Political Ecology of Development In South Africa’s Wild Coast: Exploring Stakeholder Arguments for and Against Possible Development Strategies

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Geography
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Abstract

Characterized by scenic beauty and biodiversity, yet impoverished peoples, the Wild Coast of South Africa lies at a development crossroads, whereby various land-use proposals offer different outcomes. This thesis sought to analyze various stakeholder arguments in support of development strategies, especially involving the local people and environment. Based on a document analysis and interviews, the predominant development strategies supported were small community development initiatives (SCDIs) and tourism, supported by NGOs, and mining, supported by the private sector yet opposed by NGOs. A major finding was that while government outlines many development “objectives”, successful results are negligible, suggesting that this sector is an overall ineffective determinant for Wild Coast development. NGO and private sectors provided valid arguments in support of their strategies, leaving the researcher to conclude that means of collaboration should be determined in order to best develop the Wild Coast (via SCDIs, tourism, and mining) and improve local livelihoods.
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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1. Problem Statement

The region known as the Wild Coast, spanning 300 kilometers of South Africa’s East coast, is often labeled as one of the “world’s most spectacular coastlines” (Costello & De Villiers, 2006). The Wild Coast’s rugged and beautiful scenery is home to a range of diverse ecosystems, including aquatic, wetland, grassland, and forest ecosystems, which contain hundreds of endemic, as well as unique species of plants, some still “waiting to be discovered” (Neville, 2004). Such biodiversity within the Wild Coast’s “Pondoland Centre of endemism” has enabled its categorization as a “biodiversity hotspot” – one of only 235 such hotspots worldwide, where exceptional concentrations of endemic species exist (Bennie, 2010; Kepe, 2010). With endless sandy beaches and over 20 remarkable and massive waterfalls, there is no denying the scenic beauty of the Wild Coast (Kepe, 2010).

Amongst the pristine and spectacular natural landscape of the region lies a challenge – that is, by modern day standards, the Wild Coast is not developed, and remains an impoverished region. It is estimated that of the Wild Coast’s 440,000 residents, 80% live in poverty, with an unemployment rate of 67% (Costello & De Villiers, 2006; Kepe, 2010). A number of factors contribute to the conditions of poverty within the area, including lack of access to clean water, inadequate health care, and a poorly run education system. Moreover, little investment has gone toward improving the region’s infrastructure (e.g. electricity, roads, etc.), making transportation difficult, as the majority of roads are gravel and extremely rugged (Dellier & Guyot, 2009). Thus, visions of paradise due to the scenic beauty of the Wild Coast are in stark contrast to the
presence of low standards of living and high death rates that are characteristic of undeveloped regions (Ricklefs, 2005). For those inhabitants whose shortened lives are a harsh reality, the Wild Coast is no paradise. Instead, it is the land on which they struggle to live, and not the land that provides a substantial living. Henceforth, the question remains, how can this beautiful, resource rich land provide a better source of livelihood for its people?

With its rich environment and impoverished peoples, a number of development discourses have manifested surrounding the Wild Coast throughout past few decades, each with its own set of proponents, whether it be government departments or outside actors, or both. No matter what the form of proposed development or who is proposing it, the marketed intention is generally the betterment of the lives of the local peoples – development as a means to lift them out of their current state of poverty (Langton, 2008; Mutemerì & Petersen, 2002; Yako, 2008). With low standards of living and poverty still rampant, the extent to which these intentions are true, is questionable. It is this source of contestation, of investigating the motives and arguments of those who promote different types of development, that I wish to explore. For it is these past, current, and potential forms of development, or lack there of, that have shaped, and will continue to shape, the landscapes of the Wild Coast, and thus the lives of its peoples.

Prior to exploring the arguments of the actors endorsing different types of development discourse, it is crucial to identify and examine just what forms of development are being encouraged. The support for the different development ideologies means that the future of the Wild Coast lies at a crossroads, where different proposals would mean different outcomes for the land and its inhabitants, including both human and animal or plant populations. These potentially different outcomes can have impacts that vary dramatically. For instance, there are those who support the continuation of the region’s emphasis on conservation, and who promote ecotourism
as a means of economic development and environmental sustainability (Costello & De Villiers, 2006). Arguments for this form of development include the protection of the region’s endemic plant species, as well as ecotourism’s provision of “green jobs” (Bennie, 2011; DuPlessis, 2008). On the other hand, mining of the Wild Coast’s sand dunes has also been proposed as a means of economic development. The coast’s massive sand dunes are speculated to contain high concentrations of base metals (Gosling, 2004), such as aluminum and copper, which are invaluable to the global economy and widely used for commercial and industrial purposes (“Market Review: Base Metals”, 2010). The extraction and sale of these metals could draw investment into the area, and also provide a large number of employment opportunities (Xinhua News Agency, 2011). However, mining would mean the destruction of the lush vegetation that covers the sand dunes, including a number of endemic plant species (Seccombe, 2011). The loss of this source of biodiversity is just one of the arguments against the mining of the Wild Coast of South Africa, contributing to the highly contested nature of “development” in the region.

It is important to examine the different forms of development that could dramatically affect the Wild Coast, and to understand who is making these arguments and why. Research that examines development discourse is useful in determining how the poor and their environments may be affected by certain changes, and how development can contribute to increasing their overall wellbeing (Downey, Bonds, & Clark, 2010; Hallowes & Butler, 2002). In previous analyses, development discourses have been exclusively examined for their potential impact on a particular area, including a small number of research projects that have examined impacts of certain singular forms of development on the Wild Coast, such as biodiversity conservation alone (Kepe, 2010) or mining alone (Bennie, 2011). However, for the sake of the Wild Coast and its peoples, it is important to continue to research the different modus operandi of stakeholders that may impact local livelihoods. Moreover, it is important to study the different possibilities of
development, and the arguments being made for each, in unison, so that they may be appropriately compared. Previous studies provide useful insight into historical implications of singular environmental or developmental discourse on the Wild Coast (Bennie, 2011; Kepe, 2010; Costello & De Villiers, 2006). However, it is necessary to consolidate a wide range of information in order to better understand the different contemporary dilemmas surrounding development of the Wild Coast, keeping in mind various stakeholders, their arguments, and potential impact on the poor.

1.2. Research Aim and Objectives

Overall, the purpose of this thesis is to identify and assess the current and potential forms of development that are being promoted in South Africa’s Wild Coast. In order to address this goal, the research will be centred around the following questions:

- What are the predominant development discourses being supported for the Wild Coast; who supports or opposes each discourse; and what are their main arguments?

- How are local people and environmental notions featured in the arguments for and against the particular development strategies for the Wild Coast?

- What might the implications of the research findings be for policy and research?

In seeking to answer the research questions, research methods will involve a document analysis and interviews. The data collection will begin with a document analysis of government documents, websites, newspaper clippings, books, journal articles, and any other literary sources that may discuss proposals for forms of development of the Wild Coast. During the document
analysis process, key stakeholders will be identified, selected, and contacted in order to arrange interviews. Semi-structured interviews with key informants over Skype, the telephone, or email will supplement the information from the document analysis, providing more extensive and direct answers to the research questions than the document analysis alone.

It is important to note that this research takes place in a region where issues of contemporary development are inseparable from the nation’s political history. All realms of South African development, including economic, cultural, and political realms, are characterized by the recently dissolved apartheid regime, and the vast racial inequalities and disparities it caused, which persist today. Therefore, prior to the case study, a literature review was conducted, beginning with a discussion of South Africa’s political-historical context and the current state of poverty in South Africa. The literature review then continues to explore the underlying themes relevant to this thesis, by examining development discourse, especially surrounding poverty reduction in South Africa, as well as natural resources.

In addition to the topics listed above, the literature review provides a discussion on recent debates within the field of political ecology. Political ecology seeks to unravel the political forces at work in environmental access, management, and transformation, with the goal of understanding the complex relations between nature and society (Robbins, 2004), and involves contextual analysis of multiple scales of influence (Kepe, Bissounette, & Roberts, 2008). The goals of political ecology are a good fit for this thesis, which seeks to explore the impact of stakeholders’ decisions surrounding development of the Wild Coast – decisions influencing environmental management and local people’s environmental access. Henceforth, this thesis draws from political ecology as a useful framework to understand power structures and influences affecting development discourse, peoples, and the environment of the Wild Coast.
1.3. Significance of Research

This research is of importance for the Wild Coast and its inhabitants, as it explores the possible development strategies that can greatly impact human livelihoods and/or environmental wellbeing. Development is an important issue for the Wild Coast – a landscape rich in natural beauty, biodiversity, and resources, where communities remain impoverished. By executing a case study of the Wild Coast, the objectives of this research can contribute to a practical body of knowledge for the region’s decision makers, whom oversee issues of development. The aim of this thesis is to provide insight into the arguments in support of the proposed development strategies for the area. In turn, the research aims to contribute toward more informed development approaches, increasing awareness for regional decision makers and local peoples alike, going forward in improving their own standard of living, while considering the Wild Coast’s fragile environment.

In this research, the singular topic of “development” is significant as it involves the intersection of a number of other pertinent topics. By researching the possible development of the Wild Coast, this thesis encompasses discussions of resource management, environmental sustainability, and human livelihood, amongst other important contemporary subjects. Moreover, all the intersecting topics are cast upon a setting with an exceptional political history, which further complicates issues of development, contributing the complexity and significance of the research. This research aims to examine how this complex context and opinions surrounding development have shaped stakeholder’s arguments toward development strategies, which in turn may impact local livelihoods and the environment. Some of the answers to the research questions are presented in the information that is provided upfront, such as the arguments toward development that are marketed to local peoples and the general public. However, the research
aims to contribute additional information that is more hidden from the public, by seeking to understand the arguments for development discourse using intensive research and interviews. Moreover, the research objectives address stakeholder consideration of the local peoples; local peoples may be marginalized from decision making, yet are the most vulnerable to the implementation of development discourse and the subsequent changes to their land and/or access to resources. Therefore, the research is significant in delving into a very complex, multi-faceted issue, and seeking in-depth information pertaining to stakeholders, and their visions that can affect local peoples.

By drawing from the political ecology framework, this thesis considers a wide range of contextual factors for the Wild Coast and how these factors influence stakeholder arguments for development strategies. The political ecology framework, whereby multiple influences and power structures are considered, encourages an analysis of multiple development proposals and their possible impacts on the rural poor. As noted, previous studies have examined outcomes of singular forms of development discourse, such as ecotourism or agricultural employment alone (Ashley & Ntshona, 2003; Hajdu, 2005), however it is important to analyze different development strategies in unison so that they can effectively be compared. By consolidating and comparing findings in regard to the various forms of development being proposed for the Wild Coast, the goals of this research are also to examine how the existence of different development proposals, supported by various stakeholders and sectors, may influence each other once they are implemented. That is, this thesis also examines interactions between different stakeholders and the development strategies that they support, and how these interactions may play out on the ground. Findings from this research could therefore inform policy on both poverty reduction and environmental management for areas similar to the Wild Coast in South Africa and beyond.
Although this is a regional case study, it is ideal that this research can obtain significance beyond the Wild Coast, to other locations in South Africa, and perhaps internationally. The possibility of externalizing the findings lies in the circumstances and issues that yield this particular research topic – phenomena that occur in areas beyond the confinements of the Wild Coast. For example, South Africa’s unique political history, characterized by the racially segregating apartheid regime, amongst a number of other social factors, plays a crucial role in contemporary matters of national or regional development. As mentioned, these contextual factors are of major consideration during the research process. Therefore, with the consideration of historical and cultural factors affecting development across South Africa at the forefront of this research, this case study on the Wild Coast seeks contextual relevance beyond its own regional boundaries, to other similar cases across the nation. Additionally, the research problem investigated in this thesis – whereby a land rich in natural resources yet inhabited by impoverished peoples faces a crossroads of development – is a phenomenon not limited to the geographical boundaries of the Wild Coast. Instead, it is a phenomenon being faced in undeveloped regions across the globe. Hence, by examining development discourses, which may directly impact the peoples and the landscapes of the Wild Coast, this thesis seeks to contribute to a body of knowledge that applies to undeveloped regions of both South Africa and the world, where similar circumstances and contestations involving future development occur.

1.4. Chapter Overview

Following this introduction, Chapter Two discusses the research design, which is a case study of the Wild Coast, and elaborates on the research methods of document analysis and semi-structured interviews that were employed in order to answer the research questions. Chapter Three presents a literature review, and begins with a discussion of the state of poverty in South
Africa, especially as shaped by the legacy of apartheid. This chapter also reviews debates pertinent to this research, surrounding development discourse, poverty reduction in South Africa, natural resources, and political ecology. Chapter Four presents the research findings from both the document analysis and the interviews, and presents the stakeholder arguments for development strategies by sector (NGOs, government, and private industry). Finally, Chapter Five serves as the discussion and conclusion. This chapter reexamines the most significant findings from Chapter Four, especially as they relate to the debates surrounding the research topics discussed in Chapter Three. Chapter Five will conclude by re-iterating the most significant issues surrounding the development of the Wild Coast, and will consider how these findings can contribute to the body of knowledge surrounding development discourse and can inform policy-makers and stakeholders in the Wild Coast.
Chapter Two: Research Design

2.1. Introduction

This Chapter begins by discussing the case study region in order to provide insight into the general context of both the Wild Coast and the Eastern Cape Province\(^1\). Following an overview of the case study region, this Chapter discusses the qualitative case study research design, followed by the sampling strategy, as well as an explanation of the research methods – document analysis and semi-structured interviews. Finally, this chapter reviews the limitations of the study and the issues of ethics and positionality surrounding the research.

2.2. The Eastern Cape

Situated in southeast South Africa, the Eastern Cape Province (see Figure 1) covers approximately 170,600 square kilometers of land, representing 13.9% of South Africa’s total land mass (Sokupa, 2004). Bordering the temperate Indian Ocean, the province spans over 820 kilometers of coastline, encompassing spectacular “sandy beaches, rocky coves, secluded lagoons and towering cliffs” (SA Info Reporter, 2011). The province’s current boundaries were formed in 1994, as a unification of the eastern portion of the Cape Province with the previously "independent" Xhosa homelands (Bantustans/reserves) of Transkei and Ciskei (Kobokana, 2007). The Eastern Cape Province is now made up of two metropolitan municipalities (Buffalo City and Nelson Mandela Bay) and six district municipalities (Alfred Nzo, Amathole, Cacadu, Chris Hani, O.R. Tambo, and Joe Gqabi), with a total human population of approximately 6.75

\(^1\) While this Chapter discusses the case study area on a regional and provincial level, a discussion of contextual factors related to South Africa as a whole is included as part of the literature review in Chapter Three.
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million. IsiXhosa is the predominant language, spoken by 83.4% of the population, followed by Afrikaans and then English (SA Info Reporter, 2011). The capital city of the Eastern Cape, Bisho, is located 60 kilometers from East London, one of the Eastern Cape’s three port cities, along with Port Elizabeth and Ngqura (SA Info Reporter, 2011) (see provincial map Figure 2).

Figure 1. Map of the Eastern Cape highlighted within South Africa, (SA Info Reporter, 2011).
The Eastern Cape Province is the hub of South Africa's automotive industry, with automotive manufacturing playing an important role for the economies of Port Elizabeth and East London. According to South Africa Info Online (2011), with three airports and “excellent road and rail infrastructure, the province has been earmarked as a key area for growth and economic development”. However, this enthusiastic outlook found on a website sponsored by the South African government is in stark contrast to the statistics that appear elsewhere. For instance, more than two-thirds of the Eastern Cape households are below the poverty line, and 32% are unemployed (Dellier & Guyot, 2009). According to the Eastern Cape State of the Environment Report (2004), the relatively high rural population, low literacy rates, and low employment rates are factors that contribute to the Eastern Cape’s affliction of poverty, and its rank as the poorest province in South Africa. Hence, in South Africa’s poorest province, development becomes an important matter, in that it carries the possibilities of economic growth and improvements in the

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2 Map supplied by the researcher’s supervisor, Dr. Thembela Kepe.
standard of living. In researching development proposals for areas of the Eastern Cape, the Wild Coast is an exemplary case study region, and is described in the following section.

2.3. The Wild Coast

The Wild Coast of the Eastern Cape, South Africa, provides an exemplary region for a case study on development discourse. This section discusses the physical and demographic characteristics of the area in order to clarify its embodiment of an array of ecosystems and biodiversity, as well as its poverty-stricken peoples who hope for better living conditions. The Wild Coast (Figure 3) covers approximately 300 kilometers of coastline in the north area of the Eastern Cape, stretching between the Great Kei River and the Mtamvuna river, and consisting of seven municipalities (Dellier & Guyot, 2009). The region’s climate is temperate and humid; average daily temperatures vary between 17°C to 28°C in summer and 9°C to 21°C in winter, and mean annual rainfall exceeds 1000 millimeters (Bennie, 2011).
The Wild Coast is internationally renowned for its botanical endowments. In fact, parts of the Wild Coast are within the Pondoland centre of endemism – one of the world’s 235 such biodiversity hotspots (Kepe, 2010). The endemic botanic species that contribute to the classification as a biodiversity hotspot are found within the Wild Coast’s grasslands and forests, which together are home to more than 200 endemic plant species (Neville, 2004). Moreover, covering 80% of the Wild Coast, grasslands are the predominant form of land cover. Their expansive scenic beauty is enhanced by sporadic wildlife and domestic livestock such as cattle, sheep and goats. The area’s forests include “70,000 ha of demarcated indigenous forests in 1300
unconsolidated forest patches,” representing the largest area of indigenous forest left on the southeast coast of Africa (Dellier & Guyot, 2009). The Wild Coast’s forested land includes the extremely species rich Northern Coastal Forest, which cover the coastal planes and dunes (Gosling, 2004).

In addition to grasslands and forests, the Wild Coast contains estuaries and wetlands. The rivers that run through the Wild Coast create estuaries where they meet the coastline, which contain “a relatively high, but varying number of fish species, ranging from 13 to 21” (Bennie, 2011, p. 48). The Wild Coast also harbours a number of wetlands, which play an important role in linking terrestrial and aquatic ecosystems, as well as providing a number of significant functions for nearby villagers. For instance, wetlands provide nearby inhabitants with a source of water supply, cultivation, irrigation, and natural resources, such as the vegetation used for making the reed mats that line huts (Neville, 2004).

Notably, with its immense biodiversity, especially within the areas of the Pondoland centre of endemism – the second most species rich floristic region in South Africa – the Wild Coast is included in South Africa’s National Biodiversity Strategy and Action Plan as a priority area for biodiversity conservation (Sokupa, 2004). However, biodiversity conservation for the Wild Coast is challenged by proposals to develop the area. These proposals include the extension the region’s main road (the N2) to include a coastal route, as well as proposals to mine the mineral-rich coastal sand dunes (Figure 4), which are covered in lush vegetation, including some endemic species (Brazier, 2011). However, it is important to note the spatial context of these different development proposals on the Wild Coast. The sand dune mining would take place right along the coast (for instance, up to 300 meters inland), while the entirety of the Wild Coast region stretches approximately 16 kilometers inland to include forested areas, wetlands, and grasslands.
that provide possibilities for various land uses (Dellier & Guyot, 2009). Furthermore, the current proposal to mine that is presented and discussed in the upcoming sections is for an area that covers about 40 kilometers of the Wild Coast’s 300-kilometer coastline. Henceforth, the Wild Coast contains enough space for multiple development strategies to exist without overlapping. Nonetheless, with different means of development being proposed for the region, the future of the Wild Coast’s natural environment can be greatly impacted, as well as the livelihoods of its local peoples.

Figure 4. Sand dune on the Wild Coast. This photograph was taken during the researcher’s trip to the Wild Coast (Jan, 2012), and is used here to demonstrate how these land features appear along the coast.
The Wild Coast is one of the poorest areas in the Eastern Cape, which is the poorest of South Africa’s nine provinces (Kepe, 2010). Local culture in the Wild Coast involves living under a traditional authority, or local chief (Wild Coast forum, 2012). Furthermore, the region’s inhabitants are predominantly rural villagers, as well native isiXhosa speakers. Most homes consist of corrugated metal or are mud huts, and do not have electricity. Villagers’ livelihoods are heavily reliant on surrounding natural resources, such as for building materials and subsistence purposes. Part of the local peoples’ traditional lifestyle includes use of their surrounding land for agricultural purposes and subsistence farming including that of vegetables and fruit, as well as livestock such as cattle and sheep. Sources of livelihoods include “migrant remittances, state welfare grants or pensions and agriculture; commuter employment; skilled labour; beer brewing and small groceries sales; kin dependency, together with piece jobs and trade in plant materials” (Kepe & Whande, 2009, p. 111).

As noted, the majority the Wild Coast’s people are impoverished (Costello & De Villiers, 2006). A number of factors contribute to the conditions of poverty within the area, including lack of access to clean water, electricity, health care, and schools. For instance, it is estimated that 27% of the population have received no formal education, and that 0.8% have completed Grade 12 (Bennie, 2011). Furthermore, 46% of the total population is younger than 15 (Bennie, 2011) – a demographic trend characteristic of low standard of living, along with high birth rates, high death rates, and low life expectancy. The Wild Coast lacks developed infrastructure and services, which can partially be attributed to the fact that the region is part of the former Transkei Bantustan. Bantustans, also known as native reserves, received negligible government support and investment throughout the duration of the apartheid era, leaving these areas especially deprived of developments such as infrastructure, electricity, and clean water (Kepe, 2010; Dowden, 2009).
The stark contrast of the Wild Coast’s scenic beauty yet poor peoples was experienced first hand by the researcher during a research trip to the Eastern Cape and the Wild Coast area from December 2011 to January 2012 (Figure 5). This initial trip to South Africa was for the purpose of conducting another study on rural land use, for which the researcher of this thesis was a research assistant. During the visit to the Wild Coast, the importance of development for the area became evident through the surroundings and local people’s expressed concerns in regard to issues such as lack of food, electricity, and access to clean water (see example of dwelling Figure 6). Not only did local people express their hopes for successful development, but many also noted their frustrations with their area being marginalized from government investment, and claimed to have experienced false hope due to the guarantees of previous government development strategies that were never implemented or were not successful. As such, gainful insight into the topic of the thesis and the case study region was gathered through the researchers first hand experience in the area.
Figure 5. Photograph demonstrating scenic beauty and culture of the Wild Coast. This photograph was taken during the researcher’s visit to the Wild Coast (Jan, 2012), and captures local people selling corn to passers-by.
Thus, with pervasive poverty and poor infrastructure, and as one of the poorest regions in the poorest province of South Africa, prospects of development become very important for the Wild Coast, and it is critical to determine what is best for its peoples. At the same time, prospective forms of economic development for the region could involve modifications to the natural environment, such as through sand dune mining, which opposes the previously noted goals of biodiversity conservation. Hence, the Wild Coast lies at a crossroads, as an impoverished region, whereby economic development may come at the expense of its biodiversity. The following section describes the research process that has been designed in order to conduct an examination of the development strategies being proposed for the Wild Coast.
2.4. Research Methodology

The remaining portion of this Chapter details the research methodology employed in this thesis, as well as explanations for the selections of the particular design and methods. As such, this section describes the reasoning behind the use of a case study, while upcoming sections (2.5-2.7) elaborate on the qualitative research methods of a document analysis and semi-structured interviews that were employed, as well as the sampling technique. Finally, this Chapter explains the limitations of the case study and methodology that were faced by the researcher during parts of the research process, and this is followed by a discussion concerning ethics and positionality.

The goal of this research was to investigate the development strategies being proposed for the Wild Coast, as well as to examine the arguments in support or opposition of these strategies from various stakeholders. Since the area being examined represents a singular region, the research design selected for this thesis was a case study. Case studies involve a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case (Bryman, Teevan, & Bell, 2009), and allow for focus on specific relationships and processes that occur within a natural setting (Denscombe, 2007). Therefore, the information collected during the research process was used to develop a case study in order to best address the objectives of this research project.

Furthermore, since the research aims to evaluate stakeholder arguments, that is, the reasoning behind the development strategies they support, a qualitative research methodology was employed. Qualitative methods were the most suitable for the research goals, as they provide means of determining explanations for certain relationships and processes (Scheyvens & Storey, 2006) – in this case the development strategies being supported and the explanations for this support, as well as the possible impacts of these proposed development processes. Using
qualitative methods, the content obtained throughout the research process was reviewed for its key themes relative to the objectives. The qualitative methods employed were a document analysis and semi-structured interviews, which are described following the next section’s discussion of the sampling technique.

2.5 Sampling

The sampling method for this research was a combination of both purposive and snowball techniques. The combination of the two sampling methods allowed for the researcher to seek out the most relevant and knowledgeable stakeholders in order to participate in the semi-structured interviews. These stakeholders from NGO, government, and private sectors were identified throughout the document analysis as well as through personal advice from colleagues who know the area and its issues. Stakeholders were deemed relevant to the research based on findings of this preliminary document research, such as by an organization’s plans to develop a part of the Wild Coast being quoted in a newspaper or on a website. After creating a list of stakeholders and their available contact information, each organization was contacted with the goal of setting up an interview with a representative (see Appendix A, Sample Recruitment Email). In this way, purposive sampling was used, since stakeholders were selected based on their direct relevance to the research (Bryman et al., 2009). Furthermore, if responses to emails and subsequent interviews were achieved, a snowball sampling technique was employed, whereby respondents were asked to direct the researcher to any other possible participants (Denscombe, 2007) involved in the development of the Wild Coast. By employing these techniques, interviews with participants actively involved the development of the Wild Coast were still rather difficult to obtain, and the sample size for the interviews ended up being ten. As such, the vast majority of
the data was gathered through the document analysis, which is described in the following Section.

### 2.6 Document Analysis

The research methodology first involved a document analysis, whereby a number of literary sources were reviewed in order to: i) identify key organizations involved the development of the Wild Coast and ii) gather important information surrounding these organizations, their roles in the region, and the development strategies that they support. **A total of 13 organizations/agencies were included in the document analysis.** Documents included websites, newspaper clippings, books, academic journals, and any other literary sources that may indicate proposals and/or arguments for forms of development of the Wild Coast. Further documents were referred to or provided by interview participants, including calendars, posters, and, most importantly, government policy documents. Government policy documents provided the majority of information in regard to the government sector’s development goals, especially since interviews with members of most of the important government departments were unobtainable. The government policy documents played an important role in the document analysis and overall conclusions of the thesis, and while many were included in the document analysis, the most pertinent documents and their descriptions are discussed in Section 4.3 (government sector findings) and listed in Table 4 of that Section.

The document analysis supplied a broad range of information from a vast array of literary sources, which was organized and analyzed for key themes, and provided a substantial aggregation of findings that could be used to answer the research questions. However, in order to supplement these findings, a second research method was employed. The purpose of employing
two research methods was to increase the range of data analyzed, and to increase validity of the results (Creswell, 2003) as opposed to the document analysis. The second research method used was semi-structured interviews, described below.

2.7. Semi-Structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the selected research method used to supplement the document analysis. This method was chosen since interviews provide the researcher with the opportunity to gather up-to-date and direct answers from participants in regard to the research questions (Scheyvens & Storey, 2006). The entire interview process, including the recruitment of interviewees, subscribed to the protocol outlined and approved for this research by the University of Toronto’s Ethics Review Board. This process of recruiting and conducting interviews is described here.

Following the identification of stakeholders throughout the document analysis process, recruitment emails were sent to organizations with the request of setting up an interview with a representative. Responses to the recruitment emails, or lack there of, indicated willingness to participate in an interview or not. This form of purposive sampling, as well as additional recruits recommended by participants through snowball sampling, determined the sample, or, the interviewees. Interviews were arranged with respondents over email, and interviewees were provided with the Information and Consent Form (Appendix B). This form provided the participants with instructions and a brief background on the research topic, and allowed them to indicate whether they wanted to remain anonymous or not. Signed forms were emailed back to the researcher.
Once arranged, interviews were conducted over Skype, between the researcher who was based in Toronto, and the respondents who were all in different locations across South Africa, including Johannesburg, Cape Town, and the Wild Coast. For the participants who preferred to interact via email, responses were typed by the participant into the interview schedule and emailed back to the researcher. In total, ten interviews were conducted, from seven different organizations/agencies, as well as one local chief. Six of the ten interviewees were representatives from the NGO sector, two from the government sector, one from the private sector, and finally the local chief. Both of the interviews with the government sector, as well as two interviews from the NGO sector, were conducted through email, as typed answers to the questions were emailed back to the researcher. The rest of the interviews were conducted over the telephone or Skype. The interview medium selected by participants may have in turn affected the extent and specificity of their answers, especially in the instances of the government sector, where answers appeared to be mostly copied and pasted from their websites or policy documents. For the government sector, this may demonstrate that they are less eager than the other sectors to interact with researchers and to publicize their goals.

Three sets of interview questions were created, each addressing the same interview questions with only slight modifications. The first set of questions was intended for interviewees who were representing an agency or organization (Appendix C). Eight of the ten interviews were conducted using this first interview schedule. The second, slightly modified interview schedule was intended for interviewees representing themselves as individuals (Appendix D), with only one interview being conducted in this manner. The third interview schedule was designed for a representative of the local people (Appendix E), the Amadiba chief, who was recruited as a result of conversations with local activists and community leaders.

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3 J. Brown of the Wild Coast Forum, personal comm., June 5, 2012
of snowball sampling, recommended by an interviewee of the private sector\textsuperscript{4}. The Skype interview with the Amadiba chief was the only interview where a translator was required. This translator was a local resident of the area, who was alongside the chief during the interview.

As noted, ten interviews were conducted in total. This small sample size allowed for in-depth, qualitative and focused research within the limited timeframe (Scheyvens & Storey, 2006), and one-on-one semi-structured interviews with the respondents over Skype provided the researcher with the ability to ask specific questions in a flexible environment (Denscombe, 2007). The responses that were typed by interviewees varied in length, depending on the respondent, while Skype interviews were approximately 25 minutes long on average, and were flexible due to the conversational manner of communication. For all of the interviews conducted over Skype, conversations were recorded using an Ipad, and were in turn transcribed by the researcher and typed onto a personal laptop. The information gathered from these sessions was collaborated and intended to supplement the information from the document analysis. In the end, information gathered from the interviews contributed a large amount of the hard evidence used to justify the findings, especially from the six interviews with representatives of the NGO sector, since quotes directly from stakeholders proved the most valid and useful form of evidence.

Ideally, fieldwork would have involved a trip to South Africa for the purpose of conducting interviews. However, this option was not feasible within the timeframe and budgetary restrictions of the researcher. Furthermore, interviewees were recruited from various organizations across the nation, which would have meant extensive travels across South Africa for each interview. As such, Skyping from Toronto was a much more viable option, and still

\textsuperscript{4} A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., June 12, 2012. Implications of this recommendation to interview a local chief are discussed within Chapter 4.4.
yielded substantial and successful results. Moreover, while the researcher did not travel to South Africa for the purpose of conducting interviews, which were conducted throughout the summer of 2012, the prior trip to South Africa and the Wild Coast (discussed in Section 2.3) provided substantial insight into the case study region and the research topic. During this time in the Eastern Cape and the Wild Coast, field notes and photos were taken in order best record the characteristics of the region’s exceptional environment and culture.

The initial trip to the region provided gainful insight into the area and its issues. However, not returning to the country for the interviews did contribute to some of the limitations faced during the research process, described in the following section.

2.8. Limitations

In terms of designing the research process and the goals of the thesis, considerations of time, budget, and the language barrier between the researcher and local peoples of the Wild Coast meant that the research was to be focused on gathering the arguments of stakeholders. This focus of the research was based on several factors, such as stakeholders being reachable via email and telephone, and having additional pertinent data available online, whereas local peoples of the region would be difficult to access due to lack of electricity and other resources. Also, organizations in South Africa are likely to have representatives whom are able to speak English, so by aiming to research stakeholder opinions, there was no language barrier faced between interviewer and interviewee. Therefore, one limitation of the overall thesis was that while aiming to examine the development of the Wild Coast, arguments and opinions could not be

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5 The only language barrier occurred during the interview arranged with the Amadiba chief, for which a translator was provided.
gathered from a range of local peoples, such as through interviews or focus groups. Perhaps under the auspices of a PhD thesis, or another research project with more time and resources allotted for fieldwork, research objectives and questions can aim to be more considerate of the opinions of local people of the Wild Coast.

As for the research process of this thesis, time proved to be the most significant limitation. The time restriction placed on the research process was due to the fact that the thesis is in fulfillment of a one-year funded Master’s program. This limitation meant that the summer months were to be used for preliminary research, including the document analysis, fieldwork, writing, and finalizing the thesis. This left a very ineffectual period of time for which travel to South Africa, and to the various interview locations across the country, would have been possible. As such, physical absence from South Africa during recruitment and interviews resulted in difficulty in obtaining responses from stakeholders, since the requests for interviews were not made in person at the respective offices.

Furthermore, the time restriction ultimately affected the sample size, which in turn affected the scope of the research. The smaller sample size meant that the results were more representative of the sample from which they were drawn, that is, the results were less generalizable beyond the sample, whereas a larger period of time in order to conduct research and fieldwork in South Africa would have allowed for a larger sample, and results that would be more valid if generalized to populations outside the selected stakeholders. While the limitation of time directly affected the size of the interview sample, the document analysis was able to grasp a broad scope of information in regard to the development of the Wild Coast and its stakeholders, ensuring sufficiently valid results given the research provisions. As noted, validity increased to a further extent may have been achievable through a project with a greater time allotment.
It is also important to note the potential limitations of interviewing individuals whom are selected to represent the organization/agency to which they belong. While the goal of these interviews was to contribute stakeholder arguments to the research findings, by interviewing individuals, the opinions expressed are at risk of being personal opinions, as opposed to the direct representation of the organization’s perspectives. However, the selected representatives did directly indicate that they would best represent the opinions of their organization, so no results can be nullified on account of misrepresentation. Furthermore, the preliminary document analysis provided extensive insight into the opinions of agencies before the interviews were conducted, and stakeholder opinions in the literary sources tended to match up with representative’s interview answers. Furthermore, the results and conclusions drawn from the research process were unavoidably based on the interpretations of the researcher (Creswell, 2003). Henceforth, the positionality of the researcher, as well as any ethical concerns attributed to the research process, must be clarified, and are discussed in the following section.

2.9. Ethics and Positionality

Ethical concerns are always a component of research that uses human participants. Moreover, ethical concerns can be exacerbated by using subjects who are representing a population classified as “vulnerable”, which refers to populations that are marginalized by their respective society based on particular attributes such as race or class (Bryman et al., 2009). In the case of this research, human participants were utilized as interviewees for semi-structured interviews, and were selected based on their affiliation with a particular organization involved in the development of the Wild Coast. Individuals were recruited for interviews based solely on their place of employment, with no other criteria that could attribute them to a group classifiable as vulnerable, (i.e. of no particular race, age group, or gender). By interviewing organization
representatives, the population vulnerability was extremely minimal, especially since the interviews were optional, and interviewees had the choice of remaining anonymous. Moreover, interview subjects were professionals, likely to be trained and experienced in representing their organization in such an interview, as is useful for public relations purposes. Therefore, the respondents represented a professional, adult population that is classified as non-vulnerable. The only exception to this was the interview conducted with the Amadiba chief, who represents a local population. However, this interview was recommended and arranged by another interviewee, and it seemed that the chief and his translator were well trained for such interviews. Ethical concerns surrounding this interview were alleviated by the provision of the Information and Consent form, as well as the option of remaining anonymous, just as for the entire sample. Hence, by aiming to gather stakeholder opinions and purposively sampling professionals, with the exception of one respondent, ethical considerations required for this research involving a non-vulnerable population were extremely minimal.

Positionality of the researcher is another issue that must be considered in any research process, and refers to the various positions that the researcher represents or inhabits within society, which may influence the research process and the relationships between researcher and subject (Scheyvens & Storey, 2006). The positionality of the researcher must be addressed, since inevitably, the information presented in the findings and conclusions is subject to the personal interpretations of the researcher (Creswell, 2003). Some academics, especially within the field of feminist geography, argue no matter how an examiner positions oneself, or attempts to distance oneself from the subject in order to produce research that is not affected by personal values, true “objectivity” can not be achieved, and the interpretations of data will always be impacted by the position of the researcher (Haraway, 1998; Rose, 1997). Therefore, addressing the researcher’s positionality in regard to the information being investigated is a necessary step, intended to
inform the reader of the ways in which inevitable personal interpretations may have been pre-determined based on this position (Denscombe, 2007). Moreover, by acknowledging one’s positionality, power relations between researcher and subject can also be identified. It is important to determine power relations since they can affect the dynamic between researcher and subject, and may ultimately influence the research results (Scheyvens & Storey, 2006).

In terms of my own positionality, I can be classified as a white, middle-class, female, living in a First World city, and having obtained a university education. My age, 23, is also of note, since for this particular research, all respondents were at the professional level, and likely at least over the age of 30. Despite the age gap, the relationship between researcher and participant was kept professional at all times, and many respondents were in no means informed of my age, especially if interviews were conducted through email. As a female conducting research, researcher-subject relationships risk being effected by forms of sexism toward females or gender bias. In South Africa, discrimination and violence toward women are reported as serious issues (Dowden, 2009). Therefore, the willingness of males to participate in the research, as well as the manner in which they related to the researcher if they did choose to participate, could have been affected by the fact that the researcher is female. However, in the interviews conducted with male participants, no effect of this positionality/power relation was evident. The fact that I am of a middle-class, educated background also should not have altered power relations between researcher and subject, because while the selected sample was not of any intended class or education level, the majority were likely to be of similar background to the researcher since they are representing established organizations.

Race is the most contentious social factor affecting my positionality when researching in South Africa, since abuses of power throughout the apartheid regime could affect current opinions and
trust levels between races in the country; it may be the prerogative of other races, especially blacks, to mistrust white people due to the extent of racial discrimination that was deemed acceptable during apartheid. However, once again, the target sample was not based on any particular race, and no implications of race-based mistrust were evident during interviews with non-white participants. As such, while the overall positionality has been identified, as well as the resultant power relations that these positions could have caused, no issues related this positionality emerged throughout the interviews.

2.10. Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated considerate preparation and discussion of the research design and methods, as well as an overview of the limitations, ethical issues, and positionalities of the research. However, prior to executing these research methods and discussing the findings, the next chapter will serve as a review of literatures relevant to the research topic of the development of the Wild Coast.
Chapter Three: Context – Poverty, Development, and Political Ecology

3.1. Introduction
The Wild Coast of the Eastern Cape, South Africa, is at a crossroads whereby different actors and stakeholders are supporting opposing ideals of how development should take place. Each proposed development strategy holds the potential to have dramatic impact on the poor and vulnerable peoples of the Wild Coast, and/or on the region’s natural environment. The goal of this research is to analyze the different development strategies being proposed and the arguments for each, especially in relation to the local people and the natural environment of the Wild Coast. However, before discussing and analyzing the various development proposals, it is first necessary to review secondary literature in order to understand the state of poverty in South Africa, as well as development discourse involving poverty reduction, resource extraction and biodiversity conservation in the country. Additionally, this chapter reviews political ecology as a potential lens to understand the intersections of poverty, development and natural resources in South Africa.

3.2. Apartheid and its Legacy
South Africa has a unique political history due to the recent existence of apartheid – a legal system that included spatial separation based on race, and discrimination against black South Africans (Dowden, 2009). While the apartheid regime was formalized in 1948, it was built upon pre-existing acts of racial segregation and dispossession. Most notably, the Natives Land Act of 1913 decreed that black South Africans (“natives”) could only own land that fell into designated
regions, which together totaled only 7\%\textsuperscript{6} of the nation’s entire land mass (De Wet, 1997). Academics such as Mamdani (1996), maintain that apartheid was a variant of indirect rule through which colonial power continued to operate.

In 1994, the election into power of the African National Congress (ANC), led by Nelson Mandela, marked the official end of apartheid\textsuperscript{7}. With this, came a new South African Constitution, finalized in 1996, in which the government outlined a number of guarantees to attempt to bring justice to the many who had suffered due to apartheid. These included land reform, which has three aspects: restitution, redistribution and land tenure reform (Kepe, Lewison, Ramasra & Butt, 2011). Briefly, restitution aims to restore land to those who lost it after the Native Land Act of 1913, or to provide “just and equitable compensation”, redistribution aims to improve the livelihoods of the poor by providing access to land or by supplying a land acquisition grant, while land tenure reform is the upgrade of informal land holdings to formal legal rights to land (De Wet, 1997). These three goals brought with them a sense of optimism in achieving economic growth for the nation’s poor. However, over a decade and half later, optimism has been replaced by skepticism, as these policies have yielded few successes, most of which are only temporary fixes (Gibson, 2009).

Race-based spatial and economic inequalities have persisted in South Africa, along with widespread poverty and unemployment (Rispel, Peltzer, Nkomo, & Molomo, 2010). Since the ANC government took power, the United Nations Human Development Index (HDI) of South Africa has fallen from .644 in 1995 to .619 in 2011, ranking 123\textsuperscript{rd} out of 187 countries in 2011.

\textsuperscript{6} This percentage was increased to 13\% in 1936 (De Wet, 1997).

\textsuperscript{7} Apartheid was abolished in 1991; “the official end of apartheid” here means that blacks were not allowed to vote until 1994 (Gibson, 2009).
Some argue that this trend and the low HDI may be attributed to the AIDS pandemic (Dowden, 2009). South Africa has the highest population of HIV/AIDS infected individuals in the world, estimated at 5,700,000 in 2007 (Rispel et al, 2010). With rampant poverty and abominable HIV/AIDS infection rates, raising the standard of living in many regions of South Africa is a major priority for the nation’s government. In this way, the prospects of “development” for the nation become important as means to reduce poverty and improve the standards of living. Yet, as discussed in the next section, conceptions of development are not clear-cut. In fact, the term development, as well as its application in nations such as South Africa, is often topic of contestation.

3.3. Development Discourse

The Dictionary of Human Geography introduces “development” as “a central keyword of twentieth-century political economy and social policy, which can broadly refer to processes of social change or to class and state projects to transform national economies, particularly in formerly colonized or third world geographies” (Johnston, Gregory, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2009, p. 155). The current predominant conception of international development was conceived after the Second World War, when the term “development”, coupled with the notion of “underdevelopment”, was introduced in President Truman’s inaugural speech. Here, the notion of “underdevelopment” was introduced as a label for “underdeveloped” regions, speculated to be characterized by poverty, disease, and backwardness, while on the contrary, a “developed” region would be presumed industrialized and modernized (Rist, 2007). Rist (2007) argues that at this moment, the world’s nations were asserted onto a scale ranging from underdeveloped to developed. Moreover, the contemporary use of the term development has political associations
with “institutions, policies, disciplinary formations and, most importantly, practices of intervention in the alleviation of poverty in the Third World” (Johnston et al., 2009, p. 155).

The term represents a set of constantly changing and contextually specific meanings and goals. As such, “development” is inevitably contentious, and has been met with critique, including that which has formed the post-development movement. One of the most famous post development theorists, Arturo Escobar (1995), viewed development as a problematically normalized way of victimizing Third World countries as “traditional” and poor, in need of becoming “modern” via Western intervention. In this way, Escobar criticized development for its allegedly inevitable Eurocentrism and its direct continuance of the colonial project. Sachs (1992), also an important figure of the post-development movement, furthered the discussion by arguing that development was based on the assumption that the US portrayed an exemplary economic model for the rest of the world to follow. Nonetheless, the post-development movement opened up a new set of criticisms, especially in regard to the lack of alternative solutions to poverty that it offered (Nustad, 2001). However, Nustad (2001) defends the post-structuralist criticisms of development discourse, including those of the post-development movement, by suggesting that these critiques are useful in knowing where hegemonic development discourse has led to problems. In turn, he argues that the criticisms offered by post-development theorists can help determine new implementation strategies, thus creating opportunities for progress.

The contemporary and predominant conception of development is often intertwined with the goal of poverty reduction. According to Cornwall (2007), poverty reduction has compelling normative appeal in seeking to help the “poor and marginalized”. At the same time, she argues that it is one of the constantly changing “buzzwords” linked to development, falling into the same category as previous buzzwords such as sustainability and good governance. Likewise,
Toye (2007) discusses how the notions of poverty reduction and development are attractive to – and often become publicized goals of – governments, NGOs, and financial institutions. Moreover, the concepts are linked to the problems of social invisibility and remoteness of the poor, which are obstacles met by organizations seeking poverty reduction. According to Toye (2007), the response to such obstacles involves the revision and production of “millennial goals, international aid targets, and poverty-reduction strategy papers”. In this way, poverty reduction and development discourse have certainly been influential in South African policy frameworks, in the sense that objectives of poverty reduction and development have dominated the content of these documents.

3.4. Development and Poverty Reduction in South Africa

A large portion of the South African population experiences poverty, with 48% of households living below the poverty line\(^8\) in 2008 (National Planning Commission, 2011), and the unemployment rate nearing 24% in 2011 (CIA World Factbook, 2012). Daunting economic problems remain from the apartheid era, especially poverty, and lack of economic empowerment among the disadvantaged groups (Gibson, 2009). As such, the South African government has contended with a number of strategies that focus on poverty reduction as a means of economic development, while at the same time attempting to make amends for the disadvantages that have permeated beyond the apartheid era, persisting as legacies. An all-encompassing example is the Black Economic Empowerment program, formalized in 2001, instating that companies operating in South Africa must give a share of employment opportunities, ownership, and contracts to black people or black-owned companies (Dowden, 2009).

\(^{8}\) Poverty line indicator based on $2US per day or R524 a month per person in 2008 prices
The high unemployment rate is a major factor contributing to poverty in South Africa, and has shaped past and current development and poverty reduction strategies. Since the end of apartheid in 1994, there have been three broad policy frameworks that demonstrate these goals – the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), the Growth, Employment and Redistribution program (GEAR), and the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (ISRDS) (Kepe & Kobokana, 2008). The RDP, which became official in 1994, emphasized community-based development, and aimed to improve the lives of the poor by providing access to basic services. Kepe and Kobokana (2008) argue that several contemporary government programs have extended from the RDP, such as free housing and land redistribution. By 1996, the government appeared to have abandoned the RDP and replaced it with GEAR, which aimed for poverty reduction through investment in the private sector, and eventually leading to economic growth by trickling down to the poor (Pithers, 2001). This strategy was criticized for ignoring the immediate needs of the poor, especially those in rural areas. The third chief poverty reduction strategy, the ISRDS, was introduced in 2000, and involved a ten-year plan to improve opportunities and well being for the rural poor (Govt. of South Africa, 2000).

Recent strategies have been devised as manifestations of the three broad strategies outlined above, and they all attempt to reduce poverty in South Africa (Bennie, 2011). A noteworthy example is the Expanded Public Works Programme (EPWP) of 2004. This program focuses on vulnerable groups such as poor women, youth, and those affected by HIV/AIDS, in expanding employment opportunities (Luka, 2005). However, a number of challenges and criticisms can arise when poverty reduction strategies, including the EPWP, are implemented. Major obstacles are faced especially when development and poverty reduction strategies employ a top-down approach. The EPWP demonstrates a poverty reduction strategy whereby distant government workers made decisions involving projects, exclusive of involvement and input from the local
peoples and nature reserve managers where implementation took place. This approach can lead to a number of problems. For instance, in Kepe and Kobokana’s (2008) research to consolidate outcomes of the EPWPs in the Hluleka and Mkambati nature reserves of the Wild Coast, challenges of the programs included lack of knowledge or understanding of the program amongst participants, and even discrepancies between them due to conflicting opinions. These outcomes point to the importance of considerations and involvement of the peoples to be effected by such poverty reduction projects, as opposed to a top-down approach. Instead, policies and projects should be considerate of context specific factors and local preferences (DuPlessis, 2008; Hajdu, 2005; Hart, 2001).

It is widely advocated that development and poverty reduction strategies in South Africa and elsewhere should be tailored to suit local context and diverse needs. Kepe and Kobokana (2008) emphasize that poverty and relationships between people and the environment are “dynamic and context-specific, reflecting geography, scale, social and political issues” that are unique in each case. In this way, approaches toward development must avoid the broad prescriptions that development critics, such as Escobar (1995) and Sachs (1995) referred to, whereby notions of development are based on external examples, often shaped by Western influence. Hart (2001) is another advocate of applying context-specific articulations of development, as her work in South Africa led her to conclude that it is important to continue to trace development processes in their spatial diversity.

Public participation is one component of gathering local input toward development strategy that has been encouraged by a number of individuals, in academia and elsewhere. Public forums and other forms of local dialogue should be conducted in order for decision makers to increase their awareness of the complex needs and concerns of the people whom their decisions may affect.
Local concerns surrounding the implementation of development strategy may be in regard to environmental sustainability, the availability of jobs and services, and even the meaning of development (Hajdu, 2005; Bennie, 2011). Awareness of such issues could serve to establish context specific programs, at the same time avoiding potential conflict that may arise due to top-down approaches or one-size-fits all policy (Du Plessis, 2008; Hajdu, 2005).

One important variant that must be considered in development and poverty reduction approaches is the use of surrounding natural resources, and local people’s relationships with the environment. Such relationships can be greatly impacted by poverty reduction programs and development strategies in South Africa, especially when programs are tied into conservation strategies (Hallowes & Butler, 2002). In addition to the concepts reviewed so far, natural resources have also played a major role in South Africa’s economic development. As such, a review on development for the purposes of this thesis would not be complete without briefly examining discourse surrounding natural resources, since, similar to poverty reduction, the environment plays a crucial role in South Africa’s development strategies.

3.5. Natural Resources and Development

The way that “resource” is conceptualized varies depending on the perspective from which the concept is framed. From an economic development standpoint, the term is demarcated as a commodity, service, or other asset that meets human needs and wants, and thereby “enhances the quality of human life” (Bullock, Trombley, & Lawrie, 2000). When utilized with this more anthropocentric focus, the term “resource” has its origins in the “socio-natural relations associated with the emergence of capitalism” (Johnston et al., 2009). This perspective frames resources according to their use value, and focuses on the practical implications of “resource”, such as through resource extraction and resource management, in their capacity to facilitate
economic development. On the other hand, an ecocentric definition of a resource is a “substance or object required by a living organism for normal growth, maintenance, and reproduction” (Ricklefs, 2005, p. 17). This definition pertains more directly to natural resources, which are formed from natural processes and are part of the earth’s natural environment, including the atmosphere, hydrosphere, and crust. This ecocentric definition of resources as vital for life pertains more so to an environmentalist perspective, which is elaborated below.

Issues of depletion, such as the popular issue of fossil fuel depletion, are one of the several resources-related causes of concern for environmentalists. Other issues include factors contributing to climate change, such as the pollution that is a result of resource extraction, and species’ loss of habitat (King & Peralvo, 2010). In this way, a dichotomy exists, whereby the environmentalist perspective on resources opposes the practical application of the anthropocentric perspective – that is, the economic development incentivized extraction and use of resources, which can produce negative impacts on the environment. Moreover, while the economic standpoint views issues of resource extraction and resource management in their capacity for economic development and/or wealth accumulation, the environmentalist standpoint calls for environmental sustainability or even conservation. For environmentalists and deep ecologists, sustainability means that resources, which have ethical value, are to be protected and conserved for future generations; this standpoint employs moral duties of stewardship and conservation in order to alleviate current resource depletion and associated environmental degradation (Foster, 1999).

In South Africa, both sides of the dichotomy surrounding natural resources have manifested, as some seek to have the nation’s bountiful natural resources and biodiversity protected and conserved for their environmental worth, while others seek to exploit natural resources to
produce economic growth. In fact, the environmental sustainability versus economic
development dichotomy surrounding natural resources has played a very important role in South
Africa’s history, and continues to create differences that play out in opposing development and
poverty reduction strategies.

Mining is a form of natural resource extraction that has been practiced since pre-historic times,
whereby valuable minerals or other natural resources are removed from the earth’s surface or
crust in order to be processed and used by humans. While mining surely provides economic
benefits to those who own mining operations, the extraction process often results in pollution and
environmental degradation, even with modern technological improvements. As such, mining has
been criticized as a process that leads to uneven development, since it attributes economic gain to
those in control of the processes, yet produces a number of environmentally damaging
consequences borne by those living nearby (Hentschel, 2003). Moreover, negative consequences
are exacerbated when proximate communities are reliant on their surrounding environments in
order to sustain their livelihoods, or have a close relationship with nature.

Mining has been the main driving force behind the history and development of South Africa’s
economy (Walker & Minnitt, 2006). As one of the most mineral rich countries in the world,
South Africa is estimated to have supplied two-thirds of the world’s platinum, and half its
chromium and gold since the late 20th century, and is still the world’s largest producer of
minerals such as manganese and vermiculite (Shillington, 2004). While the percentage of the
workforce in mining has dropped since the 1980’s, and South Africa recently received a low
ranking (67th out of 79th) on Fraser Institute’s survey of global mining, the South African

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government’s Mining Industry Growth and Development Task Team has presented a “New Growth Plan,” which prioritizes the mining industry due to the sector’s capacity to create jobs (Xinhua News Agency, 2011). Typically, in other developing countries, government attention such as this is that seeks to produce benefits for workers and local communities is necessary for the mining sector, due to the industry’s reputation of producing exploitative relationships with host countries (Shillington, 2004); on a global scale, these typical exploitative relationships involve capitalist wealth accumulation by rich countries, obtained from the extraction and exploitation of natural resources from poor countries, adhering to the more broad theory that Neil Smith labeled as *Uneven Development* (1984). However, South Africa represents a unique case of a developing country whereby relationships between multinational mining companies and the government have been close, as South Africa’s economy developed around *domestic* companies, such as Anglo-American and Gencor (Shillington, 2004). As such, mining companies, domestic and foreign, supply a large number of jobs to South Africans, and provide an important source of wealth for the nation (Rispel et al., 2010).

However, the economic benefits of mining are met by environmental damages, such as through production of greenhouse gases, and destruction of natural habitats, reducing biodiversity (Mutemeri & Petersen, 2002). Moreover, negative consequences of mining in South Africa are not only borne by the environment, but also effect local peoples who use their surrounding environments in ways that contribute to their livelihoods (Walker & Minnitt, 2006). Therefore, while mining has played an important role in the economic history of South Africa, and continues to present opportunities for further development, the consequences borne by the environment and local peoples come into question. These concerns of environmental damages are often used in arguments against the mining sector, especially by its opposing force – those who support conservation and environmental protection.
Conservation is yet another dimension of development discourse in South Africa that is of utmost importance. Representing the third most biologically diverse country in the world, the post-apartheid government has managed to uphold a reputable level of biodiversity conservation, such as through the addition of a constitutional Act that strives to for biodiversity conservation, as well as signing a number of environmental protection agreements (Kepe, Saruchera, & Whande, 2004). Conservation and environmental protection strategies include a number of goals. In addition to the primary goal of conserving or protecting the natural environment, these strategies often aim to maintain existent human-environment relationships. In many rural and remote areas of South Africa, human-environment relationships are vital, as many communities rely on their surrounding environments for sources of livelihood and wellbeing (Rispel et al., 2010). Many argue that the environment should be protected from destructive processes, such as mining, as there a number of communities whom support their livelihood from the surrounding environment and its natural resources. For instance, through her research involving rural communities in the Eastern Cape, Hajdu (2005) found that “local security strategies” were heavily dependent on environmental security and natural resources for the provision of basic needs.

Conservation has become an important facet for a number of development and poverty reduction strategies in South Africa. Kepe et al (2004) briefly overview a few of these strategies, which involve people and parks, agriculture and land care, and the Working for Water Program. The overall goal of these programs is to protect biodiversity and better manage natural resources in certain areas, while also creating job opportunities for the local peoples by employing them to perform the necessary tasks. Some conservationists further suggest that environmental protection can reduce poverty by creating jobs and as a source of income from ecotourism (Costello & De Villiers, 2006; Dellier & Guyot, 2009). For instance, some of the strategies analyzed by Kepe et
al (2004) were based on local people’s involvement in the conservation of protected areas, in “exchange for economic benefits of ecotourism” (p. 144), and with the expectations that private investors would enter deals with these communities.

However, while combined conservation and poverty reduction strategies can achieve minor successes, for the most part, they do not attract enough income or create adequate job opportunities to improve the standards of living for more than a few people. These programs only benefit a small number of poor people in these selected areas, leaving a vast majority of local peoples impoverished (Kepe et al., 2004). In fact, some argue that these combined conservation and poverty reduction programs in South Africa are unlikely to make the major changes and improvements that would contribute to the elimination of poverty (Magome & Murombedzi, 2003).

Therefore, the question that remains is how to improve the standard of living for those impoverished peoples in South Africa? And how can “development” be attained while considering the complex needs of the local peoples and environmental wellbeing? These issues have manifested in the Wild Coast, where impoverished local peoples and abundant natural resources attract the dichotomous and opposing development strategies of both mining and ecotourism. This thesis seeks to explore the proposals and arguments that stakeholders form in their plans to develop the Wild Coast, and how local people may be impacted by their plans. Here, political forces and power structures appear to be playing an important role between stakeholder viewpoints, local peoples, and the Wild Coast’s natural environment. Under the circumstances described here, political ecology provides an effective framework.
3.6. Political Ecology

Political ecology involves contextual analysis of multiple scales of influence (Kepe et al., 2008). For development discourse, a political ecology lens is useful in unraveling the political forces at work, with the goal of understanding the complex relations between nature and society (Robbins, 2004). As Peet and Watts (1996) point out, political or ecological perspectives alone are too narrow for a broad understanding of development, but political ecology, evidently, encompasses dimensions of both. From a political ecology perspective, development should engage the community, so as to allow local peoples to participate in processes shaping the development policies and strategies that affect them (King & Peralvo, 2010). This argument, advocated by the ideals of political ecology, coincides with the encouragement of public participation (previously discussed), whereby local people can provide input in order to inform decision makers of their needs and concerns. Use of public participation processes is advocated in the field of political ecology so that contributions to shaping policy ensure that a one-size-fits-all, hegemonic development framework is avoided (DuPlessis, 2008).

Hirons (2011), Rees (1985), and Horowitz (2010) use political ecology frameworks in order to analyze particular examples of development and resource-related issues. Hirons (2011) discusses the inadvertent environmental degradation associated with artisanal and small-scale mining, which is a source of livelihood for as many as 100 million people worldwide (Hentschel, 2003), hence exemplifying the dichotomy of economic versus environmental wellbeing associated with resource extraction. Hirons (2011) argues that the policy associated with artisanal and small-scale mining is consistently influenced by hegemonic discourses that may ignore specific local contexts. He concludes his analysis by advocating the use of a political ecology framework in order for policies to become increasingly sensitive to local contexts and “synergistic between
actors at different scales” (p. 6). Similarly, Rees (1985) discusses how the aspects of resource use, such as production performance, can be evaluated improperly with criteria for economic development that may be conflicting by not considering the scales of power that are a part of political ecology. This becomes problematic, as the non-specific evaluation criteria do not contribute to achieving optimal, context-specific development strategies and environment justice.

Horowitz (2010) analyzes mining as a form of economic development, and advocates a political ecology perspective, in that it can provide means to achieve regulations applicable to cultural specificity. Horowitz (2010) addresses a problem common to mining, of local peoples’ resentment toward a company mining their land, or near their land, and potentially damaging it. The author analyzes reasons behind a protest against a mining company in southern New Caledonia, an island in the West Pacific populated mostly by the indigenous Karak, a Melanesian group. The group protested despite information provided by representatives of the mining company, which guaranteed that their environment would not suffer, and that they could benefit from increased employment opportunity and infrastructure investment. Horowitz (2010) concluded that the indigenous peoples did not trust the information provided as the company had not established a sense of trust, and that the “role of affiliation” would have been significant in establishing this trust. By using a political ecology perspective to understand the cultural importance of “the role of affiliation” to the indigenous peoples of New Caledonia, Horowitz points out that the peoples may have rightfully trusted the information provided to them, and the protest could have been avoided.

While the goal of environmental justice has been well established in the field of political ecology (Peet and Watts, 1996; Neumann, 2010; Robbins, 2004), new dimensions of political ecology have emerged in recent years. For instance, Mann (2009) supports a Gramscian Marxism
political ecology – that is, Marxist political ecology, where the Marxism is Gramsci’s version that includes dimensions of historical materialism. Mann (2009) insinuates that political ecology should account for existing power structures and “how and why that hegemony operates in the social life of thought” through “norms, morality, and common sense” (p. 335). Moreover, Rocheleu (2008) supports a feminist approach political ecology, which addresses “women as a group, and gender as a category” (p. 716). Sultana (2011) reinforces feminist political ecology, also advocating for dimensions of what she refers to as emotional geographies. This multi-approach political ecology considers that a range of societal factors, as well as individual decisions affected by “identities, relations, and emotions” influence decisions involving access to resources (Sultana, 2011, p.163).

Recent developments in the field of political ecology indicate that it should aim to engage directly with public policy (Corbridge, 2008). Blaikie (2012) argues that political ecology becomes useful in influencing a broader public through means of a continuous dialogue between political ecology research and outside actors, such as decision makers and civil society in general. This notion of a continuous cycling of research is contrary to the one-way use of political ecology that Blaikie (2012) claims has been typical, whereby researchers use texts and actions from outside actors as source material, and produce research for academic purposes, that in turn does not affect the outside actors. An approach to political ecology that encourages a continuous dialogue between researchers and outside actors, including stakeholders and communities, would be useful in grasping the many influences and knowledges that could contribute to contextually specific development strategies. In seeking to have positive influence and engagement with the broader public, recent developments in the field of political ecology make it evermore useful in framing development discourse.
3.7. Conclusion

A political ecology lens will be maintained for this study that aims to explore the possibilities of development for the Wild Coast, South Africa. South Africa has been greatly affected by its legacies of colonialism and apartheid, and is afflicted with widespread poverty and issues such as AIDS (Dowden, 2009; Rispel et al., 2010). Development has become important in South Africa as a means to raise the standard of living for many of its peoples. Yet, development is a contested concept, especially criticized by post-development advocates for its imposition of Western ideology onto the Third World (Escobar, 1995; Sachs, 1992). In South Africa and elsewhere, it has become widely argued that development and poverty reduction must be considerate of local peoples, their concerns, and their relationships with the environment (Hajdu, 2005; Hart, 2001; Kepe et al., 2008). Public participation processes are often encouraged in order to inform decision makers of the local peoples concerns (DuPlessis, 2008). Beyond consideration of contextually specific issues and concerns of local peoples, development discourse and poverty reduction strategy in South Africa often has to contend with the additional dimension of conservation and environmental protection. However, strategies that aim for poverty reduction and conservation face a number of obstacles (Kepe et al., 2004), and are especially opposed by proposals for mining, which has played a crucial role in South Africa’s economic development (Walker & Minnitt, 2006). The Wild Coast, South Africa, is a region where all of these issues have manifested; where impoverished peoples, in need of improving their standard of living, inhabit a land that is rich in biodiversity and extractable minerals. Therefore, the question remains, what development strategy may be best for the Wild Coast and its peoples? The next chapter will attempt to answer this question by addressing stakeholder arguments for their proposed development strategies.
Chapter Four: Contemporary Debates Surrounding the Development of the Wild Coast – Development Strategies And Supporting Arguments of the NGO, Government, and Private Sectors

4.1. Introduction

The information presented in this chapter addresses the following main research objectives: (i) what are the predominant development discourses being supported for the Wild Coast, who supports or opposes each discourse, and what are their main arguments? And (ii) how are local people and environmental notions featured in the arguments for and against the particular development strategies for the Wild Coast? In order to address these objectives, two predominant research methods were employed: a document analysis, and semi-structured interviews. During preliminary research, various stakeholders currently active in the Wild Coast were identified, and where possible, both research methods were employed in order to gather relevant information pertaining to each stakeholder. Therefore, for each identified category of stakeholder, mostly represented by agencies, a document analysis was conducted by thoroughly examining the pertinent websites and published documents for information best suited to answering the research questions. Secondly, where possible, members of each agency were interviewed to gather further information. Some agencies did not respond and thus did not participate in the interview portion of the research. In total, 13 organizations/agencies were examined through extensive document analysis. These organizations were selected as they were deemed the most pertinent to the topic at hand during preliminary research, such as by directly indicating development proposals for the area. Furthermore, ten interviews were conducted in total, and these interviewees included members of seven organizations/agencies, as well as one local chief.
This chapter presents summaries of all information gathered from both the document analysis and the interviews, with results being presented according to each organization. Each organization is categorized into one of three categories based on its function – whether it is a Non-Governmental Organization (NGO), affiliated with or part of a government department, or a private industry. The first section of this chapter begins by analyzing the pertinent environmental NGOs and the development strategies supported by this sector. Following this, Section 4.3 discusses issues involving the government sector and its policies, while Section 4.4 provides an overview of input in regard to development of the Wild Coast from the private sector. In order to summarize the chapter’s main points in regard to the research objectives, Table 1 presents a summary of the predominant development strategies supported, and their relevant arguments, by sector.

Table 1. Development Strategies and Main Arguments by Sector

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sector</th>
<th>Development Strategies Supported</th>
<th>Main Arguments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Environmental NGOs</td>
<td>• Small community development initiatives (SCDIs)</td>
<td>• Created by local people for local people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Small tourism businesses</td>
<td>• Local culture preserved</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Created by local people for local people</td>
<td>• Fulfill needs without harming the environment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>Objectives of particular departments vary, from:</td>
<td>• Environmental conservation: protect sensitive environments, maintain biodiversity of region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Environmental conservation, including ecotourism (DEDEAT)</td>
<td>• Mining: employment in minerals sector</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Mining (DMR)</td>
<td>• Infrastructure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Infrastructure development (ECDC)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Shared objectives of this sector include increasing employment, improving health, and achieving equality.

development: provides a catalyst for other forms of development

Private Sector

- Mining of heavy minerals

- Employment opportunities
- Investment into the area that will yield improved services and infrastructure
- Environmental impacts will be assessed and made up for by improvements to local livelihoods

4.2. Environmental Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs)

4.2.1. Environmental NGOs Introduction

Throughout the research process, five active organizations in the Wild Coast were analyzed and can be categorized as Environmental NGOs. That is, they are not a part of the government and are not conventional for-profit businesses, and in these instances, they tend to support environmental causes such as environmental sustainability. The five environmental NGO’s included in the document analysis are identified and briefly described in Table 2.

Table 2. Environmental NGOs Involved in the Development of the Wild Coast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NGO</th>
<th>Description/Vision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wildlife And Environmental Society of South Africa (WESSA)</td>
<td>“One of South Africa’s oldest and largest non-government, membership-based environmental organizations”. WESSA’s vision is to “achieve a South Africa which is wisely managed by all to ensure long-term environmental sustainability” (WESSA,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Description</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SWC (SWC)</td>
<td>“Eco-social enterprise” whose purpose is to “promote sustainable livelihoods that conserve, rehabilitate and protect the natural environment that provides the ecosystem services on which rural people depend” (SWC, 2012).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wild Coast Forum</td>
<td>A website that aims to “host a comprehensive tourism directory to promote sustainable eco-tourism along the Wild Coast” by providing an “easily updated web site and collaborative community forum” (Wild Coast forum, 2012).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bulungula Incubator</td>
<td>“A non-profit organization which aims to incubate brilliant rural development projects” in order to be “a catalyst for the creation of vibrant and sustainable rural communities” (Bulungula Incubator, 2007).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is important to note that the Environmental NGO sector contributed the most significant amount of data to research. The NGOs listed above have very detailed websites with links that are specific to the Wild Coast and directly apply to the research objectives. With the exception of WESSA\textsuperscript{10}, each of the organizations were easily contacted, and had members whom were willing to participate in an interview, as well as provide additional useful materials. This could be a demonstration that the environmental NGO’s are eager to establish their goals that relate to

\textsuperscript{10} Most of the Wessa members did not respond to emails, while the one that did indicated that he/she was too busy to participate.
the Wild Coast, and to spread the messages that they believe should be publicized. These opinions, in regard to development of the Wild Coast, are discussed in the following section.

4.2.2. Development Strategies Supported

For all of the environmental NGOs involved in the research, “sustainability” is a defining component of the development strategies that they support. This focus is evident in the form of emphasis on “environmental sustainability” (WESSA, 2011; SAFCEI, 2012), and “sustainable livelihoods” (Bulungula Incubator, 2007; SWC, 2012). The main focus of these strategies then is development that can work with and improve the lives of the local people with as little impact on the environment as possible (SAFCEI, 2012; SWC, 2012), or no impact – that is, environmental conservation (WESSA, 2011). The two predominant strategies that meet these conditions, and that received widespread support across the NGO sector, are small community development initiatives (SCDIs) and small tourism businesses.

For SCDIs, often indicated as rural, the key feature argued by Environmental NGOs is that they are “created by the local people, for the local people”\(^{11}\). Both the SWC (2012) and Bulungula Incubator (2007) work directly with local people in forming development strategies based on their own ideas. These ideas are developed into strategies during “innovation programs”\(^ {12}\) or consultative workshops (Bulungula Incubator, 2007), and are aimed at meeting the local needs. This follows the trending argument that development should be based on the desires of the local people, whereby the community strives to fulfill each individual’s fundamental needs and to improve the overall quality of life (SWC, 2012). SCDIs are especially advocated by the SWC,

\(^{11}\) S. Heather of the SWC, personal comm., May 24, 2012

\(^{12}\) S. Zukulu of the SWC, personal comm., May 28, 2012
whom support “alternative development”, or bottom-up strategies, and oppose top-down, mega strategies such as mining or monoculture cropping\textsuperscript{13}. It is the opinion of an SWC informant that in comparison to the ideal development strategies of the Western world, the small-scale strategies they support are “much less centered on economic gain, as the intentions are not to make people rich”, but to fulfill needs without harming the environment\textsuperscript{14}.

In addition to SCDIs, the environmental NGO sector demonstrates unanimous support for small tourism businesses as a means of environmentally conscious development in the Wild Coast. Many, such as the informants from Bulungula Incubator and SAFCEI, argue that it is a way to provide employment and sustainable livelihoods for the local people, without having negative impacts on the environment. Furthermore, it is argued that this type of development can be self-sustained by the local people. For instance, a Bulungula Incubator interviewee pointed out that the tourism lodges that they support “can be wholly owned by the community after about 25-30 years”\textsuperscript{15}. In this way, development would provide sustainable income for local people, as opposed to consistent or intermittent reliance on outsiders, and outsiders receiving a portion of the income. Similarly, a common argument made by environmental NGOs was that in order to protect the traditional culture of the Wild Coast, development strategies imposed by “outsiders” should be avoided. Findings such as this, relating to the local people and their way of life, are discussed in the following section.

\textsuperscript{13} S. Heather of the SWC, personal comm., May 24, 2012
\textsuperscript{14} S. Zukulu of the SWC, personal comm., May 28, 2012
\textsuperscript{15} D. Martin of Bulungula Incubator, personal comm., June 6, 2012
4.2.3. Arguments Involving Local People and Poverty

The environmental NGOs provide mission statements and development strategies that are predominantly centered on local people and their livelihoods. For instance, the SWC homepage provides a definition of development whereby “an entire community can improve the quality of their lives without damaging the environment” (2012), while a priority of the Bulungula Incubator is “to decrease levels of poverty” in villages of the Wild Coast via sustainable livelihoods (Bulungula Incubator, 2007). In addition to the finding that all of the NGO’s mission statements placed emphasis on the improvement of local livelihoods, there are a number of trends that emerged amongst these people-centered development strategies.

A trend across the environmental NGOs was certainly the support of development strategies that would allow preservation of the traditional lifestyle of the local people by avoiding dependency on “outsiders”. For instance, a member of SAFCEI argues “the Wild Coast is a classic example of people fighting to preserve the autonomy and control of their own lives and their environment, but is now being threatened by exploitation by outside developers”\(^{16}\). Moreover, the development strategies employed by the Bulungula Incubator strive to maintain traditional lifestyle, by working to find “synergies between the traditional rural African lifestyle and culture, and external technologies and innovations” that would allow villagers to improve the quality of their lives. For example, the environmental NGO has installed a water tower to provide clean water for a village in the Wild Coast (Bulungula Incubator, 2007). This demonstrates an external technology brought in to improve the health of the local people, in a manner that does not disrupt their environment or traditional culture, but improves their quality of life.

\(^{16}\) Bishop G. Davies of SAFCEI, personal comm., June 25, 2012
A minor exception to the common argument that traditional lifestyle should be preserved was noted by the developer of a Wild Coast web domain and the online Wild Coast forum, who is also a long time resident of the area. While still emphasizing the need to protect the Wild Coast’s environment from externally imposed mega strategies, the informant\(^\text{17}\) added that there are problems with traditional leaders having total control over the land, and with “original colonial magisterial districts” where power is abused. Nonetheless, this argument was exceptional, so it can be maintained that the goals of preserving local autonomy and traditional culture emerged frequently among the strategies supported by the NGO sector.

In addition to protection of local culture, the environmental NGO sector argued that tourism and SCDIs would bring employment that would *empower* the local people. That is, the type of work these strategies bring provides a means of capacity building and skills development for the local people, ultimately providing empowerment. For instance, the SWC argues that the empowering “work” involved in the rural SCDIs is different from the “jobs” that a mega-strategy would bring. The work opportunities that the SWC supports can provide income at the same time as education, in the form of “entrepreneurial development, skills development, and social empowerment”\(^\text{18}\).

Beyond the education provided to local people through the work opportunities involved in the strategies, NGO’s tended to emphasize the importance of education in schools as a factor in development. For instance, one of the SWC principles is that “education needs to take place both in a head and a heart mode in order to facilitate action” (SWC, 2012), while the mission of the

\(^{17}\) J. Brown of the Wild Coast Forum, personal comm., June 5, 2012

\(^{18}\) S. Heather of the SWC, personal comm., May 24, 2012
Bulungula Incubator includes “to facilitate access to quality education and improved life opportunities” (Bulungula Incubator, 2007). In fact, a Bulungula Incubator informant\(^\text{19}\) noted the lack of educated and literate adults in the Wild Coast area as a serious obstacle in working with local people to form and initiate participatory development strategies. In order to help change these circumstances and aid in development, Bulungula Incubator assisted in dramatically improving and rebuilding a local school. According to the interviewee, some local people at first did not see the value in this contribution, as schooling was not a priority to them; but with time, they came to greatly appreciate the benefits of education. Since then, members of surrounding villages have approached the agency with requests to build more schools. While education was a common factor in the development strategies advocated by the NGOs, Bulungula Incubator was the only NGO to emphasize the importance in improving overall health across the Wild Coast. For instance, the agency has provided HIV information sessions in a number of villages where HIV is a serious threat to human health (Bulungula Incubator, 2007). Beyond the benefits to local people, the NGO’s arguments for the development strategies involved benefits to the environment, as is discussed in section 4.2.4.

\[\text{4.2.4. Arguments Involving the Environment}\]

For the environmental NGO’s, development in the Wild Coast should revolve around, or include, environmental protection and sustainability. For instance, SAFCEI’s main objectives include to “facilitate environmental responsibility and action” and to “raise environmental awareness” (SAFCEI, 2012). Likewise, WESSA’s predominant goal is to “ensure the sustainable future of our planet” (WESSA, 2011). As such, WESSA sponsors educational programs for communities,

\[\text{\textsuperscript{19} R. Woodroofe of the Bulungula Incubator, personal comm., May 30, 2012}\]
with the aim of “widespread acceptance by every citizen of shared responsibility for our environment”.

That being said, the strategies of tourism and SCDIs that the NGOs support are argued to have little or no impact on the environment. For the SWC, the South African definition of the “natural environment” includes its relationship with people. Therefore, SCDIs that work with local people to improve their lives, while maintaining the relationship with the natural environment, ultimately have more positive than negative environmental impacts (SWC, 2012). Pointedly, Bulungula Incubator’s Community Work Program has aimed to improve the natural environment, along with human livelihoods, by: removing alien vegetation, improving water sources, and constructing fences to protect crops and other vegetation\(^20\). In this way, the SCDIs under the auspices of Bulungula Incubator’s Community Work Program improve the quality of life for villagers while protecting and enhancing their close relationships with their surrounding environment.

Furthermore, the environmental NGOs argue that tourism is a development strategy which would allow for the environment to remain largely preserved (SAFCEI, 2012; Wild Coast forum, 2012; Bulungula Incubator, 2007). Notably, the representative of the Wild Coast forum points out that the lodges associated with tourism would not have any more environmental impact than the informal dwellings that cover the Wild Coast\(^21\). The environmental NGOs also tended to declare that the strategies they advocate – tourism and SCDIs – would be much less damaging and therefore more beneficial to the Wild Coast’s environment than top-down strategies, such as


\(^{21}\) J. Brown of the Wild Coast forum, personal comm., June 5, 2012
mining\textsuperscript{22}. This argument, described in the following section, was just one of the many made by the environmental NGOs in opposition to other development strategies.

4.2.5. Opinions of Other Development Strategies

Throughout the research process it became evident the environmental NGO sector strongly opposes the imposition of what they refer to as “mega-strategies”, or, large-scale development strategies onto the Wild Coast. The number one example used was mining, which was opposed by all of the environmental NGOs. This reflects that the Wild Coast is currently host to a debate over the recent prospecting rights granted to Transworld Energy and Mineral Resources (a company discussed in Section 4.4). Beyond mining, other mega development strategies opposed by the environmental sector include monoculture in agriculture, and the construction of the N2 toll road that would cut across environmentally sensitive areas of the coast (Bulungula Incubator, 2007; SAFCEI, 2012; SWC, 2012; Wild Coast forum, 2012).

Reasons for opposition to these mega-strategies are predominantly centered on their potential to cause damage to the environment. For instance, the SAFCEI interviewee argued that “mining would be detrimental to the Pondoland centre of endemism and the toll road would open up the area to pollution”\textsuperscript{23}. Moreover, on the SWC’s “Reactive Campaigns” webpage, the agency indicates its intent to “legally challenge the government's approval of the N2 Wild Coast Toll Road over the lack of proper consultation and other serious deficiencies in the N2 proposal's Environmental Impact Assessment” (2012). Additional arguments in opposition to mega development strategies were well summarized by an SWC informant, who declared that mega

\textsuperscript{22} S. Zukulu of the SWC, personal comm., May 28, 2012

\textsuperscript{23} Bishop G. Davies of SAFCEI, personal comm., June 25, 2012
strategies brought in by outsiders can be detrimental, since “people do not have control and lose land, the natural environment is destroyed, people are objects of employment and not empowered, and the traditional way of life is lost as a new culture is introduced.”

Interestingly, two of the NGOs pointed out flaws in the success of such mega strategies, which are due to the government. A member of the Bulungula Incubator argues that government proposals and strategies, which rely on public consultation, are quite pointless in that they are very difficult to access, especially for people in the far reaches of areas like the Wild Coast. Moreover, the developer of the Wild Coast forum argues that government initiatives, such as the Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative (SDI), and the Coffee Bay Development Project, quickly become stalled and ineffective, and are the government’s way of “maintaining the untenable status quo.” As will be expanded upon in the following section (4.3 Government), the SDI is just one of the many formal documents published by the government sector pertaining to matters of development in the Wild Coast. Yet, the effectiveness of these legislative documents remains in question.

4.3. Government

4.3.1. Government Introduction

Development in the Wild Coast is a topic that appears to be a concern for many government departments and agencies in South Africa. As the Wild Coast holds the potential for development through mining, agriculture, tourism, and business ventures, to name a few, a

24 S. Zukulu of the SWC, personal comm., May 28, 2012
25 D. Martin of the Bulungula Incubator, personal comm., June 6, 2012
26 J. Brown of the Wild Coast Forum, personal comm., June 6, 2012
number of government offices at different levels can exercise some form of jurisdiction over the issues at hand. The extent of this finding – the multitude of applicable government departments and agencies – emerged during the research process, as well as the fact that the South African federal and provincial governments have numerous departments, sub-units, and affiliated agencies27, which often overlap in terms of their purpose. Therefore, the number of departments and agencies that apply to this research seemed copious – an opinion exacerbated by the finding that actual development strategies with tangible outcomes in the Wild Coast are quite limited. That being said, the table below displays the departments and divisions that were analyzed and are linked closest to development in the Wild Coast, along with clarifications of their affiliations and roles:

Table 3. Government Departments and Agencies Involved in the Development of the Wild Coast

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Affiliation or Level</th>
<th>Description/Role</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Department of Mineral Resources (DMR)</td>
<td>National government</td>
<td>Deemed as the “legitimate custodian” of the country’s minerals, which aims to “ensure that all South Africans derive sustainable benefit from the country’s mineral wealth” (DMR, 2011).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Department of Agriculture (DoA)</td>
<td>National government</td>
<td>Aims to ensure “rural development, sustainable use of natural resources, and food security” for South Africans (Department of Agriculture, Forestry &amp; Fisheries, 2011).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape Department of Economic Development,</td>
<td>Provincial government</td>
<td>Goal: “Building a province where all people share the benefits of sound environmental management, sustainable development and economic growth” (DEDEAT, 2010).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

27 This point can be demonstrated by the fact that in that in the Eastern Cape, government is the largest employer (ECSECC, 2010)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Organization Name</th>
<th>Level</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEDEAT)</td>
<td>Eastern Cape Parks and Tourism Agency (ECPTA)</td>
<td>Provincial level agency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape Socio-Economic Coordinating Council (ECSECC)</td>
<td>Goal: “Advise and assist government and other stakeholders to achieve an integrated development strategy” (ECSECC, 2012).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern Cape Development Corporation (ECDC)</td>
<td>“The official economic development and investment agency for the Eastern Cape province” (ECDC, 2012).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O.R. Tambo District Municipal Government</td>
<td>Oversees issues of the O.R. Tambo district, which contains a large portion of the Wild Coast, and is one of seven districts in the Eastern Cape (Dellier &amp; Guyot, 2009).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntinga O.R. Tambo Development Agency</td>
<td>Municipal level agency</td>
<td>“A service utility company established by the O.R. Tambo District Municipality” that aims to implement local economic development projects within the O.R. Tambo district, including providing the means for agricultural production in rural villages (Ntinga, 2012).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

With the exception of members of the ECDC and the ECPTA, government personnel did not respond to direct emails, let alone participate in interviews. This is even despite several attempts to contact a vast number of government employees. The lack of willingness to participate in this research may be an indication that development of the Wild Coast is not a priority, or even a
major concern, of the government sector, despite the way it appears on paper. Relatedly, an interviewee from the NGO sector warned that the particular research topic would receive few answers from the government as “there isn’t a strategy [for the Wild Coast], say, beyond encouraging tourism for example, and those that do exist certainly don’t have policies in operation”\textsuperscript{28}.

Nonetheless, there was no shortage of government documents pertaining to issues of development in the Wild Coast, or for the entire Eastern Cape. The numerous departments and agencies have published countless policy and legislative documents where one would expect to find development strategies for the region. However, finding specific implementable/implemented strategies for the Wild Coast was nearly impossible, calling into question the effectiveness and necessity of the vast array of published development proposals, which are discussed in section 4.3.2.

4.3.2. Development Policy Frameworks Overview

Each of the government departments or affiliated agencies have devised, or refer to, official strategic plan(s) for development. In order to uncover the development strategies for the Wild Coast supported by the government sector, these documents were analyzed. Table 4 displays the documents most relevant to the issues at hand in the Wild Coast, and brief explanations of why they are important for this research:

Table 4. Policy Documents Relating to Development of the Wild Coast

\textsuperscript{28} D. Martin of the Bulungula Incubator, personal comm., June 6, 2012
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Document</th>
<th>Publisher, Effective Date(s)</th>
<th>Description/Goal (cited or quoted from said document unless indicated otherwise)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| “The Eastern Cape Provincial Growth And Development Plan” (PGDP)         | Government of the Eastern Cape, 2004-2014 |  - Ten-year plan outlining what will be done to fight poverty, promote sustainable economic and social development, create jobs, and generally create a better life for all in the Eastern Cape.  
  - Objectives from this document are mentioned in the strategic plans of the DoA, ECDC, and DEDEAT. |
| “Draft Spatial and Environmental Management Guidelines for the Wild Coast” (Draft Spatial Guide) | DEDEAT, 2012 |  - Proposes to provide a mandate for both economic development and environmental management, and to “establish a spatial instrument to guide and facilitate development of the Wild Coast”.  
  - The preface of this document outlines that it is set to replace three previous failed initiatives instilled by the provincial government since 1994: the European Union Wild Coast Support Programme, the Wild Coast Integrated Conservation and Development Programme, and notably, the Spatial Development Initiative. |
| “Wild Coast Spatial Development Initiative” (SDI)                        | Government of the Eastern Cape, 1997 |  - SDIs were based around the goals of the national government’s Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR) strategy of 1996, which emphasized private sector investment, with the state playing a ‘facilitating’ role (Kepe, 2001).  
  - SDIs were meant to target areas of South Africa that have both undeveloped economic potential and great need, such as the Wild Coast |
The Wild Coast SDI was intended to establish a spatial instrument to guide and facilitate development of the Wild Coast through economic development and environmental management, and “envisages a kick start for equitable economic growth by spatial concentration of public and private investment” (Govt. of the Eastern Cape, 1997). More specifically, the aim of the Wild Coast SDI was to attract tourism ventures to the “development nodes” that were identified within the area, such as Coffee Bay and Hole-in-the-Wall, in the hope that the improvement in infrastructure and other investments will encourage a range of economic initiatives in the surrounding areas (Kepe, 2001).

This strategy was used to exemplify one the previous failed development strategies for the Wild Coast by interviewees from the NGO sector²⁹, as well as in the Draft Spatial Guide (DEDEAT, 2012).

| “Department Of Agriculture Annual Performance Plan” | Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture (DoA), 2008 | Uses objectives from the PGDP (2004) as its own in regard to agriculture, such as “agrarian transformation and strengthening of food security”. |
| “Accelerated and” | AsgiSA, | Framework under the auspices of the DoA, |

Each of the documents above outlines a certain set of problems to be solved, mostly in regard to poverty in the region that they apply to. For instance, the PGDP (Govt. Eastern Cape, 2004) contains an “overview of the development challenges” that are affecting the Eastern Cape, and that the PGDP is intending to resolve, such as “wide-spread and deep rooted poverty with some 67% of the provincial population living below the poverty datum line”. In some instances, the challenges outlined in these documents include mention of the previous failed development strategies. For example, the recently distributed Draft Spatial Guide for the Wild Coat (DEDEAT, 2012) outlines how it will replace previous Wild Coast development initiatives, such as the SDI. The document indicates that the past programs, including the SDI, “made valuable contributions to establishing sound development planning frameworks for the Wild Coast, but it would be fair to say that tangible, concrete and sustainable outcomes have been limited” (DEDEAT, 2012). As such, each document listed in Table 4 adresses a range of issues that are to be dealt with, and oftentimes, it is noted that these issues, such as poverty and unemployment, have remained unaffected by past development regimes.
In addition to outlining the problems that are to be overcome, these government documents present a wide range of objectives. For instance, the PGDP (Govt. Eastern Cape, 2004) presents six objectives, which are re-iterated in the DoA Annual Performance Plan (Eastern Cape DoA, 2008), exemplified by the objective of “systematic poverty eradication through a holistic, integrated and multi-dimensional approach to pro-poor programming”. However, while each document includes a vast number of objectives, it is argued that these objectives do not in turn produce tangible, implementable, strategies, and hence do not yield real positive impacts on the ground level. In fact, critics of these government documents, including interviewees of the NGO sector30, indicate that the policy documents listed above have either not been implemented or have yielded very few results. For example, in regard to the SDI, Kepe, Ntsebeza, and Pithers (2001) point out “early problems in design and implementation indicate that some change in strategy is needed”.

With numerous government departments and affiliated agencies each producing strategic plans, it is evident that the government sector allocates ample time and funding into creating these numerous, over encompassing documents, which present a broad range of issues and objectives. However, the success of these documents and their pertinent initiatives remain in question. The upcoming sections will further discuss the contents of the government sector’s development objectives (Sections 4.3.3.2, 4.3.4.1, 4.3.4.2), as well as determine the possible issues that may lead to their lack of implementation and success (Section 4.3.5).

4.3.3. Contradictions Within Development Objectives: Development versus Environmental Protection

The development goals across the government sector are not uniform, with each department and agency outlining somewhat unique goals. Differences can be found in the overall objectives of the government documents, where some departments aim to increase environmental conservation, or “ensure sound environmental management” (DEDEAT, 2012), meanwhile others support projects that could potentially be harmful to the Wild Coast’s environment, including mining and infrastructure development (Govt. Eastern Cape, 2004; DMR, 2010). Within this sector, the most distinctly opposing development strategies for the Wild Coast are mining, supported by the DMR, versus conservation and/or ecotourism, supported by the DEDEAT and ECPTA. Not only are the proposed strategies in opposition, but the ECPTA is openly against the idea of mining in the Wild Coast based on the environmental damage that it may cause.\(^{31}\)

Moreover, the government sector demonstrates contradicting objectives even within single agencies. For instance, the ECDC identifies a range of prioritized development strategies for the Wild Coast. These include “development of infrastructure as a catalyst enabling improved access”, which, for the Wild Coast, could mean the construction of the N2 toll road, a project criticized for its threat to the coastal environment. At the same time, the ECDC promotes “conserving the environment via protected areas,”\(^ {32}\) which is contradictory to the former objective. Contradictions such as these contribute to the overall ineffectiveness of these government development documents. Other factors contributing to this ineffectiveness are to be

\(^{31}\) Anonymous interviewee from the ECPTA, personal comm., June 14, 2012

\(^{32}\) N. Ncokazi of the ECDC, personal comm., June 5, 2012
discussed Section 4.3.5. “Issues: Specified Strategy, Implementation, and Success”. Despite this finding that the government sector presented opposing development strategies, a number of trends emerged while analyzing the agencies and their respective legislative documents. These trends in regard to local people are discussed in the following section 4.3.4.

4.3.4. Arguments Involving Local People

4.3.4.1. Overview

Similar to the NGO sector, a stated prime objective of the government is to reduce poverty, and in order to do so, increase the employment rate by delivering job opportunities. For instance, the establishment of AsgiSA was based on the national government’s commitment to halving unemployment and poverty in South Africa by 2014 – a target also outlined in the PGDP (Govt. Eastern Cape, 2004). In addition to the government sector’s emphasis on increasing employment, improving health was a frequent focus of government policy and development objectives involving local people. For example, the “Strategic Plan of the DMR” (DMR, 2010) aims to “promote health and safety in the minerals sector” by providing “clear policy and regulatory framework to manage health and safety risks”. Moreover, many documents note that the HIV/AIDS rate of said region\(^\text{33}\) needs to be reduced, as well as some other prevalent health problems, including tuberculosis (Govt. Eastern Cape, 2004; DEDEAT, 2012). Beyond the common objectives of improving health and reducing unemployment, the government sector demonstrates the widespread aim of achieving equality, as discussed below in section 4.3.4.2.

\(^{33}\)“region” in this case is specific to each legislative document, applying to either South Africa, the Eastern Cape, or the Wild Coast.
4.3.4.2. Strategic Objective: Equality

A common goal of the government sector is to establish equality, especially where evident socio-economic and often race-based inequities exist as a result of apartheid. The commitment to establishing equality has been predominant within government legislature since the end of the apartheid government in 1994, which left some regions and racial groups (especially blacks) severely underdeveloped and deprived of services as compared to others (Bennie, 2011). In line with the visions of equality and poverty reduction outlined in the “Constitution of the Republic of South Africa” (1996), almost all of the policy and legislative documents analyzed in this research contained objectives that seek racial equality. For instance, a mission of the ECSECC is to “address the socio-economic development of the Province”, especially “the needs of deprived communities and underdeveloped areas” (ECSECC, 2010), while the “Strategic Plan of the DMR” aims to “redress past imbalances through promoting investment and broader participation in the minerals sector” (DMR, 2010). As such, the legislature of the government sector can be commended on its apparent commitment to achieving equality. However, while all of the objectives described here are evident on paper, that is, within the ascribed government documents, their implementation and success on the ground is a subject for debate, and is addressed in the following section.

4.3.5. Issues: Specified Strategy, Implementation, and Success

With numerous government departments and affiliated agencies possessing applicable jurisdiction over the Wild Coast, and no shortage of published documents outlining strategic plans for development, one would expect the government sector to have a vast supply of information for this research on development of the Wild Coast. However, as the research progressed, it was noted that the government’s specific, devised and implementable development strategies for the Wild Coast were limited. Undoubtedly, clarified development objectives are
provided in each pertinent legislative document, such as aims to reduce poverty, unemployment, and inequality. However, actual development strategies are absent.

Explanations and implications that substantiated this finding of the absence of devised strategies also emerged during the research process. This includes the fore mentioned lack of email responses and participation in interviews, which, according to an NGO informant\(^3^4\), is attributed to government sector’s non-prioritization of development strategies for the Wild Coast. Contradictions of objectives within the government sector, such as between environmental protection and mining or infrastructure development, may also contribute to the ultimately obscured and absent strategized plans for development in the Wild Coast. Further obscuring real strategies are government objectives that cut across nearly every form of development. For instance, when asked to identify one particular development strategy supported for the Wild Coast, the ECDC identified:

i. Development of infrastructure as a catalyst to enable improved access by road, rail, air and sea
ii. Development and promotion of the area as a premier tourist destination in the province focusing on: leisure, hospitality, heritage, and cultural tourism
iii. Development of local SMMEs [small, medium, and micro enterprises] and cooperatives
iv. Revitalization of small towns
v. Developing a fully-fledged aquaculture zone
vi. Conserving the environment and its natural beauty (protected areas)\(^3^5\)

Evidently, a very wide range of development objectives are provided here, yet the question of how each objective is to be met remains unanswered. That is, actual, implementable and specific development strategies are not identified. This observation rang true for the majority of the government sector. However, in a few cases, specific strategy for development of the Wild Coast

\(^3^4\) D. Martin of the Bulungula Incubator, personal comm., June 6, 2012
\(^3^5\) N. Ncokazi of the ECDC, personal comm., June 5, 2012
has been devised. These cases include the ECPTA’s conservation and tourism plans, the “Wild Coast SDI” (Govt. Eastern Cape, 1997), and the agricultural development projects of Ntinga O.R. Tambo and AsgiSA. Nonetheless, beyond devising specific development strategy, whether or not the strategy has actually been implemented, and was successful, is yet another discussion.

For the ECPTA’s conservation and tourism development strategies, including the aim of increasing the span of protected areas in the Wild Coast, “some communities are aware and some are not, [and] those that are aware are complaining about the lack of implementation”\(^{36}\). Likewise, past strategic plans such as the “Wild Coast SDI” (Govt. Eastern Cape, 1997) are widely criticized\(^ {37} \) based on the lack of, or failure of, implementation. However, AsgiSA and Ntinga O.R. Tambo are agricultural development initiatives that have both reached ground level, and have been implemented in a number of villages in the Wild Coast. Both strategies involved out-grower cropping, whereby the respective agency provides the means for crop growth on local villagers’ land, with the resultant agricultural production expected to profit both the villagers and the agency. Unfortunately, in the villages where these initiatives have been implemented, follow-up has revealed that results are “mixed at best, with reported increased yields, but with large numbers of project participants withdrawing after only a few years” (Kepe & Tessaro, forthcoming).

Therefore, the research process uncovered that there are major issues surrounding government sector’s lack of specific development strategy, its implementation, and indications of its success

\(^{36}\) Anonymous interviewee of the ECPTA, personal comm., June 14, 2012

\(^{37}\) Criticisms of the SDI (1997) have been included in Kepe et al (2011), the DEDEAT’s Draft Spatial Guide (2012), and in interviews from NGO sector informants D. Martin (personal comm., June 6, 2012) and J. Brown (personal comm., June 5, 2012).
in the Wild Coast. As for the private sector, thorough plans for the development of the Wild Coast have been cultivated, and are addressed in the following section.

4.4. Private Sector

4.4.1. Private Sector Introduction

For analysis of the private sector’s input into the development of the Wild Coast, mining was decided to be the most crucial industry, with the company Transworld Energy and Mineral Resources South Africa Ltd (TEM) providing the basis for analysis. This selection of mining, and of TEM, in order to represent the private sector was based on a number of reasons. First, mining is a development strategy that has unanimous opposition from the Environmental NGOs, and a majority from the government sector. Therefore, gathering the perspectives of the widely opposed mining sector became essential for the research. Furthermore, mining has played a vital role in the development of South Africa, and has been at the forefront of debates surrounding development of the Wild Coast, and South Africa in general, throughout history (Walker & Minnitt, 2006; Shillington, 2004). Meanwhile, other private sector industries currently operating in the Wild Coast consist of small enterprises, which are not very distinct from the SCDIs supported by the NGO sector that are thoroughly discussed within section 4.2.

Additionally, TEM was the only mining company relevant to the research topic based on its past and especially current presence in the Wild Coast. The company has very recently (March 2012) acquired prospecting rights from the DMR, with the goal of attaining a mining permit for an area within the Mbizana Local Municipality of the Wild Coast (TEM, 2012a). This recent acquisition of prospecting rights is currently an issue of contestation amongst the local people of the Wild Coast and its stakeholders, with some in favour of TEM’s mining proposal and others opposed. Not only is TEM’s prospective mining a recent debate, but it is actually the company’s second
attempt to mine heavy minerals in the Wild Coast. The first mining permit was revoked by the DMR in 2007, after a local activist group, known as the Amadiba Crisis Committee, appealed it (Yako, 2008; SWC, 2012). According to the Chairman of TEM, who willingly participated in an interview for this research, the concerns of local groups in this past instance have been addressed.\(^{38}\) That being said, the company makes a strong case for mining development and the benefits that it would bring to the local peoples of the Wild Coast. This section presents a summary of these arguments. Interestingly, the arguments in support of mining were re-iterated during a translated interview with a local traditional chief, whom formally represents the Amadiba people.\(^{39}\) The chief’s approval of mining is noteworthy, since the NGO sector argued that the local people of the Wild Coast are opposed to mining – an argument supplemented by the appeal against mining that took place in 2007. Henceforth, debates surrounding mining, and its potential impacts on local people, are of utmost significance for the development of the Wild Coast. The following section discusses these arguments.

4.4.2. Arguments Involving Local People

Consistent with the other two sectors, TEM emphasizes the importance of employment and job opportunities for the development of the Wild Coast. The company argues that once mining begins, which would be approximately three years from now if the prospecting process leads to approval, hundreds of jobs will be available for residents of the area. These job opportunities will

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\(^{38}\) A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., June 12, 2012

\(^{39}\) Albeit, the TEM chairman, who was likely aware of the support offered from the Amadiba chief, arranged the interview
be “direct, such as in construction and processing, and indirect, such as through cleaning”\textsuperscript{40}. TEM also argues these jobs will provide the people with skills that they will maintain after the mine has closed (approximately 20 to 25 years from the start of mining), and can use elsewhere. Furthermore, the Amadiba chief stated that even the local peoples who do not live close to the mine, and may not benefit from job opportunities, would benefit through the infrastructure development and improvement in services that mining development would bring\textsuperscript{41}.

This argument made by the chief ties in with another point made by TEM in regard to the benefits of mining for local people; that is, mining would bring improvements in infrastructure and services. For transportation to and from the mine, TEM would require infrastructure upgrades in the Wild Coast, which the company argues would be of great benefit to the local peoples and their transportation needs (TEM, 2012b). Moreover, by bringing job opportunities and investment to the area, the chairman of TEM states, “we would bring roads, electricity, schools, water, and money”\textsuperscript{42}. Similarly, the Amadiba chief points out that the investment brought from mining development “can benefit youth and future generations, such as in reducing deaths from cholera” by improving water quality\textsuperscript{43}.

The arguments made by TEM in regard to the benefits of local people, discussed here, have very recently (May, 2012) been presented to the local people themselves in public forums. These public forums have been held in a number of villages across the Wild Coast, and are advertised through a variety of mediums, such as in newspapers and flyers (See Appendix F: Sample TEM

\textsuperscript{40} A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., June 12, 2012 \\
\textsuperscript{41} Amadiba chief, personal comm., July 5, 2012 \\
\textsuperscript{42} A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., June 12, 2012 \\
\textsuperscript{43} Amadiba chief, personal comm., July 5, 2012
Flyer). As part of TEM’s prospecting period, and as required by the DMR, the purpose of the public forums is to consult with local people and any potentially affected parties, and to gather and document opinions and concerns. As required by the DMR, companies with prospecting rights are to hire external and independent organizations in order to manage the consultation process. In this case, TEM hired a company named GCS (Pty) Ltd. This consultancy company was in charge of a number of tasks involved in organizing, promoting, and managing the public participation forums that were held in a number of villages across the Wild Coast. For instance, these tasks included approaching “the local community leadership (municipality and traditional leaders) in advance to discuss what [TEM] wanted to do”\footnote{A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., September 17, 2012}, obtaining permission for meetings, and printing and distributing flyers. At the public meetings, GCS took attendance, recorded/transcribed the proceedings, and also introduced the company TEM, whose representatives then explained their plans and the details of the prospecting period. In addition to TEM and GCS who were presenting at these public meetings, attendees were from a wide range of groups. These included: local leadership (traditional or municipal), other municipality workers or planners, members of regulatory departments, local residents, oppositional consultants and lawyers, police, members of the press, and any other interested persons such as students. It has been indicated that “the majority in each [forum] were the local residents falling under the local leadership”\footnote{A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., September 17, 2012}.

The TEM chairman sent along the presentation used in these public forums, as well as an example of an “Issue and Response Trail” (TEM, 2012c), which lists comments and concerns from the public, as well as TEM’s response. The “Issue and Response Trail” was 30 pages long.

\footnote{A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., September 17, 2012}
with the first half predominantly containing comments expressing approval for mining. The approving comments mostly related to the need for job opportunities in the area. On the other hand, comments from the public that disapproved mining usually entailed concerns of loss of traditional culture and environmental concerns. For instance, one commentator requested that TEM provide a full analysis of the project’s “consequences for the local inhabitants and their present way of living” (TEM, 2012c). However, as the presentations in these public forums indicate, part of the prospecting period will involve investigating “socio-economic conditions and cultural heritage” (TEM, 2012b). In addition to this, the prospecting period will be used to investigate a wide range of possible impacts on the environment, as discussed in the following section.

4.4.3. Arguments Involving the Environment

TEM is currently exercising its prospecting rights by investigating how mining will affect the environment of the Wild Coast. As indicated by TEM, this process will include a range of assessments of potential impacts, such as the effects of mining on soil fertility, groundwater, and air quality. “Socio-economic” and socio-environmental impacts are also assessed, including traffic surveys and noise assessments. This period is expected to take up to three years, and will result in TEM submitting an Environmental Management Plan (EMP) to the DMR for its mining operations. Ideally for TEM, the EMP would be approved by the DMR and a mining permit would be granted (TEM, 2012a).

The purpose of the prospecting period is to determine environmental impacts, and the chairman of TEM does not deny that mining will have some effects on the Wild Coast’s natural environment. The company argues that due to the nature of the sand dune mining, these will be short-term impacts, “such as removing trees and digging up sand”. Moreover, “a road would be
built and this cannot be done without cutting across land,” and will lead to more trucks in the area “and other aspects that have quantifiable impact on other peoples lives”\(^{46}\). Furthermore, the Amadiba chief points out that from his perspective, there is no reason that TEM’s mining should be prohibited; however, upon prospecting, “outsiders whom are environmentalists can reject the proposals if need be”\(^{47}\). Ultimately, the prospecting period and the resultant EMP, including a required “rehabilitation plan”, will determine the possible impacts of TEM’s proposal to mine sand dunes on the Wild Coast. As the chairman of TEM states, “it is our job to understand that and make sure that we service [the local people] as best we can so that the environmental consequences are made up for, and that they benefit through development”\(^{48}\).

### 4.5 Conclusion

Evidently, the future development of the Wild Coast is not clear-cut. Each sector has different ideas of what is best for the region, its people, and its environment. For the Environmental NGOs, tourism and SCDIs are argued to be the most beneficial to the Wild Coast in that they are environmentally sustainable, and work directly with local people, allowing them to decide what is best for them and to maintain their culture. While the government sector strongly emphasizes the importance of reducing poverty, inequality, and unemployment in underdeveloped areas such as the Wild Coast, there is no single, specific development strategy that this sector argues is best for the area. However, a number of government departments and agencies have outlined development objectives, which range from support of mining, to agricultural production, to environmental conservation. Yet, as evidenced throughout the research, these objectives often do

\(^{46}\) A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., June 12, 2012

\(^{47}\) Amadiba chief, personal comm., July 5, 2012

\(^{48}\) A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., June 12, 2012
not yield successful results. Finally, the private sector, represented in this research by TEM, is eager to engage in development through mining, offering promises of employment, as well as improvements in infrastructure and services for the peoples of the Wild Coast. Henceforth, the development of the Wild Coast proves to be an ever-present issue of contestation amongst its stakeholders, each with its own set of opinions of what is best for the region and its people. In order to draw conclusions based on the findings of this chapter, the next section will reevaluate the main development strategies and their pertinent arguments, especially as they relate to the discussions of development discourse and poverty in South Africa as described in Chapter Three.
Chapter Five: Discussion and Conclusion

5.1. Introduction

The Wild Coast, of the Eastern Cape, South Africa is a region that is well known for its immense scenic beauty, biodiversity, and natural resources, especially within the “Pondoland centre of endemism”, which is internationally recognized as a “biodiversity hotspot” (Bennie, 2010; Kepe, 2010). However, in the midst of the region’s pristine scenery is an impoverished population (Costello & De Villiers, 2006). In recent years, this resource rich, yet economically poor region has become a major subject of debate amongst numerous stakeholders and local peoples, each seeking to determine different futures for the region; particularly attempting to determine the development of the Wild Coast.

While previous research has examined impacts of singular forms of development on the Wild Coast, such as biodiversity conservation alone (Kepe, 2010) or mining alone (Bennie, 2011), it is necessary to study the different strategies in unison, and within the political-historical context of South Africa, so that they can effectively be compared. As such, the stated goal of this thesis is to explore the predominant development strategies being supported for the Wild Coast, as well as who supports and opposes each strategy, and what their main arguments are. Using these findings, this research further attempted to uncover how local people, poverty, and the environment were featured within the arguments for each development strategy. Moreover, the research was undertaken by drawing from political ecology, as the goal was to understand the complex relations between nature and society (Robbins, 2004), while using a contextual analysis of multiple scales of influence (Kepe et al., 2008). Additionally, the final research objective, featured at the end of this chapter (Section 5.5), is to discuss the implications of the thesis findings for development policy and research involving the Wild Coast.
The research process commenced with a review of literatures (Chapter Three) surrounding the underlying concepts of this thesis. The review began by discussing poverty and its influences from apartheid in South Africa (Section 3.2), continuing with discourses surrounding development in the country (Section 3.3), including poverty reduction (Section 3.4) and natural resources (Section 3.5), ending with a discussion of recent related debates in political ecology (Section 3.6). Next, a case study of stakeholder arguments in regard to development of the Wild Coast was performed through both document analysis and semi-structured interviews, with findings presented and discussed in Chapter Four. The document analysis was performed in order to gather vast amounts of information pertaining to stakeholders’ development goals and objectives for the Wild Coast, especially through agency websites and official government documents. The semi-structured interviews, conducted with members of various important organizations over Skype or email, significantly supplemented the findings of the document analysis and yielded direct arguments in regard to the topic of development of the Wild Coast.

This concluding chapter draws connections between key concepts from the literature review and key findings from the case study, and begins by reevaluating the predominant development strategies supported by the Wild Coast’s stakeholders – Small Community Development Initiatives (SCDIs), small tourism businesses, and mining. Arguments for both SCDIs and tourism are reevaluated together in Section 5.2, since both were most strongly advocated by the NGO sector, and the vast majority of the arguments for each were the same. Section 5.3 then reevaluates the significance of the arguments for and against mining. Next, Section 5.4 discusses the major issue of ineffective government policy frameworks that emerged throughout the research process. Finally, Section 5.5 concludes the thesis by reiterating the most significant findings, as well as their implications for policy and research surrounding development of the Wild Coast.
5.2. Support of SCDIs and Tourism: The Importance of Local Peoples' Involvement, Maintaining “Traditional” Culture, and Environmental Sustainability

The discussion of development discourse and poverty reduction in Sections 3.3 and 3.4 indicated that development and poverty reduction strategies in South Africa and elsewhere should be considerate of context specific factors and local preferences (DuPlessis, 2008; Hajdu, 2005; Hart, 2001). This was demonstrated within the literature review concerning the Extended Public Works Program of 2004, which faced a number of criticisms and challenges due to its top-down approach, whereby distant government employees made decisions in regard to the projects, exclusive of input from the local peoples and nature reserve managers where implementation took place (Kepe & Kobokana, 2008). Moreover, Chapter Three pointed out that public participation is a major element of forming development strategies, as advocated by development theorists (DuPlessis, 2008; Hajdu, 2005) and political ecologists alike (King & Peralvo, 2010).

These arguments from the development discourse literature emerged as arguments made by the NGO sector in regard to the development strategies that they support – SCDIs and tourism. As discussed in section 4.2.2, NGOs such as Sustaining the Wild Coast (SWC) and Bulungula Incubator argued that SCDIs are beneficial for the peoples of the Wild Coast as they are “created by the local people, for the local people”, involving thorough involvement and participation in creating the development strategies best suited to local needs\textsuperscript{49}. Moreover, the arguments for small tourism businesses included that local people could now or eventually independently run these businesses\textsuperscript{50}. The NGOs furthered this argument by stating that one of the benefits of local-

\textsuperscript{49} S. Heather of the SWC, personal comm., May 24, 2012

\textsuperscript{50} D. Martin of Bulungula Incubator, personal comm., June 6, 2012; Bishop G. Davies of SAFCEI, personal comm., June 25, 2012
run tourism businesses and SCDIs was that “traditional” culture could be maintained, in that the development strategies are not being imposed from “outsiders” (SAFCEI, 2012; Bulungula Incubator 2007; SWC, 2012). The labeling of “traditional” culture and “outside” development strategies in the NGO sector’s arguments correlates with part of the discussion of development discourse in Chapter Three.

As discussed in Section 3.3, development is a widely contested concept, and is especially criticized by post-development authors such as Escobar (1995) and Sachs (1992). For Escobar, development was/is problematically used to normalize Third World countries as “traditional” and poor, in need of becoming “modern” via Western intervention and imposition of development ideals. It can be contended that this criticism, linked to the post development movement, emerged within the arguments of the NGO sector in order to oppose the development strategies proposed by “outsiders”, such as mining, and to support the SCDI’s and locally managed tourism businesses. However, part of this argument from the NGO sector maintained that the benefit of avoiding strategies imposed from the outside was the maintenance of “traditional” culture (SAFCEI, 2012; Bulungula Incubator 2007; SWC, 2012) – a form of labeling actually indicated as problematic by Escobar (1995) in the double meaning it invoked in suggesting the need for modernization through development. Therefore, in the arguments supporting SCDIs and tourism, the term “traditional” is embraced and used as something to be protected from outside development strategies, whereas to post development theorists, “traditional” can be a problematic label imposed by Western ideology onto poor areas, implying that they are in need of saving through modernization and development (Escobar, 1995; Sachs, 1992)
In addition to the protection of “traditional” culture being included in the arguments for SCDIs and tourism, the NGO sector strongly emphasized that the environment of the Wild Coast would remain protected through the “environmentally sustainable” development strategies that they support (WESSA, 2011; SAFCEI, 2012; Bulungula Incubator, 2007; SWC, 2012). This means that in terms of the dichotomy surrounding natural resources and development as discussed in Section 3.5, the NGO sector can be placed on the environmental conservationist side, whereby resources and the environment are to be conserved and/or used sustainably. On the other side of this dichotomy, natural resources are assessed in their capacity to provide economic development (Foster, 1999; Johnston et al., 2009). Within this research, this second more economically driven side of the dichotomy had its representation through the arguments presented by the private sector in support of mining, which are reevaluated in the following Section (5.3). Furthermore, and problematically, the government sector demonstrates a split, with different departments and agencies advocating development objectives on opposing sides of the dichotomy, such as the DMR encouraging mining while the DEDEAT and ECPTA encourage protected areas. The issue of opposing objectives is just one of the issues that emerged in this research surrounding government development goals. These issues are elaborated on and discussed in Section 5.4.

5.3. Arguments in Support of Mining: Effectiveness in Addressing Common Criticisms

In reviewing the literatures discussing the mining sector of South Africa, Chapter Three indicated that as one of the most mineral rich countries in the world, South Africa’s mining sector has been the main driving force behind the history and development of the country’s economy (Walker & Minnitt, 2006). Throughout Section 4.4, the arguments in support of mining, predominantly from the private sector, represented by TEM, but also from the
government sector’s DMR, use this fact to encourage mining in its ability to provide investment into the Wild Coast and employment for its peoples. As noted in Section 3.4 “Development and Poverty Reduction in South Africa”, as well as in the development objectives presented by the government sector, unemployment remains a major problem in South Africa and should be reduced (Rispel et al, 2010; Govt. Eastern Cape, 2004; DMR, 2010). Markedly, proponents of mining use this national issue in shaping their arguments, emphasizing that mining would be beneficial through providing large-scale employment\textsuperscript{51}.

Despite the economic benefits that mining can provide, Section 3.5 also presented general criticisms of the mining industry\textsuperscript{52}. For instance, due to the industry’s reputation of producing exploitative relationships with host regions (Shillington, 2004), mining is considered to adhere to Neil Smith’s more broad theory of Uneven Development (1984), in that those who control the mining processes accumulate wealth by exploiting the natural resources of poor areas. Furthermore, mining is often criticized for the environmentally damaging consequences of the mining processes that are borne by the peoples living nearby and their environments (Hentschel, 2003). These critiques of mining were evident in the arguments of the NGO sector (Section 4.2), as it was frequently stated that mining would benefit outsiders while diminishing the Wild Coast’s natural environment (Wild Coast forum, 2012; SWC, 2012; SAFCEI, 2012). However, the private sector addressed these criticisms in a number of ways. For instance, TEM has thoroughly outlined the prospecting period, whereby environmental impacts will be assessed and alleviation of these impacts will be established, through both the Environmental Management Plan and rehabilitation plan (TEM, 2012b). Moreover, TEM refutes the common conjecture of

\textsuperscript{51} A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., June 12, 2012

\textsuperscript{52} Criticisms of mining in were predominantly in reference to a global scale
exploitation by arguing that its operations will improve the quality of life for the Wild Coast’s peoples, through employment opportunities, and investment into the area that will serve to enhance infrastructure and services. Not only were the common criticisms of mining as an exploitative and environmentally damaging industry addressed by TEM, but the company also addresses the perspective held by both development theorists and political ecologists which emphasizes public participation as a key component of development (Du Plessis, 2008; Hajdu, 2005; King & Peralvo, 2010). This was achieved through the proof of the public forums that TEM has held across a number of villages in the Wild Coast, whereby local people and “affected parties” can express their comments and concerns, which are in turn responded to by TEM (TEM, 2012c).

Therefore, with the arguments provided by TEM in support of mining (fully reviewed in Section 4.4), as well as the criticisms of mining from both the literature and NGOs being effectively addressed, it would be difficult to draw research conclusions in opposition to TEM’s mining of the Wild Coast. The documents supplied by TEM, including the public commentary and information regarding its prospecting process, effectively leave the researcher with no reason to contest mining, and demonstrate the potential for this development strategy to be considered by decision makers in order to improve the livelihoods of the Wild Coast’s peoples through employment and investment. The same can be stated for SCDIs and small tourism businesses; even though they operate on a much smaller scale (providing fewer employment opportunities than mining), the supporting arguments provided from the proponents of these strategies indicate no reason that they should be opposed. That being said, it is the opinion of the researcher, and of
the chairman of TEM\textsuperscript{53}, that mining, tourism, and SCDIs should be considered by decision makers as coexisting development strategies within the Wild Coast, especially as the mining project will include infrastructure improvements that can improve access for tourists. Moreover, as noted in Section 2.3, the spatial extent of the coastal and inland areas of the Wild Coast are vast enough for multiple strategies to coexist without overlapping, especially since TEM has proposed to mine a 40 kilometer stretch of the 300 kilometer coastline, which also leaves the expansive (16 kilometer) inland region for other development strategies to operate.

Furthermore, it must be noted that the discussions in this thesis surrounding TEM’s mining prospecting for the Wild Coast are discussed here only as they apply directly to the situation at hand. That is, in discussing TEM’s proposed mining development, the arguments made are only meant to apply to the local context that is described in this thesis, instead of generalizing these arguments so that they may apply elsewhere. The same can be said for the other development strategies of SCDI’s and tourism, which are industries that exist elsewhere, but are only discussed here as they apply to the Wild Coast. Therefore, the discussions here are of local scale, and do not apply to the mining industry, tourism industry, or SCDIs at the national or international scales, since it is expected that the entirety of these industries are not uniform, and that different companies may portray diverse characteristics from region to region.

Also, while the arguments in support of mining are convincing, the truth of the matter is that mining has not yet occurred in the Wild Coast. Therefore, all arguments made by TEM are prospective, and the effectiveness of mining as a development strategy will rely on whether or not the company actually follows through with its proposals and promises. Hopefully, TEM’s

\textsuperscript{53} A. Lashbrooke of TEM, personal comm., June 12, 2012
proposals do not meet the same fate as those from the government sector, which, as established throughout the research and discussed in Section 5.4 below, have had very few tangible impacts on the Wild Coast and other poor regions of South Africa.

**5.4. The Overall Ineffectiveness of Government Documents and Development Frameworks**

The review of literature in Chapter Three presents the severe problems of poverty, unemployment, and inequality that inflict South Africa. These three issues are apartheid legacies, and are yet to be effectively dealt with by the democratically elected governments since the end of the regime in 1994 (Rispel et al., 2010; Gibson, 2009). Moreover, Section 3.4 discusses how these problems prevail across the country despite the government sector’s development and poverty-reduction frameworks, such as the new South African Constitution, the Reconstruction and Development Programme, and the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Program (Gibson, 2009; Kepe & Kobokana, 2008).

The existence of numerous government development policy documents, yet the persistence of poverty, unemployment, and inequality, was reinforced through the findings in Section 4.3. In this section, Table 4 displayed a number of development strategies applicable to the Wild Coast. Almost all of these strategies, as well as the government agencies and organizations included in the analysis (listed in Table 3), outline development objectives of reducing poverty, unemployment, and inequality in the regions to which they apply (DEDEAT, 2012; Govt. Eastern Cape, 2004; DMR, 2010; DoA, 2008). Notably, the widespread presence of the objective of “poverty reduction” correlates with the arguments of authors like Cornwall (2007) and Toye (2007). As section 3.3 pointed out, these authors argued that the notion of “poverty reduction”,
referred to by Cornwall as a buzzword, is attractive to governments, often shaping highly publicized development goals.

However, considering the number of pertinent documents and development objectives, as well as the amount of time and funding (such as through hiring consultants and paying agencies) utilized in the extensive planning processes in order to create these documents, the government sector has devised very few actual, implementable development strategies for the Wild Coast. For those strategies that have been devised, namely, the SDI, AsgiSA, and Ntinga O.R. Tambo (all discussed in Section 4.3.5) implementation and tangible results are limited, and successes are even fewer (Kepe & Tessaro, forthcoming; DEDEAT, 2012).

Therefore, with evidence of the lack of success of government development documents in South Africa emerging throughout the literature review, document analysis, and interviews\(^{54}\), it is the opinion of the researcher that the broadly set, (and even opposing in some cases) objectives rendered by the government do not generate successfully implemented development strategies. In order to depict this finding, Figure 7 portrays how the government sector’s development objectives are unlikely to produce tangible successes – that is, unlikely to lead to development.

As Figure 7 points out, the successes of the development strategies devised and implemented by the government sector are nearly non-existent. While the findings that contributed to this depiction were predominantly in regard to the research surrounding the Wild Coast, this ineffectiveness can perhaps apply to the South African government as a whole, and can contribute to explanations for the failures of previous development strategies. Henceforth, the finding of government sector ineffectiveness has implications that ultimately effect the development of the Wild Coast. These implications are used to draw conclusions for this thesis and are elaborated within Section 5.5.

5.5. Conclusion

This Chapter presented the predominant development strategies supported for the Wild Coast, and drew connections between the main arguments for these strategies (Chapter Four) and discussions from the literature review (Chapter Three). More specifically, NGO arguments in
favour of SCDIs and tourism align with the perspectives of development theorists and political ecologists in that local people should participate in shaping the development strategies that will affect them, as opposed to the imposition of development ideals from distantly conceived strategies. However, Section 5.2 also pointed out that in the arguments supporting SCDIs and tourism, the term “traditional” is embraced and used as something to be protected from outside development strategies, whereas to post development theorists such as Escobar (1995), “traditional” can be a problematic label imposed by Western ideology onto poor areas, implying that they are in need of saving through modernization and development.

This Chapter also described how the arguments made by TEM in support of its proposed mining of the Wild Coast were effective, such as through promising to reduce unemployment – an issue that greatly contributes to the state of poverty for poor South Africans as described in Section 3.4 of the literature review. TEM has also demonstrated its conduction of public participation as part of its prospecting process, previously noted by development theorists and political ecologists as a key component for successful development strategies. Moreover, this Chapter discussed how the company’s arguments effectively addressed the common criticisms of mining that emerged in Section 3.5 and in NGO sector arguments, such as the industry’s tendency to exploit poor areas and leave them with damaged environments. The company has addressed these criticisms using a number of arguments, for instance by stating that they will ensure improvements in infrastructure, as well as improvements in services for the area through increased investment. Henceforth, Section 5.3 concluded with the suggestion that mining be considered by decision makers as a possible development strategy for the Wild Coast, due to the effective arguments provided by TEM. However, as arguments are prospective, the success of the development strategy and the impacts on the local peoples of the Wild Coast depend on the integrity of TEM in following through on its proposals and promises. Moreover, this section indicated that the
conclusive approval of TEM’s mining does not eliminate the approval of the NGO supported strategies of SCDIs and tourism, but instead proposes that decision makers should be considerate of the two strategies operating in unison within the expanses of the Wild Coast.

That being said, it is noteworthy that the NGO sector and the private sector, and the strategies and arguments of both, fall on opposing sides of the environmental sustainability versus economic development dichotomy. This dichotomy surrounding natural resources was described in Section 3.5, and reintroduced in this Chapter, hereby arguing that the NGO sector’s development strategies (SCDIs and tourism) conform to the conservationist side of the dichotomy, while the private sector strategy of mining represents the more economically driven side. Additionally, the objectives of the government sector fall on both sides of the dichotomy, such as through encouragement of both conservation (DEDEAT and ECPTA) and mining (DMR) strategies. This split is of significance to this research, since opposing and broadly set objectives contribute to the finding that the government sector does not produce effective development strategies for the Wild Coast.

The ineffectiveness of government development strategies is a major finding that recurred throughout the entire research process and is discussed in Section 5.4. Figure 7 summarizes this significant finding, by depicting that while there are numerous development documents and objectives outlined by the government sector, there are few real, implementable development strategies specified, and even fewer that are actually implemented and have real impacts on the poor. Therefore, the number of successfully implemented government development strategies yielding positive results ends up being negligible for poor areas in South Africa, such as the Wild Coast.
The lack of development successes yielded from South Africa’s government sector can link to an initial finding of this research process, in that members of this sector were extremely difficult to reach, and rarely responded to emails, let alone participated in the research. This was true even despite multiple attempts to contact numerous members of many government departments, and may demonstrate a sense of comfort or entitlement within this sector, in that dealing with researchers is unnecessary. That is, the government sector may lack the moral urgency in promoting their goals and achieving development. On the contrary, members of the NGO sector and the private sector (represented by TEM) were very eager to communicate their development goals with the researcher, and were often of great help throughout the research. In this way, it can be concluded that the NGOs and TEM feel that self-promotion and virtuous public image are important, and that they perhaps are aware of their mortality as organizations, especially in comparison to the ever-static (and in a sense, immortal) government sector. Therefore, by willingly participating and contributing to research, it is the NGO and private sectors that exude determination in achieving development.

Moreover, while current government policy documents were found to be ineffective in determining development strategies for the Wild Coast, this thesis found that the development strategies and arguments of both the private sector (mining) and the NGO sector (SCDIs and tourism) seemed to make sense in their own right. Henceforth, perhaps the coexistence of each of these strategies would be beneficial for the development of the Wild Coast. The problem with this conclusion is that the peaceful coexistence of each of these strategies would require cooperation between NGO and private sectors, as well as the different government departments with some form of jurisdiction over Wild Coast. As identified in the literature review, and throughout the case study, these sectors, and the development strategies that they support, are in opposition. Not only do they fall on opposite sides of the environmental sustainability versus
economic development dichotomy, but the NGO sector openly opposes TEM’s mining of the Wild Coast. Yet, as both sectors provide valid and effective arguments, it is the opinion of the researcher that mining, SCDIs, and tourism *together* should be considered by stakeholders and decision makers in shaping development strategies for the Wild Coast.

By examining and comparing arguments for various development strategies in unison, as opposed to examining a single form of development, an objective of this thesis was to discuss how the findings might contribute to informing the decisions of the Wild Coast’s policy makers. Therefore, the conclusion that mining, tourism, and SCDIs should all be considered as potential development strategies for the area is a finding that can inform stakeholders and decision makers in devising development strategies for the Wild Coast, in that the three strategies can be considered in unison, and that their impacts on one another should be understood and used to shape the way that each is planned and therefore implemented. Importantly, the political ecology framework of this thesis underlined the importance of considering multiple scales of influence in research. In this case, the multiple influences affecting stakeholder arguments and possible development strategies included interactions with other stakeholders and sectors, as well as interactions with other forms of development. The implication of this type of research has lead the researcher to suggest that perhaps the multiple development strategies of mining, tourism and SCDIs can be considered when formulating development policy documents for the area. As the findings demonstrated, the current method of government development policy-making has not been successful for the Wild Coast. Currently, these documents are formed by agencies that may not be considering the possibilities of multiple development strategies, and how they may impact each other on the ground. However, by examining arguments for SCDIs, tourism, and mining in unison, and suggesting that the arguments for each of the strategies are valid, this thesis proposes
that all three strategies be considered by government departments when devising development strategies.

Moreover, perhaps the formulation and implementation of these development strategies would be more likely to succeed if departments were to in fact collaborate in shaping their development goals, as opposed to each allotting vast time and resources to creating individual development documents, which in turn do not achieve successes on the ground. Additionally, an implication of this research also leads to the suggestion that future research should err on the side of caution when investigating particular development strategies supported by particular sectors. It would be beneficial if these studies maintain the consideration that local people rely on multiple livelihood strategies; therefore any proposed land use plan, or studies looking at it, should acknowledge this multiplicity of livelihoods (see Kepe et al., 2001). Ultimately, therefore, this conclusion suggests that sectors and agencies should collaborate rather than oppose each other, and should consider the multiple development strategies of SCDIs, tourism, and mining, in order to open up the possibility of successful implementation, so that development of the Wild Coast and the improvement of the quality of life for local people can be achieved.
References


Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture (DoA). (2008). Department Of Agriculture Annual Performance Plan. Eastern Cape: Eastern Cape Department of Agriculture


Appendix A: Sample Recruitment Email

Dear _________:
My name is Danielle Tessaro, and I am currently a Masters student at the University of Toronto, conducting thesis research on the prospective development of the Wild Coast, in South Africa’s Eastern Cape Province. For the purposes of this research, I am asking you to participate in an interview over Skype, the telephone, or through email. The goal of this research is to examine the forms of development that are being encouraged for the Wild Coast, and how prospective changes may affect the local peoples and the natural environment. If you decide to participate, you will be asked a series of questions in order for the researcher to understand your perspective on the issues of development being faced by the Wild Coast, what changes you would like to implement, and how you do or do not plan to include the local people in these prospective changes. This will provide you with an opportunity to voice your opinion on the matter and have it included in academic research involving the development of the Wild Coast.

Participation in this research project is completely voluntary and the information collected will remain confidential. This study is in no way associated with any organization or institution, other than the University of Toronto, Department of Geography and Planning. I do not foresee any risks associated with your participation in this study. If you do choose to participate, you have the option of remaining anonymous so that your name/occupation will not be documented or appear in any results. Also, during the research process, you will be free to withdraw at any time without consequence. In the future, a summary of the research results can be obtained by emailing the researcher, at the email address: danielle.tessaro@utoronto.ca.

Please contact the researcher with any questions or concerns, or with your acceptance or refusal to participate in an interview, at the following email address: danielle.tessaro@utoronto.ca. To verify the researcher, the research supervisor, Dr. Thembela Kepe, may be contacted at kepe@utsc.utoronto.ca. The Office of Research Ethics at the University of Toronto may also be contacted with any questions about your rights as a participant (ethics.review@utoronto.ca, 416.946.3273).
Sincerely,

Danielle Tessaro

Graduate Studies in Geography and Planning,  
University of Toronto  
100 St. George Street, Room 5047  
Toronto, Ontario  
M5S 3G3, Canada  
danielle.tessaro@utoronto.ca
Appendix B: Information and Consent Form

Study Title: Development Discourses in the Wild Coast, South Africa

Researcher: Danielle Tessaro, Graduate Studies in Geography and Planning, University of Toronto, 100 St. George Street, Room 5047, Toronto, ON M5S 3G3, Canada
danielle.tessaro@utoronto.ca

Purpose of Research: To examine the forms of development that are being encouraged for the Wild Coast, and how the proposed forms of development may affect the local peoples and the natural environment.

What the Participant Will Be Asked to Do: You are being asked to participate in research for a Masters thesis project. During a one hour, face-to-face, semi-structured interview, you will be asked a series of questions relating to your perspective on the issues surrounding development of the Wild Coast.

Potential Benefits: Your participation in an interview will provide you with an opportunity to voice your/your institution’s opinion on the matter, and have it included in academic research involving the development of the Wild Coast. In turn, this research may inform future studies, as well as approaches for policy and decision making pertaining to the Wild Coast.

Potential Risks: The researcher does not foresee risks associated with your participation in this study, especially as you are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without consequence.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence. Unless you specifically sign your consent, your name and/or occupation will not be documented and will not appear in any report or publication of the research. The
researcher will type interview responses directly onto a private, password-protected laptop, where it will be secure and only made accessible to the researcher.

**Voluntary Participation & Withdrawal:** Participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You may choose not to respond to specific questions or to remove yourself from the interview at any time, as well as to have your responses removed prior to submission of the thesis (September 2012).

**Contact Information:** If you have concerns or questions, please do not hesitate to contact Danielle Tessaro by telephone (647.383.8949) or email (danielle.toronto@utoronto.ca). To verify or report the researcher, the research supervisor, Dr. Thembela Kepe, may be contacted by telephone (416.287.7281) or email (kepe@utsc.utoronto.ca). The Office of Research Ethics at the University of Toronto has reviewed this research and may also be contacted with any questions about your rights as a participant (ethics.review@utoronto.ca, 416.946.3273).

**Documentation of Informed Consent:**

I _______________________________ consent to voluntarily participate in this interview conducted by Danielle Tessaro. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature indicates my willingness to participate.

I give permission to disclose my occupation/institutional affiliation: **Initials _____**

I give permission to disclose my name: **Initials _____**

__________________________________________  ____________________________
Participant’s Signature                        Date

__________________________________________  ____________________________
Researcher’s Signature                         Date
Appendix C: Interview Schedule For Agencies/Organizations

1. What is your organization’s main interest in the Wild Coast area?
2. What is your organization’s view concerning development of the Wild Coast Area?
   a. Is there a particular proposal or strategy for development that you support?
   b. What are the potential benefits of this proposal/strategy?
   c. What are the potential drawbacks of this proposal/strategy?
3. How might the proposed development strategy impact the local peoples?
4. Have you consulted local people in regard to the development strategy? If yes, how did he/she/they react?
5. How might the proposed development strategy impact the natural environment?
6. Are you aware of other proposals to develop the Wild Coast? If yes:
   a. Do you support any aspects of this proposal/these proposals? If so, provide reasons and details.
   b. Are there any specific reasons that you believe this proposal/these proposals should be rejected or are a bad idea? Provide details.
7. Is there anything else that you wish to add concerning development, the natural environment and/or local people in the Wild Coast?
8. Are there any secondary materials, such as flyers, newsletters or brochures that you could kindly direct me to? If they are available online, a link would be very helpful. If they are only in print, I will happily email transfer money to cover the postage fees.
Appendix D: Interview Schedule For Individuals

1. What is your main interest in the Wild Coast area?

2. What is your view concerning development of the Wild Coast Area?
   a. Is there a particular proposal or strategy for development that you support?
   b. What are the potential benefits of this proposal/strategy?
   c. What are the potential drawbacks of this proposal/strategy?

3. How might the proposed development strategy impact the local peoples?

4. How might the proposed development strategy impact the natural environment?

5. Are you aware of other proposals to develop the Wild Coast? If yes:
   a. Do you support any aspects of this proposal/these proposals? If so, provide reasons and details.
   b. Are there any specific reasons that you believe this proposal/these proposals should be rejected or are a bad idea? Provide details.

6. Is there anything else that you wish to add concerning development, the natural environment and/or local people in the Wild Coast?

7. Are there any secondary materials, such as flyers, newsletters or brochures that you could kindly direct me to? If they are in print, I will happily email transfer money to cover the postage fees.
Appendix E: Interview Schedule For Amadiba chief

1. A) What do you feel is the best development strategy for the Wild Coast Area to meet the needs of your peoples?
   B) What might the specific impacts of this strategy be on your peoples?

2. Have you (and/or your peoples) been consulted in regard to this strategy? If so, how was that arranged and how was this overall experience?

3. How might the proposed development strategy impact the natural environment?

4. A) What are the potential benefits of this development strategy (that you have not yet mentioned)?
   B) What are the potential drawbacks of this strategy that you are aware of (that you have not yet mentioned)?

5. Are you aware of other proposals to develop the Wild Coast? If yes:
   a. Have you been consulted in regard to this strategy/these strategies?
   b. Do you support any aspects of this proposal/these proposals? If so, provide reasons and details.
   c. Are there any specific reasons that you believe this proposal/these proposals should be rejected? Provide details.

6. Is there anything else that you wish to add concerning development, the natural environment and/or your people?

7. Are there any secondary materials, such as flyers, newsletters or brochures that you could kindly direct me to? If they are available online, a link would be very helpful. If they are only in print, I will happily email transfer money to cover the postage fees.
Appendix F: Sample TEM Flyer

NOTIFICATION OF PROSPECTING RIGHT APPLICATION IN TERMS OF SECTION 16 OF THE MINERAL AND PETROLEUM RESOURCES DEVELOPMENT ACT, 2002 (ACT NO. 28 OF 2002)

DMR REFERENCE NUMBER: EC 30/5/1/1/2/10025 PR
GCS REFERENCE NO: 12-141

Notice is hereby given in terms of Section 16 of the Mineral and Petroleum Resources Development Act (MPRDA), 2002 (Act No. 28 of 2002) that a Prospecting Right Application (PRA) has been submitted to the Department of Mineral Resources (DMR) in March 2012 on behalf of Transworld Energy and Mineral Resources SA (Pty) Ltd (TEM). The Prospecting Right Area is located approximately 20km south of Port Edward, within the Mbizana Local Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province.

The Kwanyana Block Prospecting Right Area is one of five (5) resource blocks within the Xolobeni Mineral Sands Project (Xolobeni). Xolobeni covers some 2 867 ha between the Mzamba and Mtentu Rivers. The distribution of the mineral resources within Xolobeni has already been determined. The baseline investigations to be undertaken will comprise the following:

- Soil fertility sampling and migration studies;
- Surface and groundwater monitoring;
- Biomonitoring of estuaries;
- Flora and rehabilitation studies;
- Fauna surveys;
- Socio-economic studies;
- Air quality monitoring;
- Noise assessments;
- Traffic surveys.

The DMR accepted the application and directed TEM, in terms of Section 16 (4) of the MPRDA, to compile an Environmental Management Programme (EMP) and consult with the landowners, lawful occupiers and any other affected party.

You are therefore invited to participate in the stakeholder engagement process by registering as an Interested and Affected Party (I&AP) as well as to raise any issues or concerns about the proposed prospecting or to submit suggestions concerning the project. As a registered I&AP you will receive further information and will be kept informed of the decisions taken by the DMR.

You are also invited to attend the following public meetings:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DATE</th>
<th>VENUE</th>
<th>TIME</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>24 May 2012</td>
<td>Amadiba Tribal Authority, Komkhulu KwaMadiba Phezulu</td>
<td>10h00 – 13h00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25 May 2012</td>
<td>Bizana Youth Centre, Bizana</td>
<td>10h00 – 13h00</td>
</tr>
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Should you wish to register as an I&AP or to receive a background information document, with additional details on the project, please contact Oliver Manjengwa by no later than Friday, 25 May 2012 at the contact details below:

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