986), but approximate those made by Gill (1989).

Type subheadings in italics, aligned with the left margin of text. Avoid placing subheadings directly after a main heading. Refer to Figures and Tables as shown. Quantities less than ten should be expressed verbally, otherwise numerically.

Agriculture in the Eastern Cape

Information pertaining to crop yields at 1 117 Cape farms disclose a strong geographical variation which is best understood in terms of two major regions.

The Northern District

The two most distinctive features of yields in this part of the country are ... (Figs 2 and 3). Altogether, ten percent of the crop yields ... Precipitation at each of the stations shows a very pronounced diurnal variation (Table 1). Early morning and early evening patterns are similar excepting at land lying higher than 1 000 m, but at all other times ...

The Southern District

There are three notable components evident in the eastern zones of the study area (Deane, 1993a). As suggested elsewhere (Francis, 1977, 1978) these accord well with observations that ...

Direct quotations should be cited using double inverted commas and must contain a page(s) reference. Direct quotations which are more than three lines in length should be inset from both margins and typed in single spacing without inverted commas. Avoid ending a paragraph with a long direct quotation.

Rainfall-Agriculture Relationships

In her landmark study, Tessig (1965, p.89) proposed that in dry areas especially, regional studies of arable and pastoral activity which failed to attend to climatic constraints were 'a charade'. Others have made the same argument (Yelch, 1962; Bore, 1988), although Tedious (1977, pp. 286-287) has noted that:

Direct links between climate and agriculture are never proven absolutely until the likely mediating affect of human agency can also be ascertained, and this is the true challenge facing interdisciplinary research science today.

Taking these various opinions into account, and bearing in mind the well known warning given in 1902 by a Government minister,² who ...

Equations should be laid out as shown below:

The relationship between rainfall and production of maize may be expressed as follows:

$$P = 1,53R + 0,86T \quad (1)$$

where P is production in tonnes ha⁻¹, R is January-March rainfall in mm, and T is a measure of technology levels (Gill, 1989).

Do not introduce new material in the conclusion, and do not use point form in this section.

Acknowledgements should follow immediately after the text.

Conclusion

In the eastern Cape during the twentieth century the nature of agricultural activity correlates extremely strongly with patterns of rainfall. On the one hand, ... On the other hand, ...

Taking into account the major differences pinpointed in the Cape region, it is reasonable to suppose that...

Acknowledgements

Grateful thanks are due to M.J. Mouse who drew the maps, and to the Dollar Foundation which provided financial support for the research. The conclusions reached are solely those of the authors.

Footnotes should be kept to a minimum and must be collected numerically at the end of the typescript. Use small superscript digits to number the notes, and indent the text of the notes. Notes should be used for archival references and **not** as a device for elaborating the text or making asides.

Notes

¹ Central Archives Depot, Pretoria (CAD), Department of Agriculture (DA) 468 (12/345): Memoranda concerning production of grain in the colonies, March 1976 - December 1993

² CAD, DA 469 (47/521): Minister of Lands to Prime Minister, 12 October 1902

³ *Ibid.*, 9 December 1902.

The reference list

The reference list is **not** a bibliography and must contain only material which is cited in the text. **Complete information should be provided for every reference.** Organise the references alphabetically without numbering. The initials of authors and/or editors must appear behind the surname(s). Use the convention 'Anon.' to refer to unknown authors. Do not use '*et al.*' in the reference list. Date of publication must appear as in the examples. Punctuate all material exactly as shown. The only words which are capitalised in the titles of journal articles are proper nouns. The titles of journals should **not** be abbreviated. Book and periodical titles should be italicised. Volume numbers must be included for journals, but part numbers should only be used if the pagination in successive issues is not sequential. The names of book publishers and city/town of publication must be included. Monographs and dissertations/theses to be cited in the style shown. Leave a blank line between references.

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Sample figure and table captions

These should be presented on separate sheets immediately preceding the figures.

Figure Captions

Figure 1: The spatial variation of rainfall off the east coast in the summer of 1949 (from Wetty, 1954).

Figure 2: The geography of crop yields.

Figure 3: Rainfall - crop yield relationships, 1944-1954.

Table Captions

Table 1: Farm size classification in the Cape, 1956-1978 (Source: South Africa (Republic), 1976).