African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure 2025, Vol. 14 No. 5 pp. 1095-1101
ISSN: 2223-814X

The Complex Layers of Governance, Capacity and Coordination in the Management and Sustainability of Coastal Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal

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Abstract

Coastal tourism has great potential to unlock sustainable socio-economic development, generate multifarious benefits for local communities, and contribute to protecting and conserving biodiversity in South Africa. The methodology for this research involved conducting a desktop study to examine relevant literature and identify the best international practices and national sector-specific (cruise tourism, beach tourism, events, adventure tourism, accommodation and facilities, etc.) trends. This was followed by a critical policy review and primary data collection based on a case study approach. Personal and telephonic interviews were undertaken with key informants who held positions in the community, government and the private sector. In addition, structured questionnaires were distributed to tourism businesses. The findings show a need for strengthening policy frameworks to ensure effective governance and coordination in coastal and marine tourism. The challenge of marine and coastal tourism governance is to develop a synergy between different stakeholders and integrate tourism planning into a broader coastal management strategy. Although a tourism policy reflects the local roles and responsibilities of stakeholders, the current legislation needs to be enhanced to ensure that tourism development projects are properly assessed and monitored to ensure more incredible benefits for conservation and improvement to strengthen local people's livelihoods. Therefore, for sustainable tourism to be realised in KwaZulu-Natal, all stakeholders should participate in the planning and management of coastal and marine tourism resources.

Keywords: Coastal tourism, sustainability, governance

How to cite this article: Ndlovu, J. (2025). The Complex Layers of Governance, Capacity and Coordination in the Management and Sustainability of Coastal Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal. African Journal of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure, 14(5):1095-1101. DOI: https://doi.org/10.46222/ajhtl.19770720.699

Introduction

At the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) held in 2014, coastal and marine tourism was identified as one of the key sectors contributing towards the ocean economy. The concept of the ocean's economy, also referred to as the blue economy, is one that simultaneously promotes economic growth, environmental sustainability, social inclusion and the strengthening of ocean ecosystems (Van Wyk, 2014). The ocean economy offers significant development opportunities for sectors such as sustainable fisheries and aquaculture, renewable marine energy, marine bioprospecting, maritime transport and marine and coastal tourism, as indicated by UNCTAD. Tourism is increasingly receiving the recognition it deserves as a driver for economic development by those shaping the path to the sustained development and recovery of the economy. In many countries, coastal areas provide the main tourism resources, with the greatest concentration of tourism investment and facilities. One of the main reasons why coasts are so important for tourism is that visitors are strongly attracted by coastal environments (beaches, fine landscapes, coral reefs, birds, fish, marine mammals and other wildlife) and by associated cultural interest (coastal towns, villages, historic sites, ports, fishing fleets and markets and other aspects of maritime life). At the same time, this special environment is sensitive and fragile, containing important habitats with rich biodiversity. Marine and coastal resources are very important for countries like South Africa as they are rich in natural environments (beaches, fine landscapes, coral reefs, birds, fish, marine mammals and other wildlife) and associated cultural interest (coastal towns, villages, historic sites, ports, fishing fleets and markets and other aspects of maritime life) that attract visitors. Marine and coastal tourism has great potential to unlock sustainable socio-economic development, generate multifarious benefits for local communities and the nation, and simultaneously contribute to protecting and conserving the biodiversity of marine and coastal environments in South Africa and developing countries more generally. However, experience has shown that various challenges prevail in the implementation of government policies and legislative frameworks meant to regulate the use of sensitive resources, negotiate competing stakeholder interests in relation to the marine and coastal environment and more generally govern the marine and coastal tourism sector. Fragmented governance has been found to be a major challenge in managing coastal and marine tourism (Dredge, 2015), and there is a need to determine how to optimise governance relations, structures and processes to improve the development and stewardship of coastal and marine tourism.

Literature overview

Sustainable management of resources is becoming accepted internationally as a logical way to match the needs of conservation and tourism development (Pigram, 1990; Fish & Walton, 2012), although implementation comes with many challenges and involves coordination of many stakeholders (Waligo et al., 2013). Since the end of the last century, ecotourism has been promoted as part of the broader international sustainable development agenda to promote socio-economic development of host

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communities/countries, while generating resources for the preservation of natural and cultural assets and protecting ecologically fragile areas (Gossling 1999; Kiss, 2004). In the South African context, sustainable tourism is defined along the 'triple bottom line' approach, which acknowledges that tourism depends on the sustainability of the resources upon which it is based, but it must also be economically viable and meet the development needs of local communities. South Africa has enshrined the closely related concept of 'responsible tourism' in its White Paper (1996), and tourism authorities are presently working on measuring progress in the implementation of responsible tourism, while researchers evaluate the implications of responsible tourism (Spenceley, 2008).

Various laws and policies have been introduced to protect the marine and coastal environment and develop it on a sustainable basis. At a regional level, South Africa is a signatory to the Convention for Cooperation in the Protection and Development of the Marine and Coastal Environment of the West and Central African Region and Related Protocol signed in 1984. South Africa plays an important role in the management of marine resources in sub-regional waters and cross-boundary systems. At a national level, examples include the 1989 Environmental Conservation, the White Paper on Marine Fisheries Policy (1997), the Marine Living Resources Act (1998) and the DEAT's promotion of sustainable development of the marine environment based on the principles of Agenda 2. In response to the lack of a unified and integrated approach to coastal and marine management in the 1990s (Attwood et al, 1997), the White Paper on Sustainable Coastal Management was developed in 2000. One of its key areas of focus was a movement away from South Africa's historically fragmented and uncoordinated approach to a more holistic promotion of a coordinated and integrated management of coastal resources. Various new acts and policies have come into effect in recent years, e.g. the National Environmental Management Integrated Coastal Management Act number 24 of 2008 and the Green Paper on the National Environmental Management of the Ocean (2012, precursor to the 2014 White Paper). These have also been criticised, not least based on insufficient public participation. Glazewski (2013) suggests that policy makers must have sound knowledge and understanding of local needs, preferences and value systems; social, business and political institutions must be established to regulate resources under pressure from competing interests. The implementation and enforcement of marine environmental laws need cross-departmental involvement and a coordinated approach.

Various government agencies have different roles and responsibilities in the governance of the marine environment and coastal areas in South Africa. The country recognises a range of role players; their alignment through coordinating structures is essential to engineer tourism growth that supports effective policy development, planning and implementation at all levels. National, provincial and local government agencies, the private sector, the media, labour and communities are all key partners in the coordination of tourism. Such structures as Provincial Tourism Committees (PTC) and Provincial Tourism Forums assist municipalities in developing municipal tourism policies within the framework of national and provincial tourism policies and legislation. Various other coordinating structures aim to close information gaps between local and provincial structures and to improve collaboration among all. While there is much literature on tourism and marine management (some of which was reviewed above), there is far less on governance (Wong, 1998). A fair amount of scholarly literature explores issues of public sector governance in South Africa generally (Miller, 2005) or the challenges of policy implementation in various sectors, especially health (McEwan, 2003; Schneider & Stein, 2001). Nelson's (2012) study on the politics of natural resource governance in Africa, although taking a continental view, is useful for many coastal environment contexts where land use is contested. While some of the governance literature is focused on coastal environments, not directly tourism related (Jentoft, 2007), a few other studies deal with governance in the field of tourism but are not specifically focused on coastal and marine environments (Cornelissen, 2005).

Methodology and methods

The desk-top study covered so far has permitted an examination of the relevant literature as well as identified international best practices, national and sector-specific (cruise tourism, beach tourism and events, adventure tourism, accommodation and facilities, etc.) trends in the South African context. The use of different approaches to data collection is interrelated and complementary. Key informants targeted were those who hold positions in the community, government, and tourism business, and who can be assumed to hold information relevant to the study. In total, 23 key informant interviews were conducted either in person, telephonically or by email, depending on the preference and availability of the respondents. Additionally, representatives from local communities and organisations involved or interested in marine and coastal tourism and the impacts thereof were interviewed, as well as representatives of political bodies (including traditional leadership or democratically elected councillors) that have a stake in marine and coastal tourism 3 interviews). Research (data collection) in all the identified areas was conducted over a period of 60 days. Two focus groups were conducted with 6 people in each group, who were mainly affiliated with the government. All interviews were recorded, transcribed, and then analysed, coded, and themed.

Results

Tourism governance and institutional framework

Governance has since emerged as the new buzzword in tourism discourse in a range of environments, including coastal areas, to achieve more sustainable outcomes (Wesley & Pforr, 2010). As already alluded to on page 5 of this document, at a national level, various laws and policies on tourism have been introduced since the 1990s, and international agreements signed, in the interest of marine resource protection and management. At a national level, various laws and policies on tourism have been introduced since the advent of democracy, for instance, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act no. 108 of 1996, the Tourism Act (no. 72 of 1993), the Tourism White Paper of 1996 and the National Tourism Sector Strategy, 2011. At an

international level, South Africa is a signatory to a series of agreements that are of relevance to coastal and marine tourism. These include the Convention for Cooperation in the Protection and Development of the Marine and Coastal Environment of the West and Central African Region and Related Protocol signed in 1984. South Africa plays an important role in the management of marine resources in sub-regional waters and cross-boundary systems. At a national level, examples include the 1989 Environmental Conservation, the White Paper on Marine Fisheries (1997), the Marine Living Resources Act (1998) and the DEAT's promotion of sustainable development of the marine environment based on the principles of Agenda 21. In response to the lack of a unified and integrated approach to coastal and marine management in the 1990s (Attwood et al, 1997), the White Paper on Sustainable Coastal Management was developed in 2000.

The findings of this research suggest several challenges with respect to the policies. There is an overlap and sometimes a lack of alignment among different policies. For instance, policies that deal with the environment are developed by the Department of Environmental Affairs, but they also have an impact on tourism. Yet, these impacts may not be aligned with respective sections in policies developed by Tourism structures. This is further complicated by divergent interpretations of policy objectives. Key informants from the government were sometimes inadequately familiar with the content and even the existence of policies. Respondents admitted that policy implementation is not always effective, and even communicating policy objectives to stakeholders is insufficient, primarily due to a number of factors. Lack of interaction between various spheres of government (national, provincial, local) and inefficient cross-sectoral coordination leads to disjointed projects and inefficiencies in the allocation of resources. When multiple voices intersect in a common area, competing goals, limited resources, and conflicting agendas cause friction. One person's pressing deadline competes with another's need for collaboration, resulting in misaligned incentives that exacerbate misunderstandings until the team's progress is halted in a tangle of competing agendas. Sometimes, poor and weak implementation processes, and a lack of monitoring, enforcement or compliance mechanisms exacerbate the problem. The allocation of municipal contracts occurred in a clandestine manner, characterised by a complex network of kickbacks and favours that enriched a select few, while the majority languished in the obscurity of denied justice. Some respondents from the business sector indicated inadequate familiarity with the relevant policies, suggesting gaps in awareness or understanding that could affect compliance and decision-making. For example, several interviewees admitted they were unsure about key policy provisions, and a subset reported relying on informal sources rather than official policy documents.

Governance capacity, coordination and effectiveness

Governance gives rise to complex ethical and philosophical considerations which require a different knowledge than that of experts: practical, ethical, contextual and experience-based knowledge. There was agreement that the process of involving local government structures in tourism is effective; however, there is a need for effective coordination between national, regional, and local tourism governance. A respondent from the South Coast noted, "when you look at the conditions of South Coast and compare it to Cape Town, it's like you are in two different countries working under one policy, there are four provinces namely, KwaZulu-Natal, Eastern Cape, Western Cape and Northern Cape, and the people need to manage all the four areas but they are sitting in Cape Town" [20]. Even though there are provincial and district departments, their offices may not be easily accessible. The respondent further noted that, "They have district offices here in Portshapestone, why can't somebody be sitting here so that if we need to liaise [with them] they are a phone call or drive away rather than waiting till two days later and the damage has already been done" [20]. Respondents believed the government has no absolute control over marine tourism governance. Some of the respondents felt that the coordination of tourism is not effective. One major challenge identified was the issue of insufficient skills, including all aspects of tourism sustainability. A respondent said, "You are gonna practice what you preach…and things get just thrown in and they don't practice what they preach and promise because there is no control…if you ask them questions, they do not know" [8]. For instance, in the Northern Cape, the harbour is owned by Transnet, which is leased to DeBeers, which does not allow anyone to come into that space.

Considering the Land Use Management Act, municipalities have no control over the land owned by Transnet. One respondent raised an important issue regarding knowledge of coastal and marine tourism; in fact, she says, "…in provinces, there is a serious lack of understanding of coastal tourism and responsible tourism… a serious lack of capacity. If the beaches are dirty, who is going to go there? All pieces should integrate; otherwise, you will end up without coastal tourism" [13]. It was noted that there are Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), educational institutions and other civil society organisations involved in environmental management issues. However, local structures need to be improved for them to work effectively. Respondents were of the opinion that the government has no absolute control over marine tourism governance. Some of the respondents felt that the coordination of tourism is not effective. One major challenge identified was the issue of insufficient skills, including all aspects of tourism sustainability. A respondent said, "You are gonna practice what you preach, and things get just thrown in, and they don't practice what they preach and promise because there is no control…if you ask them questions, he does not know" [8]. For instance, in the Northern Cape, the harbour is owned by Transnet, which is leased to DeBeers, which does not allow anyone to come into that space. Considering the Land Use Management Act, municipalities have no control over the land owned by Transnet. One respondent raised an important issue regarding knowledge of coastal and marine tourism, saying "…in provinces, there is a serious lack of understanding of coastal tourism and responsible tourism… a serious lack of capacity. If the beaches are dirty, who is going to go there? All pieces should integrate; otherwise, you will end up without coastal tourism" [13]. It was noted that there are NGOs, educational institutions and other civil society organisations involved in environmental management issues, but local structures need to be improved for them to work effectively.

Governance structures and engagement of key publics in tourism

Various other coordinating structures aim to close information gaps between local and provincial structures and to improve collaboration among all tourism role players (Heslinga et al., 2017). Among the challenges is a limited understanding of tourism within municipalities, which hinders the effectiveness and collaboration of structures. Inadequate capacity and budgeting for tourism functions, and a lack of tourism prioritisation in some municipalities, were also identified as some of the major challenges (Golding, nd.) (OECD, 2025). For instance, one respondent indicated that, "What is happening in KZN is that one entity that has been managing the coast has been removed and another entity put in, the latter does not have the capacity to do the job of monitoring illegal fishing. Those who are going to suffer are those people who depend on the coast for subsistence" [13]. There are clear active structures that bring together and represent private sector enterprises, but there are challenges, considering that there is inadequate capacity for the private sector to be effective.

Implementation and monitoring of coastal and marine tourism policies

Partnership between local people and marine management should be encouraged where there are common interests and mutual benefits (Fuentes, 2008). As studies show in South Africa, Namibia and elsewhere (Attwood et al, 1997; Spiteri & Nepal, 2006; Sheil et al., 2006; Nicanor, 2001), researchers, conservationists, development professionals, funding agencies and other stakeholders should form partnerships to build capacity, facilitate shared decision making and risks, value common interests and create a balance of rights and responsibilities between external agencies, local (tourism) related businesses and local interests. However, ecotourism and sustainable tourism practice generally present their own challenges. As one respondent noted, "No, there are some people who do not bother. They do not care; they say that they don't want to get involved because it's not their department. So, at the end of the day, some people just sit in the office, don't care about what is going on because nobody wants to do anything about it, and it's getting worse" [24]. Of particular interest to this study is the conflict between different stakeholders that can generate tensions and resistance to policy implementation (, 1988). One of the respondents was interested in why the study was focusing mainly on coastal and marine tourism, not any other areas. Even though stakeholders are actively involved in the policy implementation processes, there are some issues holding back the implementation process. One of the respondents indicated that, "mining on the coast is a top priority for the government; you sleep today thinking the place is accessible and wake up the following day to discover that the place has been proclaimed for mining purposes" [13]. Since most of the work is done by consultants, respondents assumed that the community was consulted on issues of policy formulation and implementation. However, the current policies allow the community to care for the marine/coastal resources. Respondent 13 retorted, "The problem is that the coast belongs to everybody, and nobody takes care of it. What we have seen with the private sector, in their strategies, they indicated that they are there to keep the sea clean, sometimes this is just on paper" [13].

Since most of the work is done by consultants, respondents assumed that the community was not consulted on issues of policy formulation and implementation. Yet, the current policies allow the community to care for marine/coastal resources. Hence, respondents believed the community is not capacitated on governance and/or policy issues. One conservancy member noted, " involved as a group, yes, but like I said, our conservancy, our chairlady …is well known in the region here for her contribution, and she is a mouthpiece of our conservancy, obviously, we have the committee members who all work very hard tirelessly around the clock to try and get these laws enforced and adhered to" [12]. The responses above show that there are challenges regarding the implementation of tourism and environmental policies due to other problems. The major challenge noted was the monitoring and review of progress, which is not done timeously. One respondent commented, "… and I think tourism also keeps a very careful [watch] on what is happening. But the report back is perhaps lacking; it is difficult sometimes to know how much is happening. I am beginning to feel strongly that we need some independent monitoring [systems] of almost everything [in tourism] [18]. The researcher further noted that the policy was silent on the responsibilities of the community in caring for the coastal/marine resources, as evidenced by respondents who said, "we do not get involved" [22]; "we are not part of it" [2]. Nonetheless, respondents from a municipality in KZN indicated that there are structures in place for developing and monitoring the implementation of the tourism strategy [15], but it may not be adequate [4], and there is a structured approach in managing marine tourism [14]. In Margate, for instance, it took them six months to get authorisation from the Department of Environmental Affairs to make some developments on the beach. Therefore, governance and legislative powers on the coast lie with the Department of Environmental Affairs, for instance, on issues related to the Blue Flag and river mouth developments [14]. Controlling the activities of tourism businesses, coupled with the power to govern effectively, lies in access to the final consumer market (Xu, Sun & Si, 2015). The amount of time taken before the granting of approval can have a devastating effect on the tourism businesses. Respondents believed state regulation limits the role of civil society and the private sector.

Strategic plans to promote product economic diversification and inclusive growth

Considering that the current tourism policy and strategy there is little focus on coastal and marine tourism, the strategy is inclined towards other forms of tourism, and there might have been an oversight on the inclusion of the coastal and marine tourism sector. However, researchers established that, currently, there are education programmes going on regarding coastal and marine tourism. Both the policy and the strategy are silent on the roles, actions, and responsibilities of different stakeholders. For instance, one respondent said, "they should point out what is expected of the municipality from a tourism perspective. Because [if] you [go] get to some of the Municipality[ies] and they don't have a tourism office" [2]. It was evident that each province had its own strategy and plans in place. One community member retorted and said, "I would say to a certain degree it is sufficient. But what length is the understanding of the content of the policy in the community? The policy is good,

but if people do not understand, those who are supposed to be the implementers of the policy… that policy will always be weak" [10]. In KZN, there is a tourism master plan which is clear and elaborate. The plan has been developed for five years, but it is not updated regularly. It defines specific responsibilities and roles of stakeholders. The consultants developed tourism. When developing the terms of reference, all responsibilities are clearly indicated. For example, one respondent said, "I think the issue in KZN, the consultant came up with a plan and said Here, what do you think about the plan?" [13]. The provinces were of the opinion that stakeholders are serious about the issues around sustainable tourism. However, banning every vehicle from the coast was seen as being problematic since that alone, without effective community participation, cannot lead to sustainable biodiversity conservation [13]. Co-operatives or community trusts that operate small-scale hotels, boat trips, and craft fairs, with a focus on youth and women-owned businesses, should be supported (Sheil & Boissière, 2006). Seasonality techniques such as shoulder-season specials, off-peak pricing, and events to lengthen tourist stays should be employed to stimulate tourism demand.

Discussion of findings

Tourism governance and institutional framework need to be strengthened in the KZN Coastal and Marine Tourism Council (CMTC) by ensuring representation from many stakeholders (provincial government, municipalities, tourism associations, fishing/coastal communities, conservation NGOs, academic institutions, and the corporate sector). To simplify approvals, establish clear role delineations and decision rights (policymaking, permitting, monitoring, and money distribution), as well as a single-entry permit desk (Masri et al., 2025). The creation of a formal coastal and marine tourism strategy that is consistent with national policy (for example, South Africa's Integrated Coastal Management and Marine Spatial Planning) and local development plans. There is a need to implement a clear framework for benefit-sharing to ensure that community and small-scale businesses have equal access to tourism opportunities and ecological services (OECD, 2025). Coastal communities should be included in the planning process from the start (Harrison & Wicks, 2013). The use of participatory mapping can be used to identify community-identified places and issues and ensure that the advantages and benefits remain local. Governance capacity, coordination and effectiveness are very important for conducting hazard and climate risk assessments for coastlines, ports, and tourist destinations, and creating sector-specific risk dashboards (Caffyn & Jobbins, 2003; Bramwell & Lane, 2011). This implies investing in natural defences (dune restoration, mangrove rehabilitation, and coral reef protection) to prevent erosion and storm damage while maintaining tourism attractiveness. Building flexible infrastructure, such as raised boardwalks, modular beach facilities, and promenades that can withstand sea-level rise, can ensure sustainable management of the coastal areas (Masri et al., 2025). Coastal tourism contingency plans for storms and extreme events should be created, including clear communication lines between operators and visitors. Within the province of KZN, various government agencies have different roles and responsibilities in the governance of the marine environment and coastal areas. The province recognises a range of role players, and the alignment thereof through coordinating structures, to engineer tourism growth that supports effective policy development, planning and implementation at all levels (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). The provincial government recognised the private sector, media, government, labour and communities as key partners in the coordination of tourism. Such structures as the Provincial Tourism Committee (PTC) and Provincial Tourism Forum assist municipalities in developing municipal tourism policies within the framework of national and provincial tourism policies and legislation.

There was a feeling that the government's state apparatus and provincial administration need to mobilise support when certain decisions are made, and these are based on the state's rules, institutions, objectives and goals (Masri et al., 2025). The results show the need to create a consolidated data platform to track visitor numbers, seasonality, and economic impact (e.g., tourism receipts, job generation). Environmental indicators should include water quality, littering, wildlife observations, and reef health (OECD, 2025). Compliance metrics should be developed to include licenses, safety inspections, fines, and enforcement actions. By installing simple, low-cost monitoring systems such as QR-based visitor feedback, trailhead camera counts, citizen science beach cleanups, and dolphin/wildlife sighting diaries, coastal management could be improved. To improve resilience, a detailed annual sustainability and resilience report detailing the progress made toward goals and lessons learned must be published (OECD, 2025). Whilst South Africa has specific state organs and departments at a national, provincial and local levels and stakeholders in safeguarding marine resources, there are no structural frameworks with clearly defined institutional arrangements for the coordination and management of such resources (Lee, 2003; OECD, 2025). Based on policy reviews, data drawn from semi-structured and structured questionnaires, this study underscores the significance of clearly defined institutional arrangements and frameworks between different layers of governance to facilitate a coordinated management approach amongst different stakeholders involved. The results show that structures between various provincial municipalities should be established to ease the implementation of provincial strategies (also see Masri et al., 2025). Capacity building among municipality officials is key to ensuring sufficient support regarding budgets and sustainable utilisation of tourism resources (Bramwell & Lane, 2011). Such interactions would ensure transparency, balance of power, guarantee knowledge transfer and sharing of skills among different role players (Van Hoof & Tatenhove, 2009). Product diversification should be encouraged by offering ecotours (snorkelling and reef walks), cultural heritage tours, marine research activities, and community-owned hotels (Ramírez-Guerrero et al., 2025).

Conclusions

Despite its limited scope and generalizability, the results of this study have the potential to contribute meaningfully to the improvement of governance in marine and coastal tourism in the four coastal provinces in South Africa. Important lessons might have been learnt on the significance of the coastline, especially for those countries in the developing world. Within

South Africa, the benefits of this study reach beyond the tourism sector. As has been noted in the study, South Africa is internationally respected for its well-conceptualised, progressive policies in all aspects of life; however, policy implementation is often lacking or hampered by various challenges. The results of this study further identified key blockages and challenges in the current policy implementation processes and governance structures. The central problem in maintaining under-resourced command and control systems is that central governments have undermined their own capacities to deal with complex, dynamic and diverse sets of governance problems. For the tourism sector to prosper, the Government needs to make direct interventions regarding the establishment of effective governance structures that will guide the coordination of tourism at different levels. Functioning coordination structures can assist in the implementation of Provincial strategies. To be able to realise the strategies, goals and plans, Municipalities need to create linkages with the private sector (PPP) within their structures. Lack of integrated communication systems, poor information dissemination and lack of stakeholder involvement in governance can negatively affect the effective implementation of programmes, thereby increasing impacts on other resources. Furthermore, Municipality officials need to be capacitated to understand tourism as an integral part of economic development. Municipalities need to develop mechanisms to address inadequate budgets for tourism and ensure that adequate resources are set aside for tourism to function properly. A policy for a one-stop shop was developed, but its implementation demands a bold, disruptive shake-up of the current status quo. Transformed governance systems, which can enable stakeholder interactions, need to be encouraged, balancing power relations among different role players for the benefits to trickle down to local people.

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