

Contribution of tourism to coastal livelihoods in Ponta do Ouro, southern Mozambique

Juliana Arsénio Come

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Supervisor

Associate Professor Merle Sowman

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Abstract

Tourism is increasingly seen as a panacea for the problems of rural areas, especially in developing countries. It is promoted by governments and international development organizations as a vehicle for achieving development, poverty reduction and economic growth. However, tourism has resulted in many unwanted economic, social, cultural and environmental consequences for local communities. Through a case study conducted in Ponta do Ouro, Southern Mozambique, this research sought to investigate the contribution of tourism to coastal livelihoods. The research assessed the extent to which tourism contributes to livelihoods of coastal communities of Ponta do Ouro, and their perception of benefits and negative impacts associated with tourism. Qualitative methods were used to collect data and included five focus group meetings, 46 key informant interviews, and participant observation. Findings of this study reveal that despite providing employment and other economic benefits to the livelihoods of the community of Ponta do Ouro, tourism also resulted in negative impacts on community livelihoods. These included overcrowding during high tourism seasons, loss of access to public land, rising prices of properties, goods and services, and an increase in crime, alcohol use and pollution. Therefore a pro-poor tourism approach is recommended as an attempt to ensure that benefits of tourism are better distributed and serve the needs of the local and broader community in terms of infrastructure development and improvement of social services and facilities.

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List of abbreviations and acronyms

DNAC	Direcção Nacional de Áreas de Conservação (National Direction for Conservation Areas)
DUAT	Direito de Uso e Aproveitamento de Terra (Right to land use and exploitation of land)
FRELIMO	Front for National Liberation of Mozambique
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (Statistic National institute)
IFC	International Finance Corporation
LED	Local Economic Development
MAE	Ministério da Administração Estatal
MPA	Marine Protected Area
MITUR	Ministério do Turismo (Ministry of Tourism)
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PARPA	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
PPF	Peace Park Foundation
PPMR	Ponta do Ouro Partial Marine Reserve
SADC	Southern African Development Community
ST-EP	Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty
WTTC	World Travel and Tourism Council
WTO	World Tourism Organization
T&T	Travel and Tourism
TFCA	Trans-frontier Conservation Area
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OMM	Organization of the Mozambican Women
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organization

1. Introduction

Worldwide, coastal rural areas are increasingly becoming destination sites for vacations, jobs, entrepreneurship opportunities, and livelihoods (Chambers and Conway, 1991; Erdmann, 1997; Tanner and Baleira, 2006). Tourists normally seek different experiences in rural destinations which include unspoiled natural environments, indigenous vegetation, pristine beaches, and historical and cultural heritage (Din, 1993; Greg and Hall, 2000; MacDonald and Jolliffe, 2003; Rogerson and Visser, 2006; Deller, 2010). However, many coastal rural areas, especially in developing countries, are occupied or surrounded by poor communities which depend on natural resources and tourism-related activities to support their livelihoods (Chambers, 1994; Allison and Ellis, 2001; Ashley et al., 2001; Iorio and Corsale, 2010). Although the contribution of tourism to livelihoods in coastal rural areas is disputed in the literature¹ (Singh, 1998; Scheyens, 2007), it remains the central justification for the development and promotion of tourism in such destination areas (Sharpley, 2002). However, research does not unequivocally support the claim that increased tourism development leads to significant benefits for local communities in tourism destination areas (Leiper, 1999; Chok et al., 2007).

Rural areas, especially in developing countries, normally suffer from lack of basic facilities and infrastructure, high unemployment levels and consequent migration of younger and educated members of these communities to urban areas. In such areas, the lack of human, financial and technological resources has led to tourism being the only realistic development option (Sharpley, 2002; MacDonald and Jolliffe, 2003). Tourism is thus seen as a panacea for the problems in poor and undeveloped areas as it provides economic, social and environmental benefits (Chok et al., 2007). It is argued as being suitable for the development of rural areas due to its 'labour-intensive' nature, the inclusiveness of the informal sector and women, the ability to adapt quickly to

¹Tourism is criticised and heralded as a development tool in developing countries. Tourism proponents argue that tourism can lead to an adjustment in regional disparities between urban and rural areas, contributing to job creation, entrepreneurship opportunities, poverty reduction and economic growth. On the other hand, tourism in rural areas is criticised as a provider of low-wage, low-skill jobs, and for its many impacts including social (e.g. social inequalities, social exclusion, changes in gender roles, and loss of community identity), economic (limited and seasonal jobs, inflation and overdependence on tourism sector) and environmental (pollution, increased competition for resources, and destruction of fauna and flora) impacts (see Mitchell and Ashley, 2010; Okech, 2010; Juru, 2012).

economic crises, use of natural assets and the creation of jobs even for unskilled people (Ashley et al., 2001).

Local communities in coastal tourism destinations support their livelihoods through a multitude of activities which include harvesting of natural resources (e.g. forest products and fisheries), agriculture, informal trade, and tourism-related activities (e.g. production and sale of crafts, construction for tourism structures) (De Boer and Baquete, 1998; Marcouiller et al., 2004; Blackstock, 2005; Okech, 2010). These activities might be performed concurrently in households. Involvement in a mix of such activities, termed ‘livelihood diversification’, is a key for rural poverty reduction and economic growth in developing countries (Ellis, 2000; Ghimire, 2001). Tourism provides an additional opportunity for livelihood diversification through employment and entrepreneurial opportunities (Tanner and Baleira, 2006).

Mozambique, as a developing country, is promoting investment in coastal rural areas in sectors such as tourism, fisheries, mining, and agriculture (MacDonald and Jolliffe, 2003; Kwang-Koo et al., 2005; Wynberg and Hauck, 2014). Tourism is among the most important economic sector in coastal areas of Mozambique as it provides income and livelihoods for local communities, as well as to national and foreign business owners (Neto, 2003; Simpson, 2009). In this regard, Mozambique has created various policies, plans and programmes to promote and develop tourism in various areas throughout the country (Ministry of Tourism, 2004). However, most of the policies are criticized for being focused on the private sector and adopting a market-based approach, excluding local community and infrastructure development (OECD, 2010).

This chapter provides the rationale for the study, sets out the aims and objectives of the study, provides a brief description of the case study area, and provides an outline of this thesis.

1.1. Rationale for the study

This study seeks to develop an understanding of the contribution of tourism to livelihoods of the coastal community of Ponta do Ouro area. It also aims to better understand the perceptions of the

local community of Ponta do Ouro² regarding the interactions between tourism, poverty reduction and economic development in poor coastal areas of southern Mozambique. The contribution of tourism to livelihoods, poverty reduction and economic growth in disadvantaged areas is widely documented (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004). However, some scholars have questioned the role of tourism in terms of its contribution to livelihoods and poverty reduction, and whether local communities do in fact benefit from tourism or not (Tanner and Baleira, 2006; Scheyvens, 2007). In the specific case of Mozambique, tourism in coastal areas provides livelihood opportunities and income for several households, mainly the poor and vulnerable sectors of society (Sumbana, 2008). On the other hand, tourism also has social, cultural, economic and environmental impacts on local communities in destination areas (Okech 2010) that counterbalance tourism's positive contributions. A key motivation for undertaking this study is to gain a more in depth understanding of the extent to which tourism is contributing to livelihoods in Ponta do Ouro given the ongoing tourism development pressure in the area and the limited documented information on the costs and benefits of tourism to local communities living in the area. Although there is some literature on tourism, livelihoods and development in Ponta do Ouro (e.g. Jury, 2003; Cuamba and Jury, 2005; Jury et al., 2011), this literature is limited and dated. Thus, this study seeks to gather current data on the tourism activities, trends and impacts on the local community of Ponta do Ouro. Ponta do Ouro is an ideal case study area because it comprises a combination of a thriving tourism sector, valuable ecosystems, and poor coastal communities who mainly rely on tourism to support their livelihoods.

1.2. Aims and objectives

This research aims to investigate the contribution of tourism to livelihoods of coastal communities in Ponta do Ouro and explore communities' perceptions of the impacts of tourism activities. To meet this aim, the research will address four objectives as follows:

²In the context of this study, the term 'community' is used to refer to the residents of Ponta do Ouro that were born in the area and Mozambican citizens that moved to Ponta do Ouro with their families seeking employment, income or entrepreneurial opportunities and now reside under the José Tembe Authority land. The tourism operators and foreign business owners are not considered as part of the community as they are not dependent on the limited facilities available in Ponta do Ouro and some of them are not based in Ponta do Ouro in low seasons and do not engage in the activities of the community. Moreover, tourism operators and foreign business owners are not considered 'community' in this study because they are mostly not Mozambican citizens and they mainly reside in Ponta do Ouro primarily for business purposes.

- Document and map tourism activities and facilities in Ponta do Ouro;
- Determine to what extent tourism contributes to livelihoods of local communities;
- Investigate and document local communities' perceptions of the benefits and negative impacts associated with tourism;
- Identify mechanisms to enhance benefit flows from tourism to local communities and make recommendations.

1.3. Case study area

Ponta do Ouro was selected as a case study area due to its high popularity as a tourism destination and the presence of private tourism development amongst poor rural communities. It is a small coastal town located at the southernmost point of Mozambique, 13 kilometers north of the South African border and 130 kilometers south of Maputo city, the capital and largest city of Mozambique. It is part of the Zitundo ward (referred as 'Administrative Post' according to the Mozambican administrative divisions), situated in the Matutuine district, province of Maputo. It can be accessed via the EN 201 road if traveling from Maputo city which is about 117 km from Catembe ward (in Maputo city), or via the P522 and EN201 if traveling from South Africa. It is located approximately 15 km north of the Kosi Bay border control post (see Figure 1).

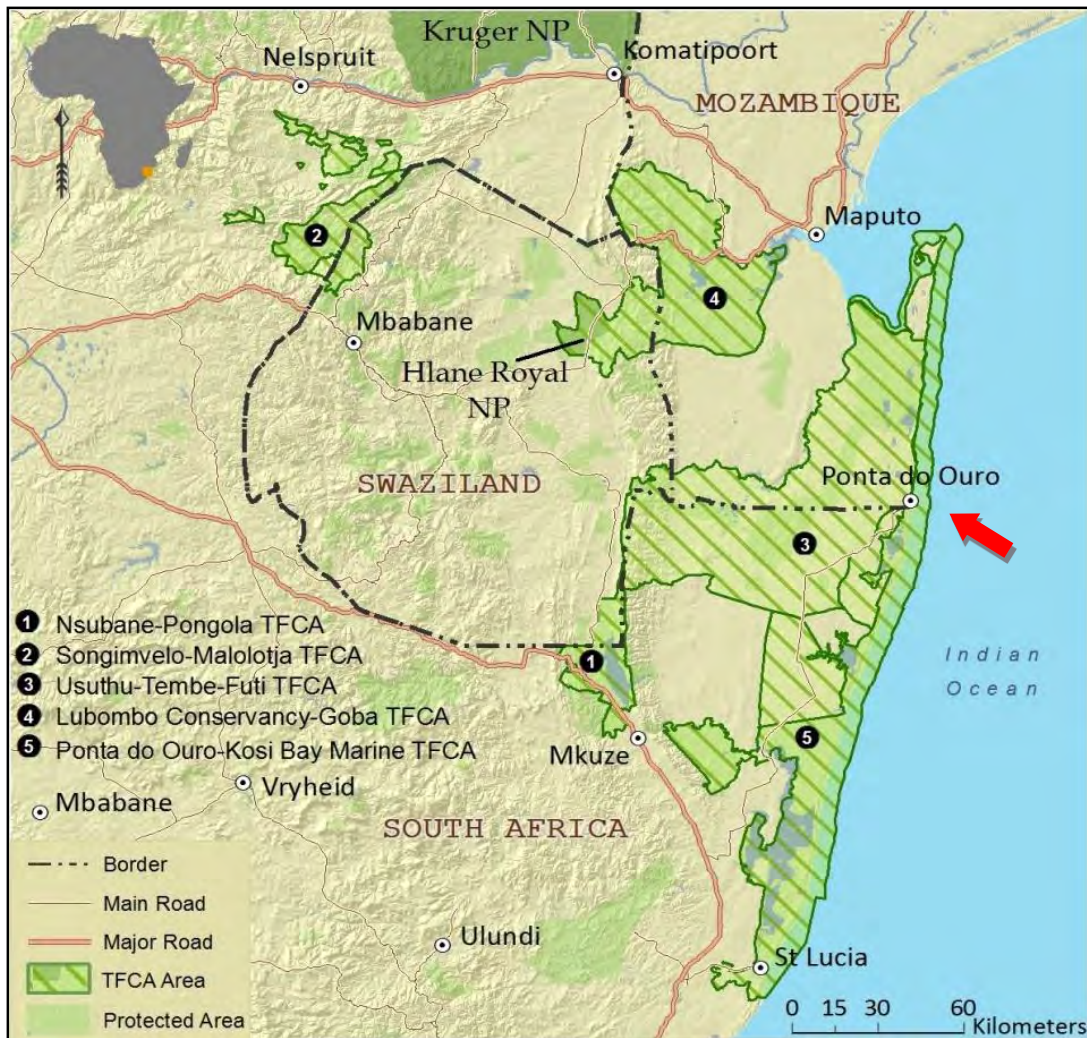


Figure 1: Map of Ponta doOuro, Southern Mozambique (PPF, 2014)

The Mozambican government declared the Ponta do Ouro coastal area as a Marine Protected Area (MPA) on 14 July 2009 with the establishment of the Ponta do Ouro Partial Marine Reserve³ (PPMR), covering only the Mozambican side of the border with South Africa. The PPMR was included in the 678km² MPA and is Africa's first coastal and marine cross-border conservation area, the Ponta do Ouro-Kosi Bay Marine Trans-frontier Conservation Area (TFCA), a joint conservation effort between Mozambique and South Africa. This is one of the TFCAs of the Lubombo Transfrontier Conservation Area which includes five TFCAs between Mozambique,

³ Ponta do Ouro Partial Marine Reserve is referred to as a partial reserve because it does not fully restrict the exploitation of marine resources.

South Africa, and Swaziland, covering a total area of 10,029 km² (PPF, 2014). The PPMR is intended to preserve and protect coastal and marine species and their habitats, including nursery areas for many endangered species, estuaries, sea grass beds, mangroves, coral reefs, commercial fish stocks, wetlands, and primary dunes from Ponta do Ouro area to Inhaca Island (DNAC, 2011; PPMR, 2013).

Due to the accelerated growth of tourism in Ponta do Ouro, the town is waiting to upgrade its current designation of ‘town’ and become a ‘ward’ (referred to as a ‘locality’ in the Mozambican administrative division). With this upgrade, the village of Malongane (seven kilometers north of Ponta do Ouro) will be incorporated into Ponta do Ouro town. In this regard, the first leader of the locality was designated in 2007, and since then Ponta do Ouro has been referred to formally as a ‘locality’ (Governo do Distrito de Matutuine, 2013).

1.4. Thesis outline

Chapter 1 presents an overview of the dissertation. It provides the context of the study, starting with an introduction, and then sets out the rationale, aim and objectives of the study, and provides a short description of the case study area.

Chapter 2 provides a detailed description of the methodology adopted in the study. It presents the research approach, the methods used for data collection and data analysis, the limitations and constraints of the study, as well as ethical considerations.

Chapter 3 presents the review of the literature which supports the study. The chapter examines the literature on tourism, particularly in relation to rural areas, coastal livelihoods, livelihood diversification, and pro-poor tourism approaches.

Chapter 4 provides an overview of aspects of the tourism sector in Mozambique. First it presents an overview of the tourism sector in Mozambique, followed by description of the historical context of tourism in Ponta do Ouro and ends with a brief discussion of the economic context of tourism in Mozambique.

Chapter 5 presents the findings of the study. It presents an overview of tourism sector in Ponta do Ouro, the demographic and socio-economic profile of communities living in Ponta do Ouro, as well as information on their livelihood strategies. It also provides information on the perceptions of the research participants with regard to the contribution of tourism to their lives and livelihoods, as well as their perceptions of the negative impacts associated with tourism activities.

Chapter 6 discusses the local livelihood strategies employed by the people of Ponta do Ouro as well as their perceptions of benefits and constraints associated with tourism in relation to the literature presented in Chapter 3. This chapter also looks at pro-poor tourism strategies and the benefits and barriers to such an approach if adopted in Ponta do Ouro.

Chapter 7 presents the conclusions and recommendations arising from this study.

2. Research methodology

This research adopted a case study approach and used qualitative research methods to gather and analyze data for the Ponta do Ouro community study that focused on understanding the contribution of tourism to coastal livelihoods in Ponta do Ouro. These methods included focus group meetings, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. This chapter presents the detailed methodology applied in the study, and sets out the limitations and constraints of the study. Ethical considerations are also discussed in the last section of this chapter.

2.1. Research approach

This research was undertaken using a case study approach which is defined by Lindegger (1999) as an intensive investigation of individuals and situations. A case study approach is used to generate in-depth, multifaceted understanding of a complex issue in its real-life context (Crowe et al., 2011). Through the adoption of this approach, researchers can have the opportunity to study in-depth one or more aspects of a problem or situation in specific places (Bassey, 2007; Bell, 2010; Crowe et al., 2011). Although case study approaches do not provide information that can be generalized across sites, they allow an in-depth understanding of the dynamics of an area or region, as well as an understanding of their issues and challenges (Yin, 2014). However, this method is criticized for its inability to render judgments on the representativeness of particular cases (George and Bennet, 2005). Ponta do Ouro was selected as a case study because it is located in a remote poor coastal area with high tourism development, poor communities and sensitive ecosystems.

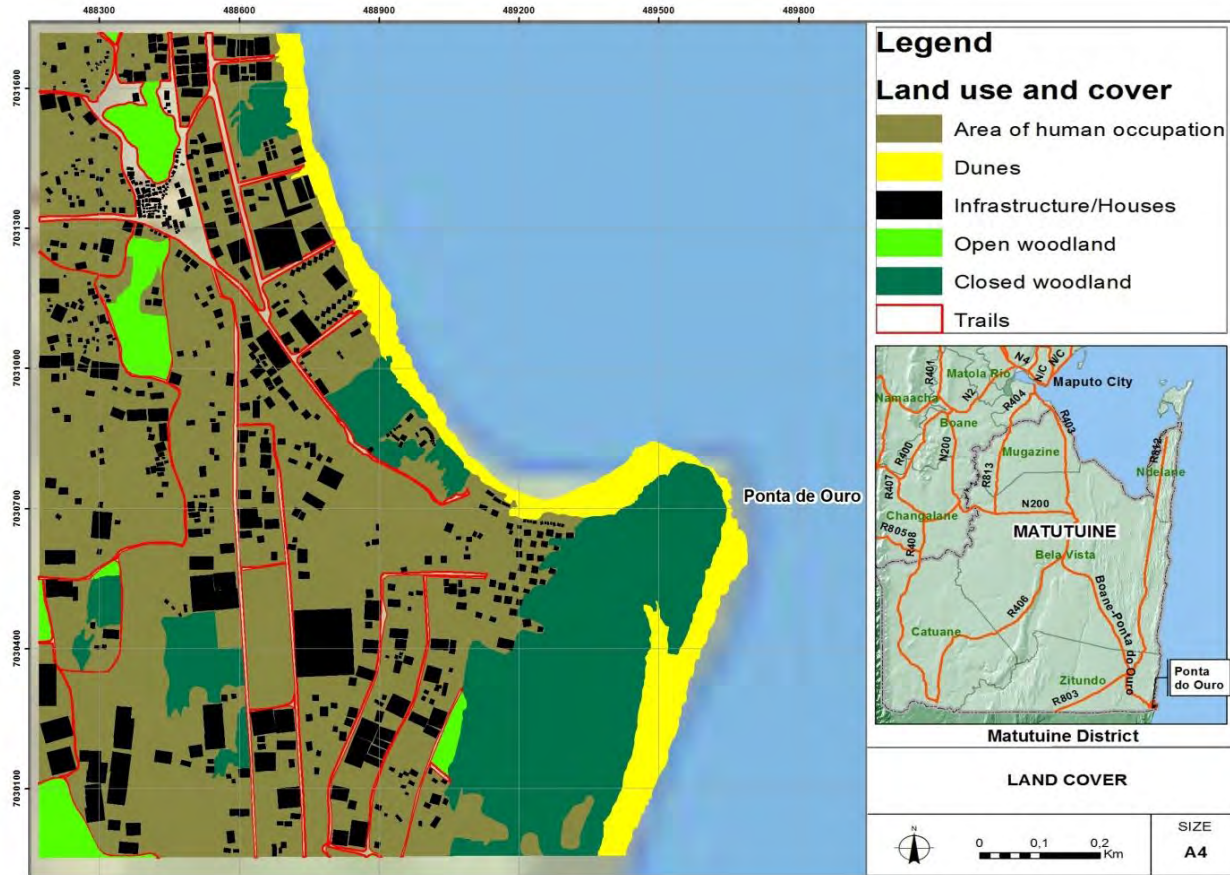


Figure 2: Land use in Ponta do Ouro

Figure 2 depicts the Ponta do Ouro study area and its land uses and highlights the spatial distribution of human settlements (which includes conventional and traditional houses), infrastructure (which includes tourism facilities, and government structures), and sensitive ecosystems such as dunes and woodlands. The population census in 2007 provides a figure of 2,116 inhabitants residing in Ponta do Ouro, but the electoral population census in May 2014 registered approximately 3,000 inhabitants (Local government representative, pers. comm., 2013). This indicates a population increase in the area over the past seven years. The rapid population growth of Ponta do Ouro is caused by the influx of people seeking job opportunities in the tourism and related sectors. The area of Ponta do Ouro is predominantly populated by the Ronga ethnic group, who are part of the Tembe tribe from KwaZulu-Natal. There are also Ngunis from the Zulu tribe (from present day KwaZulu-Natal and Swaziland), Tsuas from Inhambane province (Mozambique), and Shangaans from Gaza and Maputo province of Mozambique (MAE, 2005).

2.2. Methods

This section discusses the methods used to collect data in this study. In order to understand the contribution of tourism to livelihoods of local communities and their perceptions about tourism, data was collected using focus group meetings, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. Such methods are discussed in the section that follows.

2.2.1. Focus group meetings

Focus group meetings are a widely used qualitative method in the social, behavioral and health sciences, psychology, sociology and marketing fields. This method can be used either as a source of primary data collection or in association with other methods. Focus group discussions take the form of a group interview, which generates verbal and observational data in a group setting (Kruger and Casey, 2000; Fatemah, 2004; Redmond and Curtis, 2009). The group meeting is referred to as ‘focused’ because it involves collective activity by a group of people with similar characteristics or experiences of a phenomena or issue, but who have different responses to it (Kitzinger, 1994). A focus group discussion is an appropriate method to identify potential problems, generate impressions of phenomena, and collect general background information on a topic of interest. In addition, it provides different perspectives and views amongst participants regarding the same issue (Fatemah, 2004). The use of focus group discussions depends on the purpose of the research and the type of data the researcher is looking for. Data can be collected on biographical factors such as gender, age, educational background, and relation to the phenomena in discussion, knowledge and experience, or social conditions (Powell and Single, 1996; Fatemah, 2004; Redmond and Curtis, 2009).

In order to have a better understanding of the phenomenon in question, the participants in the focus group discussions can be engaged in diverse exercises guided by the group facilitator (Barbour and Kitzinger, 1999). An example of such a collective task might be participatory mapping. In order to gain a sense of the homes, work places, assets and facilities of participants, collective participatory maps can be prepared during the focus group discussions (Chambers, 1994). For purposes of analysis, the various maps can be overlaid to provide a more detailed understanding of the area. These maps can then be used as guides for outsiders and people interested in the area. However, focus group discussions should not be used when the researcher is seeking consensus

amongst group members or is dealing with sensitive information that cannot be discussed in groups (Redmond and Curtis, 2009).

Data gathered in Ponta do Ouro using focus group meetings had the support of the local authorities in Ponta do Ouro. During an initial field visit, conducted on the 3rd and 4th December 2013, focus groups were identified according to criteria such as involvement in tourism, main livelihood activity, gender, and role in the community. People were invited by the local government representative to attend the focus group meetings according to their role in the community and participant availability. During the subsequent field visit, focus group meetings were conducted to collect information from community members about their livelihood strategies, and their perceptions about the impact of tourism on their lives and livelihoods.

2.2.2. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews normally take the form of an informal conversation where the interviewer mediates the conversation based on the information he/she seeks through specific approaches and techniques (Kvale, 2007). The interviewer follows a guiding list of questions or topics. Semi-structured interviews usually contain open-ended questions to allow key informants to express their views in their own terms. They also provide an opportunity for identification of new ways of seeing and understanding the topic under discussion (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). However, conversations may diverge from the interview guide due to the nature of the open-ended questions. To avoid the loss of any critical information, interviewers often record the interview, and then transcribe the information gathered for analysis (Cohen and Crabtree, 2006). Interviewees are selected according to their involvement with the topic under investigation or their knowledge or experience of the subject.

Interviews were carried out in Ponta do Ouro with key informants (47), mainly with individuals who have a deep understanding of the issues and impacts associated with the tourism sector. Interviews took place in the workplaces of the tourism operators and tourism employees as well as at the health centre and the headquarters of the Ponta do Ouro town.

2.2.3. Participant observation

Defined by Bernard (2006) as a ‘strategic method’, participant observation is also a widely used research method in the social sciences. In participant observation, the researcher takes part in the daily activities, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning more about aspects of their routines (De Walt and De Walt, 2011). Participant observers engage in common, everyday activities such as buying things, chatting with community members, visiting families and their work places, and participating in the activities of the community in question (Bernard, 2006). It is an appropriate method for descriptive studies and studies aimed at generating theoretical interpretations. Qualitative descriptions generated by the use of this method are used to formulate concepts for measurement, generalizations and hypotheses. It is recommended that participant observation be used in in-depth, qualitative research, and when employing a case study approach (Jorgensen, 1989; De Walt and De Walt, 2011). Participant observation enables researchers to share the same experiences as the participants in the research and to better understand participants’ actions and motivations (Bell, 2010). During the field visits, the researcher engaged in informal conversations with the residents of Ponta do Ouro, visited all zones of Ponta do Ouro including the homes of some traditional authorities and main facilities (school, health centre, PPMR offices).

Data collected through the application of the above methods can be triangulated and complemented with secondary data sources, such as government reports, specialist and general studies and documents related to the study area or topic, to allow the researcher to arrive at a more accurate understanding of a phenomenon (Flick, 1992, 2002; Bell, 2010). Triangulation is defined by Jick (1979) as “the combination of methodologies in the study of the same phenomena.” Use of this approach strengthens the research and allows the researcher to check consistency of information gained from a variety of sources (Jick, 1979).

2.3. Data collection

Permission to undertake the research was requested in a written form from the local government representative and the Secretary of Ponta do Ouro. The two bodies granted permission for this study to be undertaken. Dates for data collection were decided upon collectively and took account

of participant availability. For the purpose of this research, five focus group meetings were conducted from 21st to 27th of January 2014, involving ‘community members’ (CMFG), ‘women’ (WFG), ‘craft vendors’ (CVFG), ‘men’ (MFG) and ‘market vendors’ (MVFG) (see Table 1).

Table 1: Participation in Focus Group Meetings in Ponta do Ouro

Date	Groups	Code	Participants
23/01/2014	Community members	CMFG	17 members (including 1 head of the town, 3 community secretary, 2 heads of the zones of Ponta do Ouro, 3 heads of 10 houses, 6 consultative council members, and 2 Frelimo Party members)
23/01/2014	Women	WFG	3 members (including the leader of the organization of the Mozambican women (OMM) in Ponta do Ouro, and 2 OMM members)
24/01/2014	Craft vendors	CVFG	12 vendors (all men with ages between 20 and 29 years of age)
24/01/2014	Men	MFG	4 (including 1 traditional authority, 1 professor, 1 guard, and 1 baker)
25/01/2014	Market Vendors	MVFG	7 vendors
Total	5	-	43

During the focus group meetings, participants were asked to introduce themselves (with due consent); providing information about their name, age, origin, occupation, as well as their place of residence. Second, participatory maps were drawn by participants in order to provide a picture of the road networks and administrative boundaries of the town, the location of their houses and work places, and location of existing facilities in particular tourism facilities. Finally, participants engaged in a discussion about their relationship with tourism from an individual and household perspective, their perceptions about the benefits and constraints of tourism in their lives, and the contribution of tourism to their livelihoods. Each focus group discussion lasted approximately 90 to 120 minutes. Focus group discussions followed a guide containing previously identified topics for discussion, which are presented in the Appendix of this study.

During the same period, 47 semi-structured interviews were carried out with key informants, which were representatives of tourism operations, tourism employees, and community members. An indication of how participants have been grouped and coded for purposes of analysis is presented in Appendix 4

With regards to the interview process, I introduced myself to each respondent on each occasion, explaining the purpose of the research, the interview process, the type of data to be collected as well as the anonymity and confidentiality of the process. The interviewees provided consent to participate in the interview by signing a letter of consent, stating that they had received information about the research and that they understood that their responses would be treated confidentially. Interviews followed a guide containing pre-prepared questions which are included in the Appendix of this study. Moreover, with the consent of the interviewees, all the interviews were recorded (see Appendix 2). Each interview took approximately 20 minutes and was conducted in Portuguese (which is the first language in Mozambique). In cases where the participants felt more comfortable speaking in *Shangaan*, a local language, a translator was used.

In order to understand the actions and motivations of the residents of Ponta do Ouro in terms of their perceptions about impacts of tourism activities in their lives, informal conversations were initiated with the community members of Ponta do Ouro. Tours around the town were also conducted to the seven zones of Ponta do Ouro in order to have a sense of the socio-economic conditions of these zones including the type of houses, the type of activities taking place (e.g. farming, informal trade, tourism), as well as the distance between every zone. During these tours, visits to the homes of some key informant community members were conducted with the assistance of a guide appointed by the leader of the community. Purchase of groceries and souvenirs both in the traditional open air market and in the craft market along with informal conversations were also conducted in order to understand where people obtain their products and the challenges related to these activities.

2.4. Data analysis

Qualitative data obtained from focus group meetings, key informant interviews, and participant observation methods was organised and analysed as the following:

Microsoft Word was first used for data entry from the recorded interviews and focus group meetings, as well as from the hand-written notes taken during data collection. Once all data had been transcribed, a database table was created using Microsoft Excel where data was coded and grouped according to categories based on the guideline questions for focus group meetings (see Appendix 2) and the guideline questions for interviews (see Appendix 3). Each research participant was coded according to his/her group and all information relating to each participant was collated. Demographic data of the research participants, which included their age, education level, household size, place of origin, nature of employment and livelihood strategies were presented in individual tables and graphs, while the perceptions of the research participants on the contribution of tourism to their livelihoods were captured using graphs and extracting relevant quotations from focus group meetings and interviews. In terms of participants' perceptions of the benefits and constraints of tourism activities and the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction and community infrastructure development, information obtained was reviewed and appropriate quotations that referred to benefits and costs were extracted and documented. The perceptions of the respondents were grouped according to key themes being explored in the thesis such as employment opportunities, livelihood strategies, tourism impacts and benefits including, access to facilities and skills development. In order to document and map tourism activities in Ponta do Ouro, tables were represented showing tourism activities and existing facilities in Ponta do Ouro. In addition, a synthesis map drawing on the information provided by focus group participants in the focus group meetings was prepared using GIS tools. The map produced illustrated the location of the main tourism facilities in Ponta do Ouro, and the land use in Ponta do Ouro.

2.5. Limitations and constraints of the study

Some limitations were identified during the research process. These included limited, dated, and inconsistent information about early tourism activities as well as demographic data, and the contribution of tourism to local communities in the Ponta do Ouro area. Furthermore there were logistic constraints with respect to the collection of data for this research project. Such constraints included bad road access to Ponta do Ouro as the research took place in the rainy season and at that time the sandy road had deep puddles of water. It took eight hours driving to cover the 130 km from Maputo city to Ponta do Ouro for the first visit in December 2013, and six hours when

travelling to collect data in January 2014. Second, it was difficult to gain access to some business owners and government representatives as they were not in Ponta do Ouro during the tourism low season. As a result of the low season and rainy season, Ponta do Ouro was relatively quiet. Finally, problems with electricity and rain during the data collection period made contacting certain research participants difficult. Finally, there were budgetary constraints which limited the amount of time that could be spent in the field.

2.6. Ethical considerations

The researcher obtained data through conducting semi-structured interviews and focus group meetings involving the local community and representatives of the tourism sector in Ponta do Ouro town. In order to ensure confidentiality, and avoid any potential harm to the respondents involved, the researcher assured participants that their responses would be anonymous and that any information they did not want documented in the dissertation would not be included. Since personal identity was not needed for the research, respondents remained anonymous and their contributions were only used for academic purposes.

Interviews were conducted in Portuguese (the official language in Mozambique), and in *Shangaan* (local Mozambican language), according to the preference of the interviewees. The objective was to provide the respondents with an opportunity to express their perceptions and answer the questions freely. Respondents were asked to sign a letter of consent, to show that they were willing participants in the interviews and focus group discussions.

3. Literature informing the study

3.1. Different paradigms of tourism

Tourism is often viewed as a panacea for the problems experienced in poor and undeveloped areas as it provides economic, social and environmental benefits (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Chok et al., 2007). It has become an important component of economic development policy in developing countries, which often lack natural, human, technological and financial resources to develop economically disadvantaged areas (Chok et al., 2007, Dodds, 2012). Tourism is also promoted as an alternative for achieving economic growth and as a contribution to poverty reduction (Sharpley, 2002; Tanner and Baleira, 2006). Further, it is heralded for creation of development opportunities, stimulation of social regeneration and improvement of living conditions in rural areas (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004; Andereck et al., 2013). However, the literature reveals an ongoing debate as to whether tourism is a vehicle for socio-economic development in less developed countries or not (Fredrick, 1993; Fleischer and Felsenstein, 2000; Sharpley, 2002), a promoter of economic diversification in disadvantaged regions (Hall and Jenkins, 1998; Iorio and Corsale, 2010; Dodds, 2012), or just a new industry in the tertiary sector (Opperman, 1993; Page and Getz, 1997).

As an industry, tourism contributes to employment, income opportunities, the GDP, poverty reduction and economic growth, but it may also compete with other economic sectors (Hunter, 1997; Kwang-koo et al, 2005; Deller and Lledo, 2007). However, some authors such as Leiper (1999) and Erdmann (1997) argue that as an industry, tourism is only “an economic image with political uses” and creates exaggerated images of significant job creation. On the other hand, as a social force, tourism is praised for its contribution to the preservation of cultures, improvement of individual, household and community well-being, and promotion of learning between tourism actors (Higgins-Desbiolles, 2006). Finally, in terms of conservation, in most cases, tourism and conservation operate with little significant interaction or overlap, as in the case of tourism development inside protected or conservation areas. In such cases, the interaction between tourism and conservation is based upon monitoring and management of tourists to minimize their negative impacts and conflicts (Buckey, 2008).

However, in such debates, tourism is both heralded and criticized as a development tool in developing countries (Page and Getz, 1997; Petzelka et al., 2005; Okech, 2010). Despite governments' belief that tourism development generates jobs and income, enhances community infrastructure, and assists in revitalizing the declining economies in rural areas, as a development tool, tourism has come under increasing criticism (Fredrick, 1993). Such criticism is related to the low-wage jobs, inequity of benefit distribution, lack of equitable distribution of wealth, the perceived social costs to local communities, and the paucity of revenues to local communities (Liu, 2003). It is a fact that through the private sector, tourism helps government to develop rural areas with the establishment of tourism infrastructures. Such infrastructures include accommodation, restaurants entertainment and basic facilities (water supply, road access, electricity, health, education and security) (Fredrick, 1993). However, in their attempt to respond to the pressures of the need for economic growth, job creation and poverty reduction, governments promote tourism, usually ignoring the economic and cultural well-being of rural communities and the conservation of the environment (Fredrick, 1993; Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004).

Governments normally focus on expanding international tourist arrivals and ignore the contribution of domestic and regional visitors. Despite its contribution, in the majority of developing countries domestic tourism is not incorporated into tourism planning (Ghimire, 2001). "Domestic tourists" are defined by the United Nations World Tourism Organisation (WTO) as people that travel for leisure in their own country but outside their usual environment, for less than a year (UNWTO, 1993). Even though tourism also provides employment to local communities in rural areas, it is criticized as a provider of low-wage jobs; as such employment is mainly for subsistence purposes, as the wage is not enough for local people to move out of their poverty (Okech, 2010). However, low-wage jobs are normally for low-skilled people, which means that tourism in rural areas can fit the basic skills of local people (e.g. poorly educated or poorly trained labour forces), who, without tourism opportunities, could be unemployed. Moreover, despite its seasonality, few benefits, and no advancement possibilities to employees, tourism is seen as a labour-intensive industry which creates a large number of jobs, employing mainly youth, both men and women (Fredrick, 1993; Ellis, 2000). Furthermore, not all employment provided by tourism is for low wages. There are airline pilots, managers, travel agencies, directors, attraction owners and so on, that have high wage jobs. However, these jobs are reserved for skilled people (Fredrick,

1993). The concept of low wage jobs provided by tourism is due to the fact that most of the tourism workers in rural and coastal destinations are low-wage job as employees are mostly food servers in restaurants, accommodation workers, and retail clerks (Fredrick, 1993) although this trend appears to be changing

3.2. Impacts of tourism

According to research and government reports, tourism activities have both positive and negative impacts, including social, cultural, environmental and economic dimensions (Hitchcock et al, 1993; Page and Getz, 1997; Sharpley et al., 1997; MITUR, 2004). In recent years, environmental problems associated with tourism, such as excessive use of water and wood, competition for land and natural resources, pollution, over-construction, waste assimilation capacity, and degradation of ecosystems have been well documented (Ghimire, 2001; Tao and Wall, 2009). In addition, tourism in rural areas does not provide the expected tax revenue for governments, nor does it reduce the role of government welfare as in developed countries (Fredrick, 1993). Nonetheless, tourism can accelerate the process of global economic integration because it joins people from different cultures and creates trust between diverse tourists and local people (Andereck et al., 2005; Okech, 2010). This kind of integration normally leads to the development of common or shared preferences, norms, institutions and modes of behavior, as different tourists tend to act in the same manner when they are in specific environments (OECD, 2008). However, through tourism many communities are exposed to different cultures and this may alter their behaviours and attitudes (Okech, 2010). Such exposure may result in changes in the day-to-day quality of life of the local residents in destination sites, as well as changes in traditional ideas and values, norms and identities resulting from tourism (Okech, 2010). Further, geographic and social mobility through the migration or immigration of people seeking job opportunities might compromise the identity of a community (Okech, 2010). In addition, tourism destinations normally face inflation due to the influx of people, as they experience high prices for goods, land values, and cost of supporting infrastructures (Fredrick, 1993). In the literature there are several examples that demonstrate that tourism in rural coastal areas results in economic, social, cultural, and environmental impacts, both positive and negative, as presented in Table 3.

Table 2: Main impacts of tourism (Source: Leiper, 1999; Ashley, 2000; Ashley and Roe, 2002; Andereck et al., 2005; Chok et al., 2007; Harrison, 2008; Mitchel and Ashley, 2010; Iorio and Corsale, 2010; Pereira, 2011; Deery et al., 2012).

Positive	Negative
Economic Impacts	
Job opportunities including for unskilled people Alternative livelihood options Increases wealth Improves the standard of living Foreign exchange earnings Basic facilities and infrastructures	Limited and seasonal job creation Increases local cost of living Replaces traditional livelihood activities Overdependence on tourism industry Low-wage and low-skilled jobs Inflation
Social Impacts	
Greater tolerance of social differences Added-value to rural life Greater tolerance of social differences Empowerment of women Aspirations for higher education to access better jobs	Loss of community identity Changes in gender roles and work responsibilities Social inequalities Loss of access to land and natural resources that support livelihoods Increase of prostitution, crime, drugs and drinking Family disruptions
Cultural Impacts	
Greater awareness of other cultures Intercultural interaction Cultural pride Revitalization of traditions and values Maintenance of traditional art and ritual forms	Loss of access to sites of cultural significance Disruption of traditional harvesting practices Cultural intrusion by tourists Erosion of cultural practices and values Loss of authenticity and change of behavior
Environmental Impacts	
Protection of natural environment Conservation of species Funding for conservation initiatives Environmental education Sensitization New land uses	Destruction of fauna and flora Introduction of exotic species Loss of natural and open spaces Increased competition for resources Resource exploitation Pollution

In addition, coastal tourism destinations frequently become congested in high seasons which results in environmental damage, such as erosion and soil compaction. However, the literature reveals that tourism development in such areas can provide development and conservation as well. Experience shows that some communities can have their access to natural resources restricted due to the establishment of protected areas (Mbaiwa and Stronza, 2010). However, some authors (such as Hunter, 1997; Briassoulis, 2002; Liu, 2003; Okech, 2010) argue that in areas with sensitive ecosystems, tourism reduction should be the legitimate goal. An alternative view is that tourism in coastal areas is promoted as using “free” natural infrastructure, such as natural and beautiful landscapes and ecosystems, that was not built or created by the tourism industry; consequently, their economic value can be derived from resources that have no alternative use (Buckley, 2008). Unfortunately, there are costs related to protection, management and monitoring of tourism that cannot be ignored (Sharpley, 2002).

Tourism is used as a route for economic growth in many rural areas of both developing and developed countries. It has been the only realistic development option in rural areas with lack of human, financial and technological resources (Sharpley, 2002; Pina and Delfa, 2005; Deller, 2010). In fact, such areas have a notable potential for tourism development initiatives due to their “natural landscape” which is appreciated by many tourists (Greg and Hall, 2000). Aside from the discovery of ecological uniqueness, diverse fauna and flora, special adventure opportunities, pristine beaches, and historic and cultural heritage in many rural coastal areas, tourists also seek opportunities to experience the way different communities live and survive (Sharpley et al., 1997; Greg and Hall, 2000). However, the same features that might attract tourists to coastal rural areas can also repulse them when such areas are considered hostile or dangerous.

3.3. The contribution of tourism to coastal livelihoods

Many coastal areas are occupied by poor communities which mostly rely on natural resources for subsistence and livelihood (Spenceley, 2003). Livelihood is defined by Scoones (1998, p.5) as “the capabilities, assets (including both material and social resources) and activities required for a means of living.” It includes income, both in cash (wages, rents, remittances, and crop or livestock sales), or in kind (consumption of own farm production, payments, trades or transfers in

consumption items), and also access to social and public services provided by governments such as health services, education, and water supplies (Ellis, 1998; Bryceson, 2002; Ellis, 2007). Thus, poor communities in rural and coastal areas employ a diverse range of strategies in order to support their livelihoods (Tao and Wall, 2009). Such strategies vary from waged employment (both formal and informal), agriculture, resource harvesting, production of goods and services, informal trading, migration to areas with employment opportunities, to pensions or governmental grants (Glavovic and Boonzaier, 2007). However, Ellis (2000) and Iorio and Corsale (2010) argue that although tourism might provide economic growth and development in rural areas, livelihoods remain precarious. This occurs because development does not follow the conventional lines of increasing opportunities in well-paid, permanent, and formal sector employment (Leiper, 1999; Ellis, 2000). A livelihood is seen as sustainable when it can recover from shocks, changes, and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets, while still not destroying the natural resource base (Scoones, 1998; 2009). In this sense, Mozambique has been reported as an example of post-war rehabilitation success, employing several macroeconomic and structural reforms that have resulted in economic growth, poverty reduction and development (OECD, 2005). Such progress does not, unfortunately, include rural areas, in which local communities remain physically and economically isolated, still with little access to markets, credit facilities, or opportunities to diversify (Osbaahr et al., 2008).

Tourism thus remains an essential part of development planning in many tourism destinations (Hall and Jenkins, 1997). In some cases, such as in rural areas, tourism has been seen as a 'saviour' for stagnant industries, creating new inter-sectoral linkages and demands (Ghimire, 2001; Fleisher and Felsenstein, 2000; Hill, 1993). Additionally, it is heralded for its contribution to livelihoods in many coastal tourism destinations (Tao and Wall, 2009; Spenceley, 2003; Sharpley and Vass, 2006). However, the introduction of tourism in coastal areas surrounded by poor communities may result in conflict with other activities that support their livelihoods. Poor coastal communities normally face overdependence on natural resources, or over-dependence on the tourism sector, which may be connected to the poverty dynamics of such areas and lack of viable livelihood options (Osbaahr et al., 2008; Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008; and Juru, 2012). The rationale of sustainable tourism development normally rests on the assurance of renewable economic, social and cultural benefits to the community and the environment (Richards and Hall, 2000).

3.4. Livelihood diversification in coastal areas

In order to support livelihoods, most communities in coastal areas fish, hunt, farm, participate in ad hoc piece-meal jobs, migrate to cities and send back remittances, or obtain unemployment benefits. Such activities may be dependent on seasons, and may involve a combination of different activities in order to support livelihoods (Okech, 2010; Tao and Wall, 2009). The mixture of these activities is defined in the literature as livelihood diversification (Ellis, 2007; Scoones, 2009; Allison and Ellis, 2001). It is better explained by Ellis (2007) as a process in which rural families build a range of activities and social support capabilities in their struggle for survival, or just to secure their living conditions. Individuals and households adopt diversification as a livelihood strategy guided by necessity or choice. Necessity is referred to as involuntary and desperate reasons for diversifying, while choice is caused by voluntary and proactive reasons for diversifying. Necessity can be due to natural disasters, civil war, environmental deterioration, or loss of ability to continue to undertake activities due to illness or other social problems. Choice, on the other hand, can be finding seasonal opportunities, traveling to work in remote areas, educating children to improve their skills, or saving money to invest. However, in most rural areas, necessity moves individuals and households to adopt livelihood diversification as a survival strategy (Ellis, 2000; 2007).

Diversification in rural areas depends on factors such as seasonality, risk strategies, higher income, labour markets, asset improvement, and adverse gender effects (Erdmann, 1997; Ellis, 1998; 1999; 2000). Seasonality means that, during high seasons, local communities in many coastal tourism destinations experience high tourism activities and opportunities for livelihood and income, while, for the rest of the year, they face problems of economic survival due to a stagnant market, caused by cyclical activities (low seasons) (Erdmann, 1997). Risk occurs when definite incomes are replaced by irregular or ad hoc income and people have to diversify in order to secure their livelihoods. A higher income opportunity is another factor that prompts people to diversify. Asset improvement means investment in, or improvement of the quality of assets, or acquisition of equipment that can be used to bolster higher income. Such investment may be in land, water, trees, roads, education, skills, health, cattle, goats, jewellery, or cash savings (Scoones, 1998; Hart, 1995; Ellis, 2000). Adverse gender effects are related to restrictions women may face due to the preference for male labour in some employment or income opportunities in rural areas.

Tourism can be a form of livelihood diversification when it is incorporated into other forms of existing livelihood strategies in a community and does not replace them (Ellis, 2000). Although tourism cannot be seen as a “panacea for all the problems of rural communities” (Chok et al., 2007; Tao and Wall, 2009), when diversification occurs, tourism becomes a means to enable accumulation for consumption and investment, a means to help the spread of risk, and an adaptive response to longer-term declines in incomes. Through diversification, individuals and households can be less vulnerable to environmental and economic shocks, trends and seasonality (Mohamed and Dodson, 1998; Ghimire, 2001; Tanner and Baleira, 2006). According to Ghimire (2001), diversification reduces the risk of livelihood failure through spreading dependence across more than one income source. It helps to overcome the different use of assets caused by seasonality, reduces vulnerability, and generates financial resources. Livelihood diversification thus has implications for rural poverty reduction policies, as conventional approaches to poverty reduction aimed at increasing employment, income and productivity in single occupations may be missing their targets (Ellis, 2000).

Poverty is widespread and rising in many rural and coastal areas of developing countries (Collier, 2007). The contribution of tourism to poverty reduction and economic growth remains the fundamental justification for developing and promoting tourism in such destination areas (Sharpley, 2002). Tourism is thus seen as a major economic sector worldwide in poor rural areas gifted with natural beauty, as such areas have experienced faster levels of economic growth through tourism development (Ashley and Hayson, 2006; Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008; Deller, 2010). The labour-intensive nature of tourism, inclusion of women, informal sector, and unskilled people, makes tourism suitable for areas where there are few other livelihood and growth options (Ashley and Roe, 2002). In order to promote economic growth and reduce poverty in developing countries, several policies were developed and adopted by international agencies such as the UNWTO, Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), Sustainable Tourism-Eliminating Poverty (ST-EP), and Pro-poor Tourism Partnership. However, these policies and approaches rely on international tourism to provide economic growth and infrastructure improvement which normally fails to deliver benefits to the majority (Leiper, 1999). In addition, despite the accelerated growth of Africa in the last decades, such growth is not

sufficiently rapid to prevent or even minimize the continuing socio-economic gap between urban and rural areas (Collier, 2007). Many authors in the field (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Chok et al., 2007; Harrison, 2008) argue for the adoption of pro-poor tourism approaches to eradicate poverty and generate economic growth.

3.5. Pro-poor tourism approach

Pro-poor tourism is tourism that generates net benefits for the poor. Such benefits can be economic, social, or environmental, since they affect the livelihoods of the poor. Ashley (2002) considers different types of ‘the poor’ which include workers, neighbouring communities, land-holders, producers of supplies, craft-makers, operators of micro-tourism businesses, and other users of tourism infrastructure and resources. Pro-poor tourism is an initiative that prioritizes poverty issues rather than the market itself, contributing to poverty reduction (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Chok et al., 2007). Gilling et al. (2001) also suggest some actions to achieve effective poverty reduction, such as the need to increase income and, consequently, expenditure of the poor, so they can increase consumption of the goods and services recognized as essential, thus improving access by the poor to assets, services and facilities, empowering the poor generally, and reducing their vulnerability. Tourism may aggravate inequalities between the ‘rich’ and the ‘poor’ and between the relatively poor and the poorest (Schilcher, 2007). At the micro-level, inequalities may be aggravated between different strata of people whose livelihoods are connected to the industry, such as between managers of tourist facilities and local workers, or between powerful individuals and other members of a community (Reed, 1997). Pro-poor tourism is promoted as an approach able to overcome the huge inequalities between tourists and local people (Ashley, 2002). The main characteristics of a pro-poor tourism approach are presented in Box 1.

Box 1: Characteristics of pro-poor tourism (source: Harrison, 2008; Ashley et al., 2001; Chok et al., 2007)

- Pro-poor tourism (PPT) is a **form of market intervention** which relies heavily on the **private sector**, depends on **existing tourism structures** and markets, and focuses on **community benefits** (e.g. health, education, water, sanitation, infrastructure, and so on).
- It incorporates the poor into **capitalist markets** through increasing jobs, entrepreneurial opportunities, and collective benefits to the poor.

- It can be applied to **any type of tourism** and has a **broader definition of ‘poverty’** which includes opportunity, power, skills, education and freedom.
- PPT **uses numerous methods**, including value chains, and studies to collect data and show the conditions of the poor and opportunities to provide benefits for them.
- It recognizes that **‘non-poor’** may also benefit from tourism, even if disproportionately.
- Pro-poor tourism requires **wide-stakeholder co-operation and commitment**, including national and local authorities, planners and decision-makers.

Strategies derived from a pro-poor tourism perspective are formulated to incorporate the poor into capitalist markets by increasing the employment and entrepreneurial opportunities and better distribution of benefits (Harrison, 2008). However, in order to implement a pro-poor approach, there are some important principles that need to be considered and adopted (Ashley et al., 2000; Chok et al., 2007). Such principles are presented in Box 2.

Box 2: Pro-poor tourism principles (source: Ashley et al., 2000; Chok et al., 2007)

Participation: involvement of the poor in tourism decisions in order to reflect their livelihood priorities in tourism development.

A holistic livelihood approach: there is a need for recognition of the range of livelihood concerns of the poor, not only jobs and income, as well as short and long-term needs.

Balanced approach: there is a need for diversity of actions at all levels and creation of linkages with wider tourism systems. Complementary products, services and sectors need to support pro-poor initiatives.

Distribution: analysis of the distribution of benefits and costs of tourism to the poor and how to influence such distribution.

Flexibility: need for adaptation of the pace and scale of development; appropriate strategies and positive impacts take time to develop.

Commercial realism: seek ways to enhance impacts on the poor within the constraints of commercial viability.

Learning: the need for learning from experience, poverty analysis, environmental management, good governance, and development of small enterprises.

Despite the huge potential of tourism to contribute to poverty alleviation and generate economic growth, many poor countries face challenges due to their low levels of education, their colonial heritage, ethnic diversity, and the post-colonial economic dominance of foreign tourism corporations (Scheyvens and Momsen, 2008). Additionally, high policy volatility, inadequate policy implementation, political conflicts, climatic risks, and poor health conditions, also constrain poverty reduction and economic growth (World Bank, 2001). Mozambique is unusual amongst many Southern African countries in having a relatively well-developed long-term poverty alleviation policy (Osbahr et al., 2008). Poverty reduction is also one of the priorities in developing countries including the members of the Southern African Development Community (SADC) (Ghimire, 2001). In order to reduce poverty in the country, Mozambique has created the ‘Action Plan for Absolute Poverty Reduction’ (PARPA) from 2001 to 2006 aimed to reduce poverty levels from 70 per cent in 1997 to 50 per cent in 2010 and the PARPA II intended to reduce poverty from 54 per cent in 2003 to 45 per cent in 2009 (Rylance, 2008). PARPA states that “travel and tourism is the industry that employs the most people and an industry that has demonstrated an ability to adapt quickly to crises that have battered the world economy” (Republic of Mozambique, 2001 p.135).

This study focuses on the contribution of tourism to the livelihood strategies of the community in Ponta do Ouro. It is particularly concerned about the contribution of tourism to livelihoods, poverty reduction and community infrastructure development in the study area as well as the perceptions of the community with regard to on the benefits and negative impacts resulting from tourism activities. This chapter has provided an overview of the current thinking and key debates in the tourism literature with respect to costs and benefits of tourism to local communities and its

contribution to livelihoods and economic development. The chapter ended with review of the literature on pro-poor tourism and outlined some of the characteristics and principles underpinning this approach. Given the context of the study area, consideration will be given to how such an approach may improve the impact and distribution of tourism benefits in Ponto do Ouro.

4. Context of the study

4.1. Tourism in Mozambique

Mozambique is located on the southern coast of Africa, at 10°20' S and 26°50' S (Hoguane, 2007). In 2012 the population of Mozambique was estimated to be approximately 23 700 715 inhabitants, with 68.8 % of the population living in rural areas (INE, 2007). Due to its notable natural assets, both coastal and rural areas have a high potential for tourism. Such assets include 2770kilometers of tropical coastline combined with natural beauty, biodiversity of fauna and flora, a variety of ecological systems, several endemic species, and a diverse historic-cultural heritage (Ministry of Tourism of Mozambique, 2004; Hoguane, 2007; WTTC, 2013). However, the civil war from 1973 to 1992 destroyed tourism infrastructure and undermined wild-life conservation efforts. It was only after 1992 that Mozambique was able to start rebuilding its economy and infrastructure and develop its tourism industry.

For any country seeking to develop tourism, such as Mozambique, a long-term vision for tourism is a basic requirement. This includes policy principles, strategic guidelines, plans, and programmes (Cleverdon, 2002). Having recognized the opportunity for economic growth, employment, and poverty reduction through tourism, the Mozambican government created the Ministry of Tourism in 2000. Since then, the government has created and revised policies, strategies and plans to promote and develop the tourism sector. Such plans include:

- the Strategic Plan for the Development of Tourism in Mozambique (1995-1999, and 2004-2013);
- the Strategic Development Plan for Coastal Tourism (developed in 1997 and named ‘a Planning Framework for Regional Tourism Development in Mozambique’); and
- the Tourism Policy and Implementation Strategy, approved in 2003, which includes identification of priority areas for the development of tourism in conservation areas.

There are other government strategies and activities that influence the development of tourism in the country. The ‘Action Plan for the Reduction of Absolute Poverty’, developed in 1995, adopted measures to improve capacities and opportunities in Mozambique, with special focus on the poor, and the ‘Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PARPA) (2006-2010) focused on improving

infrastructure in the country. Mozambique also has a well-developed legal framework for promoting sustainable tourism investment which includes:

- The Investments Law of 1993;
- The Land Law of 1997;
- The Environmental Framework Law of 1997;
- The National Environmental Management Programme of 1997;
- The Tourism Policy and Implementation Strategy of 2003; and
- The Tourism Law of 2004;

However, the mechanisms to give effect to these laws are still being developed (Wynberg and Hauck, 2014). Further, as a member of the Southern African Development Community (SADC), Mozambique is promoting investments and projects in rural and coastal areas in the tourism sector. SADC seeks to promote accelerated economic growth and poverty reduction through several employment-creating initiatives (Ghimire, 2001; Cleverdon, 2002). The International Finance Corporation (IFC), the World Bank and a diversity of other financing institutions finance several capital-intensive projects, including tourism, with the aim of alleviating poverty and providing development and job opportunities. The United Nations World Tourism organization (UNWTO) also encourages social, economic and ecological tourism in Mozambique (MITUR, 2004).

4.2. Historical context of tourism in Ponta do Ouro

Ponta do Ouro has functioned as a coastal resort since 1968, with major interruptions in 1975 when Portuguese persons were forced to leave, and in 1986 when armed conflict was intense. The avalanche of tourists resumed in 1995 after the Peace Accord of 1992 and the arrival of democracy to South Africa in 1994 (Jury et al., 2011). Ponta do Ouro is a small coastal resort town located in the southernmost point of Mozambique at 26°51' S and 32°58' E (Cuamba and Jury, 2005). Formerly known as Banguizwe, Ponta do Ouro gained its name in the 1960s. However, there are different versions about the origin of the name 'Ponta do Ouro'. Some historical records report that Banguizwe began to be called Ponta do Ouro when a South African ship carrying gold sank in the Indian Ocean, close to the Ponta do Ouro coast while others claim that its name is due to the golden sandy beaches in Ponta do Ouro (Ponta do Ouro, 2013; Cuamba and Jury, 2005).

The civil war in 1984 resulted in the abandonment of most of the population of Ponta do Ouro but, by the 1990s, coastal tourism gradually gained its space in the Mozambican economy (Cuamba and Jury, 2005). Ponta do Ouro is a high tourism destination, mainly for South African tourists due to its strategic location (on the Indian Ocean coast and close to the South African border), magnificent tourism assets (such as pristine, sandy and warm beaches, a variety of ecosystems, huge biodiversity species and natural landscape), political stability, and reasonable prices (Cuamba and Jury, 2005).

Currently, due to the accelerated growth of tourism, Ponta do Ouro is under a re-designation process that will involve the merging of Ponta do Ouro with Ponta Malongane into a locality⁴In this regards, in 2007 the first leader of the locality was designated and since then Ponta do Ouro is referred as a locality (Community leader, pers. comm., December, 2013).

4.3. Economic context of tourism in Mozambique

Tourism is amongst the most important economic sectors in coastal areas of Mozambique as it provides income and livelihoods for local communities, as well as for national and foreign business owners (Simpson, 2009). Tourism in Mozambique is seen as a ‘complementary sector’, cutting across various priorities and having significant potential to contribute to economic development (Ministry of Tourism of Mozambique, 2004). As an economic sector, tourism is a growing and a highly international competitive business that can deliver growth and employment at different scales (Ministry of Tourism of Mozambique, 2004).

However, existing statistical data does not support the substantial contribution tourism is claimed to make on the Mozambican economy (Ministry of Tourism of Mozambique, 2004; OECD, 2010). As Table 4 illustrates, despite the Mozambican effort to promote and develop tourism as an alternative to generate employment, alleviate poverty and encourage economic growth, tourism’s contribution to employment, Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and spending within the country by international tourists (referred as visitor export) is still small. In the last two years, the total employment generated by tourism was less than 7%, which corresponded to 621 000 jobs; the

⁴ In Mozambique the term ‘locality’ is used to refer to what could be an equivalent to a municipal ward in the South African context.

contribution to the GDP was less than 8% which correspond to MZM 29.3 billion (approximately US\$ 935 million); and visitor export was less than 9% that corresponds to MZM 8.5 billion (approximately US\$ 270 million) (WTTC, 2013). Even the forecast of tourism growth from 2013 to 2023 is expected to rise no more than 6%. Investment in tourism and travel (T&T investment) in both 2012 and 2013 was lower than 6% and is forecast to rise by only 2.4% by 2023 (WTTC, 2012; WTTC, 2013).

Table 3: Economic contribution of tourism in Mozambique (source: WTT, 2013; 2014)

Tourism Contribution in %	2012	2013	2014	Estimated Contribution 2014-2024
Direct employment	2.7	2.4	1.6	2.4
Total employment	6.7	6.4	1.0	5.9
Direct to GDP	3.1	3.2	4.0	6.1
Total to GDP	7.5	7.5	4.4	6.1
Visitor export	8.2	6.8	1.2	5.9
T&T investment	5.7	5.8	4.7	3.7

The limited contribution of tourism to employment and to the GDP in Mozambique may be influenced by global, regional and local conditions. Although tourism brings direct, indirect and induced positive impacts to the economic, social and environmental fields, the global economic recession has negatively impacted industrial production and merchandise exports, increased unemployment and reduced consumer confidence in the tourism industry in general (Smeral, 2010). Additionally, Mozambique is influenced by many of the same factors that constrain growth in many African countries. Such factors include poor soils, diseases, climatic risks, export concentration in commodities, weak governance, high policy volatility, political conflicts, poor public services, and poor infrastructure (World Bank, 2001). Local factors that influence economic development in Mozambique include:

- Weak governance (government agenda, funds and priorities),
- Lack of internal capacity (infrastructures, services, and resources),
- Poor marketing (tourism promotion and incentives for investors),
- Complex legal land tenure for foreign investment, and
- Internal political conflicts (OECD, 2009; 2010; 2013).

These aspects can constrain the ability of Mozambique to deliver tourism which is capable of sustaining the sector (OECD, 2009; 2010; 2013). Despite its huge potential for tourism, a number of factors constrain tourism development in Mozambique. Such factors are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4: Main limitations that constrain tourism development in Mozambique (source: adapted from WTTC, 2012; 2013; OECD, 2013; Cleverdon, 2002)

Limitations	Description
Limited flights	There is a single national airline, with few direct connections to international destinations. There are regional services to Nairobi, Harare, Dar Es Salaam, and Angola, with high fares and low frequencies. Other destinations are dependent on a Johannesburg connection and insecure road access.
Terrestrial access	Limited transport availability due to the road conditions and security. Most of the roads in rural areas are sandy roads and accessible with 4x4 vehicles. Some of the roads are impassable in the rainy seasons.
Lack of public transport	There is a lack of public transport in both urban and rural areas. Additionally, public transport is not responsive to demand.
Limited accommodation	The country has limited accommodation establishments to meet demand in peak seasons. Additionally, most rural areas lack the capacity to accommodate groups of more than 30 people in the same establishment at once.
Land access for foreign investments	The process of accessing land for the development of tourism infrastructure is bureaucratic, complex and costly.
Supply of basic goods	Costly and variable
Human resources	Need for better trained tourism workers.
Health conditions	Incidence and risk of infection through Malaria and AIDS virus. Poor health treatments and lack of health infrastructure in rural areas.

This chapter has provided a brief overview of the policy and legal context relevant to tourism in Mozambique. It also highlighted the historical context of tourism in Ponta do Ouro and the economic context of tourism in Mozambique.

5. Findings

This chapter presents the findings gathered during the field work, using qualitative methods for data collection namely focus group meetings, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation. The chapter is organized according to the objectives of the study. It begins by presenting the demographics and socio-economic profile of the research participants involved in the study, followed by a description of tourism activities and facilities in Ponta do Ouro. Then it presents the contribution of tourism to livelihoods in Ponta do Ouro, as well as the livelihood strategies employed by local people in the case study site. It explores some of the impacts of the seasonal nature of tourism on livelihoods, and documents the research participants' views on how tourism contributes to poverty reduction and community development. Finally, it presents the perceptions of the participants with regard to the negative impacts associated with tourism in Ponta do Ouro.

Focus group meetings comprising 43 community members and interviews involving 47 residents of Ponta do Ouro, including 56 men and 29 women, were conducted and have resulted in input from a very diverse group⁵. The key informant interviews were conducted with various people including those that have a direct or indirect relationship with tourism, such as tourism employees, tourism operators, business owners, craft vendors, market vendors, and community members. This chapter also presents information gathered during five focus group meetings that sought to gain a better understanding of the links between tourism and local livelihoods, and explore tourism issues, impacts and challenges in the area.

5.1. The tourism sector in Ponta do Ouro

Ponta do Ouro is a small coastal resort in Southern Mozambique, highly sought after tourism destination (Cuamba and Jury, 2005). Its attractive natural attributes, provide tourists with pleasant

⁵ A total of 85 people participated in the research process, 43 participating in the focus group meetings and 47 in interviews. However, there was some overlap of participants as three of the interviewees were also participants in Focus group meetings.

vacations and opportunities for many aquatic and land-based activities that vary from leisure to adventure. Such activities are described in Table 5.

Table 5: Tourism activities in Ponta do Ouro (source: Getway, 2014; Ponta do Ouro, 2014; Ponta information, 2014)

Type of activities	Tourism activities	Description
Aquatic	Scuba diving and snorkeling	Many packages are offered to tourists, which include tours to dive on reefs, or see whales, sharks, dolphins and other marine life.
	Surfing and jet-skiing	Diverse sporting activities can be enjoyed including kite surfing, jet-skiing, kite-surfing, body boarding and paragliding.
	Fishing tours	A range of fishing charters are available in the area, from deep sea fishing, to spear fishing, game fishing safaris, and night fishing excursions. Species such as marlin, sailfish, dorado, king mackerel, and tuna can be found.
	Dolphin encounters and sea turtle viewing	Boat trips are offered and include swimming with dolphins and turtle viewing. All trips are guided and adopt conservation principles and non-intrusive when viewing Marine mammals.
Land-based	Ponta do Ouro beach and leisure options	Walks along the sandy beach, sunbathing, beach volley ball, spa and massages.
	Quad bikes, 4x4 cruises and horse riding trails	Tourists can explore the area, including tours to the villages, lakes, bird watching, and excursions to the elephant reserve or nearby forests and beaches.
	Eating, drinking and shopping	Local beer, seafood and game meat can be tasted in the area and a range of souvenirs from wooden statues to necklaces, colored stamped t-shirts, and sandals can be purchased.

From the interviews, it was found that Ponta do Ouro within the Zitundo ward has 63 registered tourist facilities which pay taxes to maintain their activities (CM8; CLKI1). These facilities are presented in Table 6.

Table 6: Tourism facilities in Ponta do Ouro (source: CMK18; CLKI1)

Types of structures	Types of facilities	Number of Structures
Tourism facilities (60)	Accommodation with own restaurant or bar	43
	Restaurants and bars	5
	Diving centres	8
	Tourism agencies	1
	Wildlife and marine conservation agencies	3
Other facilities related to tourism (11)	Scrap yards for construction (“ <i>estaleiros</i> ”)	3
	Pharmacies	2
	Butcher	1
	Fuel Station	1
	Bank ‘Banco Comercial de Investimentos’	1
	Kukula NGO (Waste disposal and recycling operator)	1
	Food and craft markets with 129 stalls (<i>‘bancas’</i>) and 43 little shops (<i>‘barracas’</i>)	2

Regarding accommodation, Table 6 lists 43 such places and does not distinguish those that are exclusively accommodation from those that include a restaurant and/or bar. Instead, the Administration of Zitundo grouped them into one category as most provide several services at the same time, such as a restaurant, bar, diving school and accommodation. The objective is to provide tourists with a package that includes both accommodation and recreational activities. The places offering accommodation include hotels, resorts, guest houses, backpackers, and camping sites. Figure 3 illustrates the main tourism facilities and the zones of Ponta do Ouro.

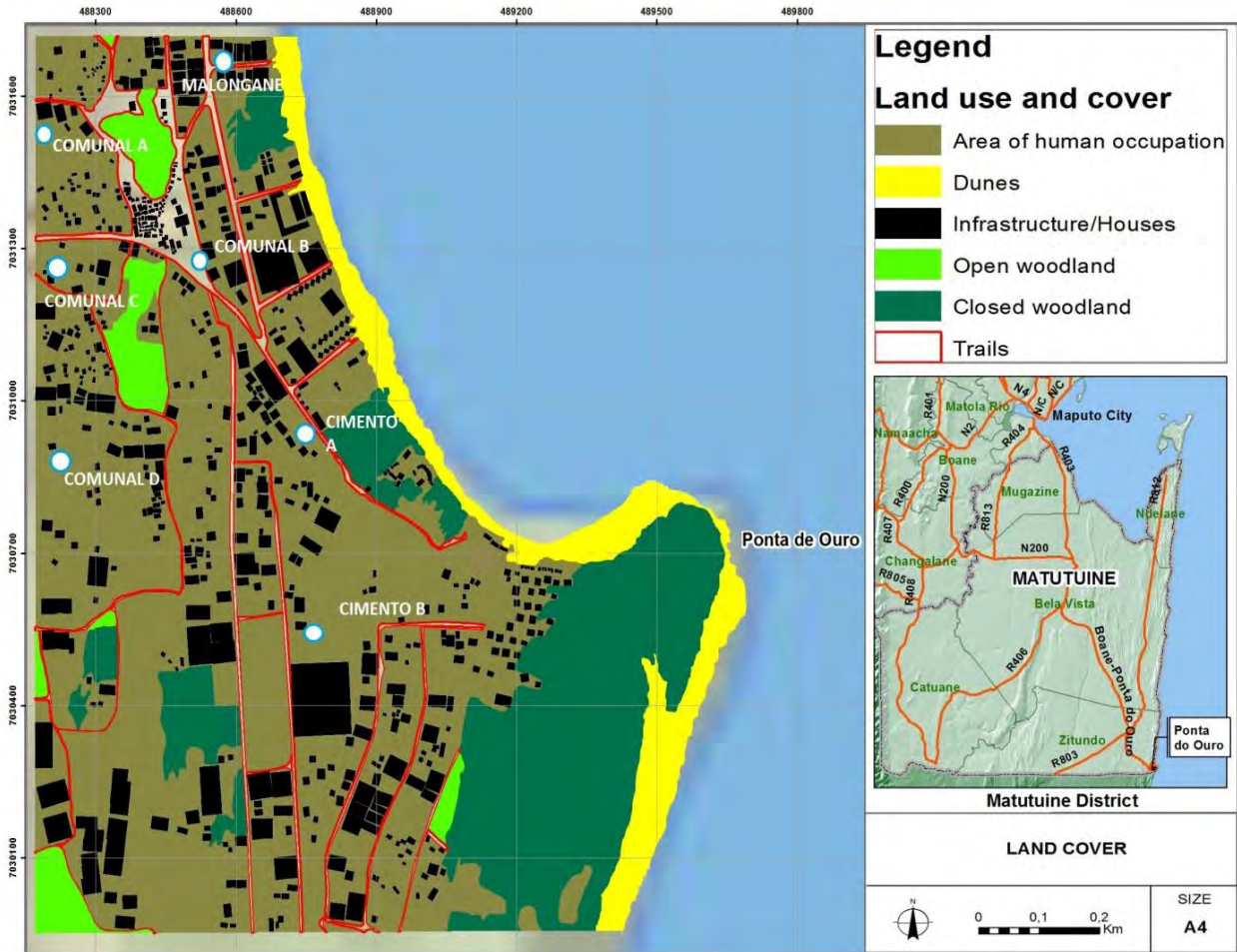


Figure 3: Zones of Ponta do Ouro

Input obtained from participants during the focus group meetings shows that tourism activities are developed in the following zones, ‘Cimento A’, ‘Cimento B’, ‘Communal area A’, and ‘Communal area B’ (Figure 3). However, in Communal area A and Communal area B such activities have been developed differently over time. According to the participants in the FGMs, tourism was first developed in zones Cimento A and B which are the areas closest to the beach and where luxury resorts and main tourism facilities are located. With the growth of tourism and the influx of people from other provinces of Mozambique, many guesthouses, campsites and some food stalls were developed in Communal area A while bars, food and drink shops, and clothing shops were developed in Communal area B due to its strategic location (Communal B area is the centre of the town). The remaining zones are for housing, informal trade and subsistence agriculture, with Communal area D being the most suitable for agricultural activities. Regarding other facilities related to tourism, Ponta do Ouro has 170 registered stalls, made of wood stakes and corrugated iron roofs, of which

129 are located in Ponta do Ouro town, 30 in Malongane and 11 at the border, all being part of Ponta do Ouro area. The stalls and little shops in Ponta do Ouro include the open air traditional market located in Communal B zone and the craft market in Cimento B. It also has 43 little shops, made of concrete bricks, and with only three located in Malongane (CMCM).

Ponta do Ouro also has government institutions, as presented in Table 7. Such institutions provide education for children and adults, health care, and government pensions. They also monitor the import and export of goods in the area, as well as conservation of marine mammals in Ponta do Ouro area.

Table 7: Public structures that support tourism in Ponta do Ouro area (source: CMCM8)

Types of structures	Types of activity	Number of Structures
Government facilities (14)	Administrative Secretariat	1
	Primary Schools	2
	Centre for adult literacy and education	1
	Health Centre	1
	Maritime Administration (SAFMAR)	1
	Office of the National Institute for Social Security (INSS)	1
	Police Station	1
	Ponta do Ouro Partial Marine Reserve (PPMR)	1
	Immigration and Customs Post	2
	Local Tax Authority	1
	Electricity of Mozambique (EDM)	1
	Border Coastal Guard	1

The Ponta do Ouro Partial Marine Reserve (PPMR) which is located in Cimento Area B of Ponta do Ouro, was established in 2009 with the objective to protect the existing marine species in Ponta do Ouro, including their habitats as well as for monitoring of recreational activities and impacts on the reserve. The Zitundo Public Administration office is located in the Zitundo ward in which Ponta do Ouro town is part of. This office keeps records of the existing establishments available in Ponta do Ouro town, including record of taxes paid by the establishments in Ponta do Ouro.

5.2. Demographic and socio-economic profile

According to information provided by the office of the National Institute for Social Security (INSS), Ponta do Ouro is mostly populated by people of working age, i.e. 18 to 60 years (2014). During interviews, respondents were asked about their age and their answers supported this data. The largest group in the sample (n=47) comprised people aged between 21 and 40 years of age (62% of respondents), followed by those aged between 41 to 60 years of age (28%). People aged between 15 and 20 years of age (8 %) and over 60 years of age (2%) were also represented in the interviews. The youth help their families during school vacations, performing activities related to tourism, such as vendors in the open air traditional market, or as barmen and bartenders in family business bars or restaurants.

From the interviews it was found that that 60% of respondents (n=47) were not originally from Ponta do Ouro but have moved to Ponta do Ouro from other provinces in Mozambique (see Appendix 1) outside the province of Maputo. Ten percent of the respondents originally came from South Africa and Portugal, while 34% originally came from Inhambane province (mainly from the districts of Zavala and Homoine) and 17% from Maputo City. Only 30% of participants were locals, born in Ponta do Ouro and Malongane. The neighbouring Gaza province was also represented in the sample (9% of respondents), mainly from the district of Chokwé (see Figure 2). The influx of people from the above-mentioned places is because they seek job opportunities and perceived or actual entrepreneurship opportunities in the tourism sector in Ponta do Ouro. According to several research participants in FGMs, people can have a relatively secure income from working in ad hoc piece-meal jobs, all the way to formal employment. A craft vendor pointed out during the vendors FGM that:

“Ponta do Ouro is a good place to live compared with Inhambane, the province I come from, as it has many daily income opportunities. Although Ponta has a few months of low

tourism activities, a high tourism season provides enough money to survive the whole year” (CVFG3).

With regard to household sizes, it ranges from one to 16 household members. 40% of respondents (n=47) indicated that they contribute to supporting one to three household members, mainly a spouse and children. Forty five percent of respondents lived with a spouse, children, and other relatives, some sharing their homes with four to nine people. Nine percent said that they shared their homes with more than 16 people due to their polygamous relationships, while 6% of respondents preferred not to comment on their marital status and household size.

Information obtained from the interviews showed that 98% of the respondents (n=47) had received some level of formal education. Although 36% of participants referred to having attended primary school, only 2% of the 36% of respondents had completed primary school (grade 7). Forty nine percent of respondents had entered secondary school, of which 34% completed secondary studies, and 13% had attended tertiary education (technical or university).

Ponta do Ouro has only one comprehensive primary school (from grades 1 to 7) located in Ponta do Ouro town and one primary school that offers classes from grade 1 to 5, in Malongane. Both schools are in poor condition. No data is available with regard to the exact number of children in the village, but both schools together have 1 060 students with 546 boys and 514 girls, accommodated in 10 classrooms. These classes are taught by 27 teachers which give a ratio of approximately one teacher for 40 children (CMKI). In addition, this town has one operational centre for adult literacy and education which has 33 students (11 men and 20 women). As there is only one school in Ponta do Ouro that teaches up to grade 7, children wanting to pursue further studies have to move to Bela Vista ward to attend high school or move to Maputo City, both in Province of Maputo. The respondents in the interviews and the participants in FGMs showed some concerns related to this issue:

“Because Ponta do Ouro has only one full Primary school (Grades 1-7) we have to send our children to Bela Vista Administrative Post or to Maputo City to complete their studies,

which entails more costs for us as we have to send money to pay for their studies and related expenses” (Receptionist TEKI5).

“If Ponta do Ouro had a secondary school, we would not have to send our children to Bela Vista Locality to live with our relatives or friends. The existing school teaches until grade 7 and we have to be separated from our children when they are still young, and they live without our care” (CMFG6).

In terms of health care facilities, Ponta do Ouro has one health centre, which is intended to provide primary health care for the residents of Ponta do Ouro and Malongane. Findings from the interviews and focus group meetings highlight concerns regarding the standard of facilities at the centre, as for serious cases of injury or disease, residents of Ponta do Ouro go to the Manguzi Hospital located in Kosi Bay, Kwazulu-Natal, a province of South Africa or to the Bela Vista public clinic, in Maputo province (Community leader focus group, FGA1). The research participants complained about the high transport costs to take patients to Manguzi or Bela Vista.

5.3. Main livelihood strategies in Ponta do Ouro

Information obtained from the focus group meetings and interviews conducted in Ponta do Ouro showed that the research participants are involved in diverse activities. Based on the interviews the main livelihood strategies employed by the community include tourism, informal trade, subsistence agriculture, construction and working for the government were identified (Figure 4). This is necessary in order to generate sufficient income.

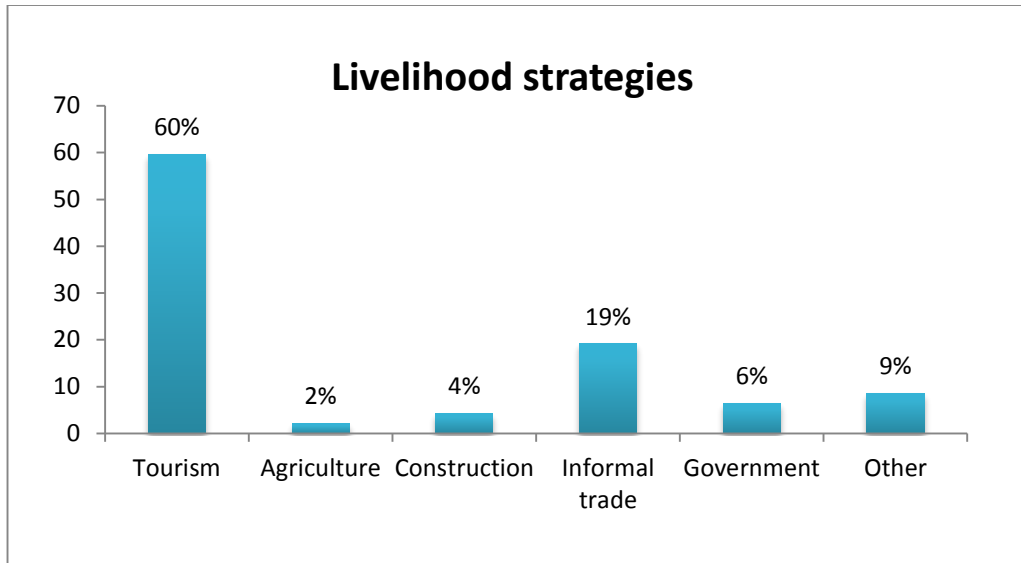


Figure 4: Main livelihood strategies in Ponta do Ouro (n=47)

The findings indicate that “tourism” is the most important economic sector in Ponta do Ouro, with 60% of the respondents (n=47) relying mainly on tourism for their livelihood. Tourism livelihood activities vary from working in accommodation establishments (resorts, hotels, holiday homes, campsites, backpackers, and bed and breakfast accommodation), food and beverages retail outlets (restaurants, bars and pubs), ocean safaris (snorkeling, scuba diving on reefs, or with sharks, whales, turtles, and manta rays), deep-sea fishing packages, surfing, kite-surfing, quad-biking and related aquatic or terrestrial activities.

“Informal trade” is the second most important activity (19% of respondents) that people are engaged in and includes vendors mainly from the traditional open air markets, as well as all the stalls and little shops available in the Ponta do Ouro area, selling items such as food, drinks, and new and second-hand clothes, mostly for locals and domestic tourists. To some extent the informal traders also rely on the tourism sector for income. From the interviews, it was found that, with the exception of some crops (lettuce, potatoes, beans, cassava, and peanuts) and fruits (banana, mango, watermelon, avocado and paw-paw), all the products available in the markets, including food, drinks and clothes, are imported from Kwazulu-Natal province in South Africa and bought to Ponta do Ouro.

Only 6% of respondents in the interviews worked for “government” while 9% were engaged in “other” activities. The “other” category included working as teachers, carpenters, housekeepers, maintenance mechanics and gardeners. “Construction” is another activity that employs local residents in Ponta do Ouro, with 4% of participants working on construction projects not only for tourism structures but also for housing projects.

With regards to the nature of employment opportunities, the findings indicate that very few people in the sample are unemployed (2% of respondents). Fifty seven percent are formally employed in terms of a signed contract, pay taxes, and receive benefits according to the Labour law 23/2007⁶ (e.g. holidays and payment for extra hours); 9% are informally employed, working with no contract and on a seasonal basis (e.g. employees in local shops, part-time and seasonal workers); and 28% are self-employed (business owners) (Figure 4).

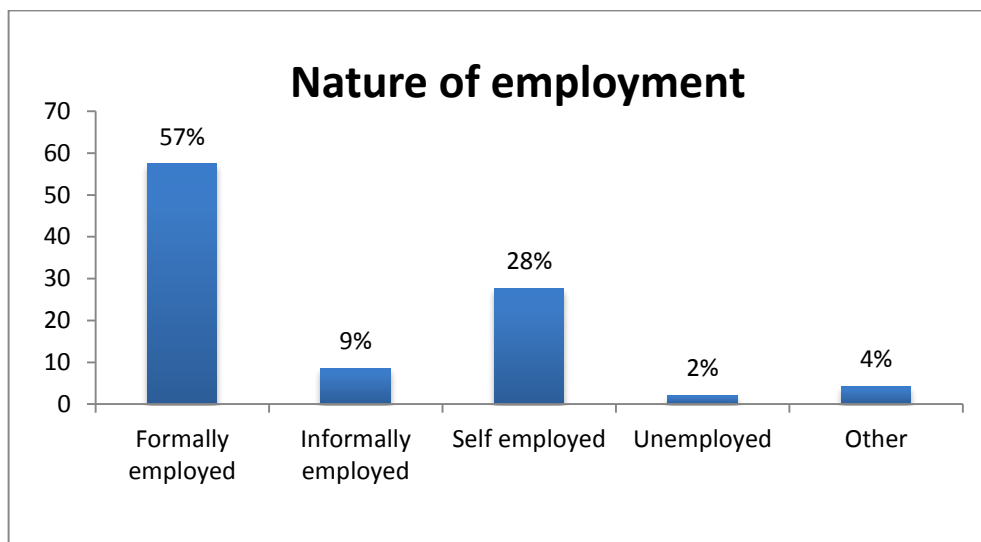


Figure 5: Nature of employment in Ponta do Ouro (n=47)

From the interviews, it was also found that 1500 residents of Ponta do Ouro are registered and make pension contributions based on formal employment (CLKI1). Four percent of participants referred to in Figure 5 as ‘other,’ represent people supported by government pensions, and wives and sons of the owners of businesses.

⁶ The Labour Law 23/2007 of 1 August regulates the employment of national and foreign workers in Mozambique.

Regarding the type of employment amongst people involved in the tourism sector in Ponta do Ouro, of the 60% of respondents (Figure 3) that listed tourism as their main livelihood, most of them are managers and bartenders (Figure 5).

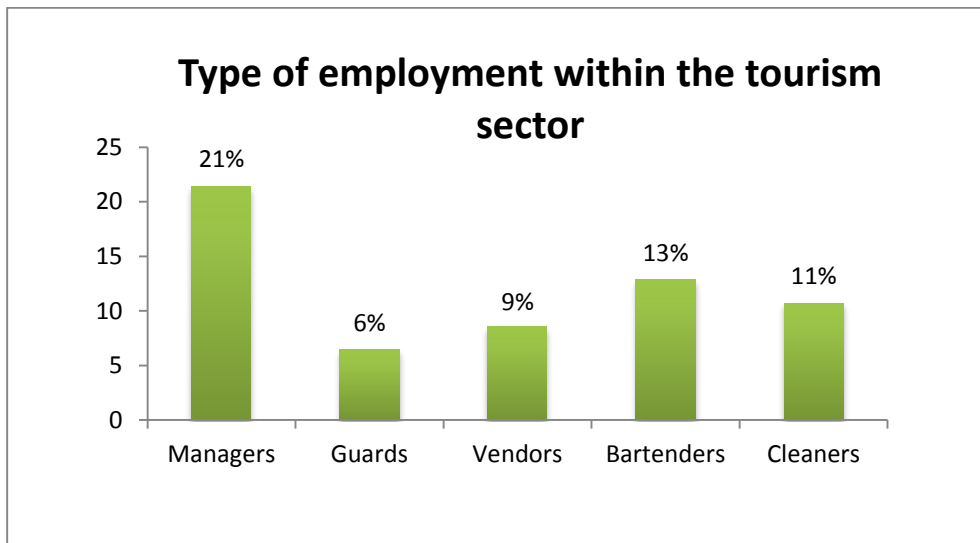


Figure 6: Type of employment within the tourism sector in Ponta do Ouro (n=28 tourism employees)

The research found that 7 of the 10 managers (21% of respondents) working at the tourism establishments in Ponta do Ouro are Mozambican citizens, one is South African and two are Portuguese nationals. However, although most respondents worked as managers, guards, vendors, bartenders and cleaners, some participants in focus group meetings also presented themselves as maintenance mechanics for diving schools, gardeners, shoemakers, woodworkers, and housekeepers working for tourism related activities.

5.4. Additional livelihood strategies

Information obtained from the FGMs and the interviews showed that most of the research participants rely exclusively on tourism as their source of income and livelihood. Yet, some participants have tourism as an additional livelihood, and engage in part-time tourism related work during the high seasons. This part-time work includes domestic work, bartending, assisting cooks, and gardening. Some respondents work for the government as an additional livelihood while they are formally employed in tourism establishments. Examples of those are traditional leaders and other formal authorities.

Information gleaned from FGMs indicated that small-scale fishing was not a main livelihood strategy or source of income for many residents of Ponta do Ouro. However, there are some residents of Ponta do Ouro who engage in fishing from time to time. Since the establishment of the Ponta doOuro Partial Marine Reserve (PPMR) in June 2009, fishing activities have been significantly reduced inside the sanctuary area, which includes the whole Ponta do Ouro marine area. Yet, in the focus group meetings conducted with men, some participants indicated that small-scale fishing activities are practiced in the lakes surrounding Ponta do Ouro, such as Malongane, Gamane and Mangalipse, on a seasonal basis but only for subsistence purposes (FGE1). Furthermore, fishing in the sea is limited due to the lack of appropriate equipment (e.g. lack of sea worthy boats) and restrictions on fishing as Ponta do Ouro is located in a Marine Protected Area (MPA).

According to the research participants, few residents of Ponta do Ouro have agriculture as their main livelihood activity while many people (6% of respondents) engage in agriculture as an additional livelihood, where it is practiced mainly in zones Comunal area C and Comunal area D (see Figure 4). Such agriculture is mostly for subsistence purposes as the land is not good enough for commercial agriculture. However, the local population does grow vegetables including cassava, beans, maize, peanuts and some fruits such as banana, mango and citrus (FGA; FGB).

Unlike in other rural areas of Mozambique, there is no record of keeping cattle and goats in Ponta do Ouro area since the civil war from 1977 to 1992, and the subsequent declaration of Ponta do Ouro as a tourism zone (FGA; FGB).

5.5. Contribution of tourism to livelihoods in Ponta do Ouro

5.5.1. Seasonality

Although tourism is the major provider of income and livelihoods in Ponta do Ouro, with more than 60% of respondents relying on it, tourism activities do not occur the whole year round. Interviews conducted with tourism operators, tourism employees and business owners indicate that in a typical year Ponta do Ouro experiences six periods of ‘high season’, four periods of ‘low season’, and two periods of ‘moderate season’ (TBO1; TOKI4; TBO5; TEKI6). The high season,

with intense tourism activities, normally occurs during the whole month of December and includes the first week of January due to the festive season, the March/April Easter period, June and July school holidays, and a week or two at the end of September. This high season is mainly supported by domestic South African tourists. There is moderate tourism activity during April and the whole month of May. The remaining periods of the year register low tourism activities, with few tourists, especially during the months of February, July, August and November, when Ponta do Ouro is almost deserted (TOKI1; TEKI4). Data was collected in Ponta do Ouro towards the end of January and many tourism establishments were empty and others were closed due to it being the low season.

The seasonality of tourism in Ponta do Ouro affects the income of the tourism operators, tourism employees and the local community in general, which perform not only tourism activities but other activities that are directly or indirectly related to tourism. Such seasonality affects 57% of the respondents (n=47), with most of them working as bartenders, vendors, cleaners, and bakers. The seasonal variation affects both their monthly income (due to gratuities, extra hours worked, sales) and their total working hours (due to more duties). In order to survive during the low season, most of the tourism operators change their rates according to the tourist demand. They also employ seasonal workers during the high tourism seasons. Some tourism operators close during the low seasons.

5.5.2. Tourism and poverty reduction

Despite the recognised economic and employment benefits of tourism, such as income and employment to 60% of respondents in Ponta do Ouro, these benefits are not equitably distributed. Some (11%) respondents (n=47) stated that they were unsure about the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction. When questioned about the reasons for their uncertainty, they mentioned that although tourism in Ponta do Ouro is increasing, the population remains poor, and most of them earn the minimum monthly wage of 3010 Meticals (US\$ 100.00) set by the Mozambican Government through the Ministry of Labour. However, 89 % of respondents, which included tourism operators, tourism employees and community members involved in tourism for their livelihood, argued that tourism contributes to poverty alleviation as most of the positions earn more than the minimum monthly wage set by Mozambican law.

The respondents who agreed that tourism contributes to poverty reduction considered their wages to be fair, taking into account that they owned permanent positions and fixed wages even during the low tourism season when there is little or no tourism activity. As some tourism employees stated:

“My monthly wage is 4500.00 Meticals (approximately US\$ 150.00), which is good when compared with the wage paid in other zones of Mozambique for the same position” (Shop assistant interview TEKI2).

“I am happy with my wage, and I have an opportunity to increase my income during high tourism season. Although I moved to Ponta do Ouro recently, I was able to build my own house and support my family” (Barmen interview TEKI7).

Many tourism employers indicated that they paid higher than the minimum wages as highlighted below:

“We pay wages higher than the minimum required by the government, and the employees benefit from extra hours, bonuses and day-offs. Guards, which represent the lower category, earn 3500.00 Meticals (approximately US\$ 120.00). Other employees such as barmen, cooks, cleaners, maintenance technicians, and bartenders earn up to 12000.00 Meticals (approximately US\$ 400.00) (Resort manager interview TEKI6).

The contribution of tourism to the livelihoods of the community in Ponta do Ouro was recognized by the majority of the respondents and participants in the focus group meetings. However, despite the income and employment opportunities provided by tourism, benefits from tourism are not fairly distributed and only reach a minority of people in the Ponta do Ouro area.

5.5.3. Community infrastructure development

In terms of community infrastructure, while 60% of respondents (n=47) said tourism contributes to improving infrastructure, 23 % of respondents did not support this statement, and 17% were unsure (Figure 7).

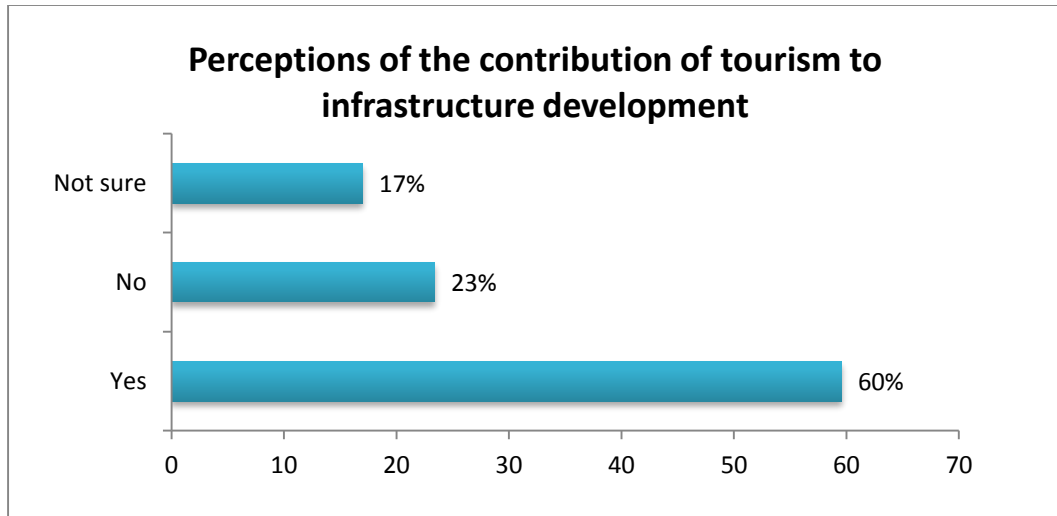


Figure 7: Perceptions of the contribution of tourism to community infrastructure development (n=47)

The respondents based their view on the poor or inadequate state of existing facilities in Ponta do Ouro. They mentioned that although tourism has been growing considerably, facilities available in Ponta do Ouro remain in poor condition. There is lack of public transport and the little private transport available is expensive. There is no tap water to the community from the local municipal water supply hence the local people obtain water from community wells and a borehole with manual pump, which is currently inoperative. However, tourism operators benefit from a local water supply system, having tap water in their establishments, yet such water is turbid in most of the establishments. Most of the residents dig holes in their backyards for garbage and burn it, as they cannot afford to pay the monthly fee for collection charged by the non-governmental organization (NGO) Kukula (CMFG; WFG; MFG).

Lack of improving infrastructure and conditions in the open air market has given the market a bad image and is the main reason given by many market vendors as to why there is little support from international tourists (MVFG; CMCM7). Although the vendors and tourism establishments pay monthly taxes to the Zitundo Public Administration since 2009, no action has been taken by the government to improve the conditions of the area. This responsibility falls to the owners or leaseholders. Although tourism activities and facilities are highly developed in Ponta do Ouro, the findings of this study show that the community still has inadequate access to healthcare, their children attend under-resourced and understaffed schools, the community residents live in

unsanitary houses and have limited access to services such as transport, water supply, electricity and garbage collection. Suggestions for improving infrastructure and services as well as which ministries should be contributing and improving infrastructure and services in Ponta do Ouro were provided by the participants in the focus group meetings. Such suggestions are presented in Figure 8.

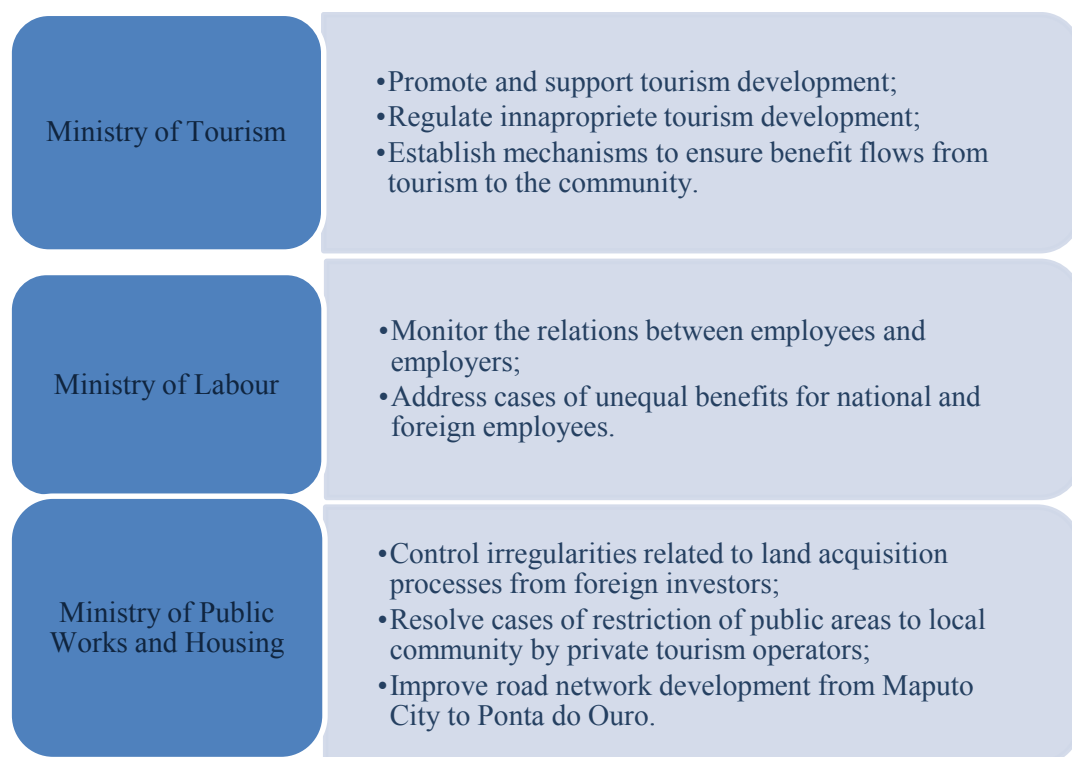


Figure 8: Issues to be addressed by governmental institutions in Ponta do Ouro (source: CMFG; CLKI1; TOKI3; CMCM8)

However, participants that directly or indirectly benefit from tourism support the statement that tourism contributes to community infrastructure development, referring to cases of partnerships involving government authorities and private tourism operators in Ponta do Ouro, such as the case of the five new classrooms built to the primary school in Ponta do Ouro, as well as the acquisition of the manual pump that supplies the community with water (CLKI3; TOKI2).

5.6. Negative impacts associated with tourism in Ponta do Ouro

Although over half of the research participants support the statement that tourism provides economic and employment benefits and contributes to poverty reduction and infrastructure development, such development is not seen as positive by all research participants. One community member participating in a focus group meeting with authorities and community members said the following:

“I do not think the road the government is planning to build is a good idea for Ponta do Ouro because with improved access more people will move to Ponta do Ouro and will increase competition for jobs, crime and prostitution” (CMFG4).

Another respondent said:

“We (the community) and some tourists have some concerns regarding the road the government wants to build, believing it will bring development to Ponta do Ouro. We think that with the road, pollution levels will increase, as will destruction of our ecosystems as well. Currently tourism development has not been regulated, monitored or controlled and with the influx of more people and more development, the situation may deteriorate. The Ministry of Tourism should educate, regulate and incentivize the development of tourism” (Business owner, TBO3).

However, none of the participants showed concern about the fact that Ponta do Ouro is located in a Marine Protected Area (MPA) and that existing and increased tourism may impact negatively on these areas and resources. As the administrator of the Ponta do Ouro Partial Marine Reserve (PPMR) explained, the establishment of the reserve was intended to regulate the fishing activities and quantities and sizes of fish harvested, and not to totally restrict the access to marine resources. In terms of conservation, one respondent said:

“Diving companies contribute to the protection and conservation of our environment as they help with monitoring of the sanctuary zones and control the fishing quantities harvested. They do more than the government to protect our coast. The PPMR which is part of the Ministry of Tourism only monitors the conservation and protection of species but does not address issues related to tourism activities” (Business owner, TBO3).

When questioned about disadvantages of tourism activities, some respondents in interviews (23%) mentioned cases of disrespect towards tourism employees, sexual harassment, and destruction of the environment. One respondent mentioned that:

“Some tourists are disrespectful to our culture and environment. They get drunk and sometimes try to harass female employees, pollute the beaches or drive motorbikes along the dune area” (TOKI2).

During the focus group meetings participants also mentioned cases of illegal or unclear restrictions of access to public places by tourism operators. As a community leader said:

“For many years the community had access to a public area in front of the beach but, since last year, such access has been restricted by one tourism operator, who installed a barred gate and is charging for access to the place. When contacted, the operator could not provide legal documentation for such restriction” (CMFG1).

Cases of bribery for land acquisition involving government and foreign investors were also mentioned by some respondents in the interviews as a negative effect of tourism activities, as a national tourism operator said:

“Sometimes locals start partnerships with foreign investors where locals provide the land as they easily can have the land right, while the foreign investors provide the capital to start the business. There are many cases where foreign are taking over their business as soon the investment is generating a profit and the local lose their land and do not benefit from it” (CLKI2).

Linked to concerns about bribery, one respondent mentioned cases of police officers harming the image of tourism at Ponta do Ouro.

“Some police officers do not respect tourists as they always look for a way to extort money from tourists. For example, they ask tourists on the beach or in surrounding areas for identification, or charge them for breaking speed limits in areas where they are not applicable” (TEKI13).

In short, the research found that over half of the respondents of Ponta do Ouro have a relatively secure income and livelihood. There is a record of many migrant workers that moved to Ponta do Ouro seeking jobs and entrepreneurial opportunities, given that only 30% of the respondents were locals (born in Ponta do Ouro). Most of the respondents moved to Ponta do Ouro from other provinces of Mozambique, as well as from South Africa and Portugal. The tourism sector is the major employer in Ponta do Ouro, since 60% of respondents rely on tourism as their main source of income and livelihood. However, seasonality, poor infrastructure conditions, and lack of job security impact on the sustainable livelihoods of local people. Furthermore, there are negative impacts associated with tourism activities which impact negatively on the lives of the local people living in Ponta do Ouro. Such impacts include cases of disrespect towards tourism employees, illegal restriction of access to the local community to public places by tourism operators, bribery for land acquisition by foreign tourism operators, and cases of police officers harming the image of tourism in Ponta do Ouro. However, despite the negative impacts associated with tourism, the research participants in the interviews and focus group meetings were satisfied with the development of tourism in Ponta do Ouro and referred to the income opportunities and employment provided by tourism. The findings suggest that the residents of Ponta do Ouro benefit economically from tourism through formal and informal employment as well as self-employment. The findings presented in this chapter will be discussed in more detail in the discussion chapter.

6. Discussion

This chapter discusses the contribution of tourism to the livelihoods of coastal communities in Ponta do Ouro, as well as the community's perceptions regarding the impacts of tourism activities in their lives. The findings of the study will be discussed in the context of the literature explored in Chapter 3. Tourism is often viewed as a panacea for the problems in poor and undeveloped areas as it may provide economic, social and environmental benefits for local communities. It is mostly heralded for increasing economic viability and living conditions of rural communities, through the provision of economic benefits such as livelihoods, income and improved local infrastructure (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004). The findings of this study indicate that tourism is the major provider of employment and income for the community of Ponta do Ouro. It was also found that most of the research participants stated that tourism contributes to poverty reduction in Ponta do Ouro, through the provision of employment, income and entrepreneurial opportunities. However, although tourism is growing significantly in Ponta do Ouro, community infrastructure development has not occurred proportionately. The community has minimal access to good basic facilities and services such as health and education, water supply, sanitation and transport. Due to this reason, only few research participants asserted that tourism contributes to community infrastructure development.

6.1. Contribution of tourism in Ponta do Ouro

Tourism is increasingly promoted by governments and international organisations as a vehicle for achieving development, regeneration of marginalised areas as well as deriving diverse economic, social and environmental benefits (Fleischer and Felsenstein, 2000; Chok et al., 2007). Such promotion normally focuses on strategic locations, natural attractions, and tourist-oriented facilities and assets that enable disadvantaged areas to experience economic development (Kwandkoo et al., 2005). The findings of this study show that, although poor and undeveloped, Ponta do Ouro has various tourism assets and facilities that place this area in a strong position to promote tourism as a means of development. The lack of natural, human, and financial resources often put tourism as the only realistic development option in many rural areas (Sharpley, 2002). This study shows that even though the residents of Ponta do Ouro are involved in agriculture, informal trade,

small-scale fishing, construction, and governmental activities, tourism is the major employer, income provider and contributor of infrastructure development and poverty reduction in the area.

‘Tourism’ is thus seen as an appropriate option (Briedenhann and Wickens, 2004) since the land in Ponta do Ouro is not good for agriculture, being mostly used for subsistence purposes. While ‘informal trade’ employs a significant number of residents, this activity is highly impacted by the seasons in Ponta do Ouro, making it an unreliable livelihood strategy. In addition, the statement by Ashley et al. (2000) that domestic and regional tourists are important clients for self-employed vendors and owners of small shops was confirmed in Ponta do Ouro as some food, drinks and clothes vendors declared that their major customers are residents of Ponta do Ouro and domestic tourists. Many research participants mentioned the difficulty of obtaining supplies as something affecting their businesses negatively. According to Sharpley (2002), the quality of products and services offered must match tourist’s demands and expectations. In the case of Ponta do Ouro, regional and national tourists normally bring their goods with them, including food, drinks and camping equipment, purchased in South Africa for lower prices and better quality. This finding tends to contradict the assumption that “local income from tourist expenditures is mostly spent in the local area, which leads to more income, and perhaps, to more local jobs” (Fredrick, 1993, p. 216). At the same time, regional tourists are the biggest supporters of the craft market industry.

As presented in the findings (Figure 8), the research participants provided some suggestions for improving infrastructure and services in Ponta do Ouro as well as the role different government institutions could play in this regard. However, the government authorities interviewed stated that since 2012, when the Mozambican government decided to intensify its presence in Ponta do Ouro, a huge effort has been made to address most of the issues presented in Figure 8. In this regard, since 2012, the government has been sending inspectors from the Ministry of Labour on a regular basis to meet employees and address issues related to their workplaces, and inspecting employer’s compliance with the Labour Law 23/2007 of 1 August which regulates the employment of national and foreign workers. In addition, it has required tourism employers to prioritize the employment of Mozambican citizens. Furthermore, the government is planning to build 187 km of road networks from Maputo City to Ponta do Ouro, including a bridge over Maputo Bay, connecting Maputo City to Katembe public administration (Portal do Governo de Moçambique, 2012) to

enable better access and development of transport services from Ponta do Ouro to Maputo and the South African border (CLKI1; CLKI2; TOKI4).

Regarding land acquisition processes and concerns raised by local people in FGMs, local authorities indicated that changes were underway and concerns were being addressed. According to them there has been a shift from top-down decision-making to bottom-up approaches in terms of regulation of tourism development. For instance, in the past, foreign and national investors wanting to acquire land to develop a tourism establishment would apply for land in Maputo city without requesting permission at the local level, so that local people would only see the new development when it was already underway. But since 2007, potential investors have had to contact local authorities and consult local communities regarding new developments. As the land is owned by the state in Mozambique, Mozambican citizens and foreigners with over five years of residence in the country, have access to land through the ‘right of sole use and exploitation of land’⁷ (DUAT).

This research has found that as the process of acquisition of DUATs is bureaucratic and expensive for foreign investors, some locals often sell their land or try and enter into some form of partnership with foreign investors where the locals provide the land and the investors provide the financial capital to start a business (CLKI1; CLKI2). As presented in the previous chapter, in many cases the locals end up losing their land or being workers with no added benefits (CLKI1). This fact was also reported by Ashley et al. (2000, p.3) regarding land tenure in cases where local residents “may end up as workers in the industry, but not owners or decision-makers.” Nevertheless, government authorities stated in the interviews that these cases have been, and are being addressed, in order to protect the interests of local people. However, details with respect to the mechanisms to address these concerns were not provided. With regard private tourism operators restricting access to public areas, local authorities mentioned in the interviews that they have been conducting inspections in order to ascertain whether formal documentation that provides private companies

⁷ The ‘right of the sole use and exploitation of land’(DUAT) states that land cannot be sold, mortgaged or alienated under the Land Law 19/97 of 1st of October and the Order 60/2006 of 2nd of December. The process of acquisition of the DUATs requires a range of documentation and taxes which is easier for Mozambican citizens or foreign investors with over five years of residence in Mozambique to obtain (Portal do Governo de Moçambique, 2014).

the DUAT exists (CLKI1; CLKI2). However, as suggested by Ashley et al. (2000), the local authorities normally lack effective power to address cases of land-grabbing and land appropriation.

6.2. Impact of tourism on Ponta do Ouro community

Although tourism is very often regarded as a panacea in many rural poor areas, Sharpley (2002) and Ashley and Mitchell (2005) warn of the need to be cautious about considering tourism as a panacea to the problems rural areas face. Their warning is supported by the fact that the development of tourism may have unwanted economic, social and environmental consequences for local communities. In fact, authors such as Okech (2010), Hall and Jenkins (1998), and Harrison (2008) highlight negative impacts associated with the development of tourism in rural areas and doubt the extent to which tourism contributes to rural development. In terms of economic aspects, although this research found that employees in tourism and tourism-related activities believe that the wages in Ponta do Ouro are higher than other rural areas of Mozambique, very few jobs provide an opportunity for progression and continuous employment as most of them are menial, unskilled and low-wage jobs. However, as reported in the 'Strategic Plan for the Development of Tourism in Mozambique', tourism jobs are normally healthier and safer than jobs in sectors such as mining, logging and manufacturing in rural areas (SPDTM, 2004). However, even with the absorption of unskilled and untrained workers, the tourism industry does not take advantage of the opportunity to provide human resources development through training and upgrading of skills and capacities (SPDTM, 2004).

Rising costs of properties, goods and services is another economic cost of tourism that the research respondents in Ponta do Ouro mentioned. This is due to the difficulties and related costs of obtaining supplies from Maputo province in Mozambique or from Kwazulu-Natal province in South Africa. During the research many participants mentioned the difficulties they face in supporting their families due to the high price of goods combined with their low-wage jobs. It was also found that the influx of people from neighbouring regions seeking jobs and entrepreneurship opportunities increases both demand on public services and the local cost of living in Ponta do Ouro.

Beyond the economic costs, tourism is also criticized for the social impacts that it entails (Schilcher, 2007; Chok et al., 2007). The research found that some community members and business managers believe that tourism development in Ponta do Ouro results in other social costs such as the increase in crime, alcohol use and drug consumption, overcrowding during high tourism seasons, uneven sharing of benefits, increase in social inequalities, and loss of access to land and natural resources. In addition, some research participants believe that the increase in tourism development might destroy the tranquility of the area and increase the influx of migrant workers competing with local people for jobs and access to land, good and services.

Environmental impacts of rural tourism such as pollution, competing access to resources, and decreased physical access to coastal areas were also identified by research participants in Ponta do Ouro. However, tourism activities do contribute significantly to the conservation of valuable natural resources in Ponta do Ouro as well as to revitalise the natural resources of the area. Such contributions are made through the interventions of the Ponta do Ouro Partial Marine Reserve, diving schools and conservation centers located in Ponta do Ouro area (TOKI3).

All the evidence presented above suggests that while tourism plays an important role in supporting and contributing to livelihoods, it is not necessarily the solution to the problems facing this rural area. In fact, tourism may not always represent the most suitable development path, since impacts and the costs presented above may limit the potential economic benefits of tourism in the long term. This research found that Ponta do Ouro has relatively low unemployment levels and many opportunities for stable and secure livelihoods. However, there are few opportunities for the 'poor' to develop tourism enterprises due to the market entry constraints, access to assets such as capital and land, and competition from capital-intensive activities. Furthermore, although the promotion of tourism as an instrument to promote local economic development is a valid avenue for stimulating the growth of local economies, in reality, Rylance (2008) demonstrated through some case studies in Mozambique that such promotion has not gone far enough to promote the development of communities (see section 6.3).

6.3. Employment conditions, income opportunities and gender differences

Tourism in rural areas is a labour-intense industry that creates a large number of jobs for local communities. Tourism employs a considerable number of women in rural areas due to the low-skilled domestic-type of jobs required in such areas (Ashley et al., 2000). However, this study found that although women in rural areas are often involved in informal sector activities, relatively few women in Ponta do Ouro, when compared with men, are employed in the tourism sector. For instance, data from interviews at seven popular tourist lodges in Ponta do Ouro that provide package holidays, showed that out of a total of 214 employees only 87 women were employed. As stated by Ellis (2007), work opportunities vary based on skills and gender. In the tourism sector in Ponta do Ouro, women mainly take up positions as laundry staff, shop assistants, cleaners, housekeepers, receptionists, and deputy managers while men mainly work as bartenders, barmen, cooks, maintenance technicians, and guards. Although there is little evidence of women working as craft vendors in Ponta do Ouro, they are notably represented in the open air traditional market, especially selling fruit, vegetables and meals, as well as new and second-hand clothes, and in the informal trade of alcoholic drinks. These findings are consistent with the research done by Shah and Gupta (2000) in his research in 27 case study sites in Asia that showed that although women have more opportunities in the informal sector, they also have positions ranging from shop assistants to managing tourism establishments.

In terms of earned income, contrary to the majority of men, most women complain about their low-wage jobs, with few or no benefits, and with no advancement possibilities. Yet, despite the Mozambican government requirement that wages are paid in ‘*Meticais*’ as the Mozambican currency, there are some tourism employees in Ponta do Ouro that receive their wages in South African Rands, including women. As a female tourism employee explained:

“As our employer is South African, our wage is paid in Rands and all the tax discounts occur under South African regulation. This is good for us as the Rand is the ruling currency in Ponta do Ouro. (...) The lowest wage here is ZAR1500, 00 which is higher than many positions in other areas of Mozambique.”(CMCM15)

Similar cases were reported in Ponta Malongane and it was noted that the prices for many goods and services are given in Rands and Meticaís. This might be due to the fact that many beach accommodation facilities, shops, bars and diving schools are owned by South Africans, being the main promoters and owners of tourism development in Ponta do Ouro. However, whilst such businesses are extremely popular during South African public holidays, they are rarely visited at other times of the year.

Regarding employment opportunities, a study undertaken by Jury et al. (2011) in Ponta do Ouro pointed out that managers and foreign business owners tend to underestimate the management capabilities of their Mozambican staff and they are not offered positions of responsibility. Yet, this research found that over the last two years, this tendency has been changing and a growing number of Mozambican workers have been occupying higher positions, for example as managers. The Labour law 23/2007 of 1 August states that employers can employ foreign workers only if there are no Mozambican citizens with the required skills to fulfill the position. This law has been contributing to employment of local people and Mozambican citizens and has benefited even low-skilled people even though this law has only been enforced by the government in Ponta do Ouro since 2009. Before this, few local people benefited from employment in Ponta do Ouro.

In terms of career and skills development, this study found that very few positions promoted local capacity building. However, individuals that work for diving schools and conservation centres are the more likely to benefit from training and skills development. As a diving maintenance technician employed in one diving school explained:

“I have benefited from a diving course as part of the training for staff. The course was paid for by my employer and it was not discounted in my wage” (TEKI13).

There is no career or skills development for other positions as the research found that although the majority of tourism employees work at the same place for years, they perform exactly the same activity, not benefitting from training or promotion. However, it was found that those with relevant skills, such as marketing or language abilities have the opportunity to perform more than one task, hold more responsibilities and consequently earn more money. These observations were also reported by Tao and Wall (2009) regarding the distribution of opportunities to participate in

tourism. His study in Shanmei (Taiwan) found that within the community, those with relevant skills have more opportunities to participate in tourism activities.

6.4. Livelihoods secured and diversified through tourism

A great number of tourism destinations have local communities dependent on tourism for their livelihoods (Dodds, 2012). This study found that many local residents have been able to gain employment with the advent of tourism and this opportunity minimizes their income variability and ensures a minimum level of income. However, for 40% of the research respondents, tourism presented an opportunity to diversify their livelihoods.

Despite the statement made by Iorio and Corsale (2010) that people in poor areas earn their livelihoods through multiple activities rather than one formal job, this research found that more than half of research participants rely on one activity, namely tourism, for their livelihood. It was noted that the percentage of individuals in Ponta do Ouro that rely on one activity for their livelihood includes people that are formally employed for the whole year in tourism or have their own businesses (self-employed people). Ellis (1999) confirms that people can diversify livelihoods through casual, part-time and unskilled work, compared to full time work or substantive self-employment.

At the individual level, livelihood diversification occurs mostly amongst the residents of Ponta do Ouro that perform cyclical activities and do not have permanent positions based on formal employment. However, significant livelihood diversification through tourism and tourism-related activities occurs at the household level, involving partners, children, partners and siblings. For instance, the study found various cases of tourism employees with their children working at the traditional open air market or selling clothes; women running one of their spouse's businesses; and many local family businesses. However, in Ponta do Ouro such diversification occurs mainly through tourism and informal trade sectors, emphasizing an obvious over-dependence on the tourism sector.

Diversification of livelihoods in rural areas (Ellis, 1998; 2000; Smith et al., 2001; Tao and Wall, 2009; Scoones, 2009) and seaside tourism destinations is determined by various internal and external factors (Erdmann, 1997; Sharpley, 2002). The findings of this study show that individuals

and households opt for diversification as a livelihood strategy guided by their necessity or choice, as suggested in Ellis (2007, p.291) in his report regarding the reasons for individuals to adopt diversification as a livelihood strategy. Necessity in Ponta do Ouro causes locals to transfer their land to investors or business owners anticipating that they will gain employment and even ownership rights once the tourism enterprise is operational. Choice includes seeking seasonal opportunities for work, migrant work (travelling to work in remote areas), local employment, educating children to improve their skills (sending their children to other regions of Mozambique for further education), or investment in tourism-related businesses. However, regarding external reasons or 'push factors' (Block and Webb, 2001) to adopt livelihood diversification, the research found seasonality, risk strategies, labour markets, gender benefits, income distribution, and adverse gender effects as the main determinants of livelihood diversification in Ponta do Ouro.

'Seasonality' causes variations in labour markets, negatively affecting many livelihoods (Ellis, 1999; 2000). This study found that seasonality in Ponta do Ouro is directly related to the weather and time taken for leisure during South African and Mozambican holiday periods. Although Mozambique experiences a tropical climate, the climate is normally stable and relatively warm all year. The findings of this study revealed that during high tourism seasons Ponta do Ouro experiences a high concentration of domestic and international tourists, and only has four months of low tourism activity. For individuals and households employed in the tourism sector and in tourism-related activities, diversification can generate alternative sources of income during periods the low season and reduce the 'risk' of income failure. However, in order to survive during low seasons, many tourism employers keep their permanent staff small and instead contract casual and part-time workers during the high season. Other employers and some craft vendors change their prices for products and provision of services according to tourist demand, or close their establishments during the low season.

The 'labour market' is another determinant of livelihood diversification discussed by Ellis (2000). This author asserts that a labour market depends on 'education', 'skills', 'location' and 'gender' (Ellis, 2000). The findings of this study show that although most of the research participants have some formal education, a considerable number part of the respondents are illiterate and only a few have tertiary education (either technical or from a university). Those individuals with limited education and skills are socially excluded by work opportunities, only having access to menial

jobs and consequently low-wage jobs or alternatively, remain unemployed. Gender also determines livelihood diversification amongst the residents of Ponta do Ouro. For instance, women are usually involved in work which includes domestic work, farming, food preparation, working as receptionist or shop assistant. Ellis (2000) argues that the benefits of women gaining employment improve the independent income generating capabilities of women and consequently improves the nutritional status of the household as women tend to spend cash income on family welfare.

However, the study noted that diversification also has negative effects as it causes disparities between those that are 'better-off' and the poorest. Such disparities occur because 'the poor' diversify in less advantageous labour market (Scoones, 1998). For instance, the poor in Ponta do Ouro diversify through farming, informal trade and casual jobs in tourism while the better-off diversify through formal employment combined with small businesses (food, drinks and clothing market). However, Ellis (1999) noted in a study about rural livelihood diversity in developing countries that in areas where opportunities to diversify focus on male labour, women may be relegated to domestic tasks; this is also the case in Ponta do Ouro. This often happens in contexts where jobs such as maintenance technicians, divers, conservation officers, drivers, and mariners are in demand, and thus focuses on male labour.

6.5. The adoption of Pro-poor tourism approaches

6.5.1. The case of Mozambique

Mozambique is one of the poorest countries in the world (Chen and Ravallion, 2001; 2008). It depends on international development agencies such as the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, as well as bilateral donors for the provision of funds to alleviate poverty, to support public health systems, to rehabilitate economic structures (Kimaro and Nhampossa, 2005), and to promote local economic development (LED) initiatives (Rylance, 2008). The Mozambican government identified tourism as an instrument to reduce poverty and promote LED initiatives. But, the lack of capacity within government creates an over-reliance on LED initiatives to provide social services and local economic projects especially in rural areas (Rylance, 2008). LED is

defined as “the process in which partnerships between local governments, communities, civic groups and the private sector are established to manage existing resources to create jobs and stimulate the economy of a well-defined area” (Helmsing, 2003, p. 69). However, in order to reduce poverty the government has approved the ‘Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper’ for 2001 and 2005 (Nhantumbo et al., 2003) and created two ‘Action Plans for Absolute Poverty Reduction’ (PARPA I and PARPA II) aimed at reducing poverty levels from 70 percent in 2001 to 45 percent in 2009, both of which highlight the importance of LEDs (Rylance, 2008).

Although tourism provides many benefits to local communities in Mozambique, as a sector it is mostly characterized by the conventional tourism model where tourism is conducted as ‘business as usual’ and is driven by the investments of outside interests with little or no regard for the benefits to local communities (Kiambo, 2005). The pro-poor tourism approach enhances the linkages between tourism businesses and poor people in ways whereby the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction is increased and poor people have the opportunity to participate more in tourism development (Ashley, 2002). As Ashley and Mitchell (2005) asserted, conventional tourism is characterized by foreign ownership, leakages of tourism expenditures, competition for resources, and has more costs than benefits to the poor. However, in the last two decades various approaches to tourism have been proposed and implemented in certain areas in Mozambique in order to reduce the negative impacts of tourism activities on local people and to promote development. Such approaches include pro-poor tourism, ecotourism, community-based tourism and sustainable tourism (Wynberg and Hauck, 2014).

Successful cases of the adoption of pro-poor tourism approaches in Mozambique were reported through the creation of LED initiatives in Nampula province (Association of Fishermen in Nacala) and Mozambique Island (Association of Small Tourism Enterprises on *Ilha de Moçambique*) (Rylance, 2008); through community-based natural resource management projects (CBNRM) in the Zambezia province (Derre Forest Reserve) (Nhantumbo et al., 2003); and community-based tourism initiatives in Inhambane (Barra Resort at Conguiana) and Maputo province (Tinti Gala lodge) (Wynberg and Hauck, 2014).

6.5.2. Pro-poor tourism in Ponta do Ouro

Given that Ponta do Ouro is a highly sought after tourism destination, surrounded by poor rural communities and lacks basic facilities and services, it is a suitable location for the adoption of pro-poor tourism as an approach to poverty reduction and the promotion of local economic development. As reported by Ashley et al., (2001) and Ashley and Mitchell (2005), pro-poor tourism is beneficial due to its labour-intensive nature, its suitability for poor areas, its inclusiveness of women and the informal sector, its use of natural assets, and its ability to adapt quickly to economic crises. The study found that tourism in Ponta do Ouro presents many of the characteristics suggested by Ashley et al. (2001) and Ashley and Mitchell (2005) as being suitable for pro-poor tourism. Moreover, pro-poor tourism strategies can provide many benefits including empowerment, infrastructure gains and capacity building through training, knowledge and skills development (Goodwin, 2005; Ashley and Mitchell, 2005). Although tourism in Ponta do Ouro provides economic benefits to the community, such as employment and income, these benefits are not delivered to the majority and the poorest. Pro-poor tourism approaches are proposed as tourism that can be developed in ways that increase net benefits for the poor. A pro-poor tourism approach emphasizes the potential of tourism for creating employment among the poor.

As tourism often has negative impacts, in order for it to be pro-poor, it is crucial to ensure that the poor gain more from tourism than what they lose (Goodwin, 2005).

The findings of this study show that tourism in Ponta do Ouro is based on the private sector, mainly owned by international tourism operators, especially South Africans and Portuguese. As presented in the findings, some research participants referred to cases of partnerships between the private sector and the government authorities in Ponta do Ouro in order to provide water supply to the community (borehole with a manual pump) and the construction of five classrooms for the primary school located in Ponta do Ouro. These initiatives are consistent with the characteristics of pro-poor tourism presented in Box 1 in Chapter 2 which refers to the reliance of the pro-poor tourism approach on the private sector, dependence on tourism structures and co-operation and involvement of the private sector. However, a lack of civic associations in Ponta do Ouro area limits the potential of tourism contributing more to a better distribution of benefits from tourism

amongst the broader community. Such associations could develop projects sponsored by the private sector in Ponta do Ouro and improve community infrastructure and facilities in the area.

Although tourism employs many local people in Ponta do Ouro, there are very few significant economic benefits to the local community as discussed in the findings chapter of this study. Tourism could contribute more to the well-being and development needs of the community. Such contributions could be with respect to community infrastructure development and capacity building. When adopting a pro-poor tourism approach, competition for water, land and coastal resources which is normally reported as a negative impact of tourism affecting the poor, is considerably reduced as the poor gain opportunities for unskilled and semi-skilled employment and infrastructure development provided by tourism (Ashley and Mitchell, 2005).

Although pro-poor tourism seems an appropriate approach to ensure that benefits of tourism reach the poor in tourism destinations, there are some limitations and challenges to implementing this approach (Harrison, 2008; Scheyvens, 2012). As asserted by Ashley (2002) and discussed by Simpson (2009), it has been difficult to assess the success of pro-poor initiatives that aim to benefit local communities, while also being economically viable. Further, Harrison (2001) questioned how pro-poor tourism could address the inequality between tourists and local people when international tourism is predicated upon inequalities between wealthy tourists and impoverished locals. Even though the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction is widely recognized, Schilcher (2007) argued that when tourism operates in a free market environment, competing with other economic sectors, it contributes to aggravate inequalities between various actors. Still according to Shilcher (2007), in order to be pro-poor, tourism should deliver growth disproportionate benefits to the poor to reduce such inequalities. The main critique to this approach is the fact that tourism is unable to provide proportional benefits to the poor (Schilcher, 2007; Chok et al., 2007). However, this study suggests the adoption of this approach in Ponta do Ouro needs to be investigated and promoted in order to increase the participation of the poor in the development of tourism and its benefits.

In general, the findings of this study have shown that tourism is highly developed in the Ponta do Ouro area and that it employs many local people, thereby contributing to poverty alleviation. However, in order to contribute more to income generation, infrastructure and community development in Ponta do Ouro, pro-poor tourism approaches should be considered that focus more

on income generation and improving working conditions (e.g. wages and local capacity building) rather than just on creating jobs, as suggested by Schilcher (2007, p.172) in his study about pro-poor tourism, poverty reduction and tourism policy. As asserted by Opperman (1993), community participation (in decision-making processes or benefit-sharing) in tourism development should be ensured in order to create benefits that meet the needs of local communities. However, successful pro-poor tourism is dependent on a multitude of factors which include good geographical location, supportive policy frameworks, and identifying the appropriate point of intervention in tourism cycles (Ashley et al., 2001; Roe and Urquhart, 2004). As suggested by Gannon (1994), many rural areas with economies in transition contain valuable reservoirs of skills and abilities as well as space and other physical resources which, if mobilized, offer potential for endogenous and self-reliant development.

7. Conclusion

The purpose of this study was to investigate the contribution of tourism to livelihoods of coastal communities in Ponta do Ouro, and to explore the perceptions of the community regarding the impacts of tourism activities on their lives. Relationships between tourism, poverty reduction and community infrastructure development have been analyzed using a case study approach in Ponta do Ouro area, in Southern Mozambique. Previous chapters reviewed literature on how tourism is widely viewed, promoted and adopted globally, the impacts of tourism in coastal and rural areas, the contribution of tourism to livelihoods of local communities in rural areas, as well as its contribution to poverty reduction and community development infrastructure. Data was gathered on demographic and socio-economic conditions, livelihood strategies, tourism sectors in the area, the effects of seasonality on livelihoods, contribution of tourism to poverty reduction and community development infrastructure, and the negative impacts associated with tourism activities in Ponta do Ouro. Data was collected using focus group meetings, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation.

The contribution of tourism to livelihoods in poor and undeveloped coastal areas is widely discussed in the literature (Sharpley and Vass, 2006; Tao and Wall, 2009). Due to the provision of employment and income opportunities for local communities in tourism destinations, tourism has been identified as a tool for poverty reduction and economic growth in such areas. However, research does not support the claim that increased tourism development leads to significant benefits for local communities in tourism destinations (Leiper, 1999; Chok et al., 2007). Authors such as Ashley and Mitchell (2005) warn about the need to be cautious in considering tourism as a panacea, i.e. a cure all to the problems poor areas face. Their warning is supported by the fact that tourism development also has economic, social and environmental negative impacts for local communities in destination areas.

The findings of this study showed that tourism is the major economic sector in Ponta do Ouro. Other economic sectors that provide employment to people in Ponta do Ouro include informal trade, work for government, construction, agriculture, and other ad hoc activities such as bookmakers and housekeepers. Tourism provides a relatively secure income and main source of

livelihood for over 60% of the respondents in this study. Such employment and income is mostly based on formal employment, followed by informal and self-employment. The research found that such employment prioritizes Mozambican citizens, as required by the Ministry of Labour in Mozambique. Due to this law many Mozambican citizens are employed for the whole year and have a stable livelihood, occupying various positions including managers, vendors, guards, bartenders, and cleaners. However, livelihood diversification is pursued by 40% of respondents who have jobs that depend on the seasons. This research found that such diversification occurs mainly in the tourism sector and informal trade, both at the individual and household level, involving partners, children and relatives.

Furthermore, this study found that there are negative impacts associated with tourism activities that impact on the lives of the local people living in Ponta do Ouro. Such impacts include cases of disrespect towards tourism employees, illegal restriction of access to the local community to public places by tourism operators, bribery for land acquisition by foreign tourism operators, and cases of police officers harming the image of tourism in Ponta do Ouro. However, despite the negative impacts associated with tourism, the research participants in the interviews and focus group meetings were satisfied with the development of tourism in Ponta do Ouro and referred to the income opportunities and employment provided by tourism. However, seasonality, poor infrastructure, and lack of basic services such as health, education, water supply, transport, road access and garbage collection constrains the livelihoods and development of local people.

Moreover, despite the poor infrastructure conditions and lack of basic services, Ponta do Ouro is still a highly sought after tourism destination mainly by domestic and South African tourists. Ponta do Ouro is famous for its attractive natural assets, which provide tourists with pleasant vacations and opportunities for many aquatic and land-based activities that vary from passive recreation to adventure tourism. Thus if tourism could lead to improved infrastructure and services for the community as well as promote a more equitable distribution of benefits then many of the negative impacts associated with tourism could be minimized and positive impacts could be enhanced.

This study suggests the adoption of a pro-poor tourism approach in Ponta do Ouro is required in order to ensure that benefits are better distributed and serve the needs of the local and broader community in terms of infrastructure development and improvement of social services and

facilities. However, the private nature of tourism sector in Ponta do Ouro limits the potential of tourism to provide benefits to local communities. While significant progress has been made in recent years by government to support jobs for local Mozambique citizens and monitor income levels and working conditions, government needs to ensure that new tourism developments are required to contribute to development of infrastructure and the community socio-economic needs more generally. Furthermore, local communities need to be better informed of tourism proposals and plans and their inputs and concerns need to be sought and integrated into planning and development processes. Government with assistance of relevant NGOs and interest groups should also play a role in facilitating the organization of local communities so that they become better equipped to participate in such planning and development processes.

This study has contributed to an improved understanding of the contribution of tourism to local livelihoods in the Ponta do Ouro area, and has highlighted issues and impacts requiring further attention. Furthermore, it has provided insights into the perceptions of local communities with respect to the benefits and costs associated with tourism. Thus future research should focus on identifying appropriate strategies to address the barriers that currently inhibit the adoption of pro-poor tourism approaches in tourism destination areas such as Ponta do Ouro.

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9. Appendices

9.1. Appendix 1: Map of Mozambique (source: Government of Mozambique, 2009)



9.2. Appendix 2: Guideline questions for focus group meetings

Procedure

- Presentation of who I am and explanation of my research purpose, aims and objectives;
- Explanation of the focus group meeting process;
- Signature of consent letters by the participants in the meetings;
- General questions about the village and elaboration of the participatory mapping exercise.

Common questions (around one hour)

People were asked to provide information about:

- Their name, age, marital status, , area of residence, and place of origin;
- Responsibility or role of the participants in the community;
- Their livelihood strategies;
- Their perception about tourism opportunities and constraints;
- Measures to enhance positive impacts of tourism and to minimize its negative impacts.

Specific questions for different focus groups:

1. Men and women:

- What do people in this group do for living?
- Are any of these activities related to tourism?
- Are the activities permanent or seasonal? Informal or formal?
- Are there other members in your household that work in the tourism sector?
- In your opinion is tourism good or bad? Why?
- Is your income affected by the seasons? Please explain.
- Is tourism improving local people's lives or creating problems?

2. Community members, including traditional and formal authorities:

- What are your roles in the community?
- What is your relationship to the tourism sector;
- Is there any cooperation and support between your organisation, local communities and the tourism sector?
- In your opinion, does tourism contribute to the economic growth of the community?
- What are the opportunities and the constraints associated with tourism activities?
- What could be done to enhance the benefits derived from tourism and minimize the constraints?
- Is tourism in Ponta do Ouro leading to improvements or worse conditions for local people?

- What could be done to enhance tourism benefits for local communities and minimize its negative impacts?

3. Market vendors and market vendors:

- What do people do for a living?
- How long have you been doing that?
- How do your activities relate to tourism?
- Is the work permanent or seasonal? Is it informal or formal?
- What are the activities performed in your household for livelihood?
- Are there any members of your household that work in the tourism sector?
- In your opinion is tourism good or bad? Why?
- Is your income affected by the seasons? Please explain.
- Is tourism improving local people's lives or creating problems for them?

9.3. Appendix 3: Guideline questions for semi-structured interviews

Procedure

- Presentation of who I am and explanation of the research purpose, aims and objectives;
- Explanation of the interview process;
- Obtain signature of the consent letter by the interviewee;

Questions

1. Formal and traditional authorities (CLKI):

- Name, age, marital status and nationality.
- What is your role or responsibility in the community?
- What are the kinds of activities people are involved in to earn money support their livelihoods?
- What is the main activity in Ponta do Ouro?
- What is your opinion about tourism?
- Is there any relation between you/your organisation, local communities and the tourism sector?
- Does someone in your household work for or have any relation with the tourism sector?
- In your opinion, does tourism contribute to the economic growth of the community?
- Can you describe and compare the village in the past and nowadays in terms of tourism development, influx of people and community benefits?
- What are the opportunities and the constraints associated with tourism activities?
- Are you aware of any conflicts between the tourism sector and local communities?
- What could be done to enhance the benefits derived from tourism and minimize the constraints?

2. Tourism operators (TOKI):(split per activity, e.g. restaurants, scuba diving, etc)

- Name, age, marital status, and nationality.
- What is the nature of your activity?
- When was your job established?
- How many employees do you have (division by gender)?
- Where do you recruit them/ where they come from?
- What is your experience of employing local people?
- Do you employ people in a full-time or part-time? Is it seasonal or permanent?
- What are the minimum qualification / requirement?

- What is the salary table you use?
- Who are your main clients? Where do they come from? Who support your business?
- How do you manage your waste?
- Do you have any relation with local community? To what extent do you interact with them? Do they have any benefit from your activity?
- How important is coastal area to your activity?
- In your opinion, what can be done to enhance tourism benefits to local communities and minimize its constraints?

3. Tourism employees (TEKI) and market vendors (MVCM):

- Name, age, marital status, and nationality.
- What do you do for living?
- How many people live with you?
- What other livelihood activities are members of your household engaged in?
- Are you engaged in alternative activities when there is no tourism work?
- What is your view on tourism?
- How long have you been working for the tourism sector?
- Does tourism complement or create problems for your livelihood strategies?
- How much money do you earn per month?
- Is the salary fixed or variable?
- Is your job seasonal or permanent?
- To what extent do peak seasons influence your livelihood?
- In your opinion, what can be done to enhance tourism benefits to local communities and minimize its constraints?

4. Community members (CMCM):

- Name, age, marital status, and nationality.
- How long have you been living here?
- What do you do for living?
- How many people live with you?
- What activities are your household members involved in to secure a livelihood?
- In your opinion, does tourism contribute to the economic growth of the community?
- Can you describe and compare the village in the past and nowadays in terms of tourism development, influx of people and community benefits?
- What are the opportunities and the constraints associated with tourism activities?

- What could be done to enhance the benefits associated with tourism and minimize the constraints?

9.4. Appendix 4: Interviews to key informants in Ponta do Ouro.

No.	Key informant	Code	No.	Key informant	Code
1	Local government representative	CLKI1	25	Maintenance technician and diver master	TEKI13
2	Secretary of the community	CLKI2	26	Manager representative	TEKI14
3	Community traditional authority	CLKI3	27	Resort receptionist	TEKI15
4	Resort manager	TOKI1	28	Administrative assistant	TEKI16
5	Resort manager	TOKI2	29	Barmen 2	TEKI17
6	Manager representative	TOKI3	30	Barmen 3	TEKI18
7	Deputy resort manager	TOKI4	31	Clothes vendor	MVCM1
8	Tourism business owner 1 (bar & restaurant owner)	TBO1	32	Grocery owner	MVCM2
9	Tourism business owner 2 (guest house owner)	TBO2	33	Food vendor 1	MVCM3
10	Tourism business owner 3 (bar & restaurant)	TBO3	34	Food vendor 2	MVCM4
11	Tourism business owner 4 (bar owner)	TBO4	35	Food & drinks vendor 1	MVCM5
12	Tourism business owner 5 (shop owner)	TBO5	36	Food & drinks vendor 2	MVCM6
13	Shop attendant 1	TEKI1	37	Drinks vendor	MVCM7
14	Shop attendant 2	TEKI2	38	Traditional midwife and tourism waitress	CMCM1
15	Barmen 1	TEKI3	39	Traditional midwife and food vendor	CMCM2
16	Shop attendant 3	TEKI4	40	Representative of the craft association and business owner	CMCM3
17	Guard 1	TEKI5	41	Housekeeper 1	CMCM4
18	Human resources manager	TEKI6	42	Housekeeper 2	CMCM5
19	Human resources assistant	TEKI7	43	Maintenance technician	CMCM6

20	Room maid 1	TEKI8	44	Representative of the farmers association	CMCM7
21	Room maid 2	TEKI9	45	Technic at Zitundo public administration	CMCM8
22	Room maid 3	TEKI10	46	Bricklayer 1	CMCM9
23	Room maid 4	TEKI11	47	Bricklayer 2	CMCM10
24	Resort laundry assistant	TEKI12	-	-	-