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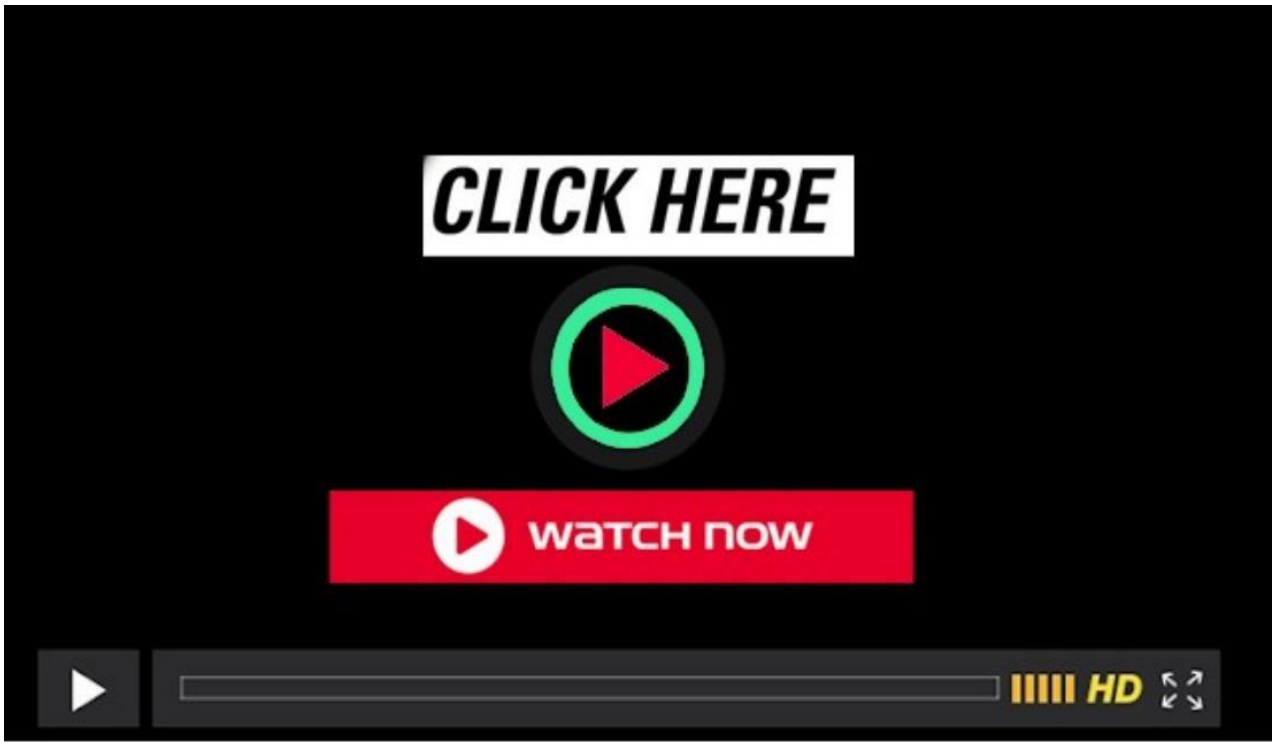

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Introduction

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Coastal zones are particularly vulnerable to climate change, but adaptation planning has mostly been haphazard, with many unintended negative consequences (Carey et al. 2012). Success stories are scarce because managing coastal systems places great demands on organizational capacity and leadership and, even in developed countries, stretches their knowledge and insights to the limit (Measham et al. 2011). Planners are therefore challenged to balance the need for complexity, holism, and integrationwiththerealitiesandpracticabilityofadaptationpla ns.Most adaptation plans for coastal areas promote development and economic activity, even in vulnerable areas, instead of pursuing longtermobjectivessuchasecosystem-based adaptation (EBA) (Young et al. 2006; Barbier et al. 2008; Temmerman et al. 2013; Nel et al. 2014). Uncertainties, economic pressures, and political turmoil constitute Bwicked^ problems that hamper adaptive capacity and add to the difficulties of implementing climate change policies (Moser et al. 2012; Pasquini et al. 2015). Hence, the need for decision support tools to aid in marine and coastal EBA, in particular to explore the linkages and feedbacks between social and ecological systems across different geographic and temporal scales (Leslie and McLeod 2007).

There is broad agreement that adaptation planning needs to embrace an integrated, cross-sectoral approach (Ziervogel et al. 2014; Reyers et al. 2015) and that this necessitates the adoption of a complex adaptive systems perspective (Timmermans et al. 2012). Theories on the governance of social-ecological systems (SES) have flourished over the past 30 years and include resilience, sustainability, and other holistically integrated approaches. Building upon common pool resource (CPR) theories, Ostrom and colleagues' research on the sustainable governance of SES suggest that particular types of governance systems are more robust to change than others (Ostrom 1990, 2009; Anderies et al. 2004). However, because of the difficulties of linking theory and practice in complex adaptive systems, there is a paucity of information on the governance challenges of implementing these strategies in practice (Anderies and Janssen 2013). A research agenda focusing on coupled infrastructure systems has been proposed as an appropriate unit of analysis to overcome the difficulties of operationalizing the SES frameworks and to encourage comparative analyses (Anderies et al. 2016). Here, we

propose to test the use of CPR ontologies to explore transformative pathways to global change adaptation in coastal areas within a South African context of political and environmental uncertainties.

South Africa's scenic coastline is affected by intensifying human impacts on the natural environment, rising demand for services due to in-migration of people searching for work, poverty, tourism growth , and concomitant increases in urban development, including converting coastal lands into suburban areas (Crisp 2015). Many parts of the coast have been impacted by climate change in the form of droughts, fires, and floods that threaten human infrastructure and biodiversity (Nel et al. 2014; Reyers et al. 2015). Policy makers have responded to these threats by focusing on coastal adaptation plans at provincial and district levels, but these plans are rarely implemented at the municipal level (Sitas et al. 2014a; Pasquini et al. 2015; Pasquini and Cowling 2015). For the past 10 years, environmental forums have flourished, motivated by awareness of unsustainable trajectories and short-term threat perceptions (Western Cape Province 2017). However, reactive responses and poor integration across sectors and scales (Sitas et al. 2014a; Ziervogel et al. 2014) present obstacles which are exacerbated by historical inequalities—the legacy of racebased policies–shortages in time and funding, as well as weak human capacity (Faling et al. 2012; Sitas et al. 2014a; Pasquini et al. 2015; Mudombi et al. 2017). Manyorganizationsandindividualssupportlearning,knowled ge co-production, collaboration, and partnership (Reyers et al. 2015). While some adaptive responses are emerging, the adaptation challenge is enormous and often requires not just incremental but also transformative changes (Moser et al. 2012).

A first challenge is to provide more practicable approaches that allow developers, planners, and policy makers to adopt a complex systems approach by proactively considering the outcomes on the social and environmental structures within which theyareembedded,aswellasacrossscales,andwherenecessary

adjust these. A second challenge is that complex systems management necessitates adaptive transformative approaches and constant value judgment. The assumption of rational actors responding wisely to carefully constructed modelsseldom holds, no matter how good their empirical and scientific foundations. Hence the need to provide common tools to visualize the state of the system, its diverse components, and how decision making and rules may affect them. A third challenge is that collaborative governance means building trust, learning, co-creating solutions, and finding common ground (Baird et al. 2014; Reyers et al. 2015). Several authors reckon that transformative change requires actors to have a common intent or, at least, a collective vision (Abson et al. 2017; Colloff et al. 2017). All of this should also be supported by regional and national policies encouraging collaborative management efforts (Armitage et al. 2009). A SES lens that views adaptation as a common pool governance challenge might shed new light on these challenges.

Here, we adopted two CPR governance tools to analyze and understand the factors affecting proactive adaptation to global change in the Garden Route coast (South Africa). The robustness framework which was originally conceptualized in 2004 (Anderies et al. 2004) and modified to a coupled infrastructure perspective in 2015 (Anderies 2015) emphasizes that operational andcollectivechoicelevelsmustbeanalyzedtogetherinorderto assess the system's vulnerability and adaptive capacity. The coupled infrastructure perspective of the 2015 iteration of the robustness framework (hereinafter BRF^) extends the notion of infrastructure to various system components, allowing the analyst to focus on the feedbacks generated among these linked infrastructures (Anderies 2015). The RF, thus, represents an ontology that allows an analyst to identify key elements in a system of interest and the interactions among those elements that are salient to the social dilemma/resource problem of interest. In doing so, it helps identify a general set of variables that can be used to analyze various types of similar settings within the system of interestandacrossothersimilar systems. Italso providesa way to identify relevant theories that can then be used to hone in onparticularaspectsofinterest within thesystem(Ostrom2005).

The design principles (DPs) were often found to be present in long-enduring small-scale CPR governance regimes and help explain key governance components (Ostrom 1990; Ostrom 2009). This includes the conditions under which trust and reciprocity can be built and maintained in order to sustain collective action in the face of social dilemmas, such as resource overexploitation (Cox et al. 2010). The DPs provide a complementary methodology to determine whether the results of the interactions among the elements in the RF are robust or not (Ostrom 2009). For instance, one could utilize the RF to determine interactions that work or do not work well within the Garden Route SES, and then use the DPs as an additional tool to determine whether the presence or absence of particular DPs may be contributing to the weakness/strength in the interaction.

In essence, the RF and the DPs represent different, yet complementary, lenses with which to analyze a particular issue of interest. The RF provides a broader more general oversight of the system and key interactions within it. The DPs are higher-level theories ofkey criteria that have been found to aid in overcoming social dilemmas related to resource overappropriation or under-provisioning of infrastructure.

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