

**ACHIEVING LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
THROUGH NATURAL RESOURCE-BASED TOURISM IN
KWAZULU-NATAL**

by
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ABSTRACT

A number of development strategies and programmes are currently being explored in South Africa as a part of a renewed initiative to overcome the imbalances persisting from the apartheid era with respect to development, wealth, income and opportunity, and in order to address problems increasing unemployment brought on by the decline of traditional employment sectors. Local Economic Development (LED) is one such strategy that seeks to utilize local resources and skills in order to promote economic growth and create employment opportunities. Similarly, tourism, which has become one of the most critical forces shaping the world's economy, has been recognised as a potential growth alternative in South Africa, and is being increasingly implemented into LED strategies across the country.

Although the studies that have identified the link between tourism and LED are increasing, it is clear that research on the topic remains limited. This research therefore contributes to the existing literature, and investigates how three localities in KwaZulu-Natal have identified the tourism potential of the locally available natural resources, and how different actors have embarked on tourism-based projects that have sought to achieve LED. A series of semi-structured interviews formed the principle research method and information was obtained over a period of a year from a number of key stakeholders and role-players in each case study. It was found that all three case studies have created employment opportunities and have empowered local communities through skills development and training. This research attempts to highlight the potential opportunities and limitations of the pursuit of natural resource-based tourism as a catalyst for local economic development, such that other localities that are seeking to adopt a similar approach may learn from these experiences.

DECLARATION

This dissertation was carried out in the Department of Geography, School of Applied Environmental Sciences, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, under the supervision of Dr Trevor Hill and Professor Etienne Nel (Rhodes University).

This dissertation is the original work of the author. Where the work of others has been used, this has been acknowledged in the text.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ANDM	Alfred Nzo District Municipality
B & B	Bed and Breakfast
BDDF	Bergville District Development Centre
CAMPFIRE	Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources
CBO	Community-based Organisation
CBT	Community-based Tourism
CMIP	Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme
CRT	Centre for Responsible Tourism
CTO	Community Tourism Organisation
DEAT	Department Environmental Affairs and Tourism
DPLG	Department of Provincial and Local Government
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
ECTB	Eastern Cape Tourism Board
EDA	Environment and Development Agency
ENPAT	Environment Potential Atlas
EPZ	Export Processing Zone
ERS	Environmental and Rural Solutions
ETPA	Eshowe Tourism and Publicity Association
EU	European Union
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy
GEM	Group for Environmental Monitoring
GGP	Gross Geographic Product
HDI	Human Development Index
IDP	Integrated Development Planning
IDZ	Industrial Development Zone
IIED	International Institute for Environment and Development
INK	Inanda-Ntunzuma-Kwamashu

IUCN	International Union for the Conservation of Nature
KZN DEDT	KwaZulu-Natal Department of Economic Development and Tourism
KZN Wildlife	KwaZulu-Natal Wildlife
LED	Local Economic Development
LEDF	Local Economic Development Fund
MDC	Mhala Development Centre
NGO	Non-governmental Organisation
ODI	Overseas Development Institute
PPT	Pro-poor Tourism
PRA	Participatory Rural Appraisal
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RRA	Rapid Rural Appraisal
SATOUR	South African Tourism Organisation
SDF	Spatial Development Framework
SDI	Spatial Development Initiative
SMME	Small, Medium and Micro Enterprise
SRDS	Sustainable Rural Development Strategy
SRL	Sustainable Rural Livelihood
THETA	The Tourism and Hospitality Association
TLC	Transitional Local Council
UK	United Kingdom
UMTA	uMzimbubu Matatiele Tourism Association
UN	United Nations
URP	Urban Renewal Programme
USA	United States of America
UTA	uMlalazi Tourism Association / Ukhahlamba Tourism Association
VFR	Visiting Friend and Relative
WWF	World Wildlife Fund for Nature

CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

The post-industrial world has come to be characterised by processes of economic restructuring and the pursuit of new economic growth options. Since the 1980s, in response to these processes, considerable attention has been paid to the development strategy of Local Economic Development (LED), which at its core, is focussed on the use of local resources, ideas and skills to stimulate local economic growth and create employment opportunities. LED has become well established in many developed countries, particularly in North America, Western Europe and the United Kingdom, and has increasingly spread to countries of the developing world in recent years (Rogerson, 1997). In South Africa, the policy and practice of LED has received considerable attention in recent years. Associated with the country's democratic transformation in the early 1990s, has been a reduction in the control of the state, and increased powers given to local level economic planning. The fact that LED is currently occurring in various forms in many parts of South Africa, and that development planners in numerous localities are seeking to encourage it, makes the topic of LED worthy of study (Nel, 1999).

There is a significant degree of contention over the term LED and its exact meaning. Some LED interventions aim to enhance competitiveness and stimulate sustainable economic growth, while others aim to address challenges of unemployment and poverty alleviation. The World Bank define LED as being "about local people working together to achieve sustainable economic growth that brings economic benefits and quality of life improvement for all..." (World Bank, 2001, p1). The focus of LED interventions in South Africa has predominantly been on manufacturing activities and issues relating to big business retention and new investment attraction (Nel, 2001). Within the international context however, *tourism* is becoming widely recognised as being a key driving force for achieving LED. As Rogerson (2002) observes, there are currently a number of international examples of tourism-based LED, in which localities are promoting themselves as centres of *consumption* rather than production.

Initially confined to the place marketing initiatives of traditional sun, sea and sand resorts of Western Europe and North America, the association of tourism and LED has spread across a wide range of localities (Rogerson, 2001). In fact, the identification and promotion of localities as a result of their location and natural attractions has enabled many areas that were once marginalised to re-orientate their economies to tourism. The importance of tourism as a potential economic driver has now become internationally recognised, and many countries, particularly in the developing world, have come to regard tourism as a 'passport to development' (Rassool and Witz, 1996).

Within this context, tourism has become increasingly linked with poverty reduction in developing countries. An emerging theme within development literature is the advocacy of a pro-poor tourism (PPT) approach that involves strategies that increase the financial and social benefits to poor people from tourism development (Ashley and Roe, 2002). Paralleled with this is the controversy surrounding the issue of promoting community development through tourism in a sustainable manner. As the evidence will show, tourism development can often lead to drastic environmental and social costs, and there is considerable debate as to whether tourism can truly be an empowering development strategy to host communities from which it can draw long-term sustainable benefits (Turner, 2001).

This research investigation considers how economic stagnation and crisis, high unemployment and poverty is serving to motivate the identification of the developmental potential of utilising locally available natural resources for tourism in post-apartheid South Africa. Despite having undergone a remarkable political transformation in the early 1990s, South Africa has experienced a degree of mixed economic fortunes. Many sectors have experienced sluggish economic growth, and industrial rationalisation has resulted in the downscaling of labour-intensive sectors such as mining, rendering thousands of people unemployed (Hill et al, 2003). In response to these issues, a range of LED endeavours have been initiated across the country, ranging from big-business support programmes in big cities to community empowerment projects in small towns. In many instances,

localities have suffered severe economic declines, and the implementation of LED has been as a form of crisis response. Such economic restructuring has become a key focus of a number of LED programmes. The South Africa government actively encourages the pursuit of LED, and in direct response to the socio-economic situation of South Africa's poor, LED policy has recently become focussed on poverty alleviation.

Related to the promotion of economic growth and job creation through LED, tourism is now widely recognised in South Africa as an alternative growth option (Binns and Nel, 2002).

Government, private sector entrepreneurs and local communities have recognised that with South Africa's wealth of natural resources and rich cultural heritage, and the fact that South Africa has become one of the world's fastest growing tourist destinations, tourism can and is significantly contributing to employment, small business development, income and foreign earnings. Since 1994, several initiatives have been launched by national government designed to promote or support economic development across South Africa through tourism. The White Paper on the Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa (RSA, 1996a) has identified the need to promote community participation in tourism. It proposes that tourism should be 'responsible', and should therefore focus on the sustainability of the environment while boosting other sectors of the economy and creating entrepreneurial opportunities for the previously neglected groups (RSA, 1996). A number of tourism initiatives have been embarked upon across South Africa that effectively have a pro-poor focus, including the promotion of arts and crafts and a number of projects related to cultural tourism (Hill and Nel, undated; Binns and Nel, 2002).

With the increased recognition accorded to tourism in having the potential to drive economic growth and contribute to community development, tourism-based LED is clearly emerging in South Africa as a perceived growth catalyst. There are a number of local level, as well as nationally driven initiatives that are linking tourism and local economic development. At a national level, LED and tourism is apparent in the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs) which have identified a set of tourism developed areas that are being linked to clusters of opportunities (Turner, 2001). At a local level, the well-documented

small coastal town of Stilbaai in the Western Cape, which in the face of economic decline, identified the tourism potential of its natural resources and has re-orientated the economy entirely towards tourism (Department of Provincial and Local Government LED Manual Series, 2000).

While a range of tourism-based LED initiatives have been identified across South Africa, many of which are based on cultural, heritage or sports tourism (Rogerson, 2001), it is the identification of locally available natural resources for tourism that forms the focus of this research. There exists a number of contemporary forms of tourism development based on the attraction of natural resources that include ecotourism, nature-based tourism and adventure tourism. However, there is a significant degree of contention over the use of these terms (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996), and for this reason the term *natural resource-based tourism*, which incorporates elements of all of these forms of tourism development, is referred to in this research. The development of natural resources for tourism is perceived as a means of creating employment, generating income for the maintenance of livelihoods, and improving skills while simultaneously fostering improved use of the natural resource base. This research examines three small towns in the province of KwaZulu-Natal that have identified the tourism potential of the natural resources available in their respective localities, and have embarked on a number of projects that aim to achieve these local economic development goals. Based on the evidence supported by these three case studies, it becomes clear that local areas across South Africa can, and should, encourage tourism to promote their own local development.

1.1 MOTIVATION AND RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Despite the attention given to tourism in South Africa's development plans, tourism-based LED has been little discussed and the existing literature on this theme is limited. There is obviously scope for further examination on the topic of tourism-based LED, and as such served to motivate this research. While examples of urban tourism in the country's large cities have been noted, there is very little evidence of tourism-based LED occurring in small towns. Many small towns, particularly in KwaZulu-Natal, are characterised by severe

development backlogs, and very often lack the financial resources and institutional capacity to address such backlogs. However, the natural resources associated with many small towns in KwaZulu-Natal have the potential to be developed for tourism, and include scenic and tranquil surroundings such as mountains or undisturbed savannah. In utilizing their locally available assets for tourism, such small towns may catalyse a process of local development.

Each of the three small towns selected for this research have a strikingly different natural resource base, but each represents an interesting example of how a locality has identified the potential of the locally available natural resources, which if properly managed and marketed, could attract tourists. Several initiatives have been launched in each respective locality that have harnessed such tourism potential, and which have the specific aim of achieving local economic development. LED involves local government and/or community and/or private sector initiatives to catalyse development through the use of local resources and skills to generate employment opportunities locally. The towns selected for this research represent case studies of firstly a private sector drive, a community driven project together with the support of a local non-governmental organisation, and a local government driven initiative in collaboration with other stakeholders. The role of different stakeholders in driving the LED process and the issue of leadership further reflects who benefits from the LED process. The South African State currently advocates an emphasis on poverty alleviation in LED programmes, and while some initiatives aim to involve and empower poorer communities, in some instances, benefits to the poor are extremely limited. Within the overall context of LED, the role of different stakeholders and leadership is a critical consideration with respect to the success and sustainability of LED initiatives. For each of the three small towns, a commentary is presented of the role of these different stakeholders, and an assessment is made of the spinoffs for direct beneficiaries of the LED process.

1.2 AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

This research aims to detail and critically examine how three small towns in KwaZulu-Natal are achieving LED through the promotion of natural resource-based tourism. This aim is researched by way of the following research objectives:

1. To examine literature on local economic development (LED) and tourism development, as well as the developmental context in which LED and tourism is emerging in South Africa.
2. To identify the role of tourism-based LED in South Africa, and the need for further research on this topic.
3. To identify the natural resource base, and to explore the context in which LED is being pursued, and in which tourism is being promoted in each case study.
4. To document and analyse the initiation and success of the natural resource-based tourism development project in each case study with respect to its key features, actors, and local economic development achievements.
5. To assess how this natural resource-based tourism approach fits into the broader pro-poor rhetoric, and LED policy context and practice in South Africa.

1.3 THE CASE STUDIES

The three towns selected were Eshowe, Matatiele and Utrecht (Figure 1). The small town of Eshowe in KwaZulu-Natal, is unique in that it has a large tract of indigenous forest located close to the centre of the town. This natural resource has been recognised as being an important asset to the town in terms of tourism promotion. A number of projects have been launched in recognition of the tourism potential of this and other similar natural resources located in the area, the most notable being the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk project. This project is seen as the central focus from which other tourism development projects will grow. The Prince Dabulamanzi Trail to Ntumeni has been established and will be extended to the Mbogolwane Wetlands, and it is hoped that the Amatikulu wetland and Ongoye and Nkandla Forest Reserve will be linked in similar ways, encouraging rural

community involvement in natural resource-based tourism. The town was chosen as it represents a case study in which members from the private sector have spearheaded tourism development initiatives, with some degree of local government support, resulting in the creation of a number of jobs and skills development.

Utrecht, located in the Umzinyathi region of north-western KwaZulu-Natal, suffered a severe decline in its economy with escalated unemployment levels as a consequence of the widespread closure of mines and the rationalisation of the iron and steel industries experienced in the early 1980's. However, through local motivation and expertise, the town has embarked on a unique and innovative strategy to strengthen and sustain the local economy, shifting its focus from industry to that of tourism. The town markets itself as a 'town within a game park' and focuses on the development of tourism and a number of tourism related initiatives, notably the game park, a game farm and the production and sale of arts and crafts. The town was chosen as it represents a case study in which local government was the driving force behind the tourist initiatives, with there being collaboration and partnership formation between the local council and the mine, business, community interests and the tribal authorities.

Matatiele is a small town situated at the cusp of the Eastern Cape, KwaZulu-Natal and Lesotho in the foothills of the southern end of the Drakensberg mountains. The area, having beautiful natural scenery and unexplored mountainous areas, abundant bird life, traditional lifestyles, customs and rich indigenous knowledge, has been recognised as having enormous natural resource-based tourism potential. The 1998 Maluti District LDO/IDP process identified tourism as a strategy for addressing LED, through its potential to have an impact on income generation and livelihood improvement for rural communities. Consequently, a Local Tourism Association has been launched along with a number of Community Tourism Organisations (CTOs), forming partnerships with the Eastern Cape Tourism Board and the Umzimvubo Municipality to promote and foster local economic development activities based on and related to tourism. In addition to the fact that the case study is provincially trans-boundary in nature, Matatiele was selected as it provides

an example of local community involvement and drive, together with the support from a local NGO, in eco-cultural tourism development.

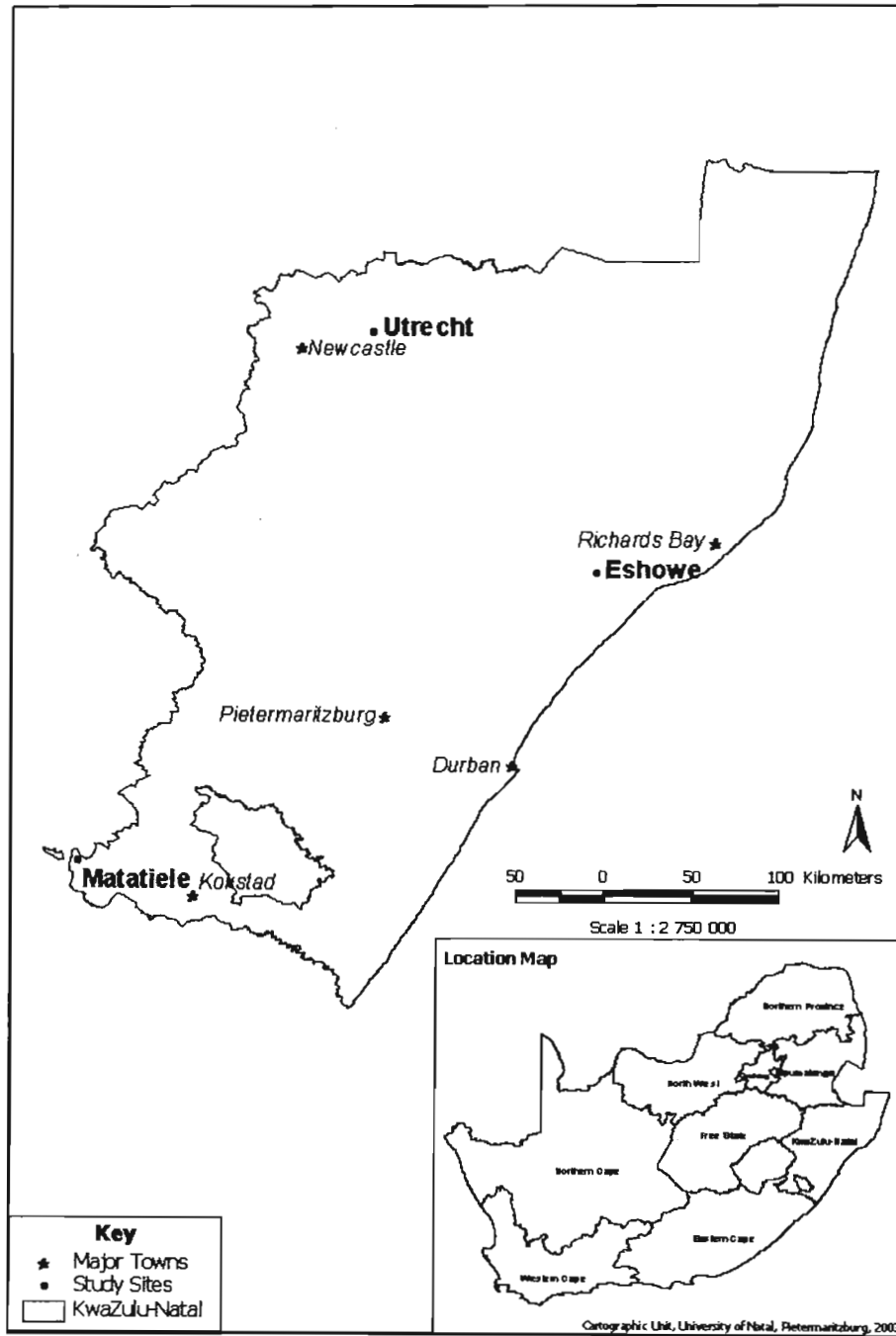


Figure 1. The location of the three study sites in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

1.4 STRUCTURE OF DISSERTATION

The following chapter introduces the concept of local economic development (LED), which is briefly discussed in the international context, followed by a more detailed examination of the current status of the policy and practise of LED in South Africa. It is evident that a range of LED projects and programmes have been initiated across the country, and that local governments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and community based organisations (CBOs) are becoming increasingly involved in the activities of LED. This is followed by a discussion on the relationship between tourism and development. The different forms of tourism development are mentioned, with particularly reference to the meaning of 'natural resource-based tourism', and the environmental, social and economic impacts of tourism development are considered. This section is important in that it points to the role that tourism can play in promoting socio-economic development as well as pro-poor development, while highlighting the potential conflicts that may exist between development and environmental conservation, and thus forms the necessary context in which tourism as an instrument for LED may be examined. The role of tourism in South Africa and KwaZulu-Natal is briefly explored, and finally the practice of tourism-based LED in South Africa is examined.

Chapter three provides a theoretical background to the various methods used in this research, and examines the relevance of a literature review and the advantages and disadvantages of using a semi-structured interview, the principle method utilised in this research. The manner in which the semi-structured interviews were conducted and the nature of the questions asked are described as well.

Chapter four examines the case of Eshowe. The chapter initially provides a general overview of the town, its local economy and natural resource base, and the tourism development and local economic development processes in place in the town are briefly discussed. This is followed by a detailed examination of the natural resource-based tourism development project, the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk, and its success and failures with respect to its LED goals. Finally, the opportunities and limitations of the

project are linked to the overall tourism development and LED potential of the town in general. Chapter five and six follow and are broken down in the same manner as chapter four but detail the town of Matatiele and the Mehloping Horse and Hiking Trail project, and the town of Utrecht and the Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products project respectively.

In chapter seven, the differences in the achievements of each case study are briefly compared, and the role of the three case studies in serving to illustrate the potential for other localities to utilize their natural resource base in local level tourism-based initiatives is discussed. The importance of this research within the overall context of tourism development and LED is then assessed. Chapter eight re-visits the aims and objectives outlined in this chapter, and provides the concluding remarks regarding the potential application of natural resource-based tourism in achieving LED in other small towns across South Africa. Finally, this research concludes with a general assessment of the successful applicability of the LED process.

CHAPTER 2. LITERATURE REVIEW

The focus of this thesis is an examination of how three small towns have used their available natural resources and scenic beauty to promote tourism. The broad topic of LED serves as a theoretical basis from which to critically examine how these tourism initiatives have sought to promote economic development and create employment opportunities. Within this chapter, the core issues in local economic development (LED) are summarised, followed by a discussion on the different types of tourism development, and the impacts of tourism development. Finally, tourism-driven LED within South Africa is detailed. Current academic debate on these themes is examined, highlighting certain controversies that exist and gaps in the current knowledge.

The chapter is broken down into five major sections. In the first section, development in general and then LED is discussed. The varying definitions of LED are mentioned, followed by a discussion of LED within the international context, and its emergence in both the developed and developing world. Building on the basic categorisation provided by Nel (2001), LED as it is currently applied in South Africa is then discussed, revealing that it exists in a variety of forms and at a range of levels. This is followed in the next section by an examination of the various classifications of tourism development, and the environmental, economic and social impacts that tourism development may have. Within this overall contextual framework, foreign and domestic tourism trends in South Africa are detailed, and finally experiences of tourism-based LED ranging from larger cities to small towns are examined.

2.1 THE DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT IN SOUTH AFRICA

The concept of 'development' can be understood in many different ways. It can be a process or a result, measured in either economic or social terms. Over the past decade there have been significant shifts in South African and world political systems, in

theoretical debates and in development policies, and all these impact on the way in which we think about development (Coetzee et al, 2001).

Development has previously been associated with economic growth. However, the concept of development has since evolved to incorporate issues of unemployment, inequality and poverty (Seers, as cited in Corbridge, 2000). In general terms, development implies an improvement in people's living conditions (as a process or result). Development, however, has become increasingly associated with a number of environmental problems, both at a local and global scale. Concerns regarding this resulted in the conceptualisation of the term 'sustainable development' that appeared in the Brundtland Report of the United Nations' World Commission on Environment and Development (Cross, 2003). Sustainable development refers to development which 'meets the needs of the present generation without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs'. Since then, there has been considerable debate and controversy surrounding the issue of sustainable development and whether it can in fact be achieved. South Africa has committed itself to achieving sustainable development which it has defined in the country's National Environmental Management Act of 1998 (RSA, 1998a, p 2) as "the integration of social, economic and environmental factors into planning, implementation and decision-making so as to ensure that development serves present and future generations". Another important consideration in the light of South Africa's developmental goals, is that of poverty alleviation. According to South Africa's Poverty and Inequality Report issued in 1998 (DEAT, 2003, p 6), poverty can be defined as "the inability to attain a minimal standard of living, measured in terms of basic consumption needs or the income required to satisfy them". Poverty is not a static condition. Individuals, households or communities may be vulnerable to falling into poverty as a result of shocks and crises or long term trends such as racial and gender discrimination, environmental degradation and macro-economic trends. (DEAT, 2003). Millions of people across South Africa live in conditions of poverty and addressing such issues, has become a national government priority with a number of programmes and projects aimed at poverty alleviation have been introduced. Local Economic Development

(LED) is a developmental approach that is currently being experimented with in South Africa, which seeks to promote economic growth and create employment opportunities. More recently the focus of LED in South Africa has become centred on poverty alleviation.

Whilst South Africa nears its tenth year of democracy, and prospects for the development of the country appear encouraging, it is evident that economic divisions still exist. Such divisions are reflected both in deep racial divides and developmental differences between places themselves. There is a general poverty of the black majority as compared to the white minority, and unlike most developing countries, the majority of the population lives (although to a large degree marginally) and works in urban areas. In contrast to the wealth of large cities such as Cape Town and Johannesburg, which are developing as 'world cities', it is apparent that rural areas and small towns across the country are experiencing increasing out-migration of those with skills, increasing unemployment levels, and in some instances, a loss of economic viability. Very few of these small towns are able to capitalise upon market forces in order to address their economic requirements, and targeted assistance and the facilitation of development is often required, and this is being increasingly pursued in the form of LED. LED in these small towns and the surrounding rural communities they service, is often characterised by efforts to both boost the local economy within the town, and to improve the quality of lives of those living in the rural areas, and therefore initiatives have a strong emphasis on poverty alleviation.

The aim of this research is not to focus on the debates surrounding 'development' and how one defines the term, or to examine the associated controversies surrounding sustainable development. The aim is rather to look at what development, or more specifically, local economic development, means in practise, and how different elements in three small towns (whether these be represented by local government, private sector individuals, or the local communities) strive for local economic development through tourism. The focus therefore is on small town development, and the development 'achievements' should be appreciated in this light. Considering the fact that tourism in these towns has been based on the

promotion of the attractiveness of the locally available natural resources, issues of sustainability are kept in mind.

2.2 LOCAL ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

2.2.1 THE INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

In recent years, the world has witnessed significant changes in the operation of the national and the international economy, and the role and function of national and local states. In response to financial constraints and limited successes, many countries across the world have experienced a partial scaling down of central state regional development strategies. Parallel to this has been the enhanced global trend of democratisation, and the associated decentralisation of powers from national to local government (Hindson, 2003a).

As a result of these trends, development planning has devolved from institutional cores to individual localities (both rural and urban). Such local level agencies, which are now exercising increased levels of control over economic development, include local business and/or local government and/or non-governmental organisations and/or community-based organisations. This development approach, in which local people in both rural and urban areas, work together to achieve sustainable economic growth that brings economic benefits and quality of life improvements for all in the community, is referred to as Local Economic Development (LED) (World Bank, 2001). The development strategy of local economic development has been widely practised in developed countries, particularly in Western Europe and North America for several decades. By contrast LED in developing nations appears to be a relatively recent phenomenon. As Nel (2001) points out, reasons for the emergence of LED in developed and developing nations have differed slightly.¹ Although it has a long history, the incidence of LED within developed societies, especially in North America and Europe, has become more prolific in the past twenty to thirty years, both in terms of local government action and the activities of regional government seeking

¹ Developed nations - nations of the 'North' and in the context of this research include North America and countries in Western Europe

Developing nations - also referred to as less developed nations or nations of the 'South' and include Brazil and countries in Africa

to catalyse growth at the local level. The growth of LED intervention across these countries has, as mentioned above, been interpreted in relation to a weakening of centralised economic management, as well as attempts by localities to counter the effects of global economic restructuring and heightened pressure on local economies. Such economic restructuring has been associated with the decline of manufacturing employment (de-industrialisation), massive technological change and continental economic integration (Clark, 2002). By the end of the 1980s, in response to such economic restructuring, regional planning had largely shifted to locally driven strategies, based on the host community seeking to improve local conditions and to encourage that area's entrepreneurs. Rogerson (1997) refers to two causes for LED planning, a 'boosterist' desire for local economic growth, or a more defensive 'regenerative' desire to avert local decline.

LED is gradually emerging in developing countries as well, in response to reasons similar to those in the developed countries. However, added to these causes are the considerations of the debt crisis; the inability of many states to intervene at the local level; massive currency devaluation; and the series of natural and political shocks that these countries are prone to experiencing (Taylor and Mackenzie, 1992 as cited in Nel, 2001). In many cities of the developing world municipal governments have been actively involved in local level initiatives directed towards poverty alleviation. However, in reviewing the status of LED in local government areas in these developing countries, Nel (2001, p 1004) indicates that "formal LED, as opposed to community-based variations, is still in its infancy". Indeed, across the developing world, the general practise of LED planning is still relatively underdeveloped compared to the experiences of Western Europe and North America (Rogerson, 2000). As the importance of the nation state is diminished and increased levels of control are given to local authorities, the LED process in these countries will be assisted. The emerging literature has revealed that in many countries where governments have lacked the resources and staff to intervene effectively within local areas, communities, often with the help of non-governmental organisations, have had to become more self-reliant in order to survive economically. Nel (2001, p 1005)

continues that “with the emergence and re-emergence of the informal sector, communal farming and various forms of community survival, a ‘rough Southern equivalent of LED’ has occurred”.

Within an economic context, South Africa shares many similarities with both developed and developing nations. However, as the discussion below will make clear, LED in South Africa is still emerging, with government and local governments often still in the first phase of policy development and application. Rogerson (2000, p 408) asserts that “the capacity to undertake LED activities remains presently uneven geographically”. Furthermore, it has been contended that truly notable and significant results have not yet been achieved, and private sector, community and NGO initiatives have not yet received the necessary policy support (Nel and Humphreys, 1999). In the rest of this section a brief overview of the concept of LED will be provided, followed by a discussion of LED as it currently exists within South Africa.

Since the early 1980's, LED has emerged as a major scholarly, policy and research issue, with related issues such as economic development, self-help and self-reliance strategies, as well as the topic of bottom-up development (which emphasise local action rather than that of central state) having received considerable attention. There has been some degree of contention as to how one specifically defines LED but broadly speaking it is “the process or strategy in which locally based individuals or organisations use resources to modify or expand local economic activity to the benefit of the majority in the local community” (Nel and Humphreys, 1999, p 277). Others have defined it as “essentially a process in which local governments and/or community based groups manage their existing resources and enter into partnership arrangements with the private sector, or with each other, to create new jobs and stimulate economic activity in an economic area” (Zaaijer and Sara, 1993, p 129). Rogerson (2001) states that overall, LED is an umbrella term encompassing the concepts of partnerships, economic stability, job creation and improvement of community well-being. While LED is not a new concept, the increasing incidence of LED, and the paralleled increase in the importance of NGO and community-based development

initiatives is relatively recent (Nel, 2001). According to Binns and Nel (2002, p 236), “key features of LED are that it seeks to encourage economic growth and to diversify the local economic base into sectors that are usually quite different from those in which recent hardship has been experienced”, and they emphasise that this is “a pertinent consideration in communities undergoing economic change”.

In terms of addressing local needs and the reliance on local control and initiative, LED projects are similar in both developed and developing countries. Examples of LED in developed countries however, tend to focus more on issues of investment, the retention and expansion of big business, and large project development undertaken by relatively well-resourced agencies with or without external support (Clark, 2002). Community economic development and the activities of community business are also important but not the primary objective of these LED initiatives. Urban entrepreneurialism has in fact become a feature of almost all LED strategies in these developed centres as local authorities compete for investment (Bond, 2001). Cox (1995) asserts that the study of urban politics in the United States is now dominated by issues of local economic development, and how cities compete for mobile capital.

While LED in urban areas across many developed countries has become characterised by such urban entrepreneurialism, this has not been the case in developing countries. It has been contended that in many developing areas and Africa in particular, the ‘smokestack-chasing’ of foreign investment as a LED strategy, is simply not working. This is evident in the fact that foreign investors fail to materialise in sufficient quantity to allow capital accumulation to ‘take off’. As a result, “a new approach to LED has emerged that highlights the mobilisation of internal resources, capacities and skills” (Bond, 2001, p 4). Developing countries face a number of difficulties, particularly extremely high levels of poverty, and as is often the case, governments which are lacking the necessary skills and resources, and are unable to fulfill their developmental mandates. As a consequence of this, the focus of LED in these countries is not on gaining participation in the global economy as has been the case in many developed countries, but rather involves small-

scale and community-based initiatives, utilizing indigenous skills and seeking primarily to ensure survival (Binns and Nel, 1999).

In both the developed and developing world, LED planning is seen to occur in both urban and rural areas. A distinguishing facet of rural LED planning is the special focus which is often accorded to natural resource use and resource-led development (Philander and Rogerson, 2001). In developed countries, a range of operational rural LED initiatives designed to allow resource-based rural communities to restructure in the face of changing economic conditions have been discerned. The LED initiatives have involved the strengthening of agricultural bases, diversification through new production activities such as tourism, or the lobbying for private sector spending. In developing countries, rural LED initiatives that are focussed on the restructuring of local economies for growth are less common. Apart from a few examples in Brazil, Kenya and Indonesia that enhance the growth potential of local micro-enterprise clusters, rural LED in developing countries is recognised as a survivalist or 'self-reliance' strategy (Philander and Rogerson, 2001).

As the discussion above indicates, there are a number of different forms of LED, in both developed and developing countries. Nel (2001) describes LED as operating at two broad levels within the 'North' and 'South' respectively, although neither of the two are mutually exclusive:

- the formal: usually characterised by the involvement of local and higher authority structures and the formal business sectors
- the informal: usually characterised by actions at the level of community-based organisations and NGOs; links with spontaneous self-reliance initiatives and the informal sector have been discerned.

Having reviewed what LED is and its emergence within the international context, attention now turns to its major characteristics. Researchers have used various approaches to catalogue and describe the various characteristics of LED and the different strategies

adopted in applying LED. Nel et al (undated) have subdivided the major characteristics of LED into a number of key categories:

- **Broad strategic approaches to LED**

While LED is being practised across the world, as is evident from the discussion above, its focus differs from place to place. Two broad paths or practises of organised LED within this category have been discerned in international literature on LED:

1. **Market-led approach of business development.**

The emphasis in these market-led approaches is on achieving the goals of promoting self-reliance, entrepreneurship, and on the pursuit of economic growth, investment attraction and fostering the high profile business sector, expansion of the market and competitiveness, reduction of unemployment, and sustainable growth (Rogerson, 2000; Philander and Rogerson, 2001; Nel et al, undated; Clark, 2002) .

2. **Bottom-up or market-critical approach to community development.**

The objectives in this orientation of LED are often very different to those in the business-development approach. The overall goals are local self-reliance, empowerment and participation through support for emerging, micro and community businesses and sustainability (Rogerson, 2000; Philander and Rogerson, 2001; Nel et al, undated).

Nel et al (undated) argue that in order to meet the needs of all stakeholders, to provide for balanced growth and to ensure that meaningful spin-offs can be generated for the small and emerging business sectors from capital generating large business, both the market-led and market-critical approach should be pursued in conjunction with each other.

- **Major categories of LED interventions**

Agencies that implement LED such as local governments and development associations, generally pursue fairly standard intervention measures when pursuing either market-led and/or market critical development. Nel et al (undated) note five major LED interventions:

- Financial support
- Land and building development
- Information and marketing assistance
- New planning and organisational structure
- Training and employment (Bovaird, 1992; Clarke and Gaile, 1992; Lever, 1992, 1993; Reese, 1993a, 1993b; SANCO, 1995 taken from Nel et al, undated).

- **Major LED programmes**

Nel et al (undated) state that whether market-led or market-critical LED interventions, implementing agencies tend to pursue a fairly definable range of programmes in order to achieve goals related to economic growth and empowerment:

1. Encouraging local business growth
2. Support for new enterprises
3. Improving the local investment climate
4. The promotion of inward investment
5. The provision of both hard and soft infrastructure
6. Sector support for identified lead sectors
7. Area targeting to address unique challenges
8. Poverty reduction to ensure equity and
9. Regeneration endeavours in areas subject to economic change (World Bank, 2002 taken from Nel et al, undated).

- **New city foci**

Four essential strategies of urban entrepreneurialism (the pursuit of economic activity by urban areas) have been catalogued by Harvey (1989). In view of this, Nel et al (undated) describe the four broad categories in which cities emerge in their pursuit of economic growth:

1. Centres of production which is associated with the establishment of direct production activities, usually manufacturing.
2. Centres of consumption where the focus is on service sector employment and tourism.

3. Centres of knowledge and information processing and corporate decision-making.
4. Centres that compete for the allocation of central government funds because of acquired administrative foci or unique developmental needs (based on Harvey, 1989; Rogerson, 1997; Philander and Rogerson, 2001).

The wider influences to which LED has emerged, has also had the effect of encouraging the growth of a more globally networked profession for LED. It is noted that because so many governments, particularly in the developed world, have recently established, or enfranchised, new LED arrangements, there are more people engaging in LED (Clark, 2002). There are currently a large number of LED professionals from a wide range of backgrounds including Banking, Planning, Community Development, Law, Economics and Academia. In addition to, and allied with these, are a number of multi-national institutions which are interested and involved in LED. The World Bank, the United Nations (UN) and the European Union (EU) among others, are involved to varying degrees across a number of nations, in the various LED interventions and programmes mentioned above.

Applied LED can therefore vary from a strategy applied within an entire city to one applied in a particular neighbourhood or community (Nel, 2001). LED has emerged in both developed and developing societies, and is seen to differ slightly in their objectives, with developed nations opting for a more market-led approach, and with LED interventions in developing nations being based on a more market-critical approach. Overall, LED is generally applied in the pursuit of economic growth, job creation, empowerment, and the restoration of economic vitality, with support for such LED interventions being either financial, infrastructural, or through skills development or marketing.

2.2.2 LED IN SOUTH AFRICA

In the wake of the legacy left behind by Apartheid, South Africa gained global recognition in the 1990's for its remarkable political rebirth and process of reconciliation and nation-building. Despite this political transition to democracy, South Africa continues to face issues of poverty and severe economic stress. Extremely high levels of unemployment

exist, which continue to stand at nearly 40%, racial tensions persist and the country has not attracted the foreign investment it had hoped to. Industrial rationalisation and the destabilising effects of global competition have resulted in many thousands of jobs being lost in localities across South Africa (Rogerson, 1997; Hill et al, 2003). Given the country's extreme problems of poverty and inequality, a variety of employment-generating strategies and programmes are being investigated and experimented with by the state and private organisations. LED is currently being considered as a key instrument of job creation and economic growth in South Africa. However, it has experienced varying degrees of success to date, and although it has received a significant degree of attention from policy makers, it is yet to really prove itself in practise.

Many authors on the topic of LED have contended that what is currently occurring in South Africa is a mirror of international trends, particularly in Western Europe and Northern America, where local authorities are assuming an increasingly pro-active role in promoting the economic well-being of localities (Rogerson, 2000). It is said that there has been a shift from non-developmental LED approaches, where social objectives are secondary to investment attraction, to developmental LED where the aim is not only to promote the local economy but also to integrate disadvantaged communities into the formal economy (Tamasane, 2002). The focus has since shifted to South African debates around LED and township development (Philander and Rogerson, 2001), and LED and reconstruction (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998), and significant emphasis is currently being placed on LED and poverty alleviation (Pieterse, undated). In addition to this, LED in South Africa is strongly linked to the notion of 'development local government' (Nel and Binns, 2002). The current devolution of authority and development leadership to local governments, has obliged local governments specifically to seek innovative growth options to address the development backlog and plug the employment gap that more traditional economic sectors seem unable to do. In utilizing local resources and skills, LED is recognised by government as a key vehicle for bringing about economic change and alleviating poverty

(RSA, 1998b). Although local government is a major actor, NGOs, CBOs and private sector, also play an important role in promoting LED in various centres across the country.

2.2.2.1 THE EMERGENCE OF LED IN SOUTH AFRICA

As has been the case with the LED experience of Western Europe and North America, it is evident that in South Africa, local authorities in some urban areas have been engaging in LED initiatives for some time. Rogerson (2000) refers to early initiatives of municipal boosterism which began during the 1920s and 1930s and continued into the post second World War period. Examples of this initial form of LED included the place marketing of cities such as Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth and East London by local authorities seeking to promote new industrial investment (Rogerson, 2000). However, during the 1950s, these local government endeavours started to diminish as the new central government came to dominate and engage in initiatives for regional planning. This was particularly evident during the Apartheid years when central state gained control over all aspects of society, leading to the suppression of local initiative (Nel, 2001).

However, towards the close of the Apartheid era in the mid 1990s, a “second wave” of LED initiatives was launched by local governments across South Africa (Rogerson, 1997, p 176). The move towards growing local authority involvement in LED was largely started by activities undertaken in South Africa’s larger cities, namely Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. There are also a number of secondary cities and a small number of towns included in this second wave of local authority involvement in LED (Rogerson, 2000). As such, many local authorities across South Africa are currently engaged in post-apartheid policy development and planning for both urban and rural reconstruction, in which LED forms an important element (RSA, 1998b; RSA, 2002).

Despite the growing number of local authorities becoming involved in LED, many local government LED units are still in their incipient phase, and it has been noted that “where they actually exist, most are still drafting policy and are seldom involved in significant development” (Nel, 2001, p 1009). In fact, it has been noted that the activity of LED is not

merely an activity for local government alone but is generally conceptualised as a form of partnership between the key actors in a locality including the private sector, the community, non-governmental organisations NGOs and trade unions among others (Philander and Rogerson, 2001). One of the first noted cases of this second wave of LED occurred in Stutterheim. Partnerships formed between local authorities and the private sector resulted in the establishment of the Stutterheim Development Forum in the mid 1990s, the purpose of which was to promote development and achieve racial reconciliation. The Development Forum has since achieved many of development goals, with remarkable success, and Stutterheim has served as a model for similar public-private community ventures elsewhere in South Africa (Ferreira, 2002). The emerging role of public-private partnerships is starting to be realised and is an approach encouraged by government policy. In addition to this, NGOs and CBOs also have a key role to play in initiating LED, particularly in areas that have limited resources and capacity (Nel, 2001). There is certainly potential for further involvement by these organisations in support of local government endeavours.

LED is currently being initiated at a variety of levels in localities across South Africa, ranging from the 'urban entrepreneurial' approaches of developed countries, pursued by large cities in which the primary objective is investment attraction, through to the work of community groups and non-governmental organisation initiatives directed at a more locally-based economic development such as those pursued in the developing world (Philander and Rogerson, 2001; Department of Constitutional Development, undated). LED is not only being pursued in individual localities, but also across larger development zones that incorporate a number of different towns or cities, via traditional Export Processing Zones (EPZs) or Industrial Development Zones (IDZs) as they are locally known as, as well as the more recent Spatial Development Initiative (SDIs) (Bond, 2001).

The policy and practice of local economic development in South Africa has therefore become well established in recent years. As indicated by Nel (2001), the South African concept of LED accommodates elements of both the international market-led and market-

critical approaches. However, what is evident is that LED in South Africa is distinguished from the international experiences in that it has an explicitly 'pro-poor' focus, seeking to address the legacies of Apartheid (RSA, 2002). The LED Policy Paper (RSA, 2002, p iii) stresses this fact in stating that "LED is to be broadened and deepened to meeting, first and foremost, the needs of the poor, women, children, disabled and people living with HIV/AIDS". Although efforts to promote the process do not, at present, compare well to the LED initiatives in developed countries, Nel (2001, p 1020) states that LED in South Africa is "clearly being considered and increasingly adopted as a perceived new economic growth and development catalyst". The following review of the relevant policy points to the hopes placed on LED, and the role it is expected to play in boosting local economic growth, job creation, and more specifically, poverty alleviation across South Africa.

2.2.2.2 NATIONAL LED POLICY

Local action and LED specifically have been encouraged by a range of government policy documents and acts of parliament. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) document launched before the first democratic elections in 1994 (ANC, 1994), made references to the notion of LED through community-based development and locality based initiatives. The RDP served as a key initial vehicle for addressing the legacy of apartheid inequalities, and prioritised community-based development as the way through which the most marginalised sections of the community can be empowered and drawn into employment (Binns and Nel, 2002; Hindson, 2003a).

With the release of the new National Constitution in 1996 (RSA, 1996b), emphasis was placed on the developmental duties of local government. In efforts to do away with the 'sidewalks-and-sewerage' municipalities of the past (Atkinson, 2001), the new Constitution provided a mandate for local governments to pursue 'economic and social development' (RSA, 1996b, sections 152(c)). Local municipalities are in fact obliged to draw up Integrated Development Plans (IDPs) addressing spatial and transport planning, infrastructure needs and the promotion of economic development.

The White Paper on Local Government released in 1998 (RSA, 1998b) reinforces this mandate, and introduces the concept of 'development local government' which is defined as "local government committed to working with citizens and groups within the community to find sustainable ways to meet their social, economic and material needs, and improve the quality of their lives" (Department of Provincial and Local Government LED Manual Series, 2000, p 2). Local governments are required to take a leadership role, and have been charged with promoting economic and social well-being and introducing development and job-creation endeavours in their local areas. Municipalities are also required to participate in various economic development programmes of provincial and national government (Department of Provincial and Local Government LED Manual Series, 2000). This policy framework was consolidated and systemised within the 2000 Municipal Systems Act (RSA, 2000) which refers to the notion of promoting 'Integrated Development Planning' of which LED is regarded as a key element to assist municipalities in achieving their development mandates.

In 2002 and 2003, a LED Policy document was being drafted (RSA, 2002). This draft document is entitled 'Refocusing Development on the Poor', and as discussed above, stresses the need for government policy to focus on a 'pro-poor' LED which specifically targets the marginalised and low income communities. The document (RSA, 2002, p 6) states three core LED objectives "establishing a job-creating economic path; embarking upon sustainable rural development and urban renewal; and bringing the poor and the disadvantaged to the centre of development". It is important to note that the LED Policy Document refers to the 1998 National Environment Management Act, and the socio-environmental concerns mentioned in this Act. The LED Policy document stresses that, at its core, every LED initiative should be committed to job creation, attacking poverty, gender equality, as well environmental protection, and thus LED should be pursued in a manner consistent with national government sustainable development objectives. It therefore takes into consideration the potential (and often considerable) conflict that may arise between creating jobs and protecting the environment. This is important to bear in mind

when tourism-based LED is pursued, as tourism that is based on the attraction of natural resources, depends on the protection of those resources.

In 1999, national government introduced an LED Fund in order to support LED, providing financial support for poverty relief schemes to municipalities through the Department of Provincial and Local Government. Further financial support has been provided by the Social Plan Fund which focusses on Presidential Development Nodes. These support Funds are in the process of being restructured into the Consolidated Municipal Infrastructure Programme (CMIP) (Masezane, 2002). The latter could become a more prominent tool for LED in the future.

As Hindson (2003a) notes, initially, the DPLG opposed the idea of municipalities setting up LED vehicles, arguing that LED should permeate the whole of their activities, rather than be confined to the operations of a single structure. However, with the support of the DPLG, many district councils have made provision for the setting up of economic units in their latest IDPs. It is clear that local municipalities play an important role as policy makers and as institutions of local democracy in post-apartheid South Africa. However, a key drawback of policy is that "despite its sophisticated focus and nature, it tends to implicitly suggest that LED is a local government prerogative" (Nel et al, undated, p 7). Although many NGOs and CBOs have engaged in LED, there are no guidelines provided for and little recognition or incentive to support the often critical role played by the private sector, NGOs and CBOs in the development process.

Furthermore, it has become clear that many local authorities lack the capacity to initiate or implement developmental programmes. Local authorities have had to face a much greater range of issues than municipalities of the past, and at the same time are facing the problems of repeated instances of financial mismanagement, the inexperience of many councillors, party-political contestations, and bad relationships between councillors and officials. According to Coetzee, et al (2001) it is only through a network of co-operative

relationships, providing of assistance, guidance, mentoring and training that local governments will live up to the demanding expectations of the Constitution.

Despite these concerns, the fact that LED policy is developing and that National Government has instituted a number of support funds, marks a commitment to develop and implement innovative socio-economic development strategies. The result has been the emergence of a range of recently initiated projects, with some of the most common ventures being: public work programmes; small-business promotion strategies; support for both formal and informal business; and efforts to encourage tourism-based development (Rogerson, 2001; Binns and Nel, 2002). Many of these are LED related, and obviously all these strategies can impact upon development in their respective localities.

2.2.2.3 APPLIED LED IN SOUTH AFRICA

The shifts in policy as detailed above parallel the democratisation of all aspects of society which have taken place in South Africa in recent years. With the ending of Apartheid and South Africa's subsequent reintegration into the global economy, Rogerson (1997) notes that it is not surprising that some of the broad factors that are propelling South African local authorities into engaging in LED are directly reflective of the international environment.

Evidence can be drawn of local authority involvement in LED due to motives of 'boosterism' in South Africa's largest metropolitan areas (Rogerson, 1997). These localities are seeking to take advantage of new opportunities in a changing international environment by marketing themselves on the global stage as places for international investment and leisure-related activities. The building of the International Convention Centre in Durban, Cape Town's Olympic bid, and Johannesburg and Pretoria's place marketing initiatives are representative of how local centres are confidently seeking investment and a role within the global market (Nel and Humphreys, 1999; Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998).

It has already been mentioned that LED, as it is applied in South Africa, not only involves these 'market-led' initiatives pursued in large centres, but is also evident at a local level in smaller towns. The achievements of locality-based development activities are seen in the activities of local governments, NGOs and CBOs, tourism promotion agencies and supporters of locality-based small business. These include small scale poverty relief, training and job creation schemes which focus on crafts, sewing and brick-making.

Although motives of boosterism can be seen in the South African experience of emerging LED, what must be noted at this point is that LED is often related to economic regeneration catalysed by local-level economic crises and decline. Such crises include the rationalisation of industrial activities including textiles and gold and coal mining (Rogerson, 1997; Hill et al, 2003). These economic crises have provoked area-specific responses to the resultant employment crises. There are many examples, particularly in South Africa's secondary cities and small towns, of the introduction of explicitly defensive LED measures in order to counter situations of local economic decline. One such example of this type of reaction occurred in the town of Dundee on the KwaZulu-Natal Coalfield (Nel et al, 2003). Being strongly dependent on coal mining as its primary economic generator and job creator, the rationalisation of the coal mining industry resulted in the town experiencing a severe economic stress. In response to this, the town embarked on a number of LED initiatives.

In line with the country's renewed focus on poverty alleviation in urban and rural areas that have substantial service backlogs, and in which social exclusion continues to limit the development of their communities, President Thabo Mbeki, in 2001, launched the Urban Renewal Programme (URP) along with the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Strategy (SRDS), overseen by the DPLG. They seek to consolidate the achievements of the first seven years of the RDP, by focussing on a more integrated and participatory approach pursued at a more decentralised level of governance, and are intended to complement the Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) (RSA, 1996c), through a strong focus on the spatial dimensions of development (Hindson, 2003b). In

broad terms, the URP represents a commitment to a return to the bottom-up, people driven approach to urban, local, social and economic development, originally envisaged in the RDP. Two of the most advanced nodes in the URP are Inanda-Ntunzuma-Kwamashu or INK in Durban, and Alexander Renewal Project in Gauteng. A key goal of the URPs is to break the cycle of economic exclusion in poorer areas. According to Hindson (2003b), this requires the mobilisation of economic actors inside and outside poor areas, and attention needs to be given to community, enterprise and locality development, and ways of combining these to create connections across communities and between local and wider markets. He further states (2003b, p 8) that “this appears to be recognised in the LED dimensions of the URPs, which envisage promotion of LED in a more programmatic way, linking both opportunity and need inside and outside poor areas”.

A parallel initiative through which LED is being pursued, is the establishment of Special Integrated Presidential Projects for Urban Renewal launched by President Mandela. These include Cato Manor (KwaZulu-Natal), Katorus (Gauteng), Molop River Basin (Mafikeng in North West), Duncan Village (Eastern Cape) and the Serviced Land Project (Western Cape). In being defined as ‘problem areas’, these projects are receiving significant levels of state funding. Many development practitioners feel that while delivery of housing and basic municipal services has occurred fairly rapidly in most of the areas, the experience of most of these projects fall short of the ideals of integrated and sustainable development (Hindson, 2003b). Cato Manor near Durban, has emerged as the most successful case of large scale integrated development, with considerable progress having been made in the spheres of housing and social infrastructure development (Eising, 2002). Hindson (2003b) stresses the fact that these developments are nonetheless threatened by continuing high levels of unemployment and income poverty.

Thus, LED in South Africa occurs at a variety of levels with very different characteristics, and is being adopted through a variety of programmes and projects. While traditional thinking on the topic of LED in this country has been on urban-focussed activities,

business and large city endeavours, it is important to acknowledge the role that private sector, NGOs and CBOs are playing in promoting development in their local areas, both rural and urban, leading to improvement in local social and economic conditions.

Nel (2001) has identified four variants of LED as it is currently applied in South Africa:

1) *Formal local government initiatives*

These parallel traditional Northern thinking and to a large degree overlap with government policies.

2) *'Top-down' LED*

Usually provincial level government and/or various national organisations attempting to catalyse and support local initiatives.

3) *Section 21 Development Corporations*

A non-profit organisation promote local development within a selected spatial area.

4) *Community-based/small town initiatives*

These often develop as a result of NGO facilitation and support.

2.2.2.3.1 Formal Local Government Initiatives

These initiatives are paralleled with those in developed nations, often overlapping with government policies. It is only the four largest metropolitan areas of the country that are following broad-based comprehensive LED strategies that have established well funded and staffed LED units and defined LED policies. These are Johannesburg, Pretoria, Durban and Cape Town (Rogerson, 1997; Rogerson, 2000; Nel, 2001). These LED initiatives have generally been associated with the pursuit of global competitiveness and taking economic advantage of new opportunities in a changing international environment.

Local government-facilitated LED initiatives in the city of Durban have included those of the waterfront redevelopment in the Point Area, the development of industrial estates and the promotion of business tourism through the construction of the International Convention Centre (Maharaj and Ramballi, 1998) that has recently hosted, among others, the World Conference Against Racism (2001) and the Launch of the African Union (2002). The

Durban Metropolitan Council has established a Local Economic Development Department to promote economic development in the city.

Cape Town is particularly representative of how a local government has responded to the Constitutional mandate to engage in economic and social development. It is significant that as early as the 1980s in order to identify new economic opportunities and means for boosting local development, the Cape Town local authorities were investigating the international experience of local authority intervention in LED (Rogerson, 1997). Implementation of LED has currently been devolved to one local council which focusses on informal sector promotion, promotion of small business and community forums, expanding on entrepreneurship and job centres, local industrial parks, property development and development facilitation, and building global competitiveness (Fouldien, 2002).

In South Africa's largest city, Johannesburg, strategic development programmes launched by the Johannesburg local authority look to uplift the metropolitan economy and strategically niche market the city as a 'world city' through various marketing strategies, extensive lead projects, infrastructural investment, property development and the promotion of the city through its use of sporting facilities (Nel and Humphreys, 1999). In Pretoria, South Africa's administrative capital, the core LED focus has been that of business promotion. Through policies of information provision, networking and advice, the Metropolitan Economic Development Chief Directorate has been actively engaged in the promotion of business activity (Rogerson, 2000). LED in Durban, Cape Town and Johannesburg, will be discussed in more detail in the section that examines tourism-based LED in South Africa.

While the processes of economic restructuring and the shift to flexibility have impacted on many other South African cities, these opportunities have not been grasped equally in all urban centres. Apart from these four major centres, most other cities and towns are often still investigating LED options but do not have the resources to successfully implement

LED initiatives, and thus at present require a degree of central or provincial government support and facilitation. Furthermore, it is argued that even within the four metropolises, results have been limited (Rogerson, 1997; Rogerson, 2000; Nel, 2001)

2.2.2.3.2 'Top-down' LED Initiatives

Although LED should be locally driven and led, Nel (2001) suggests that limited top-down support and advice can in fact promote local level potential and initiative. The national ministry of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) has formed a key link between local and national government and has instituted two financial support measures, the aforementioned LED Fund to support local government development projects, and the Social Plan Fund to undertake regeneration studies in town's affected by sever job loss. However, the funding made available is extremely limited, and it has been recognised that significantly larger amounts of funds are required to ensure project success (Eising, 2002).

In contrast to the LED initiatives of the DPLG, the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) has pursued market-led programmes such as the aforementioned Industrial Development Zones and Spatial Development Initiatives, which, as Hindson (2003a) asserts, focus on new wealth creation rather than socio-economic upliftment. It is argued that there are implicit dangers in the top-down planning of LED such as IDZ and SDIs (Bond and Mcwabeni, 1998). At the heart of Port Elizabeth's contemporary LED planning is the support given for the construction of the Coega Port and Industrial Development Zone, which will form part of the Fish River Corridor Spatial Development Initiative. The Coega initiative aims to reindustrialise a part of South Africa that suffered enormous job loss and manufacturing decay during the 1980s. It is contested that the Port Elizabeth LED strategy is centred on the Coega initiative, and in being top-down in nature, does not benefit the poor communities of Port Elizabeth. It has been suggested that the LED strategy should, in addition to the Coega initiative, involve a combination of activities, such as agro-tourism, and a bottom-up approach which would centre on increasing infrastructure investment in low-income communities (Bond and Mcwabeni, 1998).

2.2.2.3.3 Development Corporation / Section 21 Development Companies

These companies are non-profit organisations and operate to promote local development within a selected spatial area. In cases where the local authority is either under-resourced or incapable of initiating the LED process, local Section 21 Companies then oversee the LED activities. Such organisations usually have a strong business leaning and are active in the promotion of small enterprises. In the case of the aforementioned town of Stutterheim in the Amatola mountains of the Eastern Cape, the initiation of LED activities was triggered by the local economic and political crisis of 1989-90 when the situation of desperate poverty and high unemployment was characterised by violence and consumer boycotts. While the Stutterheim local government must be credited with a major part of the success of establishing the LED process, it had a limited capacity to continue overseeing the LED process, and formed a partnership with the Stutterheim Development Foundation. With the focus of business support and skills training, the achievements of this institution in terms of urban reconstruction, economic development and local employment generation have been most impressive (Ferreira, 2002).

2.2.2.3.4 NGO / Community-based / Small Town Initiatives

In many small towns and local areas, it is CBOs and NGOs that are the key initiators of the LED process. Case studies include the Mineworkers-Union-supported small business programme in Mhala (the Mhala Development Centre) and the civil society and NGO activity in Khayelitsha, as well as the less known initiatives in the towns of Seymour, Hertzog and Kei Road. Many of these cases have shown that LED can occur in the most marginalised areas where community groups have the potential to embark on self-help and self-reliance initiatives (Department of Provincial and Local Government LED Manual Series, 2000). The Mhala Development Centre (MDC) is situated near the town of Thulamahashe in the Bushbuckridge area of the Limpopo Province, and represents an example of the limits and opportunities of undertaking local economic development activities in a poor and remote rural area (Bauman, 1998). The MDC is a private initiative, founded by retrenched ex-miners linked to the National Union of Mineworkers, and has no formal links to, or support from, government. MDC is a grassroots project, very different

to those typical of the public sector, and it is run by local people and is committed to the development of the Bushbuckridge area. The MDC provides most of its support to household micro-enterprise and small groups projects, and is viewed as a successful and innovative example of LED activities emerging from civil society (Bauman, 1998).

In many cases of small town initiatives, a degree of local-level partnership has helped to ensure the success of the initiative. A prime example of a small town in which strategic partnerships were formed between private sector, local authority and stakeholders from the local community, which resulted in a re-orientation of the town's economy and decreased unemployment levels, is that of Stilbaai in the Western Cape. The case of Stilbaai, in which tourism, based on the locally available natural resources, was identified as a means of driving the LED process, will be discussed in more detail later.

Very often, small towns lack the institutional capacity to initiate the LED process, whether it be by local government, private sector, or local CBOs and NGOs. The small town of Bergville in KwaZulu-Natal represents a case study of the difficulties of undertaking initiatives for local economic development in small towns and rural areas. It is an area of economic decline and very little formal employment. Planning for LED in the Bergville area is only in its infancy with attention centred on activating the local SMME economy and the establishment of a local business service centre. The core of LED operations are the activities of the Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF), which receives no support from the local authority (Kruger and Sithole, 1998).

2.2.2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Examples of LED have been drawn from South Africa's metropolitan areas, secondary cities, small towns and rural areas. The range of localities discussed captures and spans a variety of local economic circumstances, from situations of healthy growth to economic stagnation. It is evident that LED is being implemented at a number of levels, with local governments, community groups and NGO's becoming increasingly more involved in local economic development initiatives, and LED policies and programmes becoming a well

established part of national and local government. It is acknowledged however, that despite attention from policy makers, results have been slow and patchy. Although recession, economic decline and high unemployment has affected many small towns in South Africa, barriers exist that prevent the further expansion and application of LED programmes. Rogerson (1997) attributes the limited success and expansion of LED programmes in these localities to a lack of an appropriate institutional structure or issues of human agency or local leadership. Capacity weaknesses associated with a lack of staff and finances, are often the barriers that hinder successful LED in many South African small towns and rural areas.

Researchers, LED policy makers and practitioners have sought to identify why many localities have not yet embarked on LED, and why those localities that have, are experiencing very little success to date. It has been revealed at LED workshops, conferences and forums held across the country, that one of the reasons for the limited success of LED initiatives is that of an over-dependence on external funding. Many LED projects, especially small towns, are grant-driven and have become grant-dependent (LED Conference, 2002). There is the need for LED projects in these small centres to strive for economic viability and sustainability. Many projects end up failing despite enthusiastic and hopeful beginnings as they have lost their 'social sustainability' (Eising, 2002). It is evident that many small towns and rural areas in South Africa will be dependent on support mechanisms from national and provincial government.

Research by Nel (2001, p 1017) has found that the negative situation may be as a result of:

- "The limitations LED has in achieving its objectives through internal constraints, loss of skills and lack of resources
- Associated with this is the frequent loss of a town's economic base, lack of appeal to external investors and near-absence of state development assistance for LED initiatives

- Furthermore, there is the out-migration of skilled people, frequent absence of economically minded local leaders and very high levels of disempowerment in communities affected by decades of discrimination and denied opportunities as a result of apartheid”.

Nel (2001) stresses the fact that these realities should serve as a prompting to state and other agencies to embark on meaningful efforts to introduce realistic policy, support, training and funding programmes. Despite these barriers, lessons can be learnt from those cases that have experienced success. Strong local leadership, partnerships and innovation can lead to the successful implementation of LED initiatives in localities looking to create employment opportunities, social upliftment and empowerment. It has become increasingly realised in centres across South Africa, that tourism has the potential to drive development and is being used as part of their LED strategies. While a number of large traditional centres, such as Cape Town, have been well-established tourism destinations for some time, particularly relevant to this research is the experiences of small towns in which tourism, based the attractiveness of locally available resources (natural or cultural), is a newly established economic activity, and has as such, been recently identified as a potential tool for driving local economic development, such as the cases of Stilbaai and Lamberts Bay in the Western Cape. Before such cases are discussed, it is necessary to examine, in the international context and within South Africa, the different approaches to tourism development and as well as the developmental impacts of tourism.

2.3 TOURISM-BASED DEVELOPMENT

2.3.1 TOURISM - A HISTORICAL BRIEF

Tourism has become the world’s largest industry and its fastest growing one, and it is likely that tourism will dominate the international scene for many years (Berno and Bricker, undated). In developing countries, tourism is regarded as having the potential to be a major driving force for economic development because of its large multiplier and spill-over

effects on the rest of the economy and its generation of jobs for unskilled and semi-skilled workers. However, it has become increasingly realised that tourism may also have a number of negative impacts, on both developed and developing countries. Before examining tourism development and its potentially positive and negative impacts, it is important to briefly discuss the nature of the tourism industry and product, and the emergence of a 'new' tourism.

There is no universally accepted operational definition of a 'tourist' or 'tourism'. Tourism has been defined in many ways but may be thought of as "the relationships and phenomena arising out of the journeys and temporary stays of people travelling primarily for leisure or recreational purposes" (Pearce, 1981, p 1). More recently, the World Tourism Organisation (WTO) which is the lead agency for international tourism, defines tourism as, "the set of activities of a person travelling to a place outside his or her usual environment for less than a year and whose main purpose of travel is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place visited" (Creemers et al, 1997, p 3).

Tourism is often spoke of as an industry, but is not a single industry in the traditional sense. Tourism comprises a range of products and services, whose boundaries for inclusion are not clearly defined. The tourism industry consists of the businesses and organisations delivering the tourism product and includes a broad range of sectors including tour operators, travel agents, food and catering, accommodation, transport and so forth. According to Berno and Bricker (undated), the challenges accompanying the boundaries of what comprises the tourism industry is further exacerbated when the nature of the tourism product is considered. Tourism is not a single tangible product, but is composite in nature and is said to have three distinct aspects: the tourism experience, the place product and the tourism products. Berno and Bricker (undated) describe the tourism experience as that which comprises all that the tourist uses, sees and experiences as part of the tourist encounter. The place product is the tourist destination as the point of consumption of certain components of the tourism experience, and the tourism product

refers to the individual products such as accommodation, restaurants, souvenirs and attractions (Berno and Bricker, undated). The complexity of the concept of tourism is reflected in the fragmented way in which it is organised and the distribution of power influencing the nature of the development of tourism. This is influenced by the different stakeholder groups that have diverse and often conflicting interests in tourism . They include the public sector (national, regional and local governments, as well as supra-governmental bodies such as the European Union (EU); the tourism industry; voluntary sector organisations; the host community (referred to later); the media; and the tourist (Swarbrook, 1999).

In tracking the origins of tourism, it has been noted that travel and tourism dates as far back as ancient Greek and Romans times (Honey, 1999). However, upon reflecting on tourism in the twentieth century, one of its key features is its mass consumptive nature. Mass tourism has its origins in the affluence of industrialised nations of Western Europe, North America and Japan. Born in an era of Fordist economics and modernist cultural trends, it was characterised by the travelling of tourists to commercial destinations, where facilities and services were typically standardised to Western norms (Priestley, et al, 1996). The past few decades have witnessed a substantial growth in tourism worldwide, with international tourism having increased 20-fold from 1950 to 1994. Socio-economic changes in the more developed countries such as rising incomes and reduced working hours, increased leisure time, improvements in transport technology, and lower travel costs have contributed to this growth (Berno and Bricker, undated). Mass tourism enjoyed domination of the market well after the second world war, and continues to do so, particularly in European destinations, (for example Spain) rich in natural and cultural resources, and that include coastal resorts and islands, natural parks and rural areas.

For economy and convenience, most vacationers initially opted for prepaid packages on cruise ships and at beach resorts. Over the past four decades, mass tourism has become synonymous with the 'four S's': sun, sand, sea and sex (Honey, 1999), particular in developed countries. Such mass tourism had its emphasis on the exploitation of 'free'

natural, historical, social and cultural resources, and was widely perceived to be a clean renewable industry. Unlike other development options such as manufacturing and mining, in drawing upon the 'free' resources, it was thought to be less capital intensive in its requirements for development (Berno and Bricker, undated). Tourism therefore became an attractive development option for developing countries as well, offering an important opportunity for economic diversification.

However, by the early 1970s, tourists, as well as host countries began growing disillusioned with this type of tourism. Mass tourism was previously embraced by many countries as a 'smokeless' industry that could increase the gross domestic product and employment (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996). However, evidence grew that its economic benefits were marginal and its social and environmental costs high, and as noted by Berno and Bicker (undated, p 2) "the smokeless industry of tourism was not as benign as first thought". According to Honey (1999, p 9), "mass tourism often brought over-development and uneven development, environmental pollution, and invasion by culturally insensitive and economically disruptive foreigners".

In response to the negative impacts associated with mass tourism which included environmental degradation, socio-cultural abasement, and the uneven distribution of financial benefits, a more socially and ecologically appropriate form of tourism arose, that which has come to be known as 'new' tourism (Murphy, 1991, as cited in Speirs, 2000). This new development in tourism has been extensively documented (Mowforth and Munt, 1998; Weaver, 1998; Fennell, 1999; Honey, 1999; Speirs, 2000; Keyser, 2002) and is described under a variety of different labels, including new tourism, alternative tourism and modern tourism. The new tourist is described as being better educated, more culturally aware and more environmentally sensitive, wanting greater flexibility in terms of the tourism products and destinations that they consume. Rather than simply going on site-seeing tours or relaxing at a beach, these tourists search for more personal, more meaningful, and more intensive experiences (Keyser, 2002).

The new tourists are still drawn to destinations that offer a warm climate and relaxed atmosphere. New tourists however are also more likely to become involved in a variety of activities while on holiday ranging from ecological to adventure to cultural experiences, and in search of personal development as well as relaxation and entertainment (Mowforth and Munt, 1998). New tourism has not replaced mass tourism, but rather added a new dimension to tourism development with both forms still being very much a part of the tourism industry. Hundreds of millions of tourists go on mass tourism holidays, such as conventional cruises and sun-and-sea beach holidays. However, there are growing numbers of travellers who are becoming socially responsible and environmentally respectful. Consequently, host destinations are subject to a diversity of tourism developments, both mass and new in nature (Honey, 1999).

This new form of tourism is not above criticism however. It has been argued that, however labelled, tourism remains the same as the old forms of mass tourism. New labels are used to 'greenwash' marketing campaigns aimed at consumers from developed countries, and tourism in developing countries is often referred to as being structurally inequitable and inherently unsustainable (Lea, undated). Despite this, tourism as an industry continues to grow in both developed and developing countries, and with it South Africa is beginning to strongly position itself on the international tourism stage.

2.3.2 TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

In reviewing the literature, it is evident that there are a variety of conceptual approaches to the study of tourism development. Tourism has been extensively researched and documented with respect to:

- the structure of the tourism industry, and the functions and roles of various organisations and players involved in tourism development;
- various classifications of tourism development;
- factors influencing the distribution of facilities and site selection;
- both the positive and negative economic, environmental and cultural consequences of tourism;

- the development of tourist destinations over time; and
- the principles, approaches and techniques supporting the realisation of sustainable or responsible tourism development (Pearce, 1981; Keyser, 2002).

Tourism has now become an integral part of society, both in the developed and developing world, and is welcomed as an industry bringing much needed foreign exchange, employment and a modern way of life. As Pearce (1981) notes, it has developed in liberal western societies as a relatively small part of large industrial economies, or as the leading sector of small developing countries, and has developed in a wide variety of physical environments. A wide range of development agents exist, and the composition of these will vary from situation to situation depending on the historical, political, economic, cultural and geographical context of the development. In general these have been distinguished between the public and private sector, and more recently with NGOs increasingly participating in tourism development, all of which may do so at different levels: international, national, regional, and local.

The form tourism development may take can therefore vary enormously. "There is no more any one type of tourist development than there is a single model of agricultural, industrial or urban growth" (Pearce, 1981, p 2). These different types of tourism development, that may be both mass or new in nature, have been increasingly examined by tourism researchers (Honey, 1999; Priestley, et al, 1996). Before reflecting on the role of nature-based tourism within the context of LED, it is important to provide a brief overview of the various forms tourism development may take, and the potential impacts of such tourism development, particularly in developing countries.

A number of different types of tourism development have been distinguished in the contemporary tourism industry (Table 1).

TABLE 1: THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF NEW TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

TYPE OF TOURISM	DESCRIPTION
Adventure tourism	This involves tourists seeking activities that satisfy a desire for adventure and excitement in an outdoor, natural setting (mountains, rivers and forests). Adventure travellers expect to experience a degree of risk and to be personally tested.
Business tourism (including MICE - meetings, incentives, conferences and exhibitions)	This involves company-sponsored trips of businessmen who either travel regularly (consultants) or to attend meetings, conferences or exhibitions, where the needs and requirements of the company will determine the travel habits of the business tourist. Business tourism is a vital segment of tourism worldwide.
Coastal tourism	Coastal and marine environments offer opportunities for recreational activities that attract tourists to many places in the world. Coastal tourism is dependent on the natural resources (sun, sand and sea) with much of the tourist development focussed on providing access, accommodation and entertainment. In South Africa, tourism is becoming a buzz word as an alternative source of income for coastal communities living in poverty.
Cruise tourism	This is an expanding form of tourism, already well established in the Caribbean, Mediterranean and Pacific Islands. It is not yet fully established in South Africa, although both Durban and Cape Town already receive cruise liners, and both cities have the potential to become key cruise destinations.
Cultural tourism (including heritage and ethnic tourism)	This involves the movement of people to cultural attractions away from their normal places of residence with the intention to gather new information and experiences to satisfy cultural needs. This includes heritage tourism and ethnic tourism.
Educational tourism	This generally refers to travel in which learning occurs within a structure of formal programme. A popular form is the 'study abroad programme' in which students attend schools or programmes in another country.
Events tourism	Although many destinations have developed their tourism industries around natural and built environments, the need to differentiate has led destinations to develop and promote unique events.
Health tourism	This refers to the travel to facilities and destinations to obtain healthcare services or health-related benefits. Three main forms of health tourism include medical care; fitness and wellness; and rehabilitation and recuperation.
Rural tourism	Tourists who spend their holidays in the countryside, seeking the peace and relaxation that a rural environment can offer. Agri- or farm tourism is a sub-category of rural tourism where paying guests can share in farming life.

TABLE 1: THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF NEW TOURISM DEVELOPMENT	
TYPE OF TOURISM	DESCRIPTION
Nature-based tourism (including ecotourism)	This involves travel to places for activities and experiences that are entirely dependent on nature.
Sport tourism	Focuses on sport attractions, events and experiences available to tourists. The wellness and fitness movement has driven the sport tourist to engage in activities such as tennis, golf, running, mountain climbing, skiing, boating and many others. This is an important growth area for South Africa.
Urban tourism	Urban tourism takes place in large cities and towns where tourism may be important but not necessarily a primary activity, and where the urban areas attract domestic and international visitors for sight-seeing, leisure, business meetings and conference trips.

Source: Keyser (2002).

All of these forms of tourism development can co-exist in the same country or region. The resources and infrastructure available in different areas will determine which type of tourism development is appropriate. The variety of tourism products may also change over the course of time, in relation to varying internal and external forces (Keyser, 2002). Furthermore, many of these forms of tourism may overlap. For instance nature-based tourism and adventure tourism may use the same resources.

The specialised forms of tourism development outlined in the table represent some of the fastest growing areas of tourism. Driven by changes in the modern tourist, they are the result of greater product differentiation. As Keyser (2002) notes, given the rapid change of the tourism industry, it can be expected that new services and products will continue to develop. Many of these forms of tourism development are not mutually exclusive and are often incorporated into a single multi-faceted tourism development strategy. Keyser (2002) further contends that destination planners will have to ensure that they understand the needs of their markets in order to best match them with product development. The types of tourism development options that apply to this study are discussed in further detail below.

2.3.2.1 CONTEMPORARY TOURISM OPTIONS

There is considerable controversy and debate over the use of the interrelated terms sustainable tourism, alternative tourism, responsible tourism and ecotourism, and it may be contended that there is virtually no possibility of any widespread agreement on the meaning or use of these terms being achieved in the foreseeable future. Responsible tourism initiatives are said to increase the flow of benefits to local people while addressing environmental impacts (Ashley and Roe, 2002), and sustainable tourism is related to the concept of sustainable development, popularised by the United Nations Earth Summit held at Rio de Janeiro in 1992 (Speirs, 2000). However, it is evident that these terms fall within the all-encompassing notion of 'new' tourism. These options all offer some kind of alternative to the conventional, unsustainable, 'mass' tourism, and reveal a shift in focus from the well-being of the tourist industry to the well-being of the host community (Weaver, 1998).

2.3.2.1.1 Sustainable Tourism

The World Tourism Organisation (WTO) defined sustainable tourism as early as 1988. The 1992 'Earth Summit' in Rio established the triple bottom line of environmental, economic and social sustainability. Since then the major focus (but not exclusive) of the tourism industry has been on environmental sustainability (Ashley, et al, 2001). There is considerable controversy over what constitutes sustainability in tourism, evolving with the wider debate of sustainable development. One of the outcomes of the Rio Summit was the *Agenda 21 for the travel and Tourism Industry: towards Environmentally Sustainable Tourism*, a global action plan referring to the need for the industry to embrace more sustainable tourism development practices (WTTC, 2002). According to Coccossis (1996, p 8) there is a wide margin of interpretation and perspective on the issue of sustainable tourism: "Sustainable tourism can be interpreted from a sectoral point of view according to which the basic goal is the viability of tourist activity, more in the line of economic sustainability of tourism". Coccossis (1996, p 9) points to a second interpretation that is "largely based on ecology as a socio-cultural and political view, and strongly emphasises the need for ecologically sustainable tourism". Another approach is that of "sustainable

tourism development, or the need to ensure the long-term viability of the tourist activity, recognising the need to protect certain aspects of the environment". Finally, Coccossis (1996, p 9) describes an approach based on "ecologically sustainable economic development by which tourism is part of a strategy for sustainable development and in which sustainability is defined on the basis of the entire human/environment system".

Sustainable tourism is therefore seen to touch on a wide range of issues such as environmental matters, economic development, social factors and the structure of the international tourism system. Ways in which 'sustainable tourism' have been described and discussed in tourism research literature have been dependent on the perspective of the researcher.

2.3.2.1.2 Ecotourism

Since the term was coined in 1983, ecotourism has been the subject of much debate with an array of different definitions promoted by researchers, NGO's and the tourism industry. Perhaps the most formally recognised definition came from the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN) which described ecotourism as "*environmentally responsible travel and visitation to relatively undisturbed natural areas, in order to enjoy and appreciate nature (and any accompanying cultural features - both past and present) that promotes conservation, has low visitor impact, and provides for beneficially active socio-economic involvement of local populations*" (Ceballos-Lascurain, 1993a as cited in Ceballos-Lascurain, 1996, p 20).

Ecotourism has grown as a consequence of the general dissatisfaction with the conventional forms of tourism which have, in a sense, ignored the social and ecological elements of regions in favour of strictly profit-centred and anthropocentric approach to tourism. Therefore, in most instances, ecotourism initiatives do benefit local people but this approach has a strong environmental angle (Ashley and Roe, 2002; Fennel, 1999).

Unfortunately, ecotourism is often lumped together with nature, wildlife and adventure tourism. Planners, operators, managers, marketers, and the media market 'nature-based' products as ecotourist products, despite the fact that such products have actually damaged the environment, or have not benefited local people (Honey, 1999). Some 'ecotourism' investors may recognise the need for cultivating good relations with their poor neighbours and may see the advantages of mixing indigenous culture with the ecotourism experience that they market to clients. However, they often have no intention of developing joint ownership or management of the enterprise with rural people. It has been contended that ecotourism of this kind offers nothing to the broader rural sector except some low-paying jobs (Turner, 2001).

Despite this, some initiatives are genuinely aimed at using ecotourism to help accelerate a broader process of rural development (Turner, 2001). In fact, ecotourism has become a leading component of strategies to develop tourism in developing countries, particularly in Africa. More specifically, it has become the focus of many efforts to integrate nature conservation with rural development in these countries (Turner, 2001). Major international conservation organisations have initiated ecotourism programmes and departments; international lending and aid agencies, under the auspices of local income generation, biodiversity, sustainable rural development, have invested millions of dollars into ecotourism projects; major travel industry organisations have developed definitions and guidelines; and there are also a growing number of nationally and regionally based ecotourism societies in countries that include Kenya, Zanzibar, Brazil, Australia and Indonesia (Honey, 1999). As will be discussed later, several of South Africa's Spatial Development Initiatives have chosen ecotourism as their lead development strategies.

2.3.2.1.3 Nature-based tourism

Sometimes called 'resource-based tourism', nature-based tourism involves travel to places for activities and experiences motivated by enjoying wildlife or undeveloped natural areas. It usually includes natural attractions such as scenery, topography, waterways, vegetation, wildlife, cultural heritage, and involves activities such as hunting, hiking, biking or white-

water rafting (Honey, 1999). The essential difference between ecotourism and nature-based tourism is that nature-based tourism does not necessarily contribute to the conservation of the natural environment and biodiversity, nor does it benefit the host community.

2.3.2.1.4 Community-based tourism

A theme that has emerged in the above discussions is the inclusion of community participation in tourism initiatives. Researchers of tourism argue that the first step in promoting a responsible tourism strategy is to shift the power relationship of tourism development (Lea, undated), and the principle objective of community-based tourism (CBT) initiatives is to increase the contribution of local communities at all levels of participation. Community-based tourism development is enjoying increasing recognition world wide as a tool to improve the livelihood of the rural populations in poorer developing countries.

2.3.2.1.5 Pro-Poor Tourism

Literature on the developmental impacts of tourism in the developing world (and to some degree the developed world), has sought to identify whether tourism can actually be regarded as, and encouraged to become a 'pro-poor' development strategy (Binns and Nel, 2002). The core focus of 'pro-poor' tourism (PPT) is to increase the net benefits for the poor from tourism, and ensure that tourism growth contributes to poverty reduction. Mahony and van Zyl (2002, p 83) define PPT as "an approach driven by State, private sector or the community, which generates both economic and non-economic net benefits to the poor".

However, there is often some confusion as to how PPT relates to other tourism concepts such as ecotourism, sustainable tourism and community-based tourism. In an attempt to clarify the situation, Ashley et al (2001) explain that while the interdependence of development and environmental protection is the core focus of sustainable tourism, PPT puts the poor at the centre of analysis. PPT also focuses on tourist destinations in the

South, and on developing tourism good practice that is particularly relevant to conditions of poverty (whereas mainstream sustainable tourism initiatives focus, quite understandably- on mainstream destinations). PPT also overlaps with ecotourism and community-based tourism, but is not synonymous with either. Ecotourism may provide benefits to people, but the primary concern is the environment, whereas PPT aims to deliver net benefits to the poor. A community-based tourism initiative aims to increase local peoples involvement in tourism. This is an important component of pro-poor tourism, but PPT involves more than a community focus, it requires mechanisms for unlocking opportunities for the poor at all levels and scales of operation (Ashley and Roe, 2002).

Sharpley (2002 as cited in Binns and Nel, 2002, p 238) supports this PPT approach as "tourism has long been considered an effective catalyst of rural socio-economic development and regeneration". However, Sharpley (2002 as cited in Binns and Nel, 2002) questions whether tourism can in fact be regarded as a developmental panacea. The reality is that often control remains in the hands of outsiders, such that communities are only involved at a subservient level. This often leads to negative effects such as resource depletion and the loss or commodification of culture (Binns and Nel, 2002). Ashley and Roe (2002) argue however, that despite commercial constraints, much can be done to enhance the contribution of tourism to poverty reduction.

It has been made clear that quite often, the term ecotourism is used to describe other forms of tourism that may share some general concepts (particularly in that they are an alternative to mass consumptive tourism) but as noted by Ceballos-Lascurain (1996), they are not synonymous. These may include, among others, the aforementioned nature-based tourism, as well as nature-orientated tourism, wilderness tourism, green tourism and soft tourism. For the purposes of this research, and in order to avoid confusion and controversy surrounding the term ecotourism, the term 'natural resource-based tourism' will be used as the focus is on how the small towns investigated are using their available natural resources and scenic beauty to promote tourism. Within this research, natural resource-based tourism is therefore defined as tourism that is related to the promotion of

the locally available natural resources, and may comprise elements of ecotourism, nature-based tourism and adventure tourism, as well as community-based and pro-poor tourism.

2.3.2.2 IMPACTS OF TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

Tourism has many facets and generates as much criticism as praise: "tourism as an economic generator, a job generator, a white industry, but also as an evil industry, a destructive force" (Oppermann and Chon, 1997, p 106). Since the 1970s there has been an increase in the number of studies that have evaluated the economic, socio-cultural and environmental impacts of tourism (Pearce, 1981; Priestley et al, 1996; Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Tisdell, 2001). These studies have highlighted the potentially beneficial, but also the damaging effects the industry can have, and as a result has sparked debate over the difficulties of developing 'sustainable tourism'.

2.3.2.2.1 Environmental Impacts of Tourism

Environmental impact studies relate to the relationships between tourism activity and associated impacts on specific ecosystems and disturbance characteristics. Such studies are important in ascertaining the extent to which the damage is caused by different forms of tourism, and in evaluating the effectiveness of mitigation activities. This is of obvious importance in light of the fact that the various facets of the environment constitute the basis of much tourism development, with tourism attracted to some of the more fragile environments, for example small islands, coastal zones, indigenous forests (Pearce, 1981). Up to the early 1980s, the majority of tourism destination development strategies focussed on economic development aspects of tourism (foreign exchange, incomes and employment, balance of payments and tax revenue). However, people became increasingly aware of the environment and the negative impacts the growth of tourism in pursuit of economic development was having on the environment (Opperman and Chon, 1997). With this came the realisation that tourism is an industry that is dependent on the quality and well-being of the environment, but is, in many instances, contributing to the degradation of the very resource on which it is based. As will be discussed in later chapters, the issue of balancing natural resource attractiveness and uniqueness, while

striving to attract more tourists to that resource, forms a key consideration for this research.

The potential outcomes of tourism development in relation to the environment have been extensively studied, and it has been revealed that the environmental impacts of tourism are diverse because of the varied and fragmented nature of the industry (Priestley et al, 1996). There are a number of negative environmental impacts of tourism. Very often the carrying capacities of local areas are exceeded, even when tourism is promoted as ecotourism. This is often the result of rapid growth, uncontrolled development, inadequate regulation and difficulties in monitoring impacts over a period of time (Lea, undated). Pearce (1981) describes four environmental 'stresses': permanent restructuring of the environment; generation of new or increased water residuals; impacts concerning recreational activities; and the effects of tourists development on population dynamics. Similarly, Oppermann and Chon (1997) describe four types of 'physical effects': water usage and degradation; wildlife and vegetation; landscape and architecture; and carrying capacity. One of the main conflicts between tourism and the environment, as well as other users, is the availability of water, particularly in arid developing countries. In Africa, wildlife is a primary tourism resource, and excessive numbers of tourists to these areas may result on disruptions of the wildlife, their feeding and breeding patterns. Mass tourism often transforms the whole landscape. The spatial construction of mass tourism in developing countries, especially in coastal areas, brings an immense land use demand, in which other more traditional land uses cannot compete (Opperman and Chon, 1997). More recently, Keyser (2002) has identified four categories of impact that contribute to a relationship of conflict between tourism and the environment: permanent damage or change to the environment; generation of waste/pollution; physical impact of tourist activities; and population dynamics and congestion.

However, different strategies and practises have been identified to effectively increase the positive impacts and reduce the negative impacts in order to maintain a form of 'mutual symbiosis' between tourism and the environment (Keyser, 2002). Much tourism

development may enhance this appreciation of the environment, particularly in developing countries, such as those in Africa which include Zimbabwe and South Africa. Tourism can also work towards the restoration, conservation, and protection of natural resources and areas, archeological sites and historical monuments (Pearce, 1981; Tisdell, 2001). A well cited example of this form of symbiosis between tourism and the environment is that of the Communal Areas Management Programme for Indigenous Resources (CAMPFIRE) in Zimbabwe. The programme, conceived in the early 1980s by the Department of National Parks and Wildlife Management, has given the resident communities custody and responsibility of the natural resources (predominantly wildlife) within communal areas, and allows these communities to direct and control tourist ventures that are based on the wildlife. Control over wildlife revenues motivates the communities to establish institutions for the protection of resources, and there is a changed attitude towards wildlife. Tourism has therefore provided the incentive for conservation and the economic means to carry it out (Honey, 1999; Keyser, 2002). Therefore, depending upon circumstances, tourism development can either be a force hastening the destruction or deterioration of extant environments, or a force favouring their conservation and restoration.

2.3.2.2 Economic Impacts of Tourism

Although tourism impact studies may focus on socio-cultural effects, or the implications that tourism may have on the environment, a majority of tourism impact studies (Tisdell, 2001) have an economic emphasis. This may be due to the fact that economic impacts are relatively easy to measure as there are widely accepted methodologies for measuring economic impacts, and that large quantities of relatively reliable data has been collected on the economic aspects of tourism. It has been further contended that the emphasis on the economics of tourism, especially its benefits, "reflects the widespread belief among agency personnel that tourism can yield rapid and considerable returns on investments and be a positive force in remedying economic problems" (Rebeck, 1998).

Economic studies of tourism can therefore be applied at both the micro and macro levels, evaluating the ways in which flows of tourism revenue affects employment, infrastructure,

business opportunities and linkages with other sectors. Other indirect impacts are also assessed including inflation, multiplier effects, seasonality and economic incentives to conserve resources.

Before one assesses the economic impacts of tourism development, Keyser (2002) emphasises the need to distinguish between 'economic development' and 'economic growth'. Economic growth is usually measured by looking at changes in a country's gross domestic product (GDP). Economic development however relates to an improvement in the socio-economic circumstances of all people, not only a privileged few. On a national scale, this is measured through the use of two indicators, the Human Development index (HDI) and the Gini co-efficient. The Gini co-efficient assesses the imbalances of income distribution in a population. The HDI measures average achievements in a country across three basic dimensions of human development: longevity (life expectancy), knowledge (educational attainment; adult literacy; and combined primary, secondary and tertiary education), and a standard of living (real GDP per capita) (Keyser, 2002).

To answer the question 'does tourism lead to economic development?' Keyser (2002, p 279) states that "we must look beyond increases in total income (GDP growth) and ask has tourism improved the quality of life (as measured by the HDI and Gini Co-efficient) of members of the community?". The various economic benefits and costs of tourism can then be assessed, and measurements of economic impacts discussed. These indices predominantly apply to tourism at a national or regional level. Therefore, while these indices are taken into consideration, they cannot be applied directly to this particular study, and as such, investment and income, employment and empowerment, as well as skills and training, are assessed at a local level in terms of the impacts of each respective tourism initiative on these factors.

The diverse industry of tourism incorporates a range of economic opportunities that impact on many sectors including transport; service infrastructure; communications; educations; security; health; protected areas; and accommodation. The economic benefits derived

from tourism development are generally heralded as the primary reason by developing countries to become involved in tourism. It is attractive to these developing countries as start-up costs are low while income may flow quickly under favourable strategic marketing conditions. Tourism provides foreign exchange, creates employment, diversifies the economy and assists in regional development. However, economic benefits may not be maximised in these countries in cases where there are high levels of foreign ownership, high leakages and few local economic linkages. Tourism may also compete with other sectors for scarce resources, and contribute to general inflation (Oppermann and Chon, 1997). Tourism in Africa (i.e. Egypt, The Seychelles, Kenya, Gambia and Tunisia) may be seen as a form of neocolonialism, where although the receiving countries are politically independent, “their economic fate is largely dependent on decisions made by foreigners” (Gamble, 1989, p 53).

The majority of studies on the economic impacts of tourism have been directed at the international and national levels (Gamble, 1989; Tisdell, 2001), with fewer investigations being undertaken at regional and local level. However, in order to assess the local-level impact of each tourism initiative in each town of this study within the overall context of LED, both the positive and negative economic impacts of tourism development at all levels (from international, national, regional to local) must be taken into account. There are a number of positive and negative economic impacts of tourism, some of which are listed in table 2.

TABLE 2: THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF TOURISM	
<p>Positive Effects</p> <p>Income Generation - At a national level, income generated by tourism (especially foreign exchange earnings) may impact positively on a country's economy by contributing to the GDP, balance of payments and government revenue.</p>	<p>Negative Effects</p> <p>Leakage -the outflow of income from the destination's economy through the use of imported goods and services (building materials, expatriate personnel, machinery and equipment, consultancy and management fees). The effect of which means that a country may earn less from tourism than expected.</p>

TABLE 2: THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF TOURISM

Positive Effects	Negative Effects
<p>Employment - the WTO have estimated that tourism is the world's largest employer, and therefore job creation is one of the most visible positive economic impacts. As a service industry, tourism is labour intensive. Three types of employment are generally created through tourism: direct; indirect (companies who provide goods and services to a tourism operations); and induced (the general increase in tourism at a destination will stimulate growth of employment in other areas such as retail, schools).</p>	<p>Employment Problems - tourism is often regarded as inferior employment, with salaries and wages low in most sectors of the industry (this is often compounded by inadequate training and education).</p>
<p>Multiplying effects - this refers to the process whereby tourist expenditure filters through different layers of the economy, stimulating other sectors as it does. Tourism revenue may be retained and re-spent many times in a destination.</p>	<p>Different types of facilities have different levels of demand, and therefore the type of facility will determine the employment potential at that destination.</p>
<p>Attraction of private investment - the full participation of the private sector in all aspects of tourism development and marketing should be encouraged by government. Governments often make available investment incentives in order to attract private sector investment into capital goods such as hotels, airports and casinos.</p>	<p>'Non-locals' are often employed due to the unavailability of suitable skills locally.</p>
<p>* Livelihood strategies - standards of living may in fact be improved through certain tourism developments. Tourism may provide a complimentary livelihood activity (especially for the rural poor who rely on one activity for their income source, generally agriculture).</p>	<p>Tourism may not create new jobs, workers formerly engaged in other economic sectors merely switch jobs.</p>
<p>Encouragement of Entrepreneurial activity and business development - this is stimulated through the demand for a wide range of supporting products and services (food, laundry, entertainment, transport, furnishings and construction).</p>	<p>Seasonality - significantly reduced levels of demand during low seasons impacts on employment (employment may be on a part-time basis only or retrenchment of staff during low seasons may occur) and difficulties for enterprises to sustain profits.</p>
	<p>Inflation - tourism is often related to the increase in prices of goods, services and property from one period to the next. This may lead to displacement due to higher living costs.</p>
	<p>Over-dependency on tourism - tourism is dependent on demand. Any drop-off in demand will render service and product providers vulnerable. Diversity of the economy is therefore important.</p>
	<p>Intersectoral competition - tourism uses resources such as land, investment capital, and human resources, and often these resources are limited, with tourism competing for them against other economic sectors and activities.</p>

TABLE 2: THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF TOURISM	
<p>Positive Effects</p> <p>Weak and collapsed currencies attract tourists - governments in many developing countries regard tourism as a desirable road to development (foreign currency goes further in developing countries).</p>	<p>Negative Effects</p> <p>Uneven distribution of financial benefits - often only a small elite group receive the benefits (often excluding the rural poor).</p>

Adapted from: Pearce, 1981; Oppermann and Chon, 1997; Rebeck, 1998; Keyser (2002).

* see social impacts of tourism

It is clear that no simple statement can be made regarding the economic impacts of tourism development. As Pearce (1981) notes, such economic impacts may be very diverse and far-reaching and they will vary from case to case according to the context and the process of development. Table 2 therefore attempts to provide an overview of the broad range of economic impacts of tourism development. There is considerable debate over the form of tourism development that destinations should encourage in order to maximise the economic benefits of tourism while minimising adverse impacts. In order to create the most proficient and sustainable return on the use of tourism resources and destinations, it is necessary to evaluate the long term costs and benefits of combinations of compatible and incompatible forms of tourism. Furthermore, many researchers stress the fact that while tourism can offer an important alternative form of economic activity, it must be seen as one component of a larger series of development initiatives within any economic system.

2.3.2.2.3 Social and Cultural Impacts of Tourism

Until recently, the impacts of tourism on local communities have been underestimated. In fact the term 'community' has many definitions in tourism research. As this study explores impacts on and influences of local communities, it is necessary to briefly explain what is meant by a community, and in the context of tourism development, a 'host community'.

Studies that examine the socio-cultural impact of tourism take into account the outcome of social relationships that occur between tourists and host communities as a result of their

contact, and include both social and cultural impacts. The term community has many definitions in tourism research. Within the context of tourism development, a 'host community' is defined as "local residents living in and around the places visited by tourists", and typically consist of "various sub-communities, which are differentiated on the basis of culture, lifestyle, or specific interests" (Keyser, 2002, p 206). For the purposes of this research, the 'local' community is defined as that which is geographically closest to the tourism initiative being investigated. Each of the tourism initiatives being examined are small-scale and the socio-economic impacts that each may have is therefore restricted to those community members that are in close proximity to the initiative. The local communities include both the people living in each town, as well as the communities that live in the peripheral areas of the town, which in general, comprise previously disadvantaged black people living in conditions of poverty. It is the 'rural communities' that are focussed on in terms of certain aspects of project impact.

Social impacts are those that impact on the quality of life of residents in an organised community for example prostitution, crime, gambling, religion, standards of health. Tourism can impact on various aspects of a society's culture. Culture is often regarded as difficult to define, but generally speaking, culture is "a set of rules or standards which, when acted upon by members of society, produces behaviour that falls within the range of variance the members find proper or acceptable" (Keyser, 2002, p 353). Aspects that may attract tourists include handicrafts, languages, traditions, music, food, architecture, traditional dress, folklore, and religion. Cultural impacts of tourism are those that affect the patterns, norms, rules and standards that find expression in behaviour, social relations and artefacts, for example the way in which people communicate, how art and material goods are produced, and attitudes and approaches to traditional events.

While considerable research has been undertaken on tourism in developing countries, it has been noted that such tourism research is dominated by studies of the socio-cultural effects that tourism has on these countries. In contrast to the studies of economic effects, socio-cultural studies are generally depicted with a disapproving connotation (Oppermann

and Chon, 1997) with few highlighting the positive aspects of host-guest interactions. These relate to the afore mentioned impacts such as increases in crime, increases in prostitution, or a changing of cultural traditions. However, it is becoming increasingly realised that while there are a number of negative socio-cultural effects that tourism may have on a host's destination, tourism may also positively impact on a society's culture, particularly in poorer developing countries. Such positive effects include a cultural rejuvenation through the stimulation of local arts and crafts industry, or a revival of tradition through cultural shows. Gamble (1989, p 15) describes three non-economic reasons, but all of which may have economic implications: the demonstration effect in which "tourism shows people in developing countries the material wealth, values and consumer preferences of the inhabitants of the developed countries"; image formation where "tourism projects a favourable image of little known or supposedly misunderstood countries"; and national pride as "tourism encourages people to take pride in their national heritage". The challenge for tourism planners and managers therefore is to find ways to develop tourism that provides travel experiences that are rewarding for tourists and sensitive to host communities (Keyser, 2002).

In reviewing the relevant literature, a question frequently asked is 'does tourism lead to social development?'. The relationship between tourism and social, as well as economic, development in the developing world has become a key research and discussion topic (Tisdell, 2001; Keyser, 2002). Various groups are seeking to develop strategies and techniques to ensure that tourism does lead to (social) development. Important in this regard (and with respect to this study) is the work of organisations and initiatives such as Fair Trade in Tourism and the Pro-Poor Tourism Programme of the Overseas Development Institute (ODI).

Poverty reduction is not usually at the heart of the tourism agenda. International targets aim to significantly reduce the number of people living in poverty, where poverty reduction requires strategies on a variety of complementary fronts and scales, and where a prerequisite of significant progress is pro-poor growth. Ashley et al (2000) note that

although agriculture is at the core of most poor, rural people's livelihoods, diversification options are critical in order for households to maximise benefits and decrease their risk. Remote areas particularly attract tourists because of their high cultural, wildlife and landscape value, and therefore tourism provides an important opportunity to diversify livelihood options and has been identified as one source of pro-poor growth (Ashley, et al, 2001). Given the continued expansion of tourism in poor areas, a number of studies have been undertaken as part of the PPT Programme of the ODI, and by the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and Centre for Responsible Tourism (CRT), in which researchers review strategies and interventions that enhance benefits for the poor within tourism. The effectiveness of PPT strategies have been extensively explored, focussing on the impacts of tourism on the livelihoods of the poor and ways in which such strategies may be improved (Cattarinich, 2001; Renard, 2001; Meyer, 2003; Spenceley and Seif, 2003).

Assessing the livelihood impacts of tourism is not simply a matter of counting jobs or wage income. Participatory poverty assessments demonstrate great variety in the priorities of the poor and factors affecting livelihood security and sustainability. Tourism can affect many of these, positively and negatively, and often indirectly (Cattarinich, 2001). Strategies for PPT therefore focus on three core areas; increased economic benefits, positive non-economic benefits (other 'livelihood impacts), and policy/process reform. Economic benefits relate to expanding business opportunities for the poor; expanding employment opportunities for the poor; and enhancing collective benefits (Ashley et al, 2001). There is an obvious overlap with the positive economic impacts of tourism development discussed in table 2 above, but such economic benefits referred to in pro-poor studies relate directly to benefits to the 'poor' (i.e. the poor are the direct beneficiaries of any positive economic impacts).

One aspect of PPT strategies that focus on non-economic impacts, is that which looks to address the social and cultural impacts of tourism. Local residents often highlight the way tourism affects other livelihood goals such as cultural pride, a sense of control, good

health, and reduced vulnerability - whether positively or negatively (Ashley et al, 2000). Socio-cultural intrusion by tourists is often cited as a negative impact (for instance sexual exploitation which particularly affects the poorest women, girls and men). The poor themselves however, may view other types of cultural change as positive, and instead of causing a cultural collapse, local culture has been preserved through tourism. According to Ashley et al (2000), the overall positive and negative livelihood impacts will vary enormously between situations, among people and over time, and with regards to the extent to which local priorities are able to influence the planning process. Ashley et al (2000) suggest that a key principle is to consider the many ways in which tourism affects different components of livelihoods, and have summarised the potential positive and negative impacts of tourism on aspects of livelihoods in order to provide a checklist (Table 3).

Table 3. Potential Positive and Negative Impacts of tourism on aspects of livelihoods		
TOURISM EFFECTS	POSSIBLE POSITIVE IMPACTS	POSSIBLE NEGATIVE IMPACTS
Livelihood goals	Tourism can support livelihood goals such as economic security, cultural life, health (by increasing cash income of workers/entrepreneurs, contributing to cultural restoration, catalysing improvements in hygiene).	Tourism can undermine economic security, self-determination and health (by creating dependency on a volatile industry among workers, creating local inflation, disempowering residents from decision-making, exacerbating spread of disease).
Livelihood activities	Expand economic options by creating employment and small business for the unskilled and semi-skilled, or by complementing other activities (earnings in agricultural lean season).	Conflict with other activities (constraints on fishing, gathering or agriculture if land and natural resources are taken away; clash with busy agricultural seasons; increase wildlife damage to crops and livestock).

Capital Assets	Build up assets-natural, physical, financial, human and social (enhanced physical assets, if earnings are invested in productive capital; enhanced natural capital, if sustainability of natural resource management is improved).	Erode assets (lost access to natural assets if local people are excluded from tourism areas; erode social capital if conflict over tourism undermines social and reciprocal relations; over-burdening of physical infrastructure such as sewage, water supply).
Policy and institutional environment	Improve the context or residents ability to influence it (by expanding local markets, focussing policy-makers attention on marginal areas. Participation in tourism planning and enterprise can give residents new status, information and skills to deal with outsiders.	Exacerbate policy constraints (diverting policy-makers attention, resources and infrastructure investment to prioritise tourism over other local activities. Improved transport access and markets can undermine local production.
Long-term Livelihood Priorities	'Fit' with people's underlying long-term priorities (to diversify against risk, or build buffers against drought, by developing an additional source of income which continues in drought years).	Create or exacerbate threats to long-term security (physical threats from more aggressive wild animals due to disturbance by tourists; economic vulnerability can be exacerbated due to dependence on volatile tourism).

Source: Ashley et al (2000, p 8). (Adapted from Ashley and Roe, 1998).

Poverty reduction through PPT can be significant at a local or district level. This research addresses tourism and poverty reduction through the evaluation of the social impacts of tourism with respect to Ashley et al's (2000) checklist for monitoring the impact of tourism on the livelihoods and quality of life of host communities. This has been adapted at a small scale to assess the positive and negative impacts of each respective tourism initiative on those who have been directly employed by the initiative on a permanent basis (members of the previously disadvantaged, rural communities).

As the discussion above has made evident, there may be complex interactions between all three categories of impacts. As Oppermann and Chon (1997, p 124) note, "a lesson learned from the examination of tourism impacts is that these effects vary from location to

location depending on the overall development status, resource base, type of tourism development and tourists, and the similarity and/or differences between the hosts' and tourists' society". While tourism can have other benefits other than economic ones, such as maintaining cultures, conserving the environment, and helping different nations to understand each other better, it has also been revealed that tourism may have adverse consequences on the environment and on cultures. For instance, increased tourism development may generate greater overall revenue, but it will undoubtedly have greater impacts on the natural resource base through construction and maintenance of infrastructure and supporting services. In some instances it has even been argued that the negative consequences of the tourism industry may not justify its persistence (Keyser, 2002). This research aims to assess the impacts of tourism within the context of LED, and therefore focusses on both economic and social impacts, but bearing in mind the need for sustainability of the tourism projects, will also consider environmental impacts.

The relationships between tourism and development are wide and varying. The discussion above provides an indication of the extent to which tourism may vary in form, and the interrelated economic, social and environmental impacts that such tourism development may have. Specific examples representing the capacity tourism has to contribute to a nation's or region's economic development, both in the developed and developing world are briefly discussed below. The attention then turns to the current situation in South Africa, and the problems and potential of developing tourism in this country. Particular attention is paid to the role that tourism has to play in promoting LED.

2.3.2.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Over the last two decades, an extensive body of literature has built up on issues surrounding tourism-driven development in areas seeking to restructure their economies and promote job creation (Kirsten and Rogerson, 2002; Binns and Nel, 2002). Together with this, the relationship between poverty alleviation and tourism development in the developing world has become increasingly apparent (Ashley et al, 2000; Ashley et al, 2001).

In the developed world, this is seen in the use of former mining areas for heritage tourism, as in Wales and Yorkshire, or the redevelopment of urban waterfront areas for leisure and business tourism, examples of which include the transformation of neglected and derelict harbour areas in Barcelona, Spain; Melbourne, Australia; and Baltimore, USA (Keyser, 2002). Critical to the success of such undertakings is the degree to which a locality can market itself to potential investors and tourists through 'place marketing' in order to achieve a tourism-based economic growth (Hall and Hubbard, 1996 as cited in Binns and Nel, 2002). Place marketing is defined as identifying and marketing new conceptualizations of space and place. Hallmarks of this approach include the hosting of festivals and the creation of flagship foci, such as heritage sites, convention centres and capitalising on locally available natural resources (Boyle, 1997 as cited in Binns and Nel, 2002).

Many destinations in the developing world possess the natural and cultural asset base to offer a range of tourism products. A number of case studies in the developing world have revealed that there are many countries that are structurally weak and have undiversified economic bases, but whose key asset is their natural beauty. It is evident that tourism development has made a significant contribution to the economic growth and development in these countries. In Kenya, tourist numbers grew from 65 000 visitors in 1963 to 832 000 in 1994, with earnings increasing from US \$129 million to US \$450 million in 1990 (Koch et al, 1998).

As was discussed above, tourism development can often come at a cost to the physical environment in terms of destruction of resources, pollution and loss of cultural identity. For example, in Kenya's Masai Mara National Park and the Ngorongoro Conservation Area in Tanzania, the heavy demand for firewood for use in lodges and camps for cooking and heating has severely depleted the small riverine forests (Kamuaro, 1996 as cited in Binns and Nel, 2002). In many instances, the growth of tourism development has eroded the environmental and cultural base on which it depends. It is important therefore that the pursuit of tourism-based development is undertaken sensitively in order to ensure

sustainability and to minimise negative impacts with respect to environmental degradation and loss of cultural identity (Binns and Nel, 2002).

2.4 TOURISM AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.4.1 TOURISM TRENDS

Although South Africa is regarded as a middle income country, it is characterised by tremendous social inequality and high levels of poverty with 11.5% of the population living below US\$1 a day in 1993 (Binns and Nel, 2002). Parallel with international trends, tourism in South Africa is also gaining increased recognition as a fast growing economic sector, with tourism development becoming an important means with which to address issues of economic growth and employment.

During South Africa's transition to democracy in the early 1990's, it has become an increasingly attractive destination for international tourists. Foreign tourism has experienced dramatic and sustained growth over the past few years, and with its climate, scenic qualities, cultural diversity and ecotourism attractions, South Africa has the potential to draw thousands of new international tourists. Despite the obvious importance of attracting international tourists, encouragement of the local market is as important as seeking international tourists, since domestic tourists greatly outnumber foreign visitors. The significant upper income strata of the country's own population are clearly helping to fuel the growth of the sector through increasing domestic tourist travel (Turner, 2001).

According to the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism 'Investing in Tourism' Document (date unknown), South Africa's new 'Big Five' tourism components - adventure, sport, leisure, conference and ecological markets - are poised for sustained growth. The release of the 2002 tourism statistics by the Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism Mr Valli Moosa (The Citizen, 2003), revealed that foreign tourism had increased by 20,1%,

from 2001 to 2002, making South Africa the fastest-growing tourist destination in the world. As with many other developing countries, tourism in South Africa has come to be seen as the 'passport' to development, with the sector having considerable potential for economic growth and job creation. In 1998, the tourism industry contributed 8.2% of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product and 7% of total employment. It has been further revealed that expansion of the tourism sector could create 170 000 new direct jobs by 2010 (Friedrich-Ebert-Foundation LED News, undated). This is particularly important in light of the significant number of jobs lost in the manufacturing sector in the country in recent years (Rassool and Witz 1996; Mlinaric, 1998).

The province of KwaZulu-Natal boasts spectacular scenic beauty, and a number of cultural and heritage attractions and ecotourism opportunities for both domestic and foreign tourists. According to the Final Report on the Economic Contribution of Tourism to the Province of KwaZulu-Natal (Creemers and Wood, 1997), KwaZulu-Natal captures an estimated 28 percent of the total tourism expenditure, making it the most important tourism province. The province ranks 3rd on the foreign market, and dominates the domestic market with 32% market share. The report states that tourism is an important creator of jobs, with estimates of jobs created through tourism amounting to between 9,3 percent to 11,7 percent of the total number of jobs in KwaZulu-Natal. It is important to note that tourism in the province is not classified as an independent economic sector but forms part of other sectors including trade and catering, transport and communications. The above figures are estimates of tourism as an independent economic activity.

Although Creemers and Wood's (1997) study was undertaken in 1997, the KwaZulu-Natal Review 2000/1 (KwaZulu-Natal Department of Economic Development and Tourism, 2003) revealed that KwaZulu-Natal remains the leading tourist destination for domestic travellers, with the industry having the potential to grow between five to eight percent per annum. The province has embarked on an intense marketing campaign, promoting itself as the 'Kingdom of the Zulu', with the theme *Wozani, our kingdom calls* highlighting Zulu

culture and history. The KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority is the provincial government agency through which tourism is promoted and developed.

It has been revealed that South Africa has a globally competitive tourism sector, with the prospects for the future growth of the industry, both in South Africa, and within the province of KwaZulu-Natal, being considerable. This warrants a closer examination of the prospects of tourism as an effective development strategy for South Africa.

2.4.2 TOURISM-BASED DEVELOPMENT AND POLICY

A range of papers identify and discuss the impact of tourism development in South Africa on small enterprise development (Kirsten and Rogerson, 2002), rural livelihoods (Mahony and van Zyl, 2002), the poor (Ashley and Roe, 2002), black communities (Goudie et al., 1999 as cited in Binns and Nel, 2002) and regional development (Saayman et al., 2001 as cited in Binns and Nel, 2002). A review of the status of tourism development in South Africa reveals that while benefits may be slow in coming, government and development agencies are nonetheless seeking to capitalise on the country's rich natural and cultural heritage and spread the benefits of tourism-related economic growth (Binns and Nel, 2002).

Linking with the efforts of the initiatives examined in this study, there is an increasing incidence across the country of efforts to build tourism on the attractions of the natural environment, so that it plays a leading role in development, particularly rural development strategies. Formerly, the majority of the rural population and those living in poverty were marginalised or excluded from tourism activities during most of the twentieth century, but during the last decade rural development strategies have been instituted to try to reverse this trend. There are currently a number of new programmes that aim to integrate the rural poor into 'nature-based tourism', and often this sort of tourism is linked to nature conservation programmes and the development of protected areas (Turner, 2001). The discussion at the beginning of the chapter revealed how Local Economic Development is a development strategy emerging in South Africa that looks to promote economic growth

and generate employment opportunities, and more recently has prioritised poverty alleviation as one of its main objectives. The discussion below describes firstly, the depth of policy commitment to tourism development which exists in South Africa. This is followed by a discussion of tourism as an effective strategy for LED, focussing on the tourism-driven LED experiences of some of South Africa's larger cities, as well as the efforts of other smaller localities to involve formerly marginalised communities in tourism developments and their socio-economic benefits derived from their participation. Linking with the new nature-based tourism development and conservation programmes in this country, many of the tourism-driven LED initiatives are based on the attractions of the locality's natural resources and environment, as is the case of the natural resource-based tourism development projects in the three small towns explored in this study.

Certainly, poverty and issues of economic development and job creation are themes within tourism plans in South Africa. A number of policy objectives are directly aimed at boosting tourism in order to alleviate poverty through employment creation, in addition to increasing the sectoral contribution of tourism to the national economy (Mahony and van Zyl, 2002).

In accordance with the Constitution (Act 108 of 1996), each of the nine provinces in South Africa has its own legislature. The Constitution, under the principle of co-operative governance, allocated legislative powers to the national, provincial and local levels of government. Tourism falls concurrently under both the national and provincial legislatures, which means that national and provincial governments have joint responsibility for the development and marketing of tourism in South Africa (Keyser, 2002).

With respect to national policy, both the RDP and the Tourism White Paper acknowledge the role of tourism in contributing to the national economy, and recommend tourism as a tool for job creation and socio-economic upliftment. The country's *Tourism White Paper* (1996a) is the national guiding policy on tourism development and promotion. It highlights the recent political transformation in South Africa, and the fact that a potentially substantial market opportunity has been created for the previously neglected communities in this country, both within rural areas and urban and peri-urban areas as well. Key principles

embodied in the White Paper include the encouragement of community participation and the sustainable management of resources. This document displays a relatively comprehensive understanding of the implications for tourism generally and for the environment. This is particularly important in light of the fact that tourists, both foreign and domestic, are seeking more 'nature interactive experiences'. The document acknowledges that the preservation of the country's natural resources and diversity of cultural heritage will serve as a major drawcard for more tourists, which in turn will result in there being an increase in the socio-economic benefits from the associated tourism development, such as job creation. As noted by Binns and Nel (2002), the White Paper argues that, if pursued responsibly, tourism has the potential to positively improve the quality of life of all South Africans. A strong emphasis however is placed on tourism development being driven by the private sector with the government's role being limited to providing a facilitating contextual framework for its development. As indicated by Speirs (2000), however, the White Paper lacks a practical framework within which to implement its proposed guidelines. This should be considered in the light of the problems facing any tourism initiative in South Africa. The RDP emphasises the importance of tourism at a local level, and acknowledges the role that tourism has to play in the creation of local employment. For instance, it notes the role that Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME) development through tourism, has in creating these job opportunities. It further stresses the importance in encouraging local community participation with the community deriving benefits (Speirs, 2000).

The South African Tourism Organisation, SATOUR, is a statutory parastatal body that is responsible for the marketing and promotion of tourism in the country. At a provincial level, provincial government takes on a similar role to that of national government, and aims to fulfill the objectives and policy guidelines of the 1996 White Paper that are appropriate to local conditions. In KwaZulu-Natal, the KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority is responsible for producing the tourism development strategy for the province under the auspices of the KwaZulu-Natal Ministry of Economic Affairs and Tourism.

Tourism clearly plays a dominant role tourism plays both within the South African economy and within KwaZulu-Natal, and is an important creator of direct and indirect jobs. It has been revealed that tourism, particularly nature-based or ecotourism, is an important strategy for rural development. As the attractions of nature are located in rural areas, much of the economic growth associated with this form of tourism can therefore be expected to take place in the rural areas (Hill and Nel, undated). Despite the anticipated growth of this industry, as well as the above stated policy commitment to further promoting tourism, it is important to note that tourism, as a development option in South Africa, should not be taken in isolation of other sectors, but included into a holistic economic and development planning process. Besides unemployment, KwaZulu-Natal also has problems relating to illiteracy, population pressures, education problems and housing shortages to name a few. Although tourism can address these, tourism planning needs to look beyond mere economic issues to political, social, cultural and environmental ones.

While it is clear that there are concerns relating to an over-reliance on tourism as an independent economic sector and issues of environmental and social costs, the fact is that tourism in South Africa is growing, and with it the potential to create jobs. With tourism tending to be focussed around defined local attractions, the development of tourism is a logical LED strategy, particularly in areas lacking other resources. The role of tourism as a strategy for LED in South Africa will now be discussed.

2.5 TOURISM-BASED LED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Within the international context, tourism has become “widely recognised as an instrument of local economic development” (Argawal et al, 2000, p 252 as cited in Rogerson, 2002). As Harvey (1989) observed at the end of the 1980s, places that once sold themselves as centres of production were now selling themselves as places of *consumption*. This trend that has become ever more apparent during the 1990s in many developed countries, and LED initiatives are increasingly focussing on promoting localities as centres of

consumption through the use of leisure facilities such as museums, theatres, and restaurants. While the discussion on applied LED in South Africa revealed that it exists in a number of forms and at variety of levels, the majority of the LED initiatives in this country have previously been centred around the attraction of new manufacturing investment, the retention of existing industrial enterprises or support for new small medium or micro-enterprises (Rogerson, 2002).

However, in line with international experience, there are a growing number of localities, ranging from large cities to small towns, that are beginning to undertake tourism-based LED interventions (Binns and Nel, 2002). According to Rogerson (2001), the expansion of new, innovative, local level initiatives are inseparable from the stagnation of South Africa's manufacturing economy. The decline of the economic performance of this sector across the country has resulted in high levels of unemployment. As a consequence of this, there has been a search for new sectoral drives for job creation and economic growth. This, coupled with the increased recognition of the potential of tourism for economic growth and job creation in South Africa, has yielded an increase in the incidence of tourism-based LED. It must be noted at this point however, that new jobs created through tourism, are not meant to replace those lost in the manufacturing sectors. The promotion of tourism-based LED is related to the creation of a new 'mindset', and involves the re-training and the re-skilling of people from the manufacturing sector to the service sector.

An emerging trend is that local authorities, which are now regarded by national government as the 'champions' and deliverers of LED, are undertaking a set of programmes designed to make their areas more exciting or attractive places for the purposes of consumption, entertainment and recreation (Rogerson, 2000). Many of the local authority-initiated tourism ventures can be identified as having a community/pro-poor focus, and the foci of these initiatives commonly include:

- promotion of townships as Black/African cultural tourism destinations
- the hosting of cultural and arts festivals
- urban redevelopment programmes

- heritage tourism
- the promotion of newly identified tourist routes
- and the massive expansion in game parks (Binns and Nel, 2002).

While local governments have embarked on a number of tourism-based LED initiatives, there are also a number of initiatives that, although they have involved some degree of local government facilitation, are predominantly driven by the private sector. These include a number of tourism routes such as the Midlands Meander in KwaZulu-Natal and the Highlands Meander in Mpumalanga. This 'route tourism' involves linking together of tourism resources of a number of smaller centres and collectively marketing them as a single tourism destination region (Rogerson, 2002). It has also become evident that there are increasing numbers of partnerships for LED being formed between local stakeholders in local government, the private sector and communities that are focussing on the socio-economic potential of tourism.

2.5.1 THE EMERGENCE OF TOURISM-BASED LED IN SOUTH AFRICA

Rogerson (2001) notes that the earliest LED initiatives that have looked to establish tourism as the lead economic sector have been noted in South Africa's more traditional tourism destinations. Two of the most notable examples of this include Durban in KwaZulu-Natal and Cape Town in the Western Cape. In both cities, efforts to build on the economic potential of tourism occurred as early as the 1980s. In Durban, local authorities and stakeholders from the private sector embarked on a number of LED initiatives that centred around tourism, and as noted in the discussion above, this included the re-development of the harbour into a waterfront, and the construction of the International Convention Centre for business tourism. More recently, a development agency in the poor black area of the afore mentioned Cato Manor is overseeing 'township tourism' tours and the marketing of local crafts (Eising, 2002). Similarly, in Cape Town, the explicit formation of tourism promotion units has resulted in the massive redevelopment of abandoned harbour facilities to create a world-class Waterfront. Township tours have also been promoted in the poor area of Khayelitsha, located close to the city of Cape Town. In addition to a number of other township development projects, a craft node at Look Out Hill

has been established by the City of Tygerberg (which has since been amalgamated, together with five other municipalities into the City of Cape Town). The principal beneficiary is the local arts and crafts association of Khayelitsha who take up retail space in the facility, and other direct beneficiaries are accredited 'shebeen' owners, members of the restaurant/cuisine group and Arts for Youth development programmes (Department of Economic Affairs Agriculture and Tourism Western Cape, undated).

Rogerson (2001) has further revealed that, during the 1990s, an increasing number of non-traditional tourism places, both urban and rural, began undertaking new LED initiatives to promote tourism. In many of these places, the pursuit of tourism-based LED has been linked to a decline in the traditional economic base, or it has arisen out of necessity in situations of economic crises and the need for new sources of employment (Nel and Binns, 2002).

2.5.1.1 Urban Examples

Cases of such tourism-based LED have been observed in a number of urban centres including Welkom in the Free State and Johannesburg in Gauteng (Binns and Nel, 2002). In Welkom, the decline of gold mining resulted in the establishment of the Free State Gold Fields Development Centre, and various local government endeavours, in collaboration with private sector, were initiated to find alternative sources of employment after the loss of thousands of mining jobs in and around the town within the last ten years. Coupled with the support for small business and urban agriculture, the LED initiative has included the development of a world class motor racing track that is targeting the sports tourism market (Nieuwoudt, 2002).

The discussion on formal local government initiatives in South Africa stated that in Johannesburg, several initiatives are taking place to catalyse the tourist economy, as part of wider development programmes and urban reconstruction. These include the redevelopment of the Newtown area in Central Johannesburg as a cultural precinct; Gold Reef City which is a theme park that focusses on the city's mining history; a new

convention centre boosting business tourism to the city; the development of heritage tourism in the form of Constitution Hill; as well as the promotion of sports tourism through the hosting of a number of international sporting events such as the Cricket World Cup 2003.

2.5.1.2 Small Town Examples

Tourism-based LED is also evident in a number of smaller centres which have experienced an economic crisis or decline and associated levels of unemployment. Rogerson (2001) indicates that research on the South African Tourism Cluster Study afforded an important basis for setting up a series of tourism clusters, centred around potential heritage tourism and ecotourism in many smaller towns and rural areas. Development of scenic, cultural and historical trails have also enjoyed some success in KwaZulu-Natal, the Western Cape and Mpumalanga (Binns and Nel, 2002). There are also a number of individual small town initiatives of LED building on tourism. The most notable of these include Lamberts Bay and Stilbaai in the Western Cape in which the decline of their respective fishing economies resulted in high levels of unemployment and catalysed a search for new innovative economic activities. Both of these towns deserve particular attention as they have clear parallels with the three towns being examined in this study, in which each respective town's unique natural resources and scenic beauty have been developed for tourism in order to promote local economic development. Lamberts Bay on the Cape West Coast has focussed on its rich avifauna and marine life and this has resulted in the construction of a bird observation and visitor centre. In the small town of Stilbaai in the Western Cape, the initiation of the LED process led to the promotion of the town as a tourist destination. In focussing on its unique attractions which includes whale watching, the presence of 'tame eels' and the flowers in spring, the town markets itself as the 'Bay of Sleeping Beauty' (Department of Provincial and Local Government LED Manual Series, 2000). Strategic partnerships were formed between local business, tourism authorities and local authority and were the key development catalysts, resulting in increased tourists numbers to the town, and significantly reduced levels of unemployment (Department of Provincial and Local Government LED Manual Series, 2000).

2.5.2 SUPPORT FOR TOURISM-BASED LED

Tourism has been recognised by local authorities as a mechanism through which development can be attained, yielding benefits for the host community. Since 1999, there has been a growing support of a range of local tourism-led LED initiatives from central government. The national LED Fund (LEDF) is a central government scheme that provides targeted funding to motivate bottom-up community economic development and to encourage entrepreneurship (Rogerson, 2001; Binns and Nel, 2002). The LEDF has received a number of local authority applications for support of tourism ventures such as the construction of cultural villages and crafts centres. To date, the most notable examples of local tourism projects that have secured financing from this fund includes Utrecht in KwaZulu-Natal, which will be explored in detail in chapter 5, and the establishment of the Kouga Cultural Centre at Humansdorp in the Eastern Cape (Rogerson, 2001).

Further government support for tourism and LED is sourced from the Department of Environment and Tourism's Poverty Relief Programme which centres on both tourism infrastructure projects and tourism product development (DEAT, 2003). To date, over four hundred projects have been funded by the Programme, with primary target development areas including protected areas (in KwaZulu-Natal these include the Greater St Lucia Wetland Conservation Area and the Maloti-Drakensberg Conservation Area), as well as areas that fall into the aforementioned Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Programme nodes. Binns and Nel (2002) stress the fact that both the LEDF and the Poverty Relief Fund are aimed at alleviating poverty, and resultant tourism endeavours need to be appreciated in that light.

Beyond the LEDF and Poverty Relief Scheme, local tourism development in South Africa is being further promoted through a number of development corridors, known as Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs). The SDIs aim to open up areas of untapped potential for economic development, and those with explicit tourism foci, seek to encourage the establishment and promotion of tourism facilities and resources. Such SDIs include the

Wild Coast and the Lubombo Development Corridor. As with other SDIs around the country, the DTI is promoting rapid rural and regional development around the construction of these major transport links. For the social groups who were marginalised under the previous political dispensation, the SDIs look to provide an overdue injection of development infrastructure and the prospect of real economic development and employment creation, empowerment, education and training (Koch et al, 1998). In the development of the SDIs, a new term 'em-po-tourism' or empowerment tourism was coined. This approach to tourism aims to combine tourism growth with the empowerment of formerly disadvantaged communities in South Africa (Ashley and Roe, 2002). However, as mentioned in the discussion on top-down LED, this form of development is not always popular, with the SDI's having received severe criticism to date (Hindson, 2003a). In building a new road through the Wild Coast area, this particular SDI will capitalise upon the area's spectacular scenery and the potential for lucrative, labour intensive tourism investments, but as Turner (2001) points out, the deeply impoverished people of the Wild Coast recall the exploitation and land grabs that have accompanied tourist developments in the past. The fact that the SDI Agency did not properly consult them or clarify how their land rights would be secured, has resulted in them wondering whether SDI-sponsored tourism will be any different. Turner (2001, p 362) emphasises the need to question whether SDI tourist development (if the SDI succeeds in attracting new hotels and leisure complexes) will just be "islands of privilege in an unchanging sea of poverty".

While there is some debate regarding the development efforts of national government's SDI programme, results of local government's tourism-based LED initiatives are also questionable. Many of these local government endeavours are obviously designed to benefit and involve the host community, drawing on their skills and aspirations. However, remarkably few of the smaller community-based initiatives have proven to be economically viable, with a high degree of dependency on central government funding. The more up-market, business-focussed ventures of larger local authorities such as Durban and Cape Town are far more successful. Obviously, in these larger urban centres, the tourism market is well established, and smaller, less well-known centres are unlikely to be able to

rely, to the same degree, on tourism as in the larger centres. The market-led success of the Waterfront Development in Cape Town has received strong criticism however, in that it does not involve the local community members with few benefits being devolved to them. According to Binns and Nel (2002), this discussion prompted questions of whether pro-poor local development strategies can realistically achieve comparable results as market-led initiatives. This is a particular pertinent consideration for this research, in which tourism-based LED is being assessed in small centres.

2.5.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

It is apparent that tourism-based LED, as it has emerged during the past few years, ranges from large urban centres with more business-focussed initiatives, to smaller localities that have a more community focus. The types of tourism range from business tourism, to sports tourism, to cultural and heritage tourism. It is those small localities however, that have harnessed the tourism potential of their available natural resources and scenic beauty in their LED strategies, that are of particular relevance to this research. What is obvious in reviewing tourism trends in this country, is how much the industry is linked to the appreciation and 'enjoyment' of nature. International visitors and domestic tourists alike spend much of their time and money on three key attractions: the coast, wildlife, and the country's varied scenery of mountains, deserts and savannah (Turner, 2001). The focus of this research is thus on how three localities in KwaZulu-Natal are consciously trying to promote LED and job creation through the utilization of their natural (and in some cases, cultural) attractions as tourism strategies. All three are representative of how local resources can be effectively utilized and packaged for tourism development through the combination of innovation, place marketing and natural beauty. The 1996 Tourism White Paper (RSA, 1996a) specified the need to include poor communities in the tourism development process. It has also been noted that LED policy and planning in South Africa has an emphasis on poverty alleviation. Therefore, from a pro-poor perspective, all three case studies assure that tourism-based LED has the potential to assist poor communities in terms of job creation, and income generation through the promotion of crafts and local entrepreneurship.

It is important to realistically assess the potential of natural resource-based tourism initiatives in achieving LED while simultaneously ensuring the conservation of the very resource that attracts the tourists. The degree to which the tourism initiatives in each locality of this study are employment-generating, community-empowering, poverty alleviating and economically sustainable strategies, needs to be carefully evaluated. As Turner (2001) notes, issues of commitment (commitment by investors and managers to involve all stakeholders including rural communities); capacity (problems of lack of technical and institutional capacity with respect to community-based initiatives) and marketing (critical to the success of any tourism initiative) are important in this regard.

Since 1994, there have been several initiatives launched by national government designed to promote or support economic development through tourism (such as the SDIs), and there have also been a number of local level initiatives linking tourism and local economic development. Therefore as Rogerson (2001, pp7) notes, "there is considerable interest in the possibilities for developing tourism-led LED across many urban and rural areas of South Africa". However, research on the topic remains limited. Although the socio-economic benefits of tourism have been recognised and well documented, the topic of LED is yet to be properly addressed in standard texts on South African tourism. There remain only a few studies that specifically examine tourism-based LED (Rogerson, 2001, 2002; Binns and Nel, 2002; Nel and Binns, 2002). Furthermore, it is possible that there is a range of other tourism-based initiatives across South Africa, particularly in small towns, that are achieving LED, but that to date, have been beyond the scope of government funding and academic recognition. It is therefore imperative to note that this tourism-based LED literature is based on the works of a few academics, and that a limited number of case studies have been documented, and as such, biases occur. It is against the backdrop of evolving LED policy and applied practice of LED in South Africa, as well as the role of tourism development internationally and in South Africa, that this study aims to investigate the theme of natural resource-based tourism as an instrument for achieving economic development and job creation in three small towns in KwaZulu-Natal. This research will therefore make a significant and meaningful contribution to the existing literature.

CHAPTER 3. METHODS

The nature of this particular research necessitated the employment of a range of methodological approaches. In this chapter, the research design will firstly be outlined. This is followed by a discussion of the two different methodological approaches that exist within social research, namely quantitative and qualitative techniques and the different research methods that can be adopted within each of these approaches. The chapter then discusses the key methods employed in this study to gather and analyse the data, and the procedures followed in employing those methods.

3.1 THE RESEARCH DESIGN

“A research design is a result of a series of decisions we make that emerge from our knowledge of the academic literature, the research questions we want to ask, our conceptual framework and our knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of different techniques” (Valentine, 2001, p 41).

A research design is therefore the programme that guides the investigator in the process of collecting, analysing and interpreting observations. The research design in this study encompassed the following considerations:

3.1.1 THE RESEARCH SETTING

The broad research setting of the study included three small towns, Eshowe located in the heart of Zululand in KwaZulu-Natal, Utrecht in northern KwaZulu-Natal, and Matatiele located on the border with the Eastern Cape (this particular town provided an interesting trans-boundary dimension to the study). While certain chapters in this study detail developments in general in each of the towns, the key focus of the study is on the anchor tourism-based development project in each of the towns. It was the individual projects and their achievements in each of the three towns (even though the project in Utrecht

incorporates the entire town as such), that drew the attention of the researcher to each of the three towns.

3.1.2 THE TIME DIMENSION

Given the nature of the material under investigation and the need to analyse evolving events within each project, as well as the broader economic and social events in the towns themselves, a longitudinal study was employed. Research in the field was undertaken over a period of a year, and the progress of each respective project was assessed within that time period. The field research involved three visits to each study site. At the start of the research, an introductory visit was made to each town which allowed the researcher to meet all key informants and relevant stakeholders, and to get a feel for each town and project under investigation. A second visit was made to each study site, during which the first set of interviews was undertaken, and six months subsequent to the second visit, a final visit was made in which the follow-up interviews were undertaken. During the course of the year in which the three site visits were made to each town, both telephonic and e-mail contact was maintained with interviewees. The research was also cross-sectional in nature in that the fieldwork procedure was undertaken in all three study sites in parallel, allowing for the projects in each respective town to be compared to each other.

3.1.3 THE UNIT OF ANALYSIS

A wide variety of topics formed the focus of this research, but the two main themes were tourism development and local economic development. This focus included an analysis of the economic and social impacts of tourism-based LED projects. Subjects who were interviewed and assessed included project managers/co-ordinators, project employees and participants from poorer rural areas, municipal officials and town councillors, chamber of business representatives, tourism and publicity officers and businesses involved in the tourism industry.

3.1.4 THE PURPOSE OF THE RESEARCH

The research investigation was designed to explore, describe and explain tourism-based local economic development in the three study areas. Chapter 1 introduced the research questions and outlined the intended outcomes of this study. The primary aim of this research was to examine how the small towns are achieving local economic development through the promotion of natural resource-based tourism initiatives, and to assess the impacts these initiatives are having on the lives of the communities within each town. This required analysis at various levels of implementation, from policy to a grassroots community level. The element of discussion in the research investigation is important as it permits the identification of causal factors, possible opportunities and constraints that may exist.

3.2 GENERAL THEORY ON METHODOLOGY

A distinction has been made within social research, between quantitative research techniques and qualitative techniques. The term 'qualitative' is often applied to both the data and the method of collection (Ashley et al, 1999). Data that is quantitative is generally numeric, collected through surveys, experiments, content analyses and through examinations of existing statistics. Qualitative data is generally explorative and descriptive (Neuman, 2000) and is collected through qualitative methods including field research interviews or by undertaking a historical-comparative analyses.

Quantitative survey research is a major industry both within and outside universities. A survey researcher translates a research problem into questions, and then decides on a method to administer these questions to a selected sample of respondents, and then uses these responses to create data. A survey researcher may ask questions through either a questionnaire (mailed and self-administered questionnaires) or through an interview schedule (telephonic or face-to-face interviews). When employing a questionnaire, respondents read the questions themselves and mark answers on the questionnaire. An interview schedule is a set of questions read to the respondent by an interviewer, who also records responses. No situation or condition is manipulated, people simply answer

questions. The researcher asks many people numerous questions in a short time period, and the survey gives the researcher a picture of what many people think or report what they are doing. A survey researcher often uses a sample or a smaller group of selected people (for example 150 students), but generalises results to a larger group (for example 5000 students) from which the smaller group was chosen. From the answers of the respondents, the researcher creates quantitative data (percentages, tables or graphs) that he/she analyses to address the research problem (Neuman, 2000). A quantitative survey is one of the most fundamental and frequently used methods of data collection within the social sciences (Babbie, 1998).

“Qualitative methodologies, which explore the feelings, understandings and knowledge of others through interviews, discussions or participant observation, are increasingly used by geographers to explore some of the complexities of everyday life in order to gain a deeper insight into the processes shaping our social world” (Dwyer and Limb, 2001, p 1). In many qualitative studies, primary data is collected through the use of field interviews, participant observation and focus groups.

Another approach that many field researchers adopt is that of Rapid Rural Appraisal (RRA) and Participatory Rural Appraisal (PRA), which utilize many of the standard qualitative or field techniques outlined above. RRA developed as a result of a sense of disillusionment with conventional, normally quantitative methods of data collection and what was regarded as the superficial, biased, rural research of the past. It was felt that such methods induced a bias based on western conceptions, marginalising the views and perceptions of rural people and thus preventing a true assessment of development problems in the South (Nel, 1999). RRA's aim was to develop an understanding and appreciation of local people and their indigenous technical knowledge, and from the late 1970's RRA developed as a defined research technique, involving rapid learning through conscious exploration, flexible use of methods, improvisation and cross-checking (Dunn, 1994). RRA techniques tended to encourage the dominance by the outsider, and consequently a re-evaluation occurred in the 1980's that resulted in the development of PRA. Although similar in

methods to RRA, control is vested with the informant, and in this way differs from RRA. With the informant being allowed to dominate and determine the agenda, the researcher is exposed to a greater range and depth of issues.

Most qualitative-style researchers collect and examine qualitative-type data, and quantitative researchers collect quantitative-type data. However, in some instances, qualitative researchers collect and examine quantitative data, and data collected through quantitative methods may be qualitative (Neuman, 2000). Qualitative techniques are essentially descriptions of people's representations and constructions of what is occurring in their world. Robinson (1998) notes that these descriptions can take on several forms depending on the aim of the research, and may be used in conjunction with statistical surveys and quantitative analysis as complementary methods for seeking an understanding of society. Furthermore, quantitative researchers may employ qualitative methods in their studies, adjusted to meet the criteria of quantitative research (Sarantakos, 1993). In fact, researchers are increasingly deploying a range of different techniques, often combining both quantitative and qualitative approaches in their research (Limb and Dwyer, 2001; Silverman, 2000).

3.3 THE MAJOR RESEARCH METHODS EMPLOYED IN THIS RESEARCH

The themes of natural resource-based tourism and LED form the focus of the research, and two primary techniques were employed in order to establish relevant information, and to assess the success of the projects with respect to their impacts on local participants, and on the local economy of the town.

In reviews undertaken of local economic development (Nel, 1999) and tourism development (Ashley et al, 2000; Ashley et al, 1999), the various strengths and weaknesses of certain qualitative data collection techniques were made evident. In their study on the economic and livelihood impacts of tourism in Kenya, Ashley et. al. (1999)

emphasise the need to integrate both qualitative and quantitative data. This is reflected in their case studies of Ngwesi Lodge and Arabuko Sokoke Forest which demonstrate a wide range of techniques used to collect data, including a combination of economic, participatory and sociological approaches, each generating concepts and criteria for the other.

It became clear that the research methods utilised in the numerous other studies in the chosen field of research, were appropriate for answering the research questions presented in this research. Qualitative data would be collected and analysed, but there would also be some quantification of results.

In this section, the major methods which were employed are discussed and outlined. In undertaking research, the nature of the research questions that are to be asked, will determine the methods used. These research questions and therefore the substantive focus of the project, are framed around the knowledge of the relevant theoretical and empirical literature, and shape the most appropriate way of investigating them (Valentine, 2001). As already stated earlier in this chapter, within the broad parameters of social science research a wide variety of both qualitative and quantitative research techniques exist to assist the researcher in identifying key factors under consideration.

The techniques selected to answer the research questions include documentary analysis and literature review, followed by a series of semi-structured interviews. A review of the literature and documentary analysis yielded secondary data. This secondary data was obtained from other published literature, policy papers and historical documents, and provided the basic understanding and foundations on which primary data (new data that has not yet been published) is built. A review of the relevant literature and documentary analysis therefore provided evidence of the significance of this research and its contribution to knowledge, and provided a conceptual framework that guided the research. Field research was then undertaken for the collection of primary data, and this was done through a series of semi-structured interviews. The responses of the interviewees could

then be assessed and analysed in terms of the success and failures of the tourism-based LED initiatives with respect to their economic and social achievements, and in terms of how they fit into the local economic development and tourism policy framework.

In the following sections, a theoretical background to each of the techniques used, and the procedures followed when carrying them out during an investigative process is discussed, followed by an outline of the application of these techniques in collecting data within this particular study .

3.3.1 LITERATURE REVIEW AND DOCUMENTARY ANALYSIS THEORY

“The existing academic literature should be a source of inspiration by providing a theoretical context for a project, as well as indicating existing publications on a topic, potential data sources, possible analytical techniques and even a guide on the structure of result presentation” (Hoggart et al, 2002).

A literature review forms a necessary and important part of the research process, contextualising the study, and furthermore, serving as a bibliographical function for readers of this study (Babbie, 1998). A literature review not only summarises all the major studies in the chosen field of research, but allows for a critical assessment of the way in which that particular topic has been addressed in the past, identifying both the strengths and the weaknesses of previous work (Valentine, 2001). Having grounded a research topic in the relevant literature, the research questions specific to the study at hand can then be framed.

3.3.1.1 ACADEMIC LITERATURE REVIEW UNDERTAKEN IN THIS RESEARCH

Researchers present reports of their research projects in several written forms including scholarly journal articles; books; dissertations; papers presented at the meetings of professional societies; as well as government documents and policy reports (Neuman, 2000). Information presented in this research came firstly from a review of the relevant literature from academia. The literature that was consulted focussed on local economic

development, both within an international context, and within South Africa. Secondly, academic literature on tourism development, once again within the international as well as the South African context was consulted. Use was made of journals (including *Development Southern Africa*, *Urban Studies*, *Africa Insight*, *The Geographical Journal*, *Regional Studies*, and *the Singapore Journal of Tropical Geography*), published books, dissertations and official documents. These provided an invaluable source of concepts and theories, both on LED and the development of tourism. Particular emphasis was placed on the different forms of tourism development, most notably ecotourism, nature-based tourism and pro-poor tourism, which had parallels with the form of tourism development under investigation. The term natural resource-based tourism was used in this research to avoid the controversy which exists surrounding the use of the terms ecotourism and nature-based tourism. Finally, literature on tourism-based LED was reviewed and it was evident that there is very limited research on the topic. The literature review therefore served to contextualise this research and demonstrating its relevance within current knowledge.

Further information was gathered from commercial media accounts such as newspapers, magazines and television reports that were related to the initiatives within each town. Although these are not true components of academic research, relevant and recent information was gathered from these sources. Information made available on university, research institute and government agency web pages on the Internet, was also gathered. In order to obtain information regarding the background of each of the study areas, use was of tourism and historical attraction web pages, as well as local government planning reports including the Integrated Development Plans for each of the towns (the uMlalazi IDP for Eshowe; sections of the Matatiele Municipality IDP that were made available; and the Utrecht Municipality IDP). Local tourism publications were also used to obtain information regarding the tourism initiatives in place in each of the towns. Secondary data available within Arcview, a Geographical Information Systems Programme, allowed for the creation of digital maps of the study areas.

3.3.2 INTERVIEW THEORY

Interviews involve direct contact between the researcher and the researched, where questions are presented orally and responses are recorded. There are many different types of interviews, each of which differs from others in terms of the structure, purpose, role of the interviewer, and number of respondents involved in each interview (Sarantakos, 1993). Qualitative or field researchers generally use unstructured, non-directive, in-depth interviews, while structured interviewing is mostly considered to be a quantitative method. Neuman (2000, table 4) describes the ways in which formal survey or quantitative research interviews differ from field or qualitative interviews.

Table 4. Survey Interviews versus Field research Interviews.

TYPICAL SURVEY INTERVIEW	TYPICAL FIELD INTERVIEW
1. It has a clear beginning and end.	1. The beginning and end are not clear. The interview can be picked up later.
2. The same standard questions are asked of all the respondents in the same sequence.	2. The questions and the order in which they are asked are tailored to specific people and situations.
3. The interviewer appears neutral at all times.	3. The interviewer shows interest in responses, encourages elaboration.
4. The interviewer asks questions, and the respondent answers.	4. It is like a friendly conversational exchange, but with more interviewer questions.
5. It is almost always with one respondent alone.	5. It can occur in group setting or with others in area, but varies.
6. It has a professional tone and businesslike focus, diversions are ignored.	6. It is interspersed with jokes, asides, stories, diversions, and anecdotes, which are recorded.
7. Closed-ended questions are common, with rare probes.	7. Open-ended questions are common, and probes are frequent.
8. The interviewer alone controls the pace and direction of interview.	8. The interviewer and member jointly control the pace and direction of the interview.
9. The social context in which the interview occurs is ignored and assumed to make little difference.	9. The social context of the interview is noted and seen as important for interpreting the meaning of responses.

TYPICAL SURVEY INTERVIEW	TYPICAL FIELD INTERVIEW
10. The interviewer attempts to mould the communication pattern into a standard framework.	10. The interviewer adjusts to the member's norms and language usage.

Source: Neuman (2000, p 371).

A typical quantitative survey interview is a short-term, secondary social interaction between two strangers with the explicit purpose of one person obtaining specific information from the other. Information is obtained in a structured conversation in which the interviewer asks prearranged questions and records answers from the respondents. The role of the interviewer is to obtain cooperation and build rapport, yet remain neutral and objective. Survey interviewers are nonjudgmental and do not reveal their opinions, verbally or non-verbally (Sarantakos, 1993).

In contrast to the more rigid procedures associated with the typical quantitative survey interview, qualitative field interviewing procedures allow respondents more scope for elaboration and general discussion rather than just being presented with a set of fixed questions or questions demanding only fixed responses (Robinson, 1998). Field or in-depth interviews vary in style from very conversational to more formal, and are used to get participants to provide an account of their experiences, of how they view their own world and the meanings they ascribe to it (Valentine, 2001). A typical field interview is generally unstructured, and normally involves the researcher being directly involved with those being studied and immersed in a natural setting. A field interview that is unstructured may involve asking people to comment on widely defined issues, and respondents are free to expand on the topic as they see fit (Neuman, 2000).

Interviewing can have a number of disadvantages, including the fact that this method is largely dependant on the interpersonal and listening skills of the interviewer. Interviewers may not ask the right or appropriate questions or they may not be understood by the interviewee. Respondents may feel threatened or intimidated by the interviewer and may not

be willing to share their experiences, particularly about sensitive or personal topics. Often the interviewer's bias and personal influence is injected into the situation, followed by interpreter bias of the data collected (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1982; Valentine, 2001). Further criticisms of this method are based on the fact that the process is said to be subjective and unscientific (Robinson, 1998).

However, one of the major advantages is that it allows for greater control as well as flexibility in the questioning process. The interviewer can clarify terms that are unclear and clarify issues raised by the respondent; probe for additional and more detailed information; and can follow up on unanticipated themes that may arise in the discussion. The interviewer can collect supplementary information about the respondents personal characteristics and their environment that may aid the researcher in the interpretation of results. The interview situation often yields spontaneous reactions that the interviewer can record and that might be useful in the data analysis stage (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1982; Valentine, 2001). It is therefore a popular method of data collection in that extensive information can be attained very quickly and it enables the researcher to cover a wide variety of topics.

Some interviews can use both qualitative and quantitative techniques, such as the semi-structured interview (Sarantakos, 1993). In a semi-structured interview, a list of issues or questions is prepared by the interviewer and the respondent is asked to respond in a subjective manner. Although the encounter between the interviewer and respondents is structured and the major aspects of the study are explicated, respondents are given considerable liberty in expressing their definition of a situation that is presented to them. The interviewer therefore exercises greater control than in a typical non-scheduled in-depth interview, and the questions posed serve as an outline within the parameters of which the respondent is encouraged to think laterally and develop the issues under discussion. Having previously studied the situation, the interviewer is alert and sensitive to inconsistencies and omissions of data that may be needed to clarify the situation (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1982). While the semi-structured interview allows respondents

to answer on their own terms, it provides a structure for comparability (May, 1993), and for the purposes of this study allows for comparison between the three study sites.

There are a number of key aspects to the actual process being followed when performing an interview. Robinson (1998) identifies a number of key steps that should be taken when planning interviews. The first concerns the making of arrangements for the interview. The researcher must decide what is the most appropriate format for the interview, including its location, duration and structure. For example, the place where an interview is to be conducted should be stimulating, comfortable, quiet and private such that the individual may feel at ease and will thus be more responsive to questioning (Sarantakos, 1993). Many interviewees may prefer to have a lengthy time period in which to convey information whereas others may wish to have a relatively short time period. Some information may only be collected via repeated interviews or through the use of a group format. Deciding on which of these is the most appropriate is part of the initial planning, and this should be done carefully to limit the artificiality of the ensuing interview as the interviewee's true feelings or experiences may not be revealed (Robinson, 1998).

The next step identified by Robinson (1998) is to provide a checklist. Depending on the degree of formality an interview can be made to follow a general pattern through the use of a checklist, interview schedule, prompt or topic guide, which helps the interviewer meet his/her objectives. It can be modified over time if several interviews are being carried out, and if respondents have raised their own issues for discussion.

Before an interview is conducted, it is imperative that the 'interview content', that is the nature of the questions posed, are as neutral as possible, so as not to offend the person being interviewed. The next step is therefore to ask the 'right questions'. The respondents need to feel that their interaction with the interviewer will be a pleasant and satisfying one. Sarantakos (1993) points to the fact that all interviews should begin with some simple procedures that will create a more friendly environment in which to conduct the interview. This should include an initial introduction, followed by a clear explanation of what the

interview will entail and its purpose, and the method of selecting respondents. Reference should be made to ethical considerations and the confidentiality of the interview (non-disclosure of an individual's name or personal information) and to any procedural matters relating to the interview (note-taking or use of a tape recorder). Prior to covering more significant information, and in order to place the respondent at ease, the interview usually begins with some non-threatening questions. The respondents should be encouraged at all times however to supply information in such a way that their versions of events or of a given situation is expressed in terms of their own understanding, and respondents need to see their participation as being worthwhile. The 'right questions' will thus elicit such information whilst getting the respondent to supply the appropriate context and background to their views and experiences. In addition to this, conversation and dialogue should be maintained during the interview so that the respondent does not lose interest (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1982; Robinson, 1998). As with the appropriate order for questionnaires, the question sequence should be organised to provide continuity with the interview flowing easily between topics. Generally, the interview is structured with an ordering from general questions to more specific, and the researcher should avoid inserting his/her own opinions into questions or discussion. Questions that are misinterpreted or misunderstood should be repeated and clarified. In order for a respondent to feel sufficiently at ease to answer questions in a natural fashion, appearance, place, context and interview style must all be appropriate. Determining what is 'appropriate' is generally a trial and error process for the researcher in which experience can play a significant role (Sarantakos, 1993; Robinson, 1998).

Often the interviewer may find that the answers given to certain questions may be inadequate and this requires the interviewer to seek more information. This is done through probing, where the interviewer stimulates elaboration and further discussion, and therefore obtains further information (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1982). Undertaking a series of interviews with an individual often enables a researcher to probe more deeply into topics, and to follow up on aspects discussed in earlier interviews. Initial interviews may be more formal and used to elicit more factual information, and may then move

towards a more open-ended discussion of the respondents personal insights in later interviews, while still retaining a well-structured format. Robinson (1998) notes a trade-off between time expended on repeated meetings with an individual or group and the amount and quality of information gathered. While the familiarity developed through repeated interviews may be regarded as likely to influence the responses received, it may elicit more depth of response.

A central task of the interviews is to record the responses of interviewees. Information can be recorded by taking notes during the interview. In semi-structured interviewing the questions are open-ended and the responses tend to be longer. The interviewer then condenses and summarizes what the respondent says. Care has to be taken that the interviewer accurately identifies what should be recorded and do so without his or her own interpretation and bias (Monette et al, 1990). While factual information can be recorded in note form during a interview, a tape recorder can also be used to record data, and in some cases may be a direct substitute for note-taking which can be a distracting procedure during an interview. By using a tape recorder, the way in which respondents expressed themselves and described events and feelings may be recorded. In some instances the presence of a tape recorder however, may inhibit people from expressing their true feelings, but once an interview or group discussion has begun to 'flow', the presence of the tape recorder is often forgotten. The researcher can then concentrate on how to conduct the interview, the subtleties of gesture and group dynamics. While the tape recorder can ensure that the subtle nuances of the interview are not lost, the greatest disadvantage of this method however is that the work of transcribing tapes can be very time-consuming. Video recording is becoming popular and is equally powerful but has the same problems as tape recording (Sarantakos, 1993).

Often research requires the selection of appropriate procedures to gain a representative cross-section of the study population. In other cases, there is the use of 'key' actors or informants. A key informant in field research is a member with whom a field researcher develops a relationship (Neuman, 2000), and such individuals are often targeted for the

interviews on the grounds of their unique knowledge and the leadership position that they hold.

One aspect of qualitative work that has become more common in recent years has been the use of investigations involving group interviews, sometimes referred to as focus groups. Group discussions may be good ways of revealing how people think and how they interact with other people. The researcher must develop a trusting and cohesive atmosphere for group discussions, and Robinson (1998) explains that he/she may take one of three approaches: autocratic, democratic and *laissez-faire*. An autocratic approach involves the researcher leading and directing discussion with the focus tending to be on the researcher rather than the group. A democratic approach involves some direction from the researcher, but as a facilitator of discussion and generator of group dynamics, and finally in a *laissez-faire* approach, group dynamics are observed without direction and discussion, a 'fly-on-the-wall' method. The researcher's own presence, personality and prejudice are impossible to eliminate from a group discussion. However, Robinson (1998) describes the interaction with researcher and group as being an advantage in that this interaction can provide the very insights and explanation of human behaviour and attitudes that are being sought.

3.3.2.1 INTERVIEWS UNDERTAKEN IN THIS RESEARCH

Extensive research has been done on the two themes that are evident within this research investigation. There are a large number of studies that have been done on both LED in South Africa and on tourism development. However, as has become evident within this study so far, the concept of tourism as a tool for local development, and more specifically LED, has been little investigated. Thus, there is little information on how one would research such a topic, on what methods would be appropriate for investigating the impacts of tourism-based local economic development. However, within these separate studies, a number of researchers have suggested ways in which to evaluate their respective field of research.

Nel (1999) has suggested a possible model for investigating and evaluating LED, and Ashley et al (1999) have designed a handbook for assessing the economic and livelihood impacts of wildlife enterprises and tourism developments. Both of these suggest key questions that should be asked in order to gain an overall picture of the impacts of LED and tourism respectively. Both emphasise the fact that their model and handbook are not blueprints for researching their respective topics and have to be adapted to different situations. However, both provide a guide as to what sort of information should be collected (the types of questions they propose should be asked) and how they should be collected (the type of qualitative fieldwork techniques including interviews, and the type of interviews) during the research process in order to assess the impacts of the LED initiative or wildlife related tourism enterprise.

Nel (1999) states that the evaluation of LED initiatives is generally based on their economic and social achievements, but that a variety of evaluation criteria are required to ensure accuracy and objectivity. He has synthesised and adapted a combination of published evaluation schedules which appeared to be appropriate to the South African situation. These criteria include economic, employment, training, empowerment, services, infrastructure and quality of life. Nel's (1999) model then presents a schedule of questions that have been informed by this set of criteria. The questions are divided into two phases. Phase 1 comprises the initial set of questions designed to be utilised at the commencement of the research in a particular locale, followed by a period of contact extending up to three years (as was relevant for my research purposes, this period of contact extended over a year) during which time an ongoing assessment of the study site was undertaken to determine the progress made. Phase 2 comprised a set of questions to be asked at the conclusion of the investigation to provide a final assessment of the initiative in each locale.

In their handbook, Ashley et al (1999) suggest 8 key questions that should be asked in order to gather the necessary information required to assess the economic and social impacts of a wildlife enterprise. One of these questions relates to the livelihood impacts

for local participants, which are broadly defined to include economic, social and institutional issues. In recent years, there has been improved understanding of poverty and the lives of the poor, and it has been found that the overall positive and negative impacts of tourism on the poor will vary enormously between situations, among people and over time. A key principle in assessing these impacts is to consider the many ways in which tourism affects the different components of the livelihoods of the poor. Ashley et al (1999) have identified the fact that well-being is not only about income, but that dimensions of poverty include food insecurity, social inferiority, exclusion, lack of physical assets, and vulnerability. These considerations have implications for any development project assessment. Based on the concept of 'sustainable rural livelihoods' (SRL), their handbook provides a framework for assessing project impacts on the lives of local participants. This framework can be used by researchers as a useful tool when assessing the impacts of enterprises on the livelihoods of those involved, demonstrating a great variety in the people's own priorities and factors affecting livelihood security and sustainability. Ashley et al (1999) also suggest a number of different fieldwork methods that may be used to answer their proposed 8 questions and to gather such information, including individual key informant semi-structured interviews; group meetings and workshops; household surveys and observation.

Therefore, it became evident that Nel's (1999) and Ashley et al's (1999) models had significance in guiding the research process within this study in terms of what information and data was needed to assess the projects, and how to gather this information. Both guidelines were referred to and questions proposed were used and adapted in order to assess the economic and social achievements of each of the tourism-based development project in each of the towns.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, there are two main sources of information gathering: secondary sources and the primary data gathered from fieldwork employing either qualitative techniques such as field interviews and historical-comparative analyses, or quantitative techniques such as survey interviews and questionnaires. The secondary

sources include a documentary analysis as well as a review of the relevant literature. In order to gather further necessary information and data required to assess the economic and social impacts of these tourism-based development projects, a number of key questions had to be asked to all the major role players and representatives of stakeholder groups during the fieldwork process.

A number of different qualitative fieldwork techniques exist that enable such questions to be asked and information to be gathered, each with their own set of advantages and disadvantages, as discussed earlier in this chapter. Both Nel (1999) and Ashley et al (1999) suggest the use of semi-structured interviews in the collection of primary data, and it was therefore deemed appropriate to ask these questions through a series of informal semi-structured interviews with key informant individuals. Semi-structured interview methods were selected for this study because of the exploratory nature of the research undertaken. Semi-structured interviews allowed for a list of questions to be prepared in which the interviewee could respond to in a subjective manner. The questions then served as an outline within the parameters of which the interviewee could be encouraged to think laterally and could answer on their own terms. Semi-structured interviews were therefore chosen as they provide more flexibility than more formal structured field interviews, but still provide structure for comparability. In some instances use was made of group interviews.

The interview process was done following the guiding steps provided by Robinson (1998). The semi-structured interviews were conducted with individual key informants and at various hierarchical levels in order to access knowledge and information held by those of strategic importance in each study site. Interviews were undertaken with the primary role-players involved directly in the planning and implementation of the tourism initiatives (project champions), as well as business persons, community members, NGO representatives and representatives of the local municipalities. Tables 2, 3 and 4 list the interviewees as well as their respective organisations for Eshowe, Utrecht and Matatiele respectively. Interviews were initiated through telephoning the individuals and setting up

appointments. Although it has been noted that telephoning greatly increases the chances of refusal (Monette et al, 1990), there were no refusals during this research investigation. Care was taken to ensure that no questions would be offensive in any way to any of the interviewees, and permission to use direct quotations and the names of the interviewees in this thesis was asked for and granted prior to the commencement of the initial interviews. Information was recorded during the interviews by taking notes, and no tape recorder was used. Caution was taken during the note taking to be as objective as possible to avoid including the researcher's own bias into the data gathering process.

Table 5. List of interviewees and their organisations in Eshowe

NAME	ORGANISATION
Mrs Janey Chennells	Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk Project Co-ordinator and Committee Chair
Miss T. Khuzwayo Miss M. Ntuli	Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk guides
Mr Gunnar Marby	Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk Manager
Mr Graham Chennells	Zululand Ecoadventures owner and tour guide
Mrs Ronel Hulley	Tourism and Publicity Officer, uMlalazi Municipality
Mr Johnny Diaz	Manager Community Services, uMlalazi Municipality
Mr Neville Williams	Manager Corporate Services, uMlalazi Municipality
Mrs Jenny Hawke	Zululand Historical Museum
Mr Roger Gaisford	Representative of the Eshowe Environmental Education Centre
Mr Pat McLaverty	Zululand Chamber of Business
Mrs Elsie Engelbrecht	Representative of the Eshowe Bed and Breakfast Association

Table 6. List of interviewees and their respective organisations in Matatiele

NAME	ORGANISATION
Mrs Nicky McLeod	Environmental and Rural Solutions, Mehloping Horse and Hiking Trail Cluster Manager
Mr Welsh Linqua	Deputy Director Corporate and Administration Services, Matatiele Municipality
Mr V.G. Nbaba	Agricultural Officer, Matatiele Municipality
Mr T.A. Lechamochamo	LED, Agriculture and Housing Officer, Matatiele Municipality
Mr Simon Lesia	Three Sisters CTO member
Mr Mashai Dloti	Kinira Weir CTO Chairman
Mr Jacob Matabane	Malekhalonyane CTO member

NAME	ORGANISATION
Mr Vusi Nonkevu	Secretary General UMTA
Miss F. Mfihlo	Tourism Officer
Mr M. G. Lake	President of the Chamber of Business
Mr L. C. B. Whittle	Mountain Lake and Matatiele Angling Society Representative
Mrs Jabu Manyathi	Masakala Guesthouse hostess/manager
Mrs Manthabeleng Letuka	Masakala Guesthouse Cleaner
Mrs Sarah Shasha	Masakala Guesthouse Caterer

Table 7. List of interviewees and their organisations in Utrecht

NAME	ORGANISATION
Mr Eric Madamalala	Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products Project Manager
Mr Rob Stannard	Environmental Consultant and former Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products project manager
Mrs Thembe Khumalo	Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village Manager
Mr Freddie Le Roux	Former Mayor
Mr Mtshali	Mayor
Mr Charles Bayer	Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products Community Liaison Officer
Mr Marius Koekemoer	Deputy Manager Engineering Services, Utrecht Municipality
Miss K. Maphanga	Coffee Shop waitress
Mrs M. Ndlozi	Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Shop Assistant
Mr David Wright	Town Councillor

Interview schedules were drafted for each study site (Appendices 1-3). Each had the same format, with the questions being divided into three sections for each of the three main groups of role players and stakeholders. The questions were the same in each interview schedule (with only a few site-specific variations), and this was to allow for comparability between the three sites. The interview schedules presented in Appendix 1 to 3, lists all the questions asked in each category of role players and stakeholders, for Eshowe, Matatiele and Utrecht respectively.

The three main categories of role players and stakeholders included:

1. The project manager/co-ordinator/champion.
2. People employed by the project and members from the rural communities affected by the project.
3. Other key role-players and stakeholders in the local area.

1. *The project manager/co-ordinator/champion.*

A series of standardised questions for each town were compiled prior to the commencement of the fieldwork and were asked in two phases. The types of questions asked and the two-fold approach was adapted from Nel's (1999) model. The first phase of questions applied through the semi-structured interviews related to the initial and on-going assessment of the tourism-based project. This phase detailed questions relating to the initiation of the project and stages within the development of the project; details of employment and training; and details of employment and quality of life.

The second phase of questions were asked during the final visit to each town at the end of the investigation. These related to the final assessment of each tourism-based project and the chief criteria examined were as follows; economy, employment, training, empowerment, services and infrastructure, quality of life and assessment by local leaders. These criteria were selected to determine whether each project has had a defined impact on local participants in terms of employment and training opportunities, economic change and overall quality of life. Empowerment has also been identified as a key ingredient in any development initiative as it allows for local control of the process. Services and infrastructure were added to determine whether there had been any concrete improvements in physical infrastructure. The final assessment section was also used to determine the perception of project leaders or champions with regards to the success of the initiatives and the future sustainability of the project.

The interviews were conducted in these two phases for the primary reason of allowing the progress of each project to be monitored over a certain time period, in this case a year.

Subsequent to the first meeting, telephonic and email contact was made with the project manager/co-ordinator or champion in order to clarify points and ask further questions, thus following up on the progress of the projects. This was especially important in that each of the projects were in their incipient phase at the start of this investigation, and were evolving during the research process and still are evolving. At the conclusion of the investigation, a final visit allowed for the identification of the perceptions of the project champions with regards to the success of each respective project to date to be determined, and the broad economic and social impacts of each project to be assessed.

2. *People employed by the project and members from the rural communities affected by the project.*

This included both temporary workers employed during the construction phase, and permanent workers employed during the operational phase. Firstly, a set of questions was asked relating to their employment history, the importance of income obtained from the project, skills learnt and the perceived benefits of tourism. The livelihoods framework presented in Ashley et al (1999) handbook, as well as the checklist (table 3) summarised by Ashley et al (2000), were considered, and provided guidance in designing questions within the research process to assess impacts on the livelihoods of local participants. The questions based on the Livelihood Framework and checklist were then formulated into a table that examined the positive and negative impacts on the livelihoods of the local participants. While the Livelihood Framework is intended to assess the impacts of wildlife enterprises and tourism developments on the 'poor', this has been adapted in this study assess to the impacts the projects have on the local participants of each project from the poorer rural areas.

3. *Other key role players and stakeholders in the local area.*

This included municipal officers and town councillors, chamber of business representatives, local tourism and publicity officers, non-governmental organisations, bed and breakfast representatives and tourists. General questions asked related to the towns economy and perceptions of an economic decline or increase; other LED projects that

have been embarked upon; the available natural resource base; the nature of the tourism economy within the town including tourism flows and seasonality; perceptions of improvements of the tourism economy; and finally relationships with the natural resource-based tourism project being assessed.

As the texts have indicated, undertaking a series of interviews allows for a relationship to develop between the key informant (in this case the project champion in each town) and the researcher. While two specific sets of questions were drawn up for the project managers which were asked at the second and final visit respectively, initial interviews with the other two groups of stakeholders were used to gather more factual and statistical information relating to the issues discussed above, and as a relationship developed between the interviewer and the key informants, the final interviews developed into more informal conversations. Therefore the final visit with these groups of stakeholders served to follow up on information gathered at the initial interview. There was the occasional overlap in the questions asked in the second and final visit for all three groups, but this was, in general, deliberately employed in order to permit triangulation to take place. Standardised question schedules were justified on the grounds of the need to permit broad comparisons to be made between the three study sites.

The semi-structured interviews that were undertaken allowed for the identification of key aspects of the tourism development processes under consideration, and also allowed for respondents to comment broadly on the issues they felt important with respect to the tourism initiatives in place in their respective localities. The key advantage of this method of data acquisition was that it permitted the gaining of extensive information and open discussion of key issues (May, 1993). The researcher was able to then seek both clarification and elaboration on the answers given through extended discussion, while also probing problem areas. It also provided the opportunity to gain new insights and factual details in areas not initially anticipated (for example, the extensive use of the Dlinza Forest resource by the Eshowe Environmental Education Centre, both prior and subsequent to the development of Aerial Boardwalk project). Information was sought from project

managers; project participants (employees); community members and their leaders; administrators and local municipality representatives. In all instances the objectives were to identify the processes and obtain details of each of the tourism initiatives in each study site, their successes and failures, opportunities and constraints, the role of partnerships and structure of organisations, and the future plans of each initiative. The perceptions of individuals regarding causes for success and failure and the key determinants of successful local development were also important foci. It is important to remember that the perceptions of individuals regarding the success and failures of the initiatives varies. As mentioned, in some instances, use was made of group interview methods. A democratic approach (Robinson, 1998) was taken, in which some general questions were directed at the group as a whole, and there was some facilitation of discussion. This was undertaken in situations where views and issues that were considered important were shared by members of the local rural communities. For instance, in the community tourism organisation (CTO) meetings held in Matatiele, shared and democratic leadership was the norm and thus interaction was allowed and joint determination of answers to the questions asked by the researcher during these meetings. Information that was collected was thus often rich in detail and it was relatively easy to identify issues which the members of the CTO's regarded as controversial (whether they were in relation to problem areas or successes to date).

3.4 ASSESSING THE INITIATIVES

Interviews were conducted in two primary phases over a course of a year. This was done with the expressed purpose of allowing change to be monitored during the research investigation, and to verify findings from the on-going interviews. Information gathered from the interviews, as well as from reports, was selectively filtered and interpreted such that issues relating to employment and training; empowerment and the on the livelihoods of project participants, as well as project impact on the local economy, could be assessed. The concluding section of each case study chapter interprets the success of each project with respect to these criteria. When evaluating such small-scale LED projects that aim to impact rural communities, generally associated with conditions of poverty, success needs

to be gauged in a relative sense. In a severely disadvantaged area, even a small number of jobs, that yields increased opportunities for those involved, is of consequence. Each project was therefore assessed in this light.

In assessing each project within the overall context of local economic development and tourism development, cognizance was taken of the fact that tourism-driven LED, based on the attractiveness of natural resources, can yield significant environmental concerns. Related to this, is the subsequent lack of appeal to tourists or loss of natural resource 'uniqueness', as the natural resources become degraded or 'over-run' with tourists, and the associated cycle of decline for the tourism-based LED project. Such concerns were considered with respect to the success and sustainability of each project, and the potential for the future application LED pursued through natural resource-based tourism in other localities across South Africa.

Having examined the major research techniques employed to gather and assess the data, each case study will now be explored in separate chapters. The historical background to the town is provided, followed by a discussion on the nature of the local economy, and the context in which tourism development and LED are being pursued. The focus is then placed on the tourism-based LED project, and an assessment of the project is made relative the criteria described above.

CHAPTER 4. ESHOWE

Eshowe - 'the place of the wind in the trees'

The focus of this research now shifts to an examination of the small town of Eshowe in KwaZulu-Natal, and the context in which LED and tourism development is occurring in the town. It has been stated in earlier chapters that while the efforts of LED in larger centres across South Africa, are generally associated with the attraction of new manufacturing activities and big business support, small towns very often lack the financial and institutional capacity to initiate such LED endeavours. Many small towns are therefore seeking locally appropriate and viable ways in which to pursue LED, in order to address the socio-economic challenges that face them. This chapter will illustrate the potential for a small town like Eshowe, to catalyse a process of local economic development through the promotion of tourism based on the locally available natural resources.

4.1 SETTING THE SCENE

The small town of Eshowe, located in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, has a number of natural resources that have been identified as assets to the town, especially with respect to its tourism development potential. The most notable of these natural resources, is the Dlinza Forest, which, in being located close to the centre of the town also makes it a unique characteristic nationally. The town has, as a result, been linked with a number of successful place marketing and tourism promotion strategies. There are a number of tourism-related initiatives emerging and already established in the town, primarily in the form of eco-tourism, but historical-cultural tourism, is now playing a significant role. In light of the fact that these initiatives are predominantly privately initiated and managed, the town provides a good example of a private sector driven tourism development. The nature of the local economy and the importance of tourism in the local economy is briefly explored at the beginning of this chapter.

Although Eshowe has become a relatively well-established tourism destination, with tourism having a positive impact on the local economy, the town is still characterised by high levels of unemployment, and conditions of poverty in the rural areas surrounding the town. The local authority has acknowledged the need to create jobs and improve conditions for those people living in the rural areas, and has embarked on a number of local economic development projects that aim to address these issues. Despite the tourism development potential of the town and surrounding area, the Municipality has not yet embarked on any LED projects that are specifically based on tourism. One private sector driven initiative that has harnessed the potential of Eshowe's primary natural asset, and has aimed to involve and empower the rural communities through capacity building and skills development, is the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk project. The Boardwalk project has been successful in securing the financial support of a number of organisations, and has created jobs for a number of previously unemployed people. For these reasons, the project was examined as an LED initiative, and forms the primary focus of this chapter. The Boardwalk project is examined with respect to its local impact on employment and training, empowerment and on the quality of life of those involved, and with respect to local businesses linkages, and within the overall economic context of the town.

4.2 BACKGROUND TO ESHOWE AND THE TOURISM POTENTIAL OF THE TOWN

Eshowe is a small town situated on the north coast of KwaZulu-Natal, in the heart of the province's Zululand region. Eshowe now forms part of the greater uMlalazi Municipal area, with a population of approximately 231 023 people. The total population is only 17,8% urbanised with the rest of the population (82,2%) being rural. As in all South African cities and towns there are still very distinctive racial divisions, with 86,8% of the urbanised population being white. In overall terms, the municipal area has a low population density, the highest population density, of 0,22 persons per m², occurs in the King Dinuzulu Township, previously known as Gizinsela, and adjoining this is, what was the erstwhile Eshowe municipal area, having a density of 0.04 persons/m². This reflects one of a

number of imbalances with respect to urban development that historically took place (uMlalazi Municipality IDP, April 2002).

Eshowe had its beginning in 1860 when Cetshwayo, the son of the Zulu King at the time (King Mpande) moved from Empangeni to the area and established his main kraal² which he called Eziqwaqeni. At the same time, a Norwegian Mission moved its headquarters to the area and was located on a site which the Zulus called KwaMondi. It was here on the eastern outskirts of Eshowe, near the Mission Station, that Colonel Pearson, in command of some 4 000 British troops belonging to the coastal attack column during the Zululand invasion of the 1879 Anglo-Zulu War, was besieged by the Zulus for ten weeks until he was relieved by British forces under Lord Chelmsford in April 1879. On the departure of the military forces, the Norwegian Mission used their laager as a cemetery (Conolly, 1990). The site of the old cemetery and military entrenchments are still present in Eshowe, the site having been proclaimed a historical monument.

With the close of the Anglo-Zulu War in 1880, Sir Melmoth Osborn became Resident Commissioner of Eshowe (or British Resident, as the post was known throughout the colonial empire at that time). Sir Melmoth was then appointed Chief Magistrate in 1887, and Eshowe proclaimed the capital of Zululand. He remained in office until 1893, the year after Eshowe was established as a town (Conolly, 1990). In 1883 Fort Nongqayi was built and manned by a force of Zulu police, the Nongqayi, tasked to protect the British Resident and control civil unrest after the Anglo-Zulu war. The fort was also later used during the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902) and the Bambatha Rebellion (1906). Fort Nongqayi was proclaimed a National Monument in 1939, and in 1961 the fort was established as the Zululand Historical Museum.

During and after the Anglo-Zulu war, three forts were constructed in Eshowe by the British forces, Fort Nongqayi as well as Fort Eshowe and Fort Curtis. Other historical sites

² Kraal: Traditional Zulu dwelling.

include Mandawe Cross, standing above the Nkwaleni valley, the Roman Catholic Chapel was built in the 1960s to commemorate missionary endeavour to Zululand. The Fort Nongqayi Museum Village has recently been established at Fort Nongqayi, and houses the Zululand Historical Museum, the Zululand Missionary Museum and the Vukani Zulu Basketry Collection, in which local crafters display and sell their traditional crafts which include basketry, woodwork, tapestry, pottery and beadwork(Hawke, pers. com., 2003).

The town of Eshowe therefore offers a number of historical monuments and sites representing Zulu and colonial history, and as such the town has been attracting tourists for some time. Especially created for the popular television series, 'Shaka-Zulu' and the 'John Ross Story', a village of traditional Zulu dwellings was created in the district (Beyer and Rogers, 1991). Known as Shakaland, this enterprise now offers tourists the opportunity to sample the old, Zulu way of life. As Shakaland grew in popularity, so did the tourist numbers to the town of Eshowe. The tourism resources of the area continued to open up in response to the demands of domestic tourists, passing through to well-known tourist attractions such as St Lucia and Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Game Park (Hulley, pers. com., 2003). With the establishment of the popular Shakaland, the flow of private investment into tourism began to increase, resulting in the establishment of restaurants, lodges, craft stalls and markets around the growing tourism industry. The George Hotel has been a well established hotel in Eshowe for many years, but as tourist numbers increased, so did the demand for accommodation facilities, catalysing the development of a number of Bed and Breakfast facilities (B and Bs) (Engelbrecht, pers. com., 2003).

Eshowe's popularity as a tourist destination has grown steadily in the last decade or so (Chennells, J., pers. com., 2002). This increase in tourism has also been attributed to the attractiveness of the natural resources in and around the town of Eshowe, and in the greater uMlalazi Municipal area and Uthungulu District in general. The area retains much indigenous forest within its boundaries, and has some of the finest and most scenic bird viewing areas in the province. There are also a number of wetlands for providing further wildlife and birding attractions. In addition, the area's dams and waterfalls also offer a

diversity of adventure tourism activities such as hiking, rock sliding and other water sports. The area's tourism product is broadened by way of easy access to other major tourism places of interest in KwaZulu-Natal, such as the aforementioned St Lucia Wetland Park and Hluhluwe-Umfolozi Park. The natural resources in the area that have significant tourism value include:

- Dlinza Forest. Located in the centre of Eshowe, KZN Wildlife proclaimed it a forest reserve with a memorandum of understanding with the Municipality. An aerial boardwalk has been constructed within the forest. The marketing of this asset has increased the attraction of tourists to Eshowe itself.
- Siyaya Coastal Park. This consists a portion of coastline that starts at the Amatikulu River in the south and ends at the uMlalazi River in the north. A large portion of this area falls within the area of jurisdiction of the uMlalazi Municipality, and a conceptual development plan exists that seeks to conserve this natural asset while marketing it as a tourist destination (chalets, hotels, camping sites, walks, boating and fishing facilities can be developed and employment opportunities can be created).
- Ongoye Forest famed for its sightings of the rare Woodward's barbet.
- Nkandla and Quedeni Forest Areas. The mountainous areas covered with these forests have significant potential but access by road is difficult at this point.
- Mbongolwane Wetland
- Khomo Mountain
- Siwasamanqa - Thukela Valley
- Lake Phobane (Previously Goedertrouw Dam). While the dam offers the opportunity for a wide range of leisure tourism activities, there is an established, fenced game park on the south bank of the river, linking it to other ecotourism activities in the area.

Source: uMlalazi Municipality IDP (April 2002).

These natural resources presently attract local people as well as visitors from abroad, and it has been acknowledged that the increased attraction of tourists is dependant on improvements by the Municipality to the road infrastructure (Hulley, pers. com., 2002).

The Dlinza Forest is being used as a teaching tool by the Eshowe Environmental Education Centre (Gaisford, pers. com., 2003). A division of the Department of Education, the Eshowe Environmental Education Centre obtains an operational budget from the Provincial Education Department, but is responsible for generating any further funds. The Centre conducts tours with school groups through the forest, most particularly children from rural schools. Through these tours, the children, who are in a sense 'tourists', are educated about the value of the forest resource and other related biospheres. Approximately 60 school children pass through the forest per week, and this plays a critical role in increasing awareness of the importance of the environment within Eshowe and the greater uMlalazi Municipal area. Further efforts are being made by the Centre to encourage rural school teachers to incorporate the environment into their teaching. A proposal has been made to the National Lotto to fund workshops in Eshowe for these teachers, so for those school children who cannot afford to take tours through the forest, they can still learn the value of this and other natural resources from the instruction of their teachers (Gaisford, pers. com., 2003).

In realising the potential of the natural resource base for tourism, there has been further private sector investment into the establishment of tourism enterprises including Iphiva Bush Lodge and the touring operation Zululand Eco-adventures. Zululand Eco-Adventures offers a range of eco-adventure experiences as well as backpackers accommodation facilities, and is also renowned for its Zulu cultural experiences and village tours, but profess to be less commercialised than the Shakaland experience, which is especially targeted towards the international tourists (Chennells, G., pers. com., 2002). Enterprises such as Iphiva Bush Lodge and Shakaland are currently operating extremely successfully (McLavery, pers. com., 2003).

A number of efforts are being made to further market the town as an attractive tourist destination. Such place marketing efforts include the promotion of Eshowe as a 'must-see' for all birders and 'twitchers', with the town falling within the well-known Zululand Birding Route. Eshowe is at the epicentre of birding in southern Africa, with over 400 species within a 40 km radius of the town, many of which are rare, including the spotted thrush and Woodward's barbet (Zululand Experience, 2001). Eshowe also falls within the Brew Route and Rainbow Route. In addition to this, the town has been further promoted as having a natural resource of great tourism value in the form of the Eshowe Forest Festival that was held from the 30 August - 01 September 2002. Unfortunately, this did not meet with great success and it is unclear as to whether the festival will be held again in the future. The lack of success of the Forest Festival could be attributed to a poor attendance as a result of insufficient marketing of the event (Hulley, pers. com., 2003). The town has been indirectly promoted and continues to be promoted as a tourist destination primarily through the independent and privately owned tourism initiatives such as the Dlinza Forest Areal Boardwalk and Zululand Eco-adventures. For instance, many of these initiatives have their own web-sites and have been featured in a number of newspaper and magazine articles including the Mercury, Country Life, Getaway and Indaba.

A significant proportion of the tourism industry in Eshowe is now based on the attractiveness of the locally available natural resources. The interrelated nature of tourism and conservation has become increasingly realised internationally and in South Africa. The natural resources, identified as assets to the town of Eshowe and to the greater region, require carefully applied conservation measures, in order to ensure that these natural assets are not exploited in the tourism development process. It is important to note that the uMlalazi Municipal Council have acknowledged this link and has stated in the IDP (April 2002, pp30), "improving conservation will undoubtedly improve tourism with general benefits reaped not only in the uMlalazi area, but also the broader uThungulu District".

4.3 STAKEHOLDERS AND INSTITUTIONS

In the context of tourism promotion, the role of tourism in the local economy and local economic development, it is important to first mention the stakeholders and institutions that play a role in tourism and/or local economic development in the town of Eshowe.

The uMlalazi Municipal Council, which is based in Eshowe, was formed as a result of the amalgamation of the previous autonomous local authorities, Eshowe, and Mtunzini which includes Gingindlovu (Figure 2). The Eshowe Tourism and Publicity Association (ETPA) which promotes and is responsible for tourism in Eshowe and the peripheral areas, is affiliated to the uMlalazi Municipality, receiving an operational budget from them for the purposes of the marketing and promotion of tourism. The uMlalazi Tourism Association (UTA) deals with tourism in the entire region including Mtunzini, Gingindlovu and a section of Amatukulu. It is evident that the tourism industry in Eshowe is dominated by the private sector, with a large number of privately initiated and managed tourism enterprises located in the town and surrounding area.

Important with regards to the local business community is the Zululand Chamber of Business. This is divided into different regions, the southern region including Eshowe, Mtunzini, Gingindlovu and Melmoth. The Chamber's goal is to promote local business and attract new businesses to the area. The Chamber reports to the Eshowe Mayor on the performance of businesses in the town, and the role these businesses play in the local economy and in creating employment.

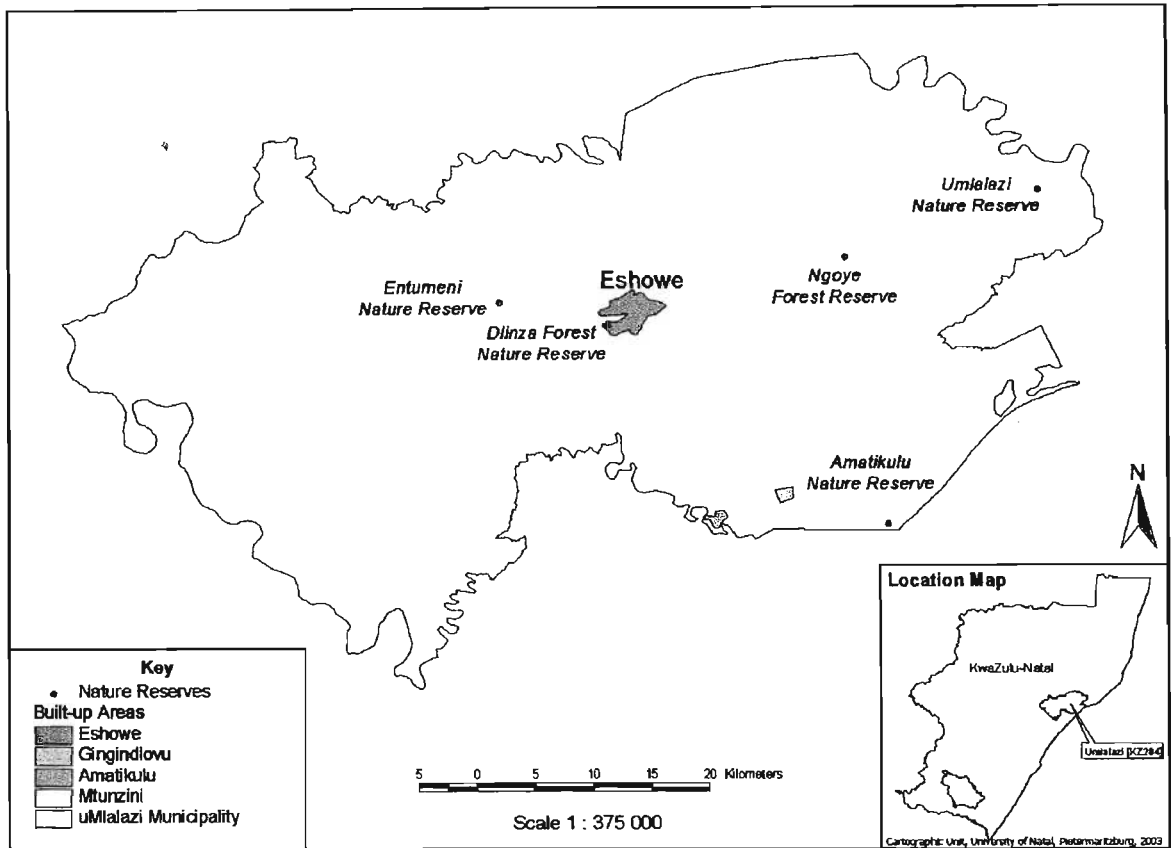


Figure 2. The uMlalazi Municipality showing Eshowe, Gingindlovu and Mtunzini, as well as the Dlinza Forest Reserve and the Ongoye Forest Reserve.

4.4 THE TOURISM ECONOMY AND BROADER ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE TOWN

While it is evident that the potential for tourism, based on the attractiveness of the locally available natural resources as well as on the historical monuments, is significant, the local importance of tourism should be appreciated, however, in relation to that of other economic activities in the area.

The available statistical base is fragmented between those based on the 1996 population census results, and newer figures based on the newly demarcated municipal boundaries that incorporate the urban areas of Mtunzini, Amatikulu, King Dinuzulu and Gingindlovu. However, the available figures represent an economic pattern that is entrenched and should not change significantly within a time span of five years. Furthermore, no statistical data exists for tourism, as an individual economic sector in any of these centres. Therefore, this does not allow precise evaluation of the relative size of tourism in relation to other sectors in Eshowe specifically, however, the core trends in the local economy may be discerned. Within the uMlalazi Municipal area, Eshowe is identified as a Primary Administrative Centre. Having the presence of a variety of government departments in the town and contributing significantly to the economy of the greater Municipal area, confirms the relatively strong role that Eshowe fulfills in the subregion.

Eshowe's economy has been, and is still strongly dependent on the agricultural sector (predominantly sugar cane farming), with the town acting as a service centre for this sector of the economy. Agriculture employs more than half of the economically active population in the area (54%) and contributes more than one third (35%) towards the gross domestic product of the local economy (uMlalazi Municipality IDP, 2002). However, it is evident that the wholesale and retail sectors are becoming increasingly dominant in the local economy. It is also clear that there is a weakness in the manufacturing sector and the construction sector which are undeveloped, and which is reflected in a relatively high unemployment figure, as there is little or no evidence of labour intensive industries in the region, and few possibilities for the future attraction of big industry. Furthermore, the agricultural economy has felt the impacts of the lodging of land restitution claims and recession, with many of the smaller farms no longer being profitable (McLavery, pers. com., 2003). Despite this, agriculture continues to dominate the local economy of Eshowe, and the dependence of the town on this sector is clearly evident (Hulley, pers. com., 2002). It is also known that the area benefits considerably from tourism. It is stated in the uMlalazi Municipality IDP that there is the need to effect poverty relief through further development of the agricultural sector and at the same time to promote tourism in the area.

Tourism, which may, to some degree, be reflected in the trade and catering sectors, is currently making an important contribution to the local economy (uMlalazi Municipality IDP, 2002). It has been stated that the uMlalazi Municipal area possess a number of natural resources which are attracting local and international tourists alike, and as already stated, it is also clear that Eshowe and the surrounding area has a sound and stable tourism infrastructure comprising of:

- The Zululand Historical Museum at Fort Nongqayi
- The Vukani Museum and Basketry Collection also at Fort Nongqayi (Privately owned)
- Mpushini Falls (Adventure tourism activities - Zululand Ecoadventures)
- Rutledge Park and Eshlazi Dams
- Zulu Cultural Villages (Shakaland)
- Accommodation facilities
- Conference Facilities
- Sporting Facilities
- Oceanview Game park
- Conservation Trails linking Dlinza Forest to Entumeni

As with many towns across South Africa, Apartheid ideology and discrimination has resulted in the black communities of Eshowe being associated with limited income and access to service and infrastructure (poverty), and they have for the most part, remained marginalised from the town. The Municipality has acknowledged this and realised the need to encourage the creation of jobs. While LED has become a strategy for local governments to address issues of poverty, the Municipality has insufficient funds to appoint an LED officer to initiate projects as such, but instead liaises with an LED officer appointed to the uThungulu District Council (Dias, pers. com., 2003). LED projects that have been embarked on include the Eshowe Bus and Taxi Rank which has involved the development of an ablution block and informal market facilities, and a further taxi rank was developed in Gingindlovu, as well as a Weed Eradication Programme in the Sunnydale low cost housing project, and a community garden project is also being discussed as a possible

future project for the area (Dias, pers. com., 2003). According to Dias (pers. com., 2003) the municipality, within its financial constraints, are committed to "the upliftment of disadvantaged and poor people within its jurisdiction".

Another need identified by the municipality that will assist in improving conditions in the rural areas is to improve road access. In identifying this need that will benefit those in the rural communities as well as the agricultural sector, which is pivotal to the local economy, a number of projects that involve the improvements of road infrastructure specifically have been embarked upon. Road upgrade and tarring projects are not directly local economic development projects as such, but will improve access for tourists to the town's attractions and indirectly contribute to economic development. "It is known that for every additional seven tourists, one additional employment opportunity is generated" (uMlalazi Municipality IDP, 2002, p 40). The Municipality have realised this link between tourism and local development, identifying tourism as one of the major development 'cornerstones' of the IDP.

One such project that the Municipality assists with that directly links economic development and tourism is the Fort Nongqayi Village Development Project at the aforementioned Zululand Historical Museum. Financed through the KZN Museum Services for the collection and protection of artefacts, the Municipality also provides an operational budget to the Zululand Historical Museum. The Fort Nongqayi Village will receive in 2003, upon the completion of an environmental impact assessment and employment study, an additional grant from the National Lotto for a number of developments. These include the construction of a crafts/training centre which will facilitate experienced crafters (in beadwork and pottery) in establishing themselves nationally, and help train other crafters in a particular craft style. Other developments will include the construction of paraplegic toilets, a medicinal garden and nursery, a shop and the upgrading of the existing parking to allow access for the physically challenged (Hawke, pers. com., 2003). This project is therefore aimed at tourism (cultural/historical tourism) and involves training of local people from the local communities, and the creation of

employment opportunities in the informal sector. With these developments yet to occur, one cannot determine whether or not the project will be successful in training a large number of people in these crafts, and whether or not the crafters will successfully promote their work within the national market. However, it is clear that to date, a small number of women from the rural areas have been given the opportunity to display and sell their crafts at the Village, and as such have generated an income.

In addition to this, and in realising the tourism potential of the natural resource base, the Municipality has recently held forums (in 2002 and 2003) on the Environment and Ecotourism Development in the municipal area (Hulley, pers. com., 2003). Through the co-ordination of efforts by the Municipality, Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, local tribal authorities and the Department of Transport, these forums have been held in the hope of further promoting sustainable tourism development in the area through a number of proposed projects that will drive economic development and uplift impoverished communities. Although the Municipality rates tourism highly, it is asserted that there are simply insufficient funds to fully support privately initiated tourism development projects in the town and surrounding area, especially as the Municipal area is so large (McLavery, pers. com., 2003). However, in realising the importance of tourism, the Municipality, through the Eshowe Tourism and Publicity Association, has assisted privately initiated tourism projects, such as the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk, through the provision of shared advertising (Hulley, pers. com., 2002).

With the town having a number of natural resources rich in tourism potential as well as a number of historical sites and cultural villages, the efforts of the local authority as well as private sector individuals to place market the town are increasing. Private sector individuals have spearheaded the development of a number of tourism enterprises, and the Municipality, although at this point has not yet been actively engaged in natural resource-based tourism development projects, has nonetheless realised that targeting this market has significant possibilities for delivering economic growth for the town and uplifting both the local white and neighbouring rural black communities (Hulley, pers. com., 2003).

The role of tourism is therefore clearly significant, and is an economic sector strongly positioned for growth. More over, tourism is not experiencing any major conflicts with other economic activities of the area. Indeed there is a positive degree of complementarity and integration as is evident from the role of the Municipality in sharing advertising with the private sector initiatives. In the light of the increasing importance of tourism in the town of Eshowe, there is the need to assess the workings of the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk project as a local economic development initiative. The project, in contrast to other tourism ventures in the town, explicitly aims to involve and empower rural communities in the tourism development process.

4.5 THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: THE DLINZA FOREST AERIAL BOARDWALK

In this section the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk is analysed as an initiative for tourism-led local economic development. The inception and development of the project are discussed, as well as its impacts on employment and quality of life.

4.5.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROJECT

It was in recognition of Eshowe's unique natural resource, namely an indigenous forest located in the heart of the urban area, that the concept of establishing a boardwalk within the urban environment of Eshowe came to life. The Aerial Boardwalk project was started in 1994 when three people had the idea of launching South Africa's first boardwalk in the high canopy of the Dlinza Forest (Chennells, J., 2002). The Dlinza Forest is 250 hectares in extent and provides sanctuary to a number of rare bird, plant and animal species. After years of planning, a boardwalk was designed based on similar structures in Australia, and was officially opened in October 2001.

The Project is a result of the combined efforts of a number of organisations and funders. In 1999, Richards Bay Minerals provided funding (R35 000) for the first phase of the Project: 25m long raised boardwalk, ending at a height of 11m off the ground was built

near the Dlinza Forest Picnic site. The uThungulu Regional Council provided further funds (R35 000) to join the picnic site to the Boardwalk with a low wooden walkway, making it accessible to wheelchair users. The World Wide Fund for Nature (WWF) Forests and Wetlands Project (R922 000), using additional funding provided by SAPPI, gave approval to build an additional extension to the Boardwalk which is now 127m long, and 10 m high, ending in a steel viewing tower 20m high, overlooking much of the forest area (Plate 1). There is a visitor information centre and boma, serving as an educational resource for school children and tourists visiting the Boardwalk, and serves as an adjunct to the renowned Zululand Birding Route. A curio shop and refreshment kiosk have also been built. Since providing the initial funding, critical to getting the initiative off the ground, WWF/SAPPI have since provided an additional R100 000 for extensions to the Visitor and Education Centre. Financial support has been provided not only for the construction of the actual structure, but Birdlife South Africa has also provided a grant of R24 000 for the training of the Boardwalk guides. The local Municipality have not provided financial assistance to date, but in recognising the importance of such a tourism-led development project, have supported the Boardwalk through advertising, and providing signage within the town. The Eshowe Tourism and Publicity Association have since assisted in the marketing of the Boardwalk by providing R5 000 for the printing of brochures (Boardwalk Summary, Steering Committee, November 2001; Chennells, J., pers. com., 2003). Further financial support will be provided by Rotary for the building of a 'You are here' display board on site at the Boardwalk, that will indicate the location of other tourism attractions in Eshowe.

Since its opening in 2001, a board of Trustees was formed, who meet once a year, and from this a Steering Committee was formed that meet once a month. The Boardwalk has since formed a Section 21 Company with a board of directors selected from the following representative bodies:

- uMlalazi Municipality
- KZN Wildlife
- Eshowe-Ntumeni Conservancy

- Zululand Birding Route
- uMlalazi Community Tourism Association
- The Chamber of Business
- Ntumeni Rural and Surrounding Environment Conservation Committee
- The Amakhosi
- World Wide Fund for Nature (South Africa)
- KZN Tourism Authority
- Eshowe Environmental Education Centre
- KZN Department of Agriculture
- The Dlinza Conservancy
- Three other nominated members of the Conservancy

The objectives of the Project, as stated in the *Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk Project Report* (2000, p 4) are:

- “1. To conserve and protect our greatest natural asset, the Dlinza Forest, a unique indigenous forest encompassed by the town of Eshowe
2. To provide a focus/anchor for the broader involvement of rural communities in conservation and preservation of natural resources through educational and environmental awareness programmes,
3. To empower local communities through capacity building and skills development programmes.
4. To develop a greater awareness and understanding amongst the broader Eshowe community on the significant contribution that the environment can make in terms of tourism development.
5. To create a unique/ novel, high quality experience for the visitor which will create economic spin-offs within neighbouring communities. E.g. The Mbongolwane Wetlands site, Amatikulu Reserve and Wetlands
6. To establish an interest in forests and strategic partnerships with rural communities.
7. To contribute to the creation of goodwill and community pride between Eshowe and our neighbouring area”.



Plate 1. The wooden walkway structure of the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk.

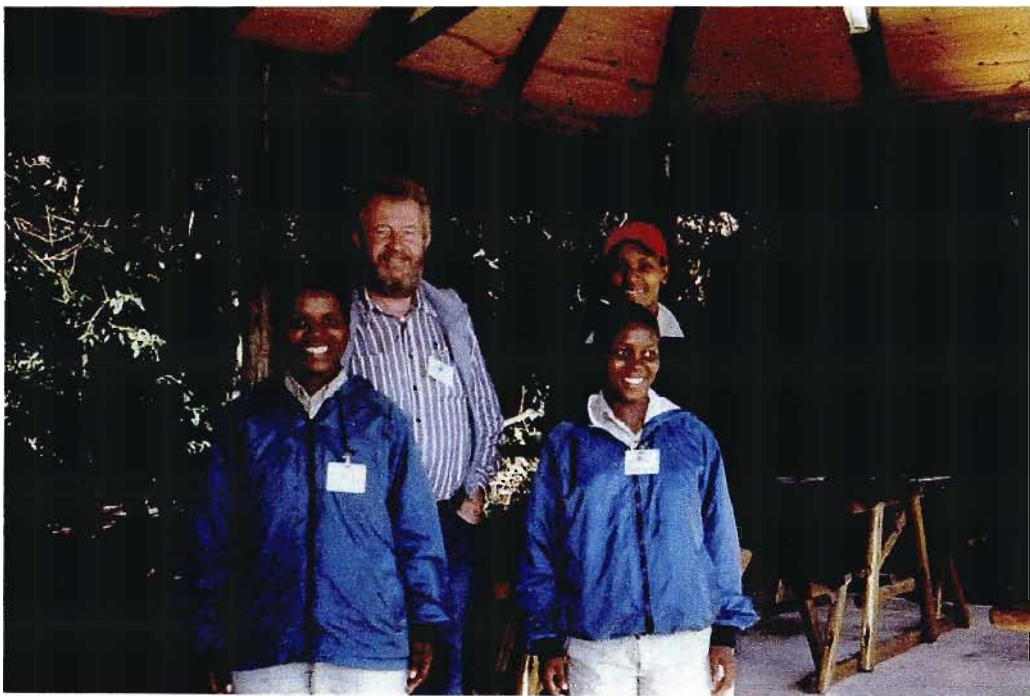


Plate 2. The Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk Manager and Guides.

The Dlinza Forest Boardwalk is seen as the central focus from which other projects can grow (Marby, pers. com., 2003). The Prince Dabulamanzi Trail to Ntumeni has been established and this will be extended to the Mbongolwane Wetlands, where the local community will be involved as guides. Rural crafts and food produce will have an opportunity to be displayed and sold along the trail. The trail also looks to benefit local school children who use it through on-site education in conservation and the environment. According to the project co-ordinator (Chennells, J., pers. com., 2003), "this opens up channels for the local rural communities to become fully involved in the eco-tourism process". The project will look to further involve schools from disadvantaged areas, sponsoring them to participate in educational workshops which will be held at the Boardwalk Visitor Centre. There are currently a large number of school children who visit the Eshowe Environmental Education Centre, that start at the Boardwalk and then tour through the forest and along the trail. At present, rustic accommodation is available on the Prince Dabulamanzi Trail which is utilised by many school groups and other tourists, but there is the potential to build more accommodation facilities along the trail. This opens up channels for the local communities in terms of temporary labour, as well as supplying building materials, fruit, vegetables and meat to those tourists staying over. It is anticipated that further rural eco-tourism will be encouraged with the proposed development of another similar trail linking of the Amatikulu Wetland and Ongoye and Nkandla Forest Reserves.

Obviously, attraction of tourists to these natural resources rely on their protection and conservation. The aim of WWF/SAPPI Forest and Wetlands Venture is to conserve some of South Africa's most important bio-diversity hot spots which possess vast species diversity. There are a large number of small but valuable forests and wetlands in Zululand (Laws, 2002). One group is clustered around the boardwalk, and in partnerships with WWF/SAPPI, these resources are properly managed and protected. The Dlinza Forest was proclaimed a Nature Reserve in 1962, and is home to more than 65 bird species, including the endangered Spotted Thrush. The project is working closely with Ezemvelo

KZN Wildlife to ensure that activities and constructions in the forest are undertaken in an environmentally sensitive way. This includes efforts that are being made to minimise the effects of erosion on either side of the footpaths (Marby, J., 2003).

4.5.2 NETWORKING WITH PARTNERS AND ROLE PLAYERS

The spirit of co-operation is an important catalyst in driving such a development initiative. The Boardwalk formed a board of Trustees, with representatives of the Eshowe community at large. The project is fortunate in having one particular project co-ordinator, Mrs J. Chennells, whose drive and vision was key in fuelling the process and getting the initiative established. Partnerships have been formed with a number of different role players including Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife (forming partners in conservation), WWF/SAPPI (forming partners through funding) and Birdlife South Africa. The project is in close consultation with the uMlalazi Municipality and Chamber of Business (Hulley, pers. com., 2003).

4.5.3 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS OF THE PROJECT

4.5.3.1 Economic Impacts

Due to the small scale of the project, it is obvious that it has not yet had a significant economic impact on the town of Eshowe. However, a number of economic spin-offs from the project have occurred. In considering the future sustainability of the project, it is necessary to assess the business performance of the project as a tourism product to date. Although the project required financial assistance during its construction phase, it is currently generating sufficient revenue to be self-sustaining, with a significant number of tourists visiting the Boardwalk annually (Table 8).

Table 8. Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk Visitor Statistics

YEAR	MONTH	VISITORS	REVENUE (R)
2001	OCT	230	6829.40
2001	NOV	869	17350.60
2001	DEC	1661	33277.00
2002	JAN	1156	20994.00
2002	FEB	969	16824.10
2002	MAR	1580	28646.70
2002	APRIL	1551	26260.00
2002	MAY	1294	18042.40
2002	JUNE	990	17090.80
2002	JULY	1549	25808.40
2002	AUG	986	19478.25
2002	SEPT.	1382	21764.80
2002	OCT	1450	24248.00
2002	NOV	897	15751.00
2002	DEC	1524	30800.00
2003	JAN	1347	22636.45
2003	FEB	716	15983.20
2003	MAR	823	14566.00
2003	APRIL	1327	23932.00
2003	MAY	978	14065.00
2003	JUNE	757	17202.45

Source: Marby, pers. com. (2003). (Revenue is in South Africa Rands)

The successful attraction of tourists to the Boardwalk since its establishment has been linked to the concentrated marketing and advertising campaigns undertaken by the Boardwalk Steering Committee. Visitors were noted to be mostly domestic tourists, although international tourists do frequently visit the Boardwalk, and there are clear trends of an influx of visitors during holiday periods. It is expected that there will be an increase in tourist numbers within the next year when the expansions to the Boardwalk Curio shop and Visitor and Education Centre are completed (Marby, pers. com., 2002). The figures in Table 8 reveal a positive trend in the business performance and projections for the future of the project. All revenue generated from the tourists' entry fee and goods bought

at the curio shop goes into the Boardwalk Trust Account. This is used to pay salaries, for the maintenance of the Boardwalk structure, and will be utilized for any further developments on the project (Chennells, J., pers. com., 2003). Although the project is currently self-sustaining, there have been some set-backs that have hindered business performance in past year. These relate to problems with former staff members and the inadequate management of the project. Although with the recent appointment of a new manager, it is hoped that the business performance will improve (Marby, pers. com., 2003).

It has been asserted that as a result of the promotion of the Boardwalk, tourist numbers into Eshowe itself have increased (Chennells, J., pers. com., 2003; Hawke, pers. com., 2003). Although it is difficult to quantify an increase in tourism within the town of Eshowe, it has been noted that this increase is reflected through a number of economic spin-offs from the Boardwalk. These include a spill-over of economic benefits through tourism expenditure to businesses in the town including B and B's; restaurants; tourist shops; and petrol stations. The Zululand Historical Museum and Museum Crafters' Market and Bookshop, as well as Adam's Outpost Restaurant, all located at the Fort Nongqayi museum Village, have noted increased visitor numbers and associated turnover as a result of increased marketing and advertising of the Boardwalk. Other community projects, including the Siyathuthula Paper Making Project, the Dikinyana Embroidered Card Project and the Sikanye Beadwork Project, have been given the opportunity to display their goods in the Boardwalk shop, and as a result have had increased exposure and sales (Hawke, pers. com., 2003). It has been further contended that with the increased attraction of tourists to the Boardwalk, and consequently Eshowe itself, there exists the potential for new businesses to open within the tourism sector (McLavery, pers. com., 2003). The project is therefore contributing to the growing tourism industry within Eshowe.

When assessing the 'economic' impacts of the project, it is important to note that economic growth and economic development are different, as was discussed in chapter 2. Within this study, the focus is to ascertain as to whether the project has contributed to economic development within the town. Therefore impacts of the project on employment

and training, empowerment as well as the positive and negative impacts on livelihoods are now examined.

4.5.3.2 Employment and Training

The most immediate impact of the Boardwalk initiative is that of job creation. This was evident initially in the construction phase in which approximately 22 people, all from the immediate local area were employed. This included four contractors, one designer and the remainder were employed as labourers for the road works (four to five people), the construction of the steel tower (five to six people), the construction of the wooden walkway (eight people) and for the brickwork of the visitor centre (five people).

For the operational phase, seven permanent jobs have been created. Six people, who have been selected from the local community, and most of whom were previously unemployed, have been trained as guides in various fields (Plate 2). These guides have been sent on training courses on basic tourism concepts, conservation and bird guiding. Two were trained at Wakkerstroom, and the other four newer guides have been trained by, and are currently registered with Birdlife South Africa. Other training has included Communication and Presentation and 'the Zulu Cultural Connection to Birding'. In addition to this, two of the more senior guides are currently undergoing a course in management and marketing. The seventh person is a manager, who has just recently been employed to supervise the trained field guides in all aspects of the Boardwalk, and to deal with administration (Marby, pers. com., 2003). In addition to this there will be guides to the Entumeni Trail, Mbongolwane Wetlands, Amatikulu Reserve and Wetlands and other tourist attractions. Part-time employment has been created for a gardener at the Boardwalk.

4.5.3.3 Empowerment

Although there have been problems relating to formerly inadequate management, as mentioned, a new manager has just been appointed and it appears that the Boardwalk staff are currently working together as an efficient team. The guides, all of whom are

women, are loyal to the project, and in assisting with the marketing and advertising of the Boardwalk, have appeared in magazine articles and television documentary features. According to the project co-ordinator (Chennells, J., pers. com., 2003), this has all helped to create a 'sense of belonging' for the staff. The guides expressed a positive attitude towards their work, and the importance of their newly acquired knowledge of the forest and birding skills (Ntuli, pers. com., 2003). "I have learnt to appreciate the value of tourism, and have also gained a better understanding of the importance of conserving this natural resource and educating others about it" (Khuzwayo, pers. com., 2003).

Through the guides involvement with the project and their training, they have been able to inform family members and other members of the rural communities of the importance of tourism, and its role in promoting economic development (Khuzwayo, pers. com., 2003). For many of the guides, very few of their family members are employed, and consequently, their jobs have helped to improve the quality of life for themselves and their families.

4.5.3.4 Positive and Negative Impacts on the Livelihoods of the Rural Communities

Properly administered tourism development can significantly enhance the livelihoods of the poor. It is important to note however, that in comparison to the other two case studies, the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk project has not yet had a significant impact on people from the rural communities surrounding Eshowe. It is contended that as the project becomes better established, reaching a profit generating stage, and the proposed development of other spin-off projects along the Prince Dabulamanzi Trail and into other forests goes ahead, a considerable number of people from the rural communities will be involved and may positively benefit from these developments. Currently, the people whose livelihoods have been positively impacted on are those people, from the rural communities surrounding Eshowe, who have been directly employed by the project.

Table 9. The positive and negative impacts on the livelihoods of members of the rural communities.

		POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
IMPACTS ON ASSETS (Natural and human)	Natural resources Access to and use of: - land - wood (fuel) - grazing - potential to collect plants - water Question of sustainability of use	- The Dlinza Forest was already established as a protected area prior to the development of the Boardwalk therefore no impacts on use of natural resources.	- No impacts to date.
	Skills - gaining of new skills / training courses	- The Boardwalk guides have undergone extensive training in conservation, birding, hospitality and business management.	- Only 6 people have undergone training. Even with the development of spin-off projects, there is a limited number of people from the rural communities who may be trained and develop their skills.
IMPACTS ON LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES (Opportunities to compliment livelihood activities)	Other livelihood activities Subsistence farming of: - livestock - crops	- No impacts to date.	- No impacts to date.
	Opportunities for entrepreneurs and small businesses	- Potential for local crafters to display and sell crafts along the trail and at overnight accommodation facilities.	- Although providing of such opportunities has been stated as one of the primary objectives of the project, this has not yet occurred.
	Tourism market access and opportunities	- Potential access for rural communities to tourism market along the trail.	- Limited tourism market opportunities for rural community members.
LIVELIHOOD GOALS AND OUTCOMES	Education - opportunity to improve	- With the development of the Boardwalk, there has been an increase in the number of school groups taken through the forest who are being educated in conservation.	- There are still many children from rural schools who cannot afford to take tours through the forest from the Boardwalk.
	Health - Access to health care facilities	- No impacts to date.	- No impacts to date.
	Access to information - kept informed of the tourism development process	- No significantly positive impacts to date.	- There has been a limited degree of consultation with the rural communities located along the trail.

		POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
	Empowerment and Sense of pride in the Community	- Sense of pride by Boardwalk guides.	- Limited involvement by rural communities as a whole.
POLICY ENVIRONMENT	Policy - influencing policy / are changes in policy felt	- Although not labeled an LED project, some aspects have met with LED policy guidelines.	- No impacts to date.

It appears from table 9 that there has been limited community consultation during the development of the project, and apart from those who have been directly employed at the Boardwalk, there has been limited impact on the rural communities through which the trail (and proposed trails) extends. While it has been contended that a considerable amount of people from the rural communities will benefit from the project as it becomes better established (Chennells, J., pers. com., 2003), and spin-off projects are developed (including the establishment of additional trails and overnight accommodation facilities), it becomes necessary to question when in fact this will occur. When will the project and associated spin-off projects be fully operational such that the number of tourists using the trail are sufficiently high enough to warrant a market for the provision of fresh produce along the trail, and the sale of crafts by a large number of people? It could be said that if the start-up phase of the project takes too long and there is a lack of motivation, the community members may lose interest in the project, and may become despondent with the lack of results that the tourism development process has promised to deliver. However, while there is a possibility that this may occur in the future, the community members remain enthusiastic and supportive of the Boardwalk project at this point. Furthermore, it is clear that project has had a positive impact on the livelihoods of the community members who have been directly employed as guides.

4.5.4 SUSTAINABILITY OF THE PROJECT

Although reliant on external funding for the construction of the Boardwalk structure, the project is now generating sufficient income to be self-sustaining. Future sustainability will obviously depend on the proper management of finances, but also on the continued advertising and marketing of the Boardwalk in order to attract both domestic and

international tourists, and obviously the conservation of the forest resource and associated bird and wildlife to which the tourists are attracted.

4.6 REFLECTING ON THE EVIDENCE

The local economy of Eshowe currently relies on agriculture and the associated sectors it services. It has been asserted there does not appear to be much room for growth of this sector, but it is clear that the number of wholesale and retail outlets in the town are growing. Unable to compete with these outlets, many small private businesses in the town, once highly productive, are in a sense, 'imploding' (Gaisford, pers. com., 2003) and are unable to remain open.

It is apparent that the development of tourism and its associated sectors in the town of Eshowe is contributing to the local economy. In the light of the vast tourism potential of the natural resources in the area, it is further contended that if properly planned and managed, the tourism economy holds considerable potential for further growth. A critical finding however, is that at present, investment into tourism has been largely from private sector individuals. Bed and Breakfasts, craft stalls, lodges and tour operator businesses are predominantly owned and run by private individuals, most of whom are white. According to the Zululand Chamber of Business, (McLavery, pers. com., 2003), "it is only a select few who are, at present, reaping the benefits of tourism in Eshowe". There are a few black individuals who work with various tour operators, taking tourists, mostly international, into the rural areas for traditional Zulu experiences. These freelance guides, one who works closely with Zululand Eco-Adventures, take tourists into the rural areas and are becoming fully integrated into the tourism development process (Chennells, G., pers. com., 2002). However, apart from jobs that require limited skills, such as cleaning rooms or waiting in these enterprises, people from the poorer, previously disadvantaged black communities in the uMlalazi Municipal area, are on the whole, not seeing the full benefits of the tourism industry, and do not, in any way, have ownership of the tourism development process.

In contrast to this general trend within the private sector tourism enterprises in Eshowe, the Boardwalk project, from its inception, looked to include the rural communities in the tourism development process. For these reasons, the project was examined as a local economic development initiative. As stated, rural community involvement and empowerment, through the formation of partnerships, skills development and training, were, in conjunction with conservation, its key objectives. It has been revealed that the project has been successful in creating seven permanent jobs, and has the potential for creating many more with the proposed development of spin-off projects such as the trail linking the Amatikulu Wetland and Ongoye and Nkandla Forest Reserves. Opportunities have been created for the rural communities to sell and display crafts along the trails and at the Boardwalk shop, and if the development of other overnight accommodation along the trail goes ahead, there will be the opportunity for SMME development through the provision of supplies such as vegetables, fruit and meat to the accommodation facility. The guides who have been employed at the Boardwalk have developed important birding and general conservation skills, and through their newly acquired knowledge and skills, have been able to undertake a number of guided tours through the forest. Many of these tours have involved children from schools in the rural communities. Therefore, not only has this resulted in an increased awareness of conservation of the locally available natural resources which include the forest and wetlands, but also of the importance of tourism.

It could be argued that, although one of the primary objectives of the Boardwalk project has been to involve and empower members of the rural communities, the project does not have an explicitly pro-poor focus. It is apparent that despite the improved livelihood conditions for the guides, the rural communities have not yet started to receive marked financial benefits or livelihood improvements from the Boardwalk Project (Gaisford, pers. com., 2003). There appears to be have been little community consultation during the development of the Boardwalk, and it is difficult to say as to whether to communities truly understand the notion of tourism and the potential benefits it can bring (McLavery, pers. com., 2003).

It is therefore contended that awareness and information of the organisation, workings and opportunities of tourism should be further heightened in rural communities throughout the greater uMlalazi Municipal Area, particularly by the local authority. This points to another important finding, that being the fact that the Municipality has not yet embarked on any natural resource-based tourism development initiatives of its own. The importance of tourism in the local economy has been recognised and stated in the IDP, and as such many of the private sector enterprises, including the Boardwalk project, have been assisted through shared advertising, such as the provision of signage. The Municipality, through the ETPA, is currently in the process of creating a tourism brochure indicating all the available tourism activities and enterprises in and around Eshowe, to further promote tourism in the area.

It is also important to note that the Municipality has also recognised that tourism development, based on the natural resources, and on the cultural/historical resources, has the potential to uplift rural communities and achieve local economic development. As such, a number of 'ecotourism' projects and initiatives are being proposed through partnerships and networking with the provincial conservation authorities (Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife), local tribal leaders and the Department of Transport. An important focus area for local community involvement in these initiatives may be the building of future businesses such as arts and crafts. For instance, there are plans to build a craft market and cultural restaurant approximately five kilometers outside of Eshowe in which the local community members may display and sell their crafts, and provide supplies of fruit and vegetables to the restaurant (Hulley, pers. com., 2003).

It is clear that much can be learnt from the experience of the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk Project, especially for potential developments in the other forests in the Umlalazi Municipal area and further afield. For instance, it has been asserted that every effort should be made to construct a similar boardwalk structure in the mangroves in the Mtunzini area (Gaisford, pers. com., 2003). The palm-nut vulture and mangrove kingfisher that are found in the area provide unique and extremely rare attractions for tourists. The

economic and social spin-offs of such a development would be hugely beneficial to Mtunzini and the rural communities in that area, as was the case in Eshowe. Unfortunately, it is contended that such a development is unlikely to occur in the near future.

It is recommended that, in pursuing any future tourism development initiatives in Eshowe and the greater uMlalazi Municipal area, that the initiatives should have a specific pro-poor focus, as there is great potential to fully involve the poor, rural communities in the tourism development process. In addition to this, it is recommended that in the development of these potential tourism initiatives, whether by the Municipality or by the private sector individuals or by Ezemvelo KZN Wildlife, that local networks should be pursued as far as possible in order to ensure that local leakages are minimised, and the local economy reaps the full benefits of the tourism development.

This being said, one has to raise the final issue of sustainability. It is believed that as further developments are made to the Boardwalk and additional trails are established, tourist numbers will increase, creating a market for a number of SMMEs, and as such improving the livelihoods of those rural communities members involved, through increased income to the families. It is obvious that in order to positively impact on the livelihoods of members of the rural communities and on the local economy of Eshowe, tourists need to visit the Boardwalk in sufficient numbers. However, there is the possibility that as tourist numbers grow, so does the potential for increased environmental degradation of the forest, the very resource that is attracting the tourists in the first place. Similarly, while the potential to develop the other natural resources in Eshowe and the surrounding area for tourism has been acknowledged, such that rural communities may be uplifted and local economic development may be achieved, ecosystem integrity must be taken into consideration. Such a consideration is critical, not only to the success of the Boardwalk project, but also to the future sustainability of the tourism industry in Eshowe.

CHAPTER 5. MATATIELE

5.1 SETTING THE SCENE

The small town of Matatiele is situated in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, close to the borders of Lesotho and Eastern Cape. The area is surrounded by the Drakensberg mountains and has a number of natural attractions associated with the mountains. Apart from the scenic surroundings, there is no specifically unique feature to the town and as such Matatiele is not an established tourist destination. However, it is anticipated that there will be an influx of visitors subsequent to the upgrading of the R56 road which links Swartberg, Matatiele and Maclear, and thereby creating the shortest route from Gauteng province through to the Eastern Cape. The Matatiele Municipality is not, at present, actively involved in the initiation of any tourism-based projects but have acknowledged that the development of the locally available natural resources for tourism can boost the local economy and drive socio-economic development within the town and the surrounding areas. Although the Municipality has not yet embarked on any tourism-related LED projects, they have initiated a number of other community-based LED projects, which will be briefly examined in this chapter.

A number of other key stakeholders within the town, including a local NGO and a private consultancy firm, have embarked on a number of natural resource-based tourism projects to promote local economic development. These organisations have identified the potential of natural resource-based tourism in creating employment, generating income for maintenance of livelihoods, fostering improved use of the natural resource base and improving improved skills levels. One such project, the Mehloping Horse and Hiking Trail, which forms the focus of this chapter, aims to involve the local communities, making them an integral and essential part of the natural resource-based tourism (ecotourism as it is referred to by the local stakeholders) development process (Lesia, pers. com., 2003). The Trail has its base in the town of Matatiele but extends through to the communities located in the Maluti region of the Eastern Cape, and thus provides an interesting trans-boundary

dimension to the research. The Alfred Nzo Municipality in the Eastern Cape has served as the channel for the Department of Provincial and Local Government's LED funding for the initiation of the project, and continues to support the project development. The remainder of this chapter assesses the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail as an LED initiative, and examines the role it has to play in tourism development within the town of Matatiele itself.

5.2 BACKGROUND TO THE TOWN AND GREATER AREA

Matatiele is a small town situated in the foothills of the southern end of the Drakensberg mountains within the province of KwaZulu-Natal, but in close proximity to the border of the Eastern Cape and Lesotho (Figure 3).

Matatiele was founded by the Griquas after their trek across the Drakensberg, the name of the town coming from the name of an adjacent marsh called *Madi i Yila* or 'the ducks have flown'. The town had its beginnings as a gun-running, cattle rustling outpost and was a haven for horse thieves and smugglers who used the nearby Drakensberg mountains as a retreat (DEAT's Tourism and Historical Attractions, 2002). The small town of Matatiele is now the service centre and economic hub of the surrounding rural hinterlands that are greatly dependent on agriculture and farming (Matatiele IDP, June 2002). The town is strategically located on the main route from Kokstad to Mount Fletcher and Lesotho, is currently part of the Matatiele Municipality, which in turn falls under the jurisdiction of the Sisonke District Municipality. The Matatiele Municipality came into being on the 5 December 2000 and comprises the former Matatiele TLC, the former Cedarville TLC and the western portions of Sub-region 5 of the former iNdllovu Regional Council (Matatiele IDP, June 2002). The municipality is largely made up of privately owned commercial farmlands, with two denser settlements in the form of Builtfontein and Zandfontein. The municipality does not incorporate any tribal authority/ Ingonyama Trust areas.

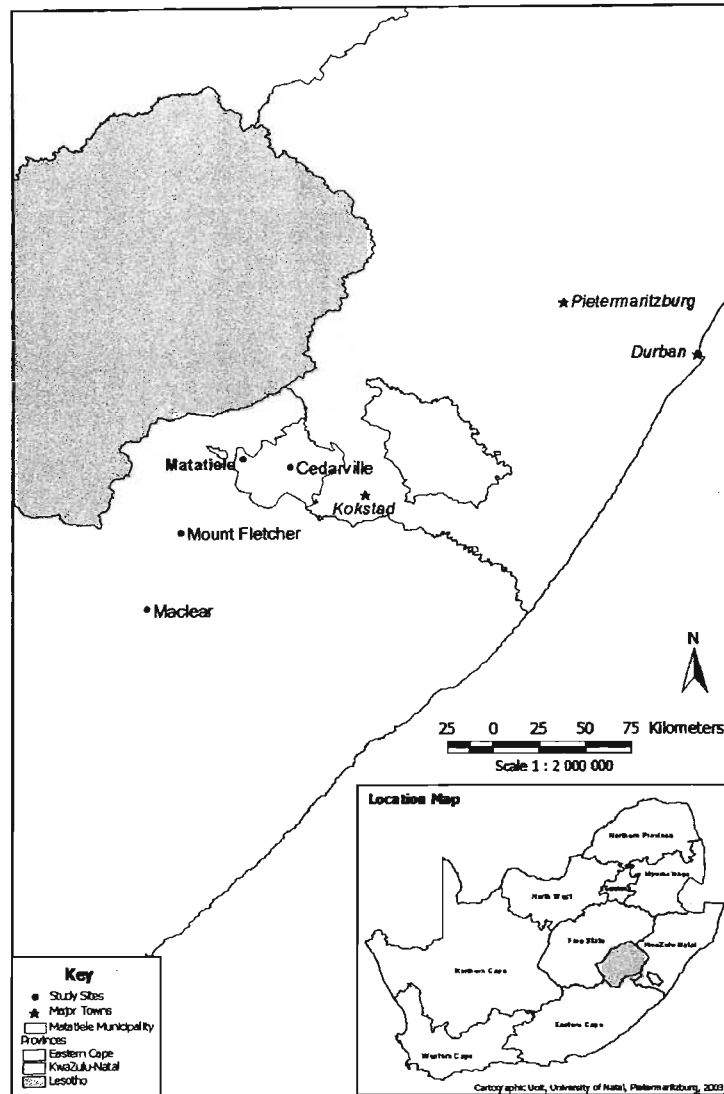


Figure 3. The location of Matatiele in KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa.

The total population for the municipality is 10 134 people, contributing less than a percentage (0,12%) of the total population for KwaZulu-Natal. Within the Municipal area, the majority of the population is concentrated within the town of Matatiele which has a population of 4 837 people (Table 10). A low population growth rate of approximately 1.64% per annum has been projected for the sub region for between 1998 and 2013.

Table 10: Population Dynamics within the Matatiele Municipality

AMALGAM ENTITIES	POPULATION						
	0- 6	7- 18	19- 64	65 +	Unspecified	TOTAL	%
MATATIELE	693	1 018	2 898	192	36	4 837	48
CEDARVILLE	230	411	1 030	63	0	1 734	17
SUB-REGION 5	6 38	1 099	1 704	116	6	3 563	35
KZ5a3	1 561	2 528	5 632	371	42	10134	100

Source: Matatiele IDP, June 2002. (Based on the 1996 Statistics South Africa database).

Like every other town in South Africa, the greater Matatiele region was divided into black and white zones. Racial divides, in this case, were marked by provincial borderlines, with the Eastern Cape section being predominantly black and the KwaZulu-Natal section predominantly white. The provincial lines were drawn when the apartheid state created the Transkei in the northern Eastern Cape, as part of the creation of bantustans in the 1970s. In order to avoid being incorporated into the Transkei bantustan, local farmers (then in the Eastern Cape) requested provincial government make their land part of KwaZulu-Natal (Fordred, 1999). In 1995, the Transitional Local Council (TLC) was established, and Matatiele's black citizens, that were formerly excluded due to their geographical location, were incorporated into the development proposed by the TLC.

Although many of the residents of the town's hinterland are formally located in the Eastern Cape, the town of Matatiele currently serves a population of approximately 200 000 surrounding rural inhabitants (Matatiele Municipality Business Plan, 2003). A minority of English and Afrikaans speaking people reside in the town itself and on the commercial farms. It is evident that, as characterised by many areas across South Africa, poverty and unemployment is a problem in both the rural and urban areas, and there is a growing prevalence of street children and the HIV/AIDS epidemic (Matatiele Municipality Business Plan, 2003).

According to the 1996 census (Matatiele IDP, June 2002), more than half (56%) of the total workforce is unemployed. The most important employers are the agriculture, hunting, forestry and fishing sectors (approximately 9%) with the wholesale and retail trade sectors employing approximately 4.7%. Although not the most important employer, the most significant economic sectoral contribution to the area's economy is the wholesale/retail trade (58.4%). Other businesses contribute 17.5%; agriculture (the main activities relating to live stock and dairy farming), forestry and fishing generates 16.8%; and manufacturing consisting 1.7% of the total GGP sector contribution (Matatiele Municipality Business Plan, 2003). Industry plays a small role in the Matatiele economy, with there being very little room for future employment opportunities (Lake, pers. com., 2003). There has been a steady increase in employment in the tourism, catering and accommodation industry. It has been acknowledged however, that there is a lack of economic diversification with a strong reliance on the wholesale and retail sectors, making the economy susceptible to both short-term and long-term changes such as interest rates, adverse weather conditions, and long-term structural changes (Matatiele Municipality Business Plan, 2003).

The wholesale and retail sector is clearly integral to the local economy. However, trends of a decline in this sector during 1999 has been discerned (Linqua, pers. com., 2003). One of the key objectives of the Matatiele Municipality, as stated in their strategic framework matrix relating to key issues and the vision for Matatiele, is to therefore diversify the local economy to counteract the effects of a such a decline in the retail and wholesale trade and to prevent further decline in this sector (Matatiele IDP, June 2002). The current situation within the town indicates that a large number of premises are privately owned. It is contended that landowners have made the rent far too high for local businesses, and as such many have closed down in recent years (Nbaba, pers. com., 2003; Lechamochamo, pers. com., 2003). Another notable trend within the town has been the increase in the number of privately run schools, and it has been stated that education is becoming an important economic factor within the town (Lake, pers. com., 2003).

The town of Matatiele is accessed from major centres in Kwa-Zulu-Natal such as Durban via Kokstad on the tarred R56. The majority of roads in the greater area however are untarred, and in an unpassable state during wet or snowy conditions. The greater area is encircled by Underburg and the well-known Sani Pass in the north east, the South Coast and its well developed beaching industry to the South East, the unique Transkei Wild Coast to the South and the Rhodes and Eastern Cape Drakensberg areas to the west. The road (R56) from Swartberg to Matatiele and through to Maclear is currently in the process of being tarred into a 3-lane road. Once the road is completed, and a more accessible route is afforded to travellers going through to the Free State and Western Cape, there will be an influx of traffic passing through the town. It is anticipated that as a result of the increased numbers of travellers passing through the town, Matatiele will experience an economic boost (Lechamochamo, pers. com., 2003).

Although much of the area is farmed for commercial agriculture it contains a varied combination of natural resources and landscapes for 'getaway tourism', and is rated high in terms of scenic attraction. Local residents from Matatiele currently venture into the upper catchment and escarpment areas for the purposes of fishing, hiking, mountain and motor biking and secluded camping. The natural resources and other potential tourist attractions in the greater area, if capitalised upon, would benefit the town of Matatiele enormously, and include:

- sites of national natural and environmental importance
- relatively unexplored mountainous scenery where the crest of the Drakensberg forms the border with Lesotho
- the associated flora and wildlife
- ornithological diversity
- sites rich in cultural heritage that include the San and Nguni people
- sites ideal for outdoor pursuits that include hiking, horse riding, mountain biking, abseiling and fly fishing

- potential for recreational eventing to include marathons, cycling and mountain biking, car rallies and fly fishing

Source: Matatiele IDP (June 2002).

Many of these scenic attractions extend from the Matatiele Municipal area into areas of the Eastern Cape. This greater area has been identified by the Eastern Cape Tourism Board as potentially the wealthiest subregion in the Eastern Cape in terms of cultural heritage and tourism attractions. It has been rated at level four, on a national scale of 1-5 (low to high) for scenic attraction by ENPAT, the Environmental Potential Atlas (Project Framework and Strategy, January 2001). ENPAT have indicated that area is also high on the environmental resource sensitivity index (this is an indicator of the levels of required intervention through land use planning and environmental management to ensure sustainable development). According to ENPAT, environmentally sustainable development includes the development of resources for tourism and ecotourism (Project Framework and Strategy, January 2001). It is clear that the development for tourism of such natural resources that occur both within the Matatiele Municipal area and within the Eastern Cape, will bring about socio-economic benefits to the town of Matatiele itself and the rural communities it serves.

5.3 STAKEHOLDERS AND INSTITUTIONS

Having provided a brief overview of the town of Matatiele and greater municipal area, the discussion moves on to the role of tourism within the local economy, tourism promotion in the town, and tourism within the context of local economic development. It is important however, to first mention the stakeholders and institutions involved in tourism and/or local economic development in Matatiele.

As mentioned above, Matatiele is the economic centre of the Matatiele Municipality. The Matatiele Municipality, along with four other local municipalities (the Greater Kokstad Municipality, the Buhlebezwe Municipality, the Kwasani Municipality and the Nigwe Municipality) fall under the jurisdiction of the Sisonke District Municipality. Sisonke

District Municipality does not play an active role in tourism promotion in the greater area, although it has been identified by the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) as one of six districts in KwaZulu- Natal in need of economic regeneration. As such, support is given to the Matatiele Municipality by the DPLG's LED Fund for the initiation of local economic development projects that will be briefly discussed later in the chapter.

Having their offices based in Matatiele is the non-governmental organisation, Environment and Development Agency Matatiele Programme (EDA-M) which is involved in a number of community-based development initiatives. EDA-M is a branch of the EDA Trust, a national NGO agency for rural development, which has been operational in South Africa for 21 years. Working closely with EDA-M is Environmental Rural Solutions (ERS), a privately owned Environmental and Development Planning Firm that is also involved in a number of development projects, one of which is the aforementioned Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail which forms the focus of this research in Matatiele. Affiliated with these organisations is the uMzimvubu Matatiele Tourism Association (UMTA, formerly Ukhahlamba Tourism Association) which is a non-profit community based organisation. This cross-border organisation aims to promote awareness and understanding of the environment and tourism and its benefits to the people, as well as to promote and foster local economic development activities based on and related to tourism (Nkevu, pers. com., 2002). UMTA runs a Tourism Information Office in the town, and has assisted in the establishment of a number of community tourism organisations (CTOs). Strong relationships have been developed and networking occurs with EDA, ERS, UMTA, Matatiele Municipality as well as with the Alfred Nzo District Municipality in the Eastern Cape in terms of tourism promotion and local economic development, with a strong emphasis being on community involvement and poverty alleviation.

5.4 TOURISM PROMOTION AND BROADER ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE TOWN

Despite the potential of the locally available natural resources to attract tourists, the town of Matatiele is not an established tourist destination. Furthermore, local government has not yet fully embarked on the development of the available natural resources for tourism. Discussed within the Matatiele IDP (June, 2002), is a proposed Spatial Development Framework (SDF). The main objective of the proposed Spatial Framework is to fulfill the vision of the municipality, the key focus of which is the development of the local economy, as mentioned above. Within the SDF, specific areas which require targeted intervention to assist and guide such development, and to “jump start the local economy, transfer skills to residents to enable them to become entrepreneurs and take advantage of opportunities” are discussed (Matatiele IDP, June 2002, p 115). It is stated that such key intervention areas include poverty alleviation areas which provides support for LED initiatives such as SMMEs and small scale agriculture (tunnel farming, hydroponics), and tourism and recreation (Linqua, pers. com., 2003).

It is clear that agriculture plays a pivotal role in the local economy. While it is emphasized that commercial agriculture in the greater municipal area should be preserved, reference is also made to the potential for the future diversification of the agricultural areas through tourism (Matatiele IDP, June 2002). In addition to this, it is stated that in the course of diversifying to tourism, conservation efforts should be applied using mechanisms such as bio-sphere reserves. Therefore, in order to support LED initiatives (arts, crafts, markets) and to diversify agriculture, the Municipality has identified four primary areas in which tourism and recreation may be developed:

- Primary getaways, adventure and eco-tourism
- Matatiele 'Lakes' area and nature reserve
- Commercial agriculture and tourism
- Commercial afforestation and tourism.

In identifying the potential to diversify the local economy to include tourism, the Matatiele Municipality has recognised the potential tourism development has in creating jobs and improving the quality of lives involved. The way in which the economy may be enhanced is illustrated in the IDP in the form of a diagram (Figure 4).

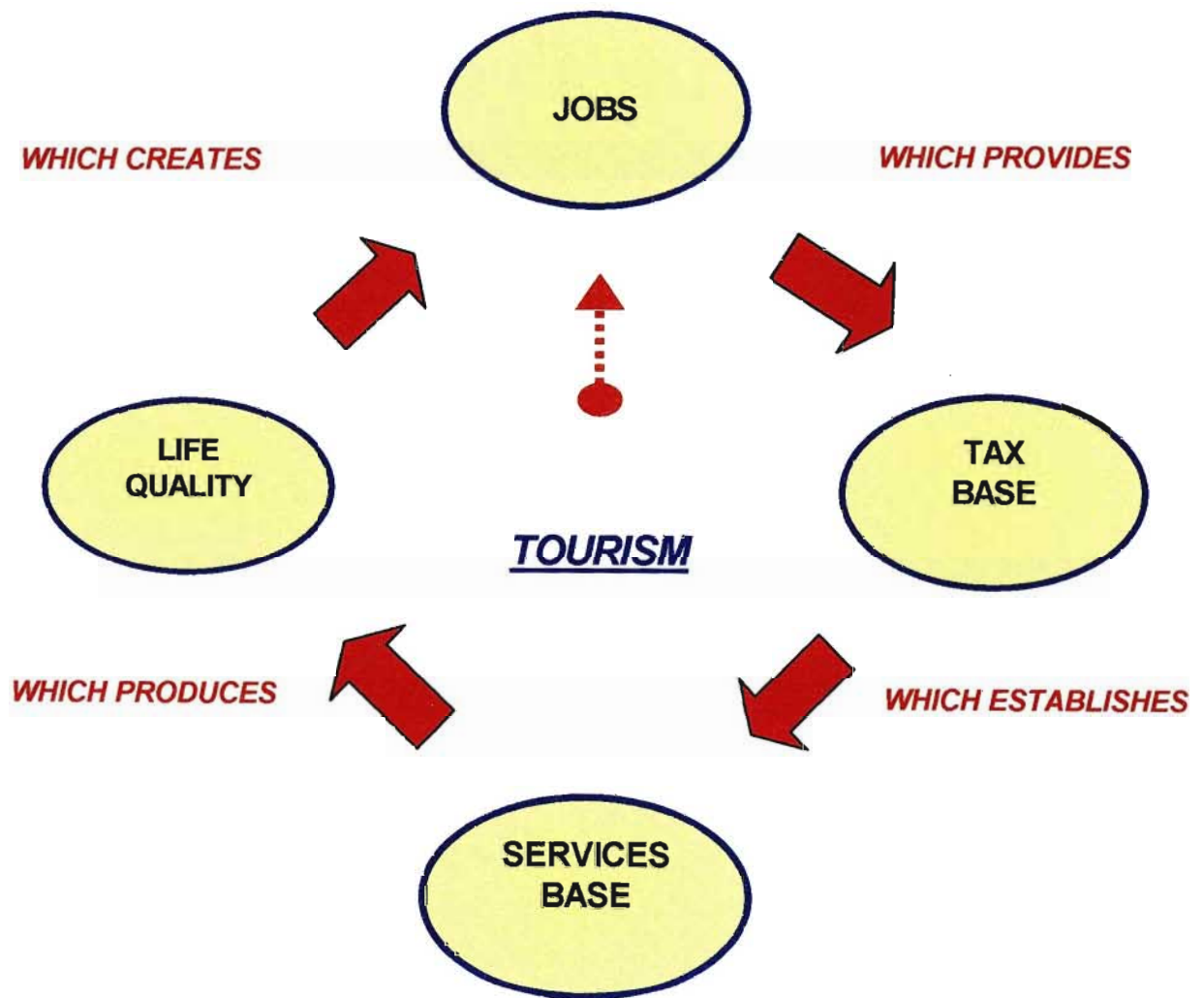


Figure 4. Diagram representing the tourism benefit as identified by the Matatiele Municipality (Source: Matatiele IDP, June 2002, p 34).

The sentiment represented in this diagram is based on the tourism potential (getaway, adventure and eco-tourism) of the natural resources mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. It is further acknowledged that there is the potential for an increase in visitor attraction to the town (Nbaba, pers. com., 2003). Limited research has been carried out in the area on tourism development, and it is difficult to quantify as to whether in fact tourism has increased in the past few years. The tourism economy in Matatiele is currently based on the traveling of seasonal getaway, eco and adventure tourists who visit already established tourist attractions or who visit as VFRs (visiting friends and relatives). Such visits normally occur over weekends and during holiday periods. There are also a number businessmen who overnight in the area, predominantly during the week, and there are a limited number of thoroughfare travelers who travel through to the Eastern Cape via Maclear (Mfihlo, pers. com., 2003). As such, the town has a number of B and B establishments, which would adequately support a growth in the tourism industry.

An increase in tourism and visitor numbers is anticipated as a result of factors relating to those mentioned in the IDP:

- "The fact that the road from Matatiele to Maclear will be tarred (R56) thus affording travellers a shorter alternative route to the Free State and Western Cape. This new thoroughfare is expected to significantly increase vehicle flows through the area and as such add to the stop over component and its inherent multiplier spent in terms of retail, hospitality and essential services.
- 58% of visitors to the former Region 5 (iNdllovu Regional Council) were termed getaway tourists, whilst 23% were ecotourists and 6% adventure tourists. The recent upsurge in outdoor pursuits enhances the opportunity for the area due to the fact that the bulk of activities and attractions cater for the needs of such tourists.
- The additional benefit of the hard surfacing of the Nottingham Road to Underburg which will allow for travellers from Gauteng and the interior to take an alternative and more scenic route to the South Coast of KwaZulu-Natal and the Sunshine Coast of the Eastern Cape.

- The central and northern Drakensburg is considered by many to be over commercialised and losing its appeal as an isolated highland environment. This provides scope for the East Griqualand area to offer the outdoor 'junkie' with a new tourism option and getaway location.
- The area's proximity to the uKhahlamba-Drakensburg Park which now has World Heritage Site status and the associated Maloti-Drakensburg Transfrontier Park. The area within Matatiele Municipality's jurisdiction can act as a significant conduit for thoroughfare travellers to both these important attractions.
- The East Griqualand will be an important access point to the proposed R617 Tourism Route that would link tourism activity from the N3 near Howick via the Boston-Bulwer Beat, the Kwasani area and East Griqualand. This also includes geographic inclusion (eg via Quachas Nek) into the Lesotho Loop which is a route development from South Africa's highland pass areas into and from Lesotho" (Matatiele Municipality IDP, June 2002, p 35).

While the Matatiele Municipality has identified the tourism potential of the natural resources in the area, and the fact that an increase in visitors to the town is expected, the Matatiele Municipality has not yet actively embarked on any tourism development initiatives. According to a Matatiele Municipality representative, Mr Linqua (pers. com., 2003), this is due to circumstances relating to the fact that Sisonke District Municipality has yet to define its role in tourism, and that stakeholder uncertainty exists. It is however stated within the IDP that a developmental way forward for the Matatiele Municipality regarding tourism should be to assign a tourism plan for the local area. It is acknowledged that the Matatiele Municipality should act as custodian of the local tourism plan that is focussed on the management, marketing and development of the tourism product within the context of community participation.

There are a number of organisations that are involved in tourism projects, including ERS, that is involved in development of the Mehloping Horse and Hiking Trail, EDA and UMTA, and the Mountain Lake Nature Reserve. The Mountain Lake Nature Reserve is based in

the high-lying municipal area to the west of Matatiele. The area has National Heritage Site Status based on the occurrence of rare avian species including one of the few known populations of the Rudd's Lark in Africa. A number of birders frequent the area in order to see the Rudd's Lark, Yellowbreasted Pipit, Cape Eagle Owl and Gurney's Sugarbird, among others. (Riley, 2001). The land was previously leased to local farmers for grazing until the Indlovu Regional Council commissioned a feasibility study, on behalf of the then Matatiele TLC, who wished to hand over the land for proper management. The reserve is currently leased from the Municipality by the Heritage Trust, and the lake, which has been stocked with brown and rainbow trout, is leased from the Heritage Trust by the Matatiele Angling Society. An old farmhouse adjacent to the lake has been converted by the Angling Society into two separate accommodation facilities, and a cottage has also been built. There are plans to build additional accommodation facilities as well as a clubhouse (Whittle, pers. com., 2003). At present, visitors to the Mountain Lake Reserve include anglers and birders. The Municipality has plans to further develop the Mountain Lake Reserve, which will obviously result in drawing in additional visitors, and creating employment opportunities for a number of people, many of whom could be drawn in from the neighbouring rural settlements. UMTA plays a role in promoting the Mountain Lake Reserve as well as the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail (Mfihlo, pers. com., 2003).

The Municipality has acknowledged, that for tourism in Matatiele to be successfully promoted and developed, there is the need for co-ordination between the different individuals and organisations involved in the various tourism developments (Linqa, pers. com., 2003). So while the Matatiele Municipality has not, as of yet, embarked on any specific natural resource-based tourism projects that look to promote socio-economic development, it will look to develop a tourism management plan, that co-ordinates the efforts of all the different role players and organisations involved in tourism. For the moment, it is the view of the Municipality that tourism will be a mid- to long-term development option for the economic regeneration of the area (Nbaba, pers. com., 2003).

The town of Matatiele is unfortunately still characterised by high levels of unemployment. Increasingly local governments across South Africa are using the strategy of LED to address such concerns. In recognition of this, the Matatiele Municipality has instituted an Integrated Local Economic Development Programme, the aim of which is to promote viable local economic activities and employment generation within the town. A number of strategies are proposed within the LED programme, the primary objectives of which are to maintain the town of Matatiele as the main economic centre; prevent further decline of the wholesale and retail trade; promote the development of the resident's entrepreneurial skills; promote public-private partnerships; and overall promote economic growth and development (Linqa, pers. com., 2003). Although natural resource-based tourism LED initiatives have not yet been embarked upon by the local Municipality, it is important to note that one of the proposed strategies with the LED programme is to build on tourism. Reference is made in the IDP to the provision of further support within the LED programme to other tourism projects, and to promote tourism-based LED.

Currently, there are a number of LED projects that have been launched. In January 2000, the Department of Provincial and Local Government (DPLG) made available R1 million (under the LEDF) for the establishment of the Gwebindlala Agricultural Centre and the Micro Manufacturing Centre in Matatiele. Of this budget, R180 000 was allocated for the start up of the Agri-Cluster project, and the remainder for the establishment of the Micro Manufacturing Centre. The Micro Manufacturing Project involves fencing; pottery, arts and crafts; silk screen printing; leatherworks and sewing and beading. It has employed 27 people, all of whom were previously unemployed and most of whom are women (Lechamochano, pers. com., 2003). The Municipality provided approximately four hectares of land for the Agri-Cluster Project as well as project management, and the Provincial Department of Agriculture provided a further R60 000 for the erection of fencing and irrigation. The initial pilot project provided capacity building for approximately 40 emerging farmers, 17 of whom are still engaged in the Agri-Cluster project (Matatiele Municipality Business Plan, 2003). The Agri-Cluster project and the Micro Manufacturing project have therefore provided full-time employment for approximately 44 people. Each

person is said to be the sole breadwinner in the family, and with each household having seven people. The projects have therefore collectively supported 308 people (Linqa, pers. com., 2003).

The Municipality has submitted businesses plans to the LEDF of the DPLG to request further funding for the expansion of the existing Matatiele and Cedarville Agri-project, in the hope that the project will be integrated into the economic regeneration plan of the area (Matatiele Municipality Business Plan, 2003). An additional 3ha land adjacent to the existing Agri-Cluster project (termed phase 1 within the business plan) will be made available for the extension of the existing cash crop farming and the erection of a green house, while other land in Matatiele and Cedarville has been identified for the establishment of poultry and piggery projects (phase 2). Phase 3 will involve the establishment of hydroponic farming methods. This project was chosen because of its ability to create sustainable jobs for the previously disadvantaged people, especially the unemployed women who are the major breadwinners of their families (Nbaba, pers. com., 2003). Currently, business plans are being drawn up by the Municipality, with the aid of private development consultants, for the initiation of various other economic regeneration projects, one of which is a Tourism, Craft and Taxi Centre. It is of obvious importance that the management and skills development of such projects is carefully considered. It has been contended that insufficient management at the Micro Manufacturing project has resulted in machinery not being used as those who have been employed have not been trained in the operation of such equipment (Lake, pers. com., 2003).

The town of Matatiele may not have any features that are truly unique to the town that could result in a re-orientation of the town towards tourism, but if the scenic beauty and the associated attractions of the surrounding mountainous areas are properly marketed there is the potential for the future growth of the sector in Matatiele. In addition to this, tourism is seen to be able to complement other existing economic activities such as agriculture, and the growth of tourism will contribute to an overall increase in the local economy. Taking into consideration those factors stated in the IDP, tourists travelling to and through

the town are expected to increase once the tarring and upgrading of the roads has been completed. Although it will be some time before a significant growth in the tourism industry in Matatiele is experienced such that it comes to play a dominant role in the local economy, it is clear that there currently exist possibilities to embark on a number of individual development projects that relate to tourism. Associated with this would be increased employment opportunities, opportunities to involve the previously disadvantaged people from the Builtfontein and Zandfontein settlements in the tourism development process, allowing for an improvement in their quality of lives, and creating an overall improvement in the local economy of the town. Local government could play an important role in driving such initiatives. However, it is only on completion of the road that the Municipality will look to embark on natural resourced-based tourism LED initiatives, as outlined in their IDP.

Despite limited local government involvement at this point, there is a tourism project currently being initiated, the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail, that is seeking to fully involve and integrate the local rural communities, such that the project will become community-owned and run, with net benefits going directly to the members of the rural communities. Although the trail extends through the Eastern Cape and the rural communities involved are located in the Eastern Cape, it will have its offices based in Matatiele, the town serving as the gateway to the trail. In doing so, a number of positive economic spinoffs will be felt within Matatiele, the project will in a way, be leaving its 'economic footprint' on the town. This warrants a closer examination of the workings and socio-impacts of the project as a tourism-based local economic development initiative.

5.5 THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT PROJECT: THE MEHLODING HORSE AND HIKING TRAIL

5.5.1 ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROJECT

"The project is aimed at addressing poverty in the area and supporting the local economy through the development of an ecotourism experience centred around a four-day mountain trail from Belford to Melkhalonyane" (Lesia, pers. com., 2003).

During the Integrated Development Plan (IDP) process driven by the former provincial Department of Local Government and Housing in late 1998, a number of task teams were established in the area, one of which was the Environment and Tourism Task Team. It was members of this task team, together with one particular key actor, a local resident, Mr Simon Lesia, who first envisaged the idea of a 'village-to-village trail' through the foothills of the Ukhahlamba mountains in the rural Maluti District (northwest of Matatiele near the Eastern Cape). With independent funding from the Swiss Development Agency administered through the Environment and Development Agency (EDA), a detailed and participatory planning process was then undertaken in the area, and it was found that tourism had the potential to be a key driving force for economic development (Draft Project Concept and Business Plan, McLeod, 2002).

Until 1999, tourism was an unknown concept in both the Matatiele areas and in the mountains extending into the Eastern Cape. The idea of attracting tourists to the Maluti area was initially encouraged by the Eastern Cape Tourism Board, a parastatal under that province's Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, advising on the development of tourism products. EDA, that has been operating in the area for almost 23 years, then initiated a tourism awareness day with the Eastern Cape Tourism Board (ECTB), and a steering committee, comprising a range of local stakeholders was formed (McLeod, pers. com., 2003). From this Committee, the aforementioned Ukhahlamba Tourism Association (UTA) was born. With a strong vision for community-based tourism, the UTA was officially

launched on the 27 September 2000. In order to avoid confusion with the Ukhahlamba District Municipality, UTA has since been renamed Umzimvubu Matatiele Tourism Association (UMTA) (Nonkevu, pers. com., 2002).

EDA then proposed the idea of an anchor tourism project that would allow for the development of further tourism related products in the area, to the UMTA Executive Committee in late 2000. Through discussions with these key actors in these organisations, the idea of a multi-day trail was conceptualised. An application for funding was submitted to the DEAT, and through the Poverty Relief Fund, R850 000 was granted for 2001/2002. Further financial support (R400 000) for the project was granted by the DLP's LED Fund, provided via the Alfred Nzo District Municipality (ANDM). The R850 000 was utilised to develop the trail through the mountains as well as to develop a village-based guesthouse in Masakala, and the project, forming part of the ANDM LED initiative, commenced in June 2001. Initially named the Ukuhlamba Trail, the project is now called the Mehlosing Horse and Hiking Trail (but for the purposes of the Alfred Nzo Municipality, the project is referred to as the Maluti Adventure Trail in business plans and funding proposals).

Further funding for the project was granted for the financial year between 2002 and 2003 from the DPLG (R550 000) and from the Alfred Nzo District Municipality (R96 000). R400 000 was also granted by the Integrated Sustainable Rural Development Fund. In addition to this, the initiative was met with great support from the Eastern Cape Tourism Board (ECTB) which provided planning support for the emergence of the tourism initiative; training for the tour guides, CTOs and SMMEs; marketing support as well as strategic planning advice. Fair Trade in Tourism South Africa also assisted in the advertising and marketing of the initiative, providing increased exposure. Currently business plans have been submitted to the Alfred Nzo Municipality and the DPLG for financial assistance for 2003/2004 (McLeod, pers. com., 2003).

With the aforementioned financial and marketing support, the initiative has developed two sister products, the Masakala Guest House and the Mehlosing Hiking and Horse Trail.

Along the Mehlosing Hiking and Horse Trail, four guesthouses have been established, the Liqalabeng Lodge at the Madlangala site, the Maboloko Lodge at the Machekong site, the Makhulong Lodge at the Mpharane site, and the Malekhalonyane Lodge at the Motseng site (Plate 3 and Plate 4).

The primary aim has been to establish an anchor tourism project and in doing to create sustainable income generation in order to provide opportunities for unemployed rural people in the area traversed by the trail. This would include the provision of services such as catering, craft sales, maintenance and cleaning by village-based SMMEs, as well as the production of fresh produce for use at the lodges (Lesia, pers. com., 2003). The project, on completion, will involve a multi-day adventure trail which traverses the foothills of the Southern Drakensberg / Ukhahlamba mountains, that aims to provide visitors with the opportunity to experience the rich natural and cultural heritage of the area.

The primary objectives of the Mehlosing Horse and Hiking Trail are:

- "Stimulation of the local economy to contribute towards improved income and livelihoods for rural people in the project area, through the involvement in ecotourism activities
- Conservation of natural resources and biodiversity in the upper catchment of the Umzimvubu River, through ecotourism as an alternative form of land use, which could increase the realised value of resources, and decrease destruction through conventional land use approaches which have resulted in overgrazing, frequent burning, and erosion".

(Draft Project Concept and Business Plan, 2002, p 2)



Plate 3. Masakala Guest House, with staff and a visitor.



Plate 4. Madlangala Guesthouse.

5.5.2 NETWORKING WITH PARTNERS AND ROLE PLAYERS

As discussed, the project was conceived by the local NGO, EDA, together with the community-based tourism organisation UMTA. In 2002, an independent environmental consultancy firm (ERS) was established by former members of EDA, and was appointed cluster manager of the project by ANDM, and as the Implementing agent for the DEAT funding. ERS currently oversees the operational and financial management of the project, including trail alignment, social and technical support (McLeod, pers. com., 2003). The project is fortunate enough to have the leadership of a particular individual, Nicky McLeod, acting on behalf of ERS as cluster manager of the project. ERS and EDA continue to work together to facilitate the completion of the project.

Eight community tourism organisations (CTOs) have been established in the area through support from UMTA and EDA, and the Mehlosing Horse and Hiking Trail involves five of the eight CTOs. In October 2002, the Mehlosing Community Tourism trust was established. The Trust consists of two representatives from each CTO as well as UMTA and EDA representatives, a district councillor and a traditional leader. The initiative, which includes the Masakala Guest Lodge, is owned and managed by the Mehlosing Community Tourism Trust, on behalf of the communities along the trail. Each of the four trail lodges, as well as Masakala Guest Lodge, has a Community Tourism Organisation which co-ordinates the local SMMEs to provide services including catering, laundry, horse lease (Lesia, pers. com., 2003).

With respect to the construction of the lodges, Ward Councillors and Tribal Authority representatives played an important role in the site selection and resolved any conflicts that arose during the construction phase. They have given the project an official endorsement and continue to promote it (Draft Project Concept and Business Plan, 2002). A number of other organisations and stakeholders have been involved and provided support in various forms. Legal advice and support was provided by Masibambane Legal Consultants from Port St Johns regarding the registration of the Trust, and they researched issues relating to ownership and responsibility of communal land and the

associated administrative responsibilities. The Department of Public Works has provided the services of a building inspector for the monitoring of the construction quality and progress (Draft Project Concept and Business Plan, McLeod, 2002). As mentioned, there is a tourism information office in Matatiele run on behalf of UMTA. The Johannesburg based NGO Group for Environmental Monitoring (GEM) has allocated a tourism officer to run this office (Mfihlo, pers. com., 2003). The project has therefore involved a large degree of participation and decision making by the beneficiaries, and it is considered that a true feeling of ownership by these beneficiaries has resulted and this should lead to responsible ownership and management of the project (McLeod, pers. com., 2001).

5.5.3 THE 'PRODUCT' DEVELOPMENT

Until now, the initiative has involved the establishment of the trail and infrastructural development of the lodges. Although the lodges have been completed, the need may arise during the course of 2003 for a few infrastructural improvements. At the time of this research, the Trust was currently undergoing a selection process for the employment of people at the four guest lodges along the trail. Through the establishment of booking, marketing and monitoring systems, it is hoped that the Trail and Masakala Guesthouse will be established as viable and self-sufficient products by the end of March 2004 (Lesia, pers. com., 2003). Although not yet officially operating as a tourism product, a key force that will be required to drive its success, is the effective marketing of the product. The Trail has featured at Indaba shows, which is the National Tourism Expo, and in the Eastern Cape Tourism Board pamphlets, and further efforts will be made to market the trail to mostly international tourists looking for a unique ecotourism experience. It is further asserted that, although much of the focus until now has been on the infrastructural development of the trail as a tourism product, efforts will also be made to develop the sub region as a viable tourism destination (McLeod, pers. com., 2003).

Critical to the development of the trail as a sustainable product is to ensure that the area through which the trail traverses is conserved and that minimal environmental degradation occurs. It has been stated that one of the primary goals of the project is to conserve the

natural resources and biodiversity in the area. It has been contended that through the establishment of the trail and ecotourism as an alternative land use, there will be an increase in the realised value by the rural communities of the natural resources. During the construction phase, the researcher was assured that efforts were made to ensure that minimal disturbance was caused to the area. With the lodges located on natural grassland, it has been agreed by the stakeholders to ensure that the vegetation remains as it was, and that no exotic trees and flowers will be planted (McLeod, pers. com., 2003). Issues of waste management must be conveyed to the rural communities, for when the trail becomes operational, increased waste may form in and around the guest lodges, on and around the trail, and in the villages as a result of increased numbers of people and new consumption patterns.

5.5.4 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS OF THE PROJECT

5.5.4.1 Economic Impacts

It should once again be emphasised that the project extends through to the Eastern Cape, with both local and regional government support coming from the Umzimvubu Municipality and ANDM in the Eastern Cape, and the most immediate beneficiaries will be those from the villages located within the Eastern Cape. The town of Matatiele however, will serve as the gateway to the project, and this will no doubt allow for positive impacts to be felt within the town.

The Mehlosing Horse and Hiking Trail has not yet reached the final stages of completion and is not yet operating as a self-sustaining, revenue generating product. Revenue generated from tourists using the trail will go into the Trust Account which will be used for wages, infrastructural maintenance, spent according to the Trust's discretion. When the project reaches this operational phase, it is clear that the project will have, although difficult to quantify, a number of indirect impacts on the local economy of Matatiele. As a result of the promotion of the Mehlosing Horse and Hiking Trail, it is anticipated that there will be an increase in visitor arrivals into the town itself. The business office will be set up in Matatiele. The Matatiele Municipality has been approached for the use of premises.

The office will be used for bookings, administration and marketing, as well as a central meeting place for Trustees and visitors alike (McLeod, pers. com., 2003). The town will obviously benefit from the rates paid by the office (rent, Telkom and Eskom fees). Thus, tourists wanting to utilise the trail will have to come into the town, resulting in a spill-over of economic benefits through tourism expenditure to businesses including B and B's, coffee shops, and petrol stations. With respect to services and infrastructure, it is apparent that the town of Matatiele supports a number of people from rural settlements in the municipal area and people from rural communities located in the Eastern Cape. Wages of those employed at Masakala Guesthouse are spent on goods and services provided by the town of Matatiele, and it is obviously anticipated that those employed at the lodges along the trail will also spend their wages in the town.

The town itself will therefore receive an overall increase in exposure as a tourist destination. The increase in visitor arrivals will provide opportunities for the further development of the natural resources and other attractions for tourism. This will result in the growth of the tourism economy and increase socio-economic benefits to both the urban population and the poorer rural communities surrounding the town. While the project may indirectly result in economic growth within the town, this research focuses on the assessment of the project within the overall context of local economic development. It is therefore necessary to examine the impacts of the project on employment and training, as well as on the quality of lives of the the people in the rural communities.

5.5.4.2 Employment and Training

The most significant impact of the Trail to date has been that of employment creation. The development of the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail is seen to have provided employment in two phases. Firstly, there is the construction phase, in which a number of temporary jobs were created, and then the operational phase in which a number of permanent jobs will be created.

The number of temporary jobs provided during the construction phase was limited, bound both by the number of people required to do certain tasks and by time (Dloti, pers. com., 2003). The construction of the lodges required a range of unskilled labour mixing cement, semi-skilled decorators and plastering assistants, through to skilled artisans providing thatching and technical plumbing work. The minimum daily wage guidelines were used to for such tasks (R35 for unskilled labour, R45 for semi-skilled labour, R60 for skilled and qualified artisans). For each task, the number of days and the number of people required to complete the task was calculated. Workers were therefore not paid on a daily basis, but rather on what the calculated cost of each task was (McLeod, pers. com., 2003).

With respect to community involvement and poverty alleviation, it is imperative to note that all the work was done by local labour and artisans, with skilled labour being recruited from the villages in the vicinity of each lodge. Forty-nine percent of the workforce were women employed during the later stages of construction to provide decoration, smearing and fittings. The heavier physical work was done by men, with women assisting with the collection of water and mixing of cement (Manyathi, pers. com., 2003). Temporary job creation is as follows:

Table 11. Temporary jobs created during the construction phase of the project.

LEVEL	NUMBER OF PERSON DAYS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE EMPLOYED				
		WOMEN	MEN	YOUTH	DISABLED	TOTAL
Professional	0					
Managerial	0					
Clerical	570	5	0	0	0	5
Supervisor	627	0	5	0	0	5
Skilled	328	5	16	2	0	23
Semi-skilled	303	12	10	4	0	26
Labourer	15771	34	65	10	2	111
TOTAL	3399	56	96	16	2	170

Source: LEDF Final Report, 2003.

When the project is operating as a self-sustaining tourism product, it is estimated that the Mehlosing Trail and Masakala Guest Lodge together, will have the potential to provide income generation opportunities for approximately 160 people (Lesia, pers. com., 2003). A booking office clerk, lodge hostesses, caretakers and trainee managers will all be earning a set salary per month, and a number of other people will have the potential to earn on a commission basis, depending on whether there are tourists staying at the lodges or not. Employment figures for the operational phase of the Project (the trail as well as Masakala Guest House) are estimated to be as follows:

Table 12. Estimated number of people employed that will be earning a salary.

JOB DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF PEOPLE	RATE	GENERAL COMMENTS
Booking Office Clerk	1	R1000/month	General Office administration and marketing. Office will be based in Matatiele
Lodge Host / hostess	Mehlosing Trail Lodges: 4 Masakala Lodge: 1	R650 per month plus R10 commission per tourist staying at Lodge	
Caretaker	Mehlosing Trail Lodges: 4 Masakala Lodge: 1	R650 per month plus R10 per tourist staying at lodge	Night security and basic maintenance
Trainee Managers	2 trainees	Under debate at present	

Source: DPLG Support Proposal, 2003.

Table 13. Estimated number of people employed that will be earning on a commission basis.

JOB DESCRIPTION	NUMBER OF PEOPLE	RATE	GENERAL COMMENTS
Catering	12	R80 per person in SMME group to provide dinner, breakfast, packed lunch	After purchase of food, possible profit of R400 per person per month
Cleaning and Laundry	12	R20 per tourist staying at lodge	Possible earnings of R200 per person per month
Guides	10 on a rotational basis	R400 per trip of 4 days (R100 per day for group)	
Provision of fresh produce	Mehlodong Trail lodges: at least 5 per lodge Masakala Lodge: 5 Estimate 25 in total	Dependent on what is sold	Possible earnings of R100 per person per month
Lease of horses	At least 12 per lodge	Owners paid R45 per horse per day	Income dependent on number of times horses used per month
Entertainment groups	Mehlodong Trail lodges: 10 per lodge Masakala Lodge: 10 Estimate 50 in total		
Craft sellers	Mehlodong Trail lodges: 5 per lodge Masakala Lodge: 5 Estimate 25 in total	Estimate starting monthly income of R50 per person. Dependent on what is sold	Possibility of having crafts at booking office

Source: DPLG Support Proposal, 2003.

Considering the fact that the project is not yet in its operational phase, it must be stressed that these figures are estimates of possible employment opportunities through which local people can earn a sustainable income. It is however asserted that although such income would be seasonal and sporadic, it would nonetheless provide at least 150 families with an extra source of income (Lesia, pers. com., 2003).

The Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail Trust is at present in the process of employing people from the communities to fill such positions. The four CTO's involved in the trail communicated to all the villages the need for such people, and based on strict selection criteria, the Trust will choose from the list of applicants. An area of concern has been a degree of disinterest by the local communities, and as such there have been only a few applicants to date. It is felt that with increased feedback to the communities by the CTOs involved, there will be a general increase in interest by the community at large (Ndloti, pers. com., 2003).

Once the Trust has selected and employed people from the communities and the Trail is fully operational, a number of permanent jobs will have been created. The only positions however, that would be earning salaries would be those of office clerk, trainees/managers, hostesses and caretakers at lodge, with all other income earned on a commission basis. According to the cluster managers of the Trail, ERS, this would reduce wage overhead for the Trust, and would make the business less dependant on external funding. It is further intended that the concept of earning on a commission basis will encourage local beneficiaries to develop their business skills. It is hoped that this will encourage the beneficiaries to look for complementary opportunities to support their livelihoods, and as such do not become entirely dependent on the project for a source of income (McLeod, pers. com., 2003). Once the people have been selected to fill the various positions at each lodge, they will undergo training. The guides will be trained through THETA (The Tourism and Hospitality Education and Training Authority) and the Drumbeat Academy, based in Pretoria, will sponsor a professional to come to Matatiele to train the people in catering and hospitality and fire-fighting.

5.5.4.3 Empowerment

An explicit goal of the Mehlosing Horse and Hiking Trail, as an LED project, has been to involve and empower the rural communities with the hope of addressing issues related to the poverty-stricken circumstances such people face. It is clear that the project has successfully developed as a truly community-based tourism project, in that the host community are the primary shareholders and with the assistance of ERS, also manage the Trail. The direct beneficiaries of the project in terms of employment and skills development have been people from the rural communities. As cluster manager, ERS aims to further build on the capacity of the Trust and project employees in order to further develop their skills in managing the business aspect of the project (McLeod, pers. com., 2003). The degree to which those members of the rural communities have been empowered is directly linked to the impacts on the quality of lives of those employed by the project, both on a permanent and temporary basis to date.

5.5.4.4 Positive and Negative Impacts on the Livelihoods of the Rural Communities

As was discussed in the literature review, properly administered tourism development can significantly enhance the livelihoods of the poor.

Table 14. Positive and negative impacts on the livelihoods of members of the rural communities.

		POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
IMPACTS ON ASSETS (Natural and human)	Natural resources Access to and use of: - land - wood (fuel) - grazing - potential to collect plants - water Question of sustainability of use	- The development of the trail has not prevented access of the rural communities to natural resources required to sustain their livelihoods.	- No negative impacts to date.

		POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
	Skills - gaining of new skills / training courses	- Trail guides have been trained.	- Only a limited number of people who have been given opportunity to develop skills or have undergone training.
IMPACTS ON LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES (Opportunities to compliment livelihood activities)	Other livelihood activities Subsistence farming of: - livestock - crops	- Subsistence farming continues to be the dominant livelihood activity for the rural communities.	- No negative impacts to date.
	Opportunities for entrepreneurs and small businesses	- During the operational phase, a number of SMMEs will provide fresh produce at lodges - opportunity to display and sell crafts	- Only a limited number of people may be commissioned for such goods.
	Tourism market access and opportunities	- The establishment of a booking office in Matatiele will allow for additional local crafts to be displayed and sold.	- No negative impacts to date.
LIVELIHOOD GOALS AND OUTCOMES	Education - opportunity to improve	- Income earned by staff at Masakala Guest House has contributed to paying school fees.	- No impacts to date.
	Health - Access to health care	- No impacts to date.	- No impacts to date.
	Access to information - kept informed of the tourism development process.	- Establishment of the trail has been a transparent process, with frequent report-backs by CTOs to rural community members involved in the project, regarding the business and how benefits will flow. - Community members informed of the need to conserve natural resources in order to benefit from their use through tourism.	- The workings and benefits of tourism development are still not fully understood by some rural community members.
	Empowerment and Sense of pride in the Community	- New source of income to poorer rural community members has allowed the maintenance of family bonds.	- Problems relating to people feeling 'left out' of the benefit process, resulting in possible problems of theft from guest houses.

		POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
POLICY ENVIRONMENT	Policy - influencing policy / are changes in policy felt	- In line with LED policy, the project has sought to involve and empower local communities through use of locally available natural resources.	- No impacts to date.

The development of the trail has, and will continue to have a number of positive and negative impacts on the livelihoods of the rural communities involved. It is evident that the project was established not only for the purposes of promoting tourism within the area, but also for the purpose of improving the lives of the host communities. The people in the rural area have had no previous experience with the workings and benefits of the tourism development process. As such, it could be said that the establishment of a trail and guest lodges, may in fact result in a cultural intrusion. Another negative impression has been that of expressed feelings of exclusion, with many people not understanding the fact that there are limited employment opportunities with the initiative, and that it will take some time before the positive spill-over effects of the tourism development process are felt (Manyathi, pers. com., 2003). Despite the negative impacts mentioned in the table, the trail has without a doubt contributed to a number of direct benefits being felt within these communities. These include the increased income to families who have been employed by the project, and opportunities provided for the establishment of SMMEs in terms of the provision of fresh produce.

5.6 REFLECTING ON THE EVIDENCE

Agriculture has dominated the greater Matatiele area for many years. More recently, the town has come to support a growing wholesale and retail trade, predominantly from people located in the rural areas in the Eastern Cape (Whittle, pers. com., 2003). Although this sector currently dominates the local economy, it provides limited employment opportunities. Despite market potential and the availability of labour, there are a number of problems that face the attraction of industry to the town, including issues relating to a limited water and electricity supply (Lake, pers. com., 2003). Apart from visitors coming through to the town on business, or to visit friends and family, the promotion of tourism has

until relatively recently, been an unknown concept. Despite the scenic beauty and potential for eco and/adventure activities associated with the mountains and their biodiversity, no attempt was made to capitalise on these natural resources and develop them for tourism until recently. The Mehlosing Horse and Hiking Trail has catalysed a recognition of the tourism potential in the greater Matatiele area, and the possibilities of tourism in promoting local economic development within the town itself and within the surrounding rural areas. The creation of employment and skills development through tourism for the rural communities, will in turn result in the continued strength of the wholesale and retail sectors in the town of Matatiele which rely on the rural black trade from these communities.

It is premature to draw conclusions on the success of the project to date, but it is possible to assess the success of activities so far. It is evident that such tourism development has been dependent on the attractiveness of the natural resources available in the area. The mountainous areas and associated biodiversity is seen to be able to provide a number of ecotourism and adventure tourism opportunities, and these have been capitalised upon by the Trail. It is important to note that the development of natural resources for tourism is inextricably linked to the conservation of those natural resources. It has been asserted that "integral to the establishment of the trail has been to ensure that the environment was disturbed as little as possible" (McLeod, pers. com., 2003). Furthermore, the rural communities have been informed on the value of the area and its flora and fauna for tourism, and thus the need to conserve these resources in order to see the benefits of the tourism development process. It is imperative that there is this awareness by the local communities and that the natural resources are conserved, as a loss of the 'ruralness' and uniqueness of the area and pollution of the natural resources will result in the loss of the very basis for attracting the tourists.

The Mehlosing Horse and Hiking Trail has been instrumental in providing jobs to a number of people from the rural communities, and in becoming an operational product, will provide additional employment opportunities. It is vital to note that the project, although currently

under the supervision of a private consultancy and an NGO, is otherwise owned and run entirely by the local communities. The local impact of the development of tourism initiatives may extend beyond that of job creation in terms of offering business opportunities for local entrepreneurs. The extent of local linkages in terms of the provision of supplies is critical in terms of enhancing the local economic impact of tourism development. In addition to this, the opportunities for outsourcing can provide the basis for the establishment and growth of SMMEs. With respect to the trail, these related to a range of services and supplies including building during the construction phase, furniture and decor, supplies of vegetables, fruit, and meat.

Critical to the initiation of the project, has been the successful acquisition of funds. A number of organisations and government departments have supported the project financially, with advertising and in providing strategic planning advice. The significant amounts of funding that the project has been granted is testimony to the in-depth and professional business plans that were submitted to the respective funders, and to the potential of the project in creating jobs and improving the quality of life for those involved. However, it becomes necessary at this point, to question the issue of grant dependence, and the fact that very often projects of this nature that have relied heavily on funds for their start-up phase, are unable to ever reach the point of being self-sustaining during their operational phase. This is an important consideration with respect to the sustainability and future success of the Mehloping Horse and Hiking Trail.

Although still in the early stages, it must be questioned as to whether or not there will be an overall community 'buy-in' to the project. The members of the rural communities have had no previous exposure to or experience of tourism and its associated demands and impacts. It seems only a limited number of community members are participating in the current project activities, and there appears to be a sense of 'exclusion' by those who have not been involved or employed by the project. In addition to this, there is still a degree of disinterest and a lack of understanding of the tourism process. According to a CTO representative, "there remain problems in communicating an understanding to the

communities of what tourism involves" and that "there is the general feeling that only once the jobs are filled, will there be an increase in interest by the community" (Dloti, pers. com., 2003). In order to incorporate the community at large, the long term goals of the project must be understood, and the level of community motivation will therefore directly affect sustained project success. Efforts will need to be made by all of those involved, most particularly UMTA and the respective CTOs, to ensure that the trail offers a high quality tourism experience while simultaneously ensuring that the cultural integrity of the host communities is maintained.

Despite these concerns, the project has nonetheless served to represent the potential of the development of natural resources for tourism in creating employment opportunities and improving the quality of lives for a number of rural community members. Local government has recognised this potential, and has identified tourism as one of the strategies within its LED programme as discussed in the IDP. It is further acknowledged that if tourism development is undertaken in a sustainable, environmentally sensitive manner, there is significant room for growth of the tourism sector, resulting in a number of positive impacts on the town of Matatiele and the greater municipal area. However, the Matatiele Municipality is yet to embark on any natural resource-based tourism development initiatives. There remains the need to actively promote the town and its natural resources for their tourism potential, much in the same way as their Eastern Cape counterparts have done.

The remoteness of the area and its poor infrastructure will obviously provide a significant challenge to the marketing of the town and greater area. The fact that only a few tourists visit the area obviously prevents the kick-starting of other economic activities based on tourism. It has been stressed by local government, Chamber of Business and private sector, that the tarring and upgrading of the R56 road will be instrumental in drawing in more visitors to the area. It has even been asserted that "the new road will place Matatiele firmly on the tourism map" (Whittle, pers. com., 2003). Bearing this in mind, the Matatiele Municipality have stated that they will look to actively promote the tourism attractions of

the town and area once the road upgrade has been completed, but at this point, do not have any concrete plans for such tourism development (Linqua, pers. com., 2003).

It is clear that, with respect to the future of tourism in Matatiele and the greater area, much hope is being placed on the anticipated influx of visitors and through-traffic associated with the completion of the tar road. The IDP presents a thorough and optimistic future for tourism development within Matatiele, and states the role of the Municipality in fostering local economic development activities related to tourism. There are already, however, problems being experienced with the construction road as funds are being withheld for the Eastern Cape section of the development, and completion is dependant on the delicate issue of balancing politics (Lake, pers. com., 2003). Instead of waiting for the road to bring in the tourists, concerted efforts should be made now by local government, private sector and local business to promote the tourism attractions of the natural resources in the areas. In this way, initiatives such as the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail may be able to achieve their local economic development goals and become self-sustaining tourism products, and the Municipality will be able to embark on similar tourism related LED initiatives, as set out in the IDP. Although the number of jobs created by such initiatives may appear modest, it is clear that the associated spin-offs of tourism-based development LED in Matatiele has the potential to positively impact on a number of lives, that are otherwise characterised by conditions of poverty. Matatiele does not possess any strikingly unique feature that distinguishes it from other small towns located in scenic settings, and therefore re-orientating the town entirely towards tourism is obviously unrealistic. However, 'jumping aboard the tourism band-waggon' as such, and promoting the mountains and associated attractions while embarking on tourism-based development projects, will undoubtedly have benefits for Matatiele and its citizens.

CHAPTER 6. UTRECHT

“Utrecht can now boast that it is the only residential area in South Africa that is located entirely within a game area” (Natal Witness, 2003, pp2).

6.1 SETTING THE SCENE

This chapter investigates the town of Utrecht in the province of KwaZulu-Natal, in which a number of natural resource-based tourism-based activities have been initiated in a direct effort to diversify the town's economy following severe economic decline, while simultaneously creating job opportunities and associated local economic development. After the collapse of the coal mining industry during the early 1990's, Utrecht, as with many other mining towns in South Africa and elsewhere, suffered as a result of its over-dependence on this industry. There was a substantial loss in the economic viability of the town, and an increase in joblessness in the Utrecht district as many of the mines ceased operations, and it was realised that the focus of the town needed to be shifted away from coal mining towards the tourism potential of the Utrecht area. It was then that the novel idea of promoting Utrecht as a 'town within a game farm' was conceptualised.

The other two towns researched in this study have represented towns that possess natural resources that can, and have to some degree already been developed for tourism. Furthermore, it has been realised in both these towns (by the private sector, the local municipalities and local communities alike) that such natural resource-based tourism has the potential to achieve local economic development. As a result of this, individual projects that have harnessed the tourism potential of the available natural resources, have been launched in order to promote economic growth and create jobs. In Eshowe, this was done by private sector individuals, and in Matatiele, by the local communities in conjunction with a local NGO and private consultancy firm. However, other economic sectors including agriculture, wholesale and retail continue to be the dominant economic generators for each of the towns, with tourism becoming an increasingly important contributor to the local economy.

Utrecht, is unique in that, it is not just an individual project launched by individuals from a particular sector in order to provide jobs. A number of tourism activities, based on the attraction of the locally available natural resources, have been initiated in a direct effort to re-orientate the town's economy towards tourism. Such activities have been initiated by the Local Municipality, together with private sector individuals and the local rural communities.

6.2 BACKGROUND TO THE TOWN AND DECLINE OF THE COAL MINING INDUSTRY

Utrecht is located in the north western region of the province of KwaZulu-Natal, approximately 48 and 64 kilometers from the regional centres of Newcastle and Vryheid respectively. The town is situated in what is generally referred to as the 'Northern KwaZulu-Natal (formerly Natal) Coalfield (Binns and Nel, 2003), which also includes the nearby towns of Dannhauser, Dundee, Glencoe, Newcastle and Vryheid (Figure 5).

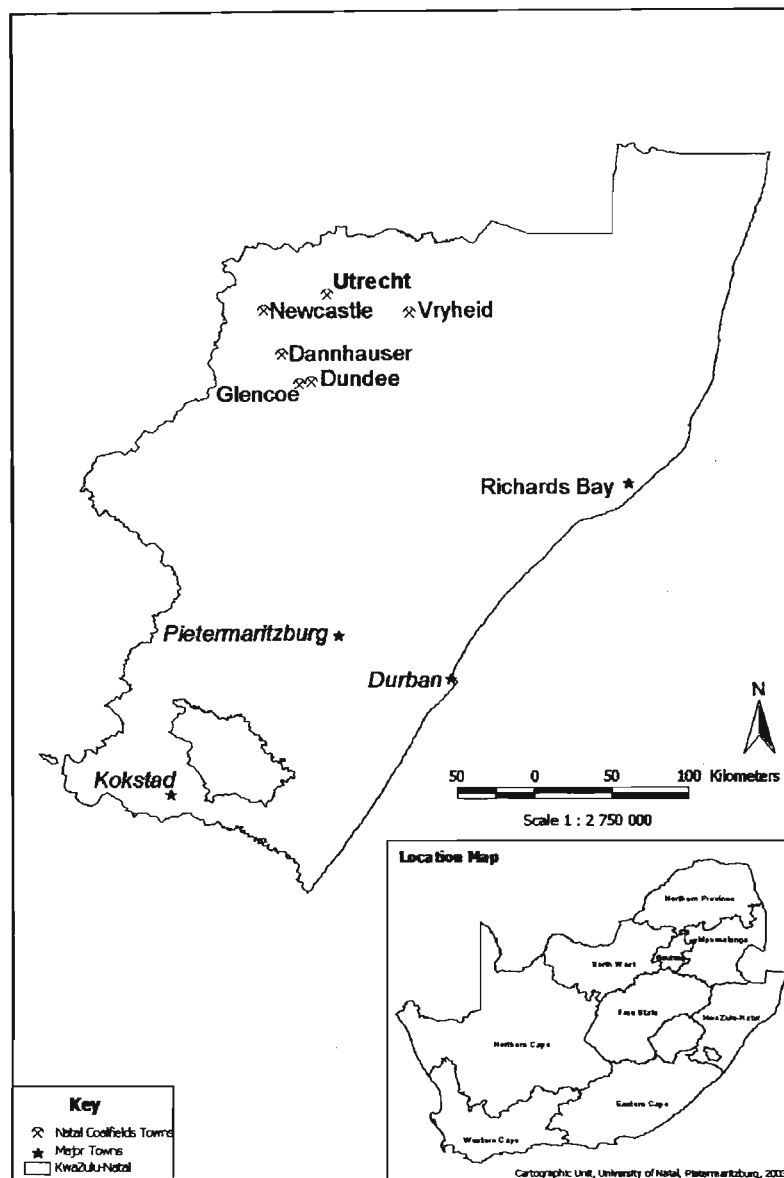


Figure 5. The location of Utrecht in the KwaZulu-Natal Coalfield, South Africa.

The Utrecht Local Municipality forms part of the Amajuba District Council (replacing the former Regional Council of Umzinyathi), and is home to only 6% of the population of the District Council, with Newcastle at 70% and Dannhauser at 24%. According to the 1996 census, a total of 23 957 people were living in the Utrecht Magisterial District. This figure has since increased to approximately 27 500 by 2001. Of these, 2 600 are living in the

formal town of Utrecht (only 10% of the total population in the Utrecht District) and the remainder live in the rural areas (Utrecht IDP, January 2002). The Utrecht District is the tribal domain of a number of Amakosi (Zulu Chiefs) who live in the rural areas, and who today, play an active role in the development of the area. In their study on the demise of the coal industry in KwaZulu-Natal, Binns and Nel (2003) have noted that between 1980 and 1991 the Utrecht District experienced a large outflow of population in the region, generally associated with the declining productivity in the Northern KwaZulu-Natal Coalfields during that time. Furthermore, the projected population growth rate figures from 1996-2020 reveal that the population of the Utrecht District will not increase significantly within the next few years (Table 15).

Table 15. Projected population growth figures for the Utrecht area.

YEAR	POPULATION
1996	24 000
2001	27 408
2002	27 602
2003	28 147
2004	28 850
2005	29 558
2006	30 272
2007	30 991
2008	31 716
2009	31 943
2010	32 171
2015	32 795
2020	33 290

Source: Utrecht IDP, January 2002.

Although initially founded as a rural service centre in 1854, the town of Utrecht had, by the early 1890's become a major mining centre, following the discovery of coal in that area. The first coalmine, the Utrecht Coalmine (later called Utrecht Section), located close to the town, was opened in 1910. A lack of infrastructure prevented further development of the Utrecht coalfield until the 1960's when Balgray colliery was opened to the east of the town, and Umgala and Zimbutu collieries were opened to the south-west of the town. With four mines in operation, the town contributed 13% of Natal's coal production (Binns and Nel, 2003). By the 1970's, coal sales to ISCOR (The Iron and Steel Corporation) in Newcastle formed an integral part of the Utrecht economy, and a flourishing agricultural sector was also making an important contribution. By the late 1970's and early 1980's, the mines were at their most productive with all four employing approximately 10 000 workers (Wright, pers. com., 2003).

However, during the mid 1980's, problems in both mining and agriculture regionally, started to take effect on the town's economy. By the early 1990's, resource depletion, and the closure of the regional iron and steel works (the primary purchaser of Utrecht's coal), had severely impacted the mining industry, and as such the downstream economy of the town began to collapse. From 1998, operations at Utrecht Section were scaled down which rendered approximately 1200 people unemployed. While there is still some open-cast operations at Zimbutu Mine, with a small number of contract workers drawn in when required, Balgray is now completely closed. Balgray, Umgala, Zimbutu and Utrecht Section are currently under the ownership of Welgedacht Exploration Company Ltd, with mining in Utrecht employing only 140 people on a full-time basis (Madamalala, pers. com., 2002). With the closure of the mines and the absence of new employment opportunities, thousands of migrant workers moved back to the rural areas and to other urban areas in search of work, seriously impacting on the town's service and retail sectors, and resulting in high unemployment levels. Currently, the only other significant employer remaining in Utrecht is a garment factory, 'Junit Manufacturers' (Wright, pers. com., 2003).

Despite the declining productivity of mining and agriculture, these two sectors continue to dominate the Utrecht economy both in terms of contribution to the GGP and employment. Agriculture contributes 17% of the GGP, and 44% of the employment opportunities in the municipality (Utrecht IDP, January 2002). In fact, Utrecht remains one of the most important wool producing areas in KwaZulu-Natal, and is also an important cattle farming region. Over recent years however, there has been a growing interest in game and wildlife farming from farmers in and around the Utrecht area. It is believed that this may lead to a reduction in both sheep and cattle stock in the area (Madamalala, pers. com., 2002). It is clear that mining had come to be the primary economic generator for the town for many decades until mining operations were scaled down. Despite this down-sizing and closure of mines, the mining sector continues to play a vital role in the local economy, contributing 52% of the GGP and 15% of the employment opportunities within the town (Utrecht IDP, January 2002). However, there are still a number of uncertainties relating to the coal mining industry, and given the fact that Utrecht has only one major mine in operation, diversification of the economy is required. It is further acknowledged that approximately one-third of the population in Utrecht remain unemployed, the consequences of a heavy reliance on the mining industry, and its subsequent collapse, still evident.

There is no designated black township in the Utrecht Municipal area (Binns and Nel, 2003). The mines provided hostels and houses for their employees, but as a consequence of Apartheid, all blacks not employed by the mine were relocated to the townships of Osizweni or Madadeni (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). Although the activities of the mines have decreased considerably, infrastructure that was established to accommodate mining operations, are still present in the town. These include the mineworkers' hostels, a leisure club and dam, schools, and railway line to Newcastle, of which the leisure club, railway line and schools are still in use (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). The mineworkers' hostel and other housing structures have been abandoned for some time but it was realised that there was significant potential to utilise these abandoned structures for other purposes (Bayer, pers. com., 2003).

It was subsequently realised that tourism, resulting from the promotion of the town's existing natural resources (that of the scenic beauty of the natural surroundings including the Balele Mountains) coupled with the use of abandoned mine infrastructure, had the potential to catalyse local economic development, boosting the local economy and providing job opportunities to a number of people.

6.3 TRACKING THE RISE OF TOURISM IN UTRECHT

As Binns and Nel (2003, p 10) have stressed, "there is no doubt that the decline of coal mining has had a severe effect on the employment situation and general prosperity of Utrecht and its hinterland". As early as 1990, in anticipation of mine closure, efforts were made to diversify the town's economy through tourism promotion. It was during this time, as a result of the efforts of concerned local residents with the support of the Utrecht Transitional Local Council (TLC), that the Balele Conservancy was established and a caravan park and chalets built next to the municipal dam (Mtshali, pers. com., 2003).

By the mid 1990s, Utrecht faced the very real threat of becoming a ghost town. In response to the looming economic crisis, the town's publicity officer, together with the town engineer and town clerk, decided to appeal to local residents to help identify ways in which their local economy could be diversified (Madamalala, pers. com., 2002). As the town's former mayor, Mr Freddie Le Roux (pers com., 2002) pointed out, "Utrecht could not compete in terms of attracting new manufacturing industries and external investment, when larger towns such as Newcastle and Dundee, had the institutional capacity and a greater resource base from which to initiate new economic activities". The fact that the town is located relatively far from major transport routes (such as the N3), and that economic activity was concentrated in the two main sectors of mining and agriculture, both of which are viewed as declining sectors in the national economy, further detracted from potential external investment (Utrecht IDP, January 2002). However, it was recognised that Utrecht possessed vast tourism potential.

A nature conservancy with caravan park and chalets had already been established, and it had been recognised that the old and abandoned mine infrastructure and facilities could be refurbished for use within the tourism industry. The tranquil scenery of the town and surrounding area offered very good trout fishing, and the area is rich in historical significance (Wright, pers. com., 2003). In addition to this, there was a good level of co-operation and collaboration with the mine, the municipality, local business and community, as well as the local traditional leaders. A survey was undertaken and it was generally agreed by the citizens of Utrecht that the best way to create jobs was through enhancing the tourism-based potential of the region (Stannard, pers. com., 2003).

During the latter part of 1997 and early 1998, community meetings were held to discuss the further development of the tourism industry in and around the town, the objective being to “kickstart local economic development through various tourism-based activities, promoting job creation and entrepreneurship” (Stannard, pers. com., 2003). A number of tourism-based initiatives, supported by both the black and white communities of the town as well as the local Amakhosi in the town’s hinterland, were then presented to the TLC and were met with great enthusiasm.

The town then successfully secured grants from the DPLG’s Local Economic Development Fund to facilitate the necessary infrastructural development of a number of tourism-based initiatives, geared towards promoting local economic development through the creation of jobs, stimulation of entrepreneurship and an overall growth within the local economy. All of these resources are channelled through the local Municipality, via the engineering and treasury departments, which actively supports this tourism-based development strategy that has been embarked upon. In addition to this, the town has been able to continue to draw on the resources and support of the mining company (Koekemoer, pers. com., 2002).

6.4 THE TOURISM-BASED DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

6.4.1 THE GAME PARK

One of the initial projects was the erection of a game fence around a large portion of municipal land within the Balele Nature Conservancy near the Caravan Park. In 1997/1998, the Utrecht TLC together with the Balele Conservancy, launched Balele Game Park, with the Balele Mountains that surround the town forming part of the reserve. Gencor Development Trust provided financial support of R80 000 to stock the reserve with a variety of game species. The Balele Game Park has been stocked with approximately eleven species of game including Impala, Blesbuck, Bushbuck, Waterbuck, Nyala, Red Hartebeest, Blue Wildebeest, Kudu, Burchell's Zebra, Warthog and Giraffe. During the 'hey-day' of the mines, a leisure club was established for the workers, providing various leisure activities. The club, situated adjacent to the caravan park, has since been given to the Municipality and is currently the Utrecht Country Club (Wright, pers. com., 2003). In addition to the caravan park and Country Club, there is a wetlands in the game reserve that provides opportunities for birdwatching. At the same time the Balele Game Park was launched, the decision was made to fence off the whole town of Utrecht within a second game park, and this area would then be developed as a community game park, increasing the value of property within the town borders (P and N Environment and Development Consultants, 2001).

On the Balele Mountains opposite the caravan park, adjacent to a former mine shaft, a collection of disused mine offices have just recently been converted into an upmarket, self-catering accommodation facility, named Kiepersol Lodge, and disused mining workshops above the Kiepersol Lodge are being converted into houses for the Game Farm staff (Bayer, pers. com., 2003).

6.4.2 THE MANGOSUTHU ARTS AND CRAFTS VILLAGE

From this initial development by the Utrecht TLC, a number of other community-based tourism developments were initiated. In June 1998, the Utrecht Arts and Crafts Association was established, their goal being to market an Arts and Crafts industry

consisting of small businesses in various arts and crafts, and in doing so creating employment opportunities for people from the disadvantaged communities (Khumalo, pers. com., 2002). In July 1998, the TLC granted permission for the erection of a traditional Arts and Crafts Village, located at the entrance to the town, and construction of traditional Zulu village, to be called the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village, began in November 1998.

The project successfully secured external funding that was utilised for the development of the project in three separate phases. R35 000 was received from the Regional Council and R68 000 was received from the British Consul for the first phase of development. Then in 1999, R354 000 was granted by the DPLG's LED Fund, and finally a further R551 000 was granted by the LEDF in 2001 for the third phase of development (Khumalo, pers. com. 2002). An additional R6 000 was granted by a petrol company that has a station adjacent to the Village and was used for signage. It is difficult to judge as to whether the grants have been well spent, but it appears at this point that the project has been well planned and managed.

The Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village (Plate 5), currently has a pottery located in a pre-existing building, and in October 2000, a shop selling the craft products which include pottery, sewing and leather goods, was opened. According to the village manager (Miss Khumalo), previously unemployed people have been trained in pottery, sewing and beadwork, and the Village has provided self-employment to a number of people from the rural communities. Also located in the Village are backpackers accommodation facilities, to which a number of people from the rural communities are staffed to clean the facilities when required (Khumalo, pers. com., 2002).

6.4.3 THE COMMUNITY GAME FARM PROJECT

In realising the need to do more for the outlying poor communities and those communities on the fringe of the game park development, the Utrecht TLC decided to set aside the second game park created in 1998 for the development of a community game farm. The idea of establishing the 'Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products' was

presented to the TLC by a local Utrecht resident, trained in wildlife conservation (Rob Stannard) and following a public meeting in November 2000, the project received the full support of the new local council (elected in December 2000) as well as the local Amakhosi and general Utrecht community (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). Since the initiation of the project, a total of R4,3 million has been granted by the DLP's LED Fund. A further R1,5 million has just recently been acquired from the LEDF for the financial year between 2003-2004. Additional financial supported has been provided by the mine and from the Municipality.

The Utrecht Community Game farm and Wildlife Products project (which from hereon will be referred to as the game farm project) is situated on municipal land (initially just to the east of the town), and involves the sustainable production and harvest of game. A small abattoir has been built, with the assistance of of the mine and local council, next to the game farm and is used to process products such as venison, biltong (dried meat) and other game meat. People from the local community have been trained and employed to run certain aspects of the game farm project which include game farm management, as specialised guides and game guards, as well as in abattoir operations. A retail point for the products of the project, which include biltong, hooves, hides, horns, and skins, has been made available at the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village shop, the town's Publicity Office, and at a coffee shop located adjacent to the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). In addition to this, a small stud of Nguni cattle have been established, and these will be the bulk grazers on the game farm in order to balance the selective grazing of the game. The stud currently consists of 32 head of cattle with one primary bull, and is being overseen by the game farm project manager and staff. Small farmers in the Agri-village (another community project) and in other rural areas, are currently benefitting from the introduction of better genetic material into their herds by the utilization of the bull from the stud (Stannard, pers. com., 2003). Although the herd is currently being managed by the game farm project staff, local community members are being trained, with the intention of handing over the stud to the management of these

community members, who will also benefit from the production of the herd through the sale of slaughter cattle.

The project since amalgamated with the existing Balele Game Park and the Community Game Farm and expanded to include new areas of Municipal land to the North West of the town and land owned by the mining company, and currently covers an area of approximately 2850ha (Madamalala, pers. com., 2002). Future plans include the introduction of more game including two of the 'Big Five'. Investigations are currently underway to determine the viability of introducing buffalo and rhinoceros into the game park. The focus of the new game farm/reserve will be on the creation of a multi-disciplinary game utilisation area, primarily centered on the sustainable production and harvesting of game, wildlife and birding safaris, live game production including rare and valuable species, education and youth camps, guided day and night tours, and other adventure tourism activities such as hiking, horse trails and absailing.

With the successful establishment of the game park, and then the Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products, the town, with support from the Mayor and Municipality, embarked on a marketing campaign to promote Utrecht as being a destination like none other: *'Utrecht the town within a Game Park'*. This illustrated the innovation and commitment of the town to re-orientate its economy, and as noted in the game farm project business plan (P and N Environment and Development Consultants, 2001, p 4), "there is a sense of great anticipation amongst many of the people in the town as to the new brighter future of Utrecht". In 2001, a thatch gateway was built over the town's entrance, bearing the town's new logo (Plate 6). The gateway also houses a tourism bureau, and is adjacent to the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village and the major provincial road. A coffee shop, aptly named Wildside, located at the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village, has just recently opened in May 2003, which serves meals that includes meat and venison harvested from the game farm. The commitment of Utrecht's Local Council to the promotion of tourism in the town through the Game Farm project, has been evident in the support provided in expertise, infrastructure and equipment supply. In addition to this, new

Council has stood by the old TLC's resolution in terms of making land available for the development and expansion of the Game Farm project. Both the treasury department, in handling all the financial management, and the engineering department in the planning and inspecting of building work, have been integrally involved in the Game Farm Project (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). The council has also made available the services of a Community Liaison Officer (Charles Bayer) who is responsible for sourcing all the labour required for the project from the local community (Bayer, pers. com., 2003). In 2002 a Portfolio Committee was set up for the Game Farm Project. The project manager (Eric Madamalala) reports to the Portfolio Committee who in turn reports to the Municipality, local Amakhosi and local communities (Madamalala, pers. com., 2002).

It is hoped that this Game Farm project will not only benefit the previously disadvantaged, but will become self-sufficient and profitable within a short time space. It will integrate with other developments and tourism based initiatives undertaken by Local Council in the area. The two most notable local Council initiatives are the Game Park and, with assistance from the DPLG's LEDF, the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village. It is clear that Game Farm project will complement such initiatives, such as being able to supply the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village with byproducts, thus capitalising on the growing tourism industry in the area.



Plate 5. Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village and the Wildside Coffee Shop.



Plate 6. The thatched gateway over the town's entrance bearing the new logo '*Utrecht the town within a game park*'.

6.4.4 THE AGRI-VILLAGE

In addition to the initiatives described above, is the aforementioned community run Agri-Village. First conceptualised by the town engineer in 1997, the Village was designed to enable poor, local people to earn an income. Approved by Utrecht Development committee in 1998, the Village was established on some 1052ha of municipal land, west of the R34 road (Binns and Nel, 2003). The Agri-Village is targeted towards low income residents and is run by a joint committee comprising council and residents. Plots are sold at special tariffs for agricultural development, with each plot having space for a house, small garden and animals. Adjacent to the village is a large fenced area for cattle grazing. Some plots have established small tuck shops selling sweets and drinks to other residents, mostly children, and many residents are able to sell their fresh produce in the town (Bayer, pers. com., 2003). The building of a dam has been proposed in order to provide water for irrigation in the Agri-Village, but plans have not yet gone ahead for the construction of the dam (Mtshali, pers. com., 2003).

6.4.5 FUTURE TOURISM DEVELOPMENTS

A number of game farms have also been established on private farms adjacent to the site, and in the general vicinity of the Game Farm. It is asserted that the Game Farm project will benefit from these developments, as will they benefit from each other. A further initiative that has been proposed as a result of the promotion of the town as a peaceful scenic destination, involves the development of a retirement village. Negotiations are currently under way with external developers and the Local Council for the development of the retirement village located just north of the golf course and country club (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). It is believed that the excellent marketing capabilities of the private development company, could play a key role in placing Utrecht on the tourism map (Wright, pers. com., 2003). Although occupied during peak seasons and over weekends, it appears that the caravan park and chalets are not being utilised to their full potential. There is also the possibility of privatisation of the caravan park, which, with improved marketing, may result in increased visitors to the establishment, and in addition to this, bring in further private investment and employment opportunities (Wright, pers. com.,

2003). The various initiatives discussed above would therefore benefit from increased tourist numbers, and the local community of Utrecht would have the opportunity to develop its own tourism capacity. With the development of more accommodation facilities (Kiepersol Lodge on Balele Mountain), there is the potential for Utrecht to host adventure tourism events, drawing in further external investment into the town. In fact, a bike rally was held in the town in April 2003. The rally organisers were very impressed with what the town had to offer and are currently negotiating with the Municipality to host the bike rally each year. The economic spin-offs from this will be of obvious benefit to the town (Mtshali, pers. com., 2003). One town councillor (Mr Wright) hopes to establish a traditional Zulu Choir that will perform to guests staying in the lodge and chalets. In addition to this providing yet another unique attraction for tourists staying in Utrecht, such an initiative will play an important role in contributing to community upliftment and alleviating conditions of poverty for those members of the choir from the poorer rural areas (Wright, pers. com., 2003).

With the success to date of the game farm project, the Utrecht Local Council and community have sought to realise a long term ideal for the game park and farm, and for the town itself, and this includes catering for many different fields of tourism, game production and marketing (Stannard, pers. com., 2003). Future plans also include the removal of all of the fence separating the game park and farm from the town, so that game animals may be seen frequenting the outskirts of the town, parks and gardens. A section of game fence near the caravan park (part of the original Balele Game Park) has already been removed and replaced with a low level electric fence. This is to allow certain animals to leave the park area and enter the town, while still serving to buffer some of the other animals from a neighbouring farm (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). The town will be transformed into a tranquil, peaceful place for stopover travellers on the R34 en route to the coast, while affording tourists the unique opportunity to interact with the environment and wildlife within the town. It is asserted that these future expansions would "create a new National Tourism Epicentre around the town", catalysing other tourism developments,

bringing people to the town and creating more jobs, and thereby creating a stronger economy (Stannard, pers. com., 2003).

Realistically, the projects are unable to compete with other well-established tourism and Game Park facilities such as Sabi Sabi, and so the town's target market at this point will be domestic, leisure related tourists. The goal will be to attract people looking for a weekend away destination that offers a range of activities, but that is not too 'out of the way' so that travelling costs are minimal. Conference facilities, that can be used for business meetings, weddings and other functions, are in the process of being constructed, thereby attracting more people to the town (Stannard, pers. com., 2003). The marketing of the proposed expansion of the Game Farm will be a multi-faceted exercise. This will include local marketing through signage, the use of the mass media through having well publicised events, internet marketing, integration with the publicity association and marketing through the editorials of magazines and newspapers that deal with this sort of development. Wherever possible local people will be used to do the design and painting of sign boards, the setting up of adverts and web sites. The official opening and media launch of 'Utrecht the town within a Game Park' was held on the 26 July 2003. The increased media coverage and resultant exposure will no doubt serve to increase tourist numbers visiting the town (Stannard, pers. com., 2003).

6.5 ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL IMPACTS OF THE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT INITIATIVES

6.5.1 Economic Impacts

As with the other two case studies, the overall economic development of the tourism initiatives has been evaluated. This permits an assessment to be made of issues relating to employment, training and the positive and negative impacts on the lives of the community, as well as to whether tourism (through the various initiatives) has impacted, or will have an impact on the local economy in terms of GGP contribution.

Through the place marketing of the town as a game-related tourist destination, the focus of the economy of Utrecht has begun to shift from that of mining to tourism. It is clear that efforts are being made by the Municipality, private sector and local communities, through the development of various initiatives, to 're-brand' the town and start promoting this new economic sector. It is contended that R2.7 million has already been spent in Utrecht's economy, as a direct result of the initiation of the various tourism-driven LED projects (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). It is stated in the IDP (January, 2002) that due to the locally available natural resources, there is vast potential for future tourism development, and therefore, potential for further and rapid growth of the tourism economy in Utrecht.

The current tourism initiatives and products now provide a solid foundation for building the tourism industry and making a contribution to local economic development, and include:

- the Balele Conservancy
- the Municipal Game Park
- the Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products
- Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village
- the Utrecht Country Club
- youth camp
- tourism accommodation in the vicinity of the dam
- newly completed tourism accommodation facilities on the Balele mountain opposite the dam (Kiepersol Lodge)
- newly established Bed and Breakfast accommodation in the town (The Trading Post).

It is obvious that for tourism to be successful and to contribute to the economic growth of the town, Local Council and District Council need to "contribute to the development of both physical infrastructure and institutional capacity" (Utrecht IDP, January 2002). It is evident that to date, this has occurred, and the tourism industry in Utrecht is starting to grow. Tourism, as an economic sector, is not reliant on an exhaustible resource, like the mining sector. Although tourism does not compare to mining with respect to financial input into

the economy, the tourism market is consumptive and there is enormous room for growth of this sector (Stannard, pers. com., 2003). In addition to this, activities within the tourism sector will no doubt impact on other sectors, most notably manufacturing and property. It is therefore clear that the management and marketing of tourism is crucial for the growth of the local economy.

6.5.2 Employment and Training

All of the tourism development initiatives in Utrecht are creating new jobs for previously disadvantaged people and some of those are for people that have lost their source of income due to the downscaling of the mining operations. As indicated in the IDP (August 2001), a total of 44% of Utrecht's workforce is employed in the agricultural sector, and the majority of skills are located in this sector. The various tourism initiatives have been successful in developing a number of different skills for people from the poorer communities and will be examined in the discussion that follows. The development of a pool of skilled workers will be crucial in ensuring the success of the tourism industry in Utrecht.

The Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village has played a significant role in providing employment and in developing local skills. The Village has provided employment for number of people which includes:

- 1 Shop Assistant
- 7 people involved in pottery
- 5 people involved in sewing training
- 3 leather workers (not permanent)

The full-time workers are provided with materials from the Village, and receive 65% of the earnings from any goods sold, with the remaining 35% going to the Village to cover operating expenses. A number of local people make goods at their homes which are then sold at the Village (grass mats, wood carvings) all of whom were previously unemployed. They receive 80% the earnings from goods sold, and Mangosuthu receives 80%.

Mangosuthu is self-sustaining at present, but is not yet making profits. Although goods have been marketed at the World Summit, and will now be marketed overseas as well (have been taken to Belgium) (Khumalo, pers. com., 2002).

With regards to the Utrecht Community Game farm and Wildlife Products project, a number of people have directly benefited in terms of employment, and will continue to directly benefit from the project. It is imperative to note that, during both the construction and operational phase of this project, almost all people employed have been drawn from the poorer local communities, and include both males and females. The Community Liaison Officer sought people for temporary work from the greater Utrecht Municipal area, but the majority of workers came from the Agri-Village and Bendsdorp, and were employed on a rotational basis (Table 16).

Table 16. Employment figures (to date) of the Community Game Farm project.

TYPE OF EMPLOYMENT	TEMPORARY EMPLOYMENT	PERMANENT EMPLOYMENT			
		Manager	Game Guards	Supervisor and Community liaison officer	General Assistant
NUMBER OF PEOPLE	2 619	1	4	2	4
TOTAL	2 619				11

Source: Madamalala, pers. com., 2003.

A large number of people from the rural communities, mostly from the Agri-Village, have had the opportunity to earn an income through work done, on a rotational basis during the construction phase of the project. Jobs were created during the construction phase through the support for SMMEs and included the construction of the game meat abattoir, the upgrading of old mining buildings into Kiepersol Lodge and housing for staff, the erection of game fences and electrification of fencing, construction of motor vehicle grids and the manufacture of gates for the game fence, erosion control and wetland rehabilitation.

The Community Game Farm project has only recently neared its operational stage, and as such only 11 people have been employed on a permanent basis. It has been emphasised that these people draw salaries directly from income generated by the project and will therefore be directly responsible for their own income (Stannard, pers. com., 2003). Although there are only a limited number of permanent jobs, it is anticipated that by 2004, the game industry component of the Community Game Farm project will have generated approximately 50 permanent jobs. These will include lodge staff, tour guides, gate guards, processing staff and farm management. A number of people from the Utrecht community have been trained in various skills (Table 17).

Table 17. The Community Game Farm Training and Skills Development.

TYPE OF TRAINING	PERSON DAYS	NUMBER OF PEOPLE				
		Women	Men	Youth (under 25)	Disabled	Total
Hunting Courses	10		1			1
Financial Course	4	1				1
Guards training	96		4			4
Abattoir Training	69	9	5			14
Tour guiding	30		1			1
Welding	4		1		1	2
TOTAL	213	10	12		1	28

Source: Madamalala, pers. com., 2003.

During the construction phase, various other skills were developed, including brick laying, fencing and thatching. It has been stressed that the aim of the initiative is not only to provide jobs, but to train a number people to become entrepreneurs and become able to economically sustain themselves through their own businesses, and train people for higher positions such as management (Madamalala, pers. com., 2002). The various courses embarked on by the Community Game Farm staff involved them going to Pongola for on-site training. The manager underwent training in hunting, and the game guards were

trained in the fields of anti-poaching and law enforcement, as well as basic conservation skills. The tour guides underwent courses in basic tour guiding and were also sent to the Wakkeestroom's Environmental Education Centre for further training in birding and wildlife. Finally, people from the rural communities were trained on-site at the Game Farm Abattoir in the basic running of the abattoir and the operating of equipment, such that they themselves are now able to run and manage the game abattoir.

It must be emphasized that although a significant number of people were provided with temporary employment and training during the construction phase, many of these people now remain unemployed, giving credence to the fact that there is a limit to the number of permanent jobs tourism can create. However, as a direct result of the re-skilling of people through the game farm project, some people have had the opportunity to find work elsewhere in Utrecht. For example, a local carpenter who made and provided furniture to Kiepersol Lodge, was then commissioned by the newly established coffee shop to make tables and chairs, and has since taken a number of private orders (Stannard, pers. com., 2003).

It is further stressed that while a limited number of people will be directly employed, on a permanent basis or on a frequent contractual basis, as a consequence of the development of the Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products, and other associated tourism activities, the number of indirect beneficiaries, both in terms of employment and training, will be significant (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). Firstly, a number of craftsmen and women will benefit by utilising the by-products of the Game Farm to make handicrafts for selling in the Arts and Crafts Village. In addition to this, there is the potential for further income generation by the poorer people in the Agri-Village to supply the tourism accommodation and conference facilities with their produce, such as milk, meat and vegetables (Bayer, pers. com., 2003). The Community Game Farm may succeed in bringing about an upswing in the occupation by tourists of already established facilities such as the Municipal owned Caravan Park and chalets. This will in turn bring more capital into the area enabling the municipality to employ more people to these facilities,

and possibly bringing about more funds to allow for the upgrading or development of other non-related infrastructure or facilities, leading to more employment opportunities. New tourism developments such as adventure tourism would be catalysed by the expansion of the initiative including absailing, adventure hiking, paragliding, rock climbing and adventure horse trails. These activities will create employment for a number of people from the local community to maintain facilities (such as the caring of horses). Educational camps and school tours could generate further employment opportunities, and partnerships with tertiary institutions and local schools could be established (Stannard, pers. com., 2003).

It is clear that as the tourism industry grows, there is the potential for further employment of people from the local poorer communities in the construction of additional accommodation facilities and tourist centres; in the catering, hospitality and service sectors; as additional trained tourist guides, game and bird guides; and in providing unique cultural tourism experiences.

6.5.3 Empowerment

As LED projects, both the Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products project and Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village aim is to involve and empower local people. It has been re-iterated that the primary objective of the Game farm Project is not just to 'employ', but to create a tourism development environment, that will allow for the capacitation of the poor rural people, and the creation of a number of spin-off employment opportunities. Very often economic development projects become reliant on financial grants. With the initial injection of funding, there is a notable degree of enthusiasm from the community members, but as this wanes, communities become disheartened. However, the Utrecht projects have been managed by the Municipality, allowing for strict financial control. Rather than "just spoon-feeding, the projects have provided opportunities for the starting of small businesses and the development of skills" (Stannard, pers. com., 2003). As manager of the Community Game Farm project, Mr Madamalala aims to ensure the upliftment of local communities through the encouragement of entrepreneurship. For many

of those who have been employed by the projects and associated tourism activities, whether temporarily or on a permanent basis, there is a general feeling of empowerment. Many have contended that through the income they have earned, they have been able to stay at home and support their families (Maphanga, pers. com., 2003; Ndlozi, pers. com., 2003).

6.5.4 Positive and Negative Impacts on the Lives of the Rural Communities

It has been asserted that tourism development should be encouraged to have a pro-poor focus. In line with the specific objectives of Local Economic Development, various case studies of tourism-driven LED reflect an emphasis on improving the livelihoods of those poorer, rural communities. The positive and negative impacts of the tourism initiatives on these communities in Utrecht are summarised into Table 18.

Table 18. The positive and negative impacts on the lives of members of the rural communities.

		POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
IMPACTS ON ASSETS (Natural and human)	Natural resources Access to / use of: - land - wood (fuel) - grazing - potential to collect plants - water Question of sustainability of use	- Given land at very low cost in the Agri-Village, and have access to and use of water, wood and grazing. - have to access to the game farm and park to collect medicinal plants, and for grass harvesting for weaving and thatching	- Small degree of poaching of animals in the game farm and reserve.
	Skills - gaining of new skills / training courses	- The projects have allowed for a number of people to go on training course and skills to be developed (discussed above).	- There has been a reliance on funding from LEDF to train people. Therefore a limited number of people have gone on training courses.

		POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
IMPACTS ON LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES (Opportunities to compliment livelihood activities)	Other livelihood activities Subsistence farming of: - livestock - crops	- Continue to grow vegetables in Agri-Village and rear cattle. - Given improved genetic strain of cattle.	- No impacts to date.
	Opportunities for entrepreneurs and small businesses	- number of entrepreneurs commissioned for various jobs during construction phases of various initiatives. - Number of people currently selling crafts at the Mangosuthu Village Arts and Crafts shop.	- still lacking business skills and operation funding to start own businesses (but game farm project looking to help set up small business of these entrepreneurs).
	Tourism market access and opportunities	- Mangosuthu provides a means to access the tourism market and sell crafts.	- No impacts to date.
LIVELIHOOD GOALS AND OUTCOMES	Education - opportunity to improve	- In some cases, income from work on projects used for school fees.	- No impacts to date.
	Health Access to health care facilities	- Workers have been informed about HIV/AIDS.	- There has been no direct improvements in access to healthcare.
	Access to information - kept informed of the tourism development process	-Rural communities kept informed of tourism process through regular community meetings with local Amakhosi.	- Knowledge of tourism still very limited in rural areas.
	Empowerment and Sense of Pride in the Community	- Definite sense of pride within the Utrecht community. - New source of income to poorer rural community members has allowed the maintenance of family bonds (decrease of out-migration of family members to larger centres to find work).	- There exists the potential for further rural community involvement in future tourism developments.
POLICY ENVIRONMENT	Policy - influencing policy / are changes in policy felt	- In line with LED policy, there is a strong emphasis by local Municipality on poverty alleviation and community participation and empowerment.	- No impacts to date.

It is important to note that the game farm manager plays an important role in informing the rural community members of the importance of the sustainable use of natural resources in the game farm. The collection of fire wood, grass and plants for muti ³ occurs on a permit basis. In this way, the development of the game farm has not prevented rural communities from collecting the natural resources required to sustain their livelihoods, but allows for the careful monitoring of such resource utilization. It is contended that improvements in the quality of life don't just involve financial benefits, but benefits associated with an increase in knowledge. Visits are made to schools in the area, including a number of rural schools to inform and educate the children on the value of the natural resources as tourist commodities, and the importance of wildlife and conservation (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003).

One cannot say at this point that the tourism-based initiatives, including the game farm project and Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village, have significantly improved the quality of lives of the rural communities of Utrecht. However, the projects have certainly had, to some degree, a positive impact on various aspects of the livelihoods of these community members. In seeking to achieve local economic development, the tourism-based projects have had a distinctly pro-poor focus.

6.6 REFLECTING ON THE EVIDENCE

The collapse of the coal industry in Northern KwaZulu-Natal resulted in the loss of a considerable number of jobs in the area and the drastic reduction of the economic viability of Utrecht. Fortunately for this small town, the urgency of the looming economic crisis was recognised early by a number of key actors. It was realised that there was a desperate need to look at the development of other industries and economically viable projects, and ideas quickly materialised into action that involved the development of tourism in Utrecht. The experience of Utrecht reveals a successful attempt at re-orientating a local economy through the initiation of a number of community-based tourism developments. It becomes

³ Muti - The traditional use of plants for medicinal purposes.

important to examine the case of Utrecht by addressing the questions of what, or who were the key motivating factors in catalysing such a response, how sustainable are the projects, and what does the future hold for the town?

It has been revealed that the down-scaling of the mining operations rendered up to ten thousand people unemployed, forcing many to move away from the area, the spin-offs of which were felt throughout the Utrecht community. It was then that a few key actors sought a new economic focus for the town, and tourism was acknowledged as a possible option. It was apparent that the town did not offer any form of tourist attraction that was specifically unique to the town and region. It was however, realised that there is an increasing interest across South Africa in game or wildlife-related tourism. With areas of unspoilt scenic beauty, and large tracts of undeveloped land, most of which is owned by the Municipality, that would be suitable for game, it was visualised that the town's natural resources could in fact be developed into something truly unique to Utrecht. With a strong sense of collaboration and commitment by the town's citizens and key stake holders, the decision was taken to create the first 'town within a game park'. A number of development projects have been embarked upon, encouraging the growth of the tourism economy and creating new jobs for previously disadvantaged people and for some of those who lost their source of income from the mine.

The TLC had already established, in the early 1990's, the Balele Conservancy. Large areas of Municipal land has since been developed for tourism activities and other developments including the caravan park and Leisure Club, the Utrecht Community Game Farm, Mangosuthu Village and the Agri-Village. There have also been small areas of land owned by local farmers who have co-operated and supported tourism development in these areas. In fact many local farmers have developed trails through scenic landscape on their farms, serving as additional drawcards to the area. The mining company has assisted with rehabilitating areas surrounding old mining infrastructure, contributing to the attractiveness of the area (Binns and Nel, 2003). The success of tourism in Utrecht has thus been dependent on these natural resources, and the fact that the town boasts a

relatively crime-free environment. "We have to focus on the scenic beauty, peace and tranquillity of the area, as well as the presence of game and wildlife, to draw in the tourists" (Stannard, pers. com., 2003). Bearing this mind, and the fact that many towns in KwaZulu-Natal have game parks and reserves, it was also realised that something truly unique was required to draw in tourists. With this, Utrecht was transformed into a 'town *within* a game park' (Le Roux, pers. com., 2002).

A crucial finding with respect to the emergence of tourism and the success of the projects to date, has undoubtedly been that of human agency. As Binns and Nel (2003) have emphasised, a unique spirit of partnership and co-operation between all stake holders in the town has been instrumental in driving the tourism development process forward. The Utrecht Local Council has worked closely with a few key actors, most notably the former publicity officer and a conservationist, whose commitment and vision were critical in initiating the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village and the Utrecht Community Game Farm respectively. It is clear that the development of all tourism related activities occurred, and continue to occur in a transparent manner, where regular public meetings and open discussions are held with the Local Council and local Amakhosi who report back to members of the rural communities, and all other concerned citizens. In addition to this, the 'town within a game park' has received support from the mining company with the provision of land and abandoned infrastructure, and local farmers have been eager to capitalise on the burgeoning tourism industry.

It must be noted that critical to the initiation of these projects was the granting of financial support from the Department of Provincial and Local Government's Local Economic Development Fund. The Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village and the Utrecht Community Game farm and Wildlife Products, collectively acquired funding to the sum of over R5,8 million (Madamalala, pers. com., 2003). It is important to note that thousands of projects across South Africa apply to the DPLG's LEDF every year, and there is therefore an enormous amount of competition for the acquisition of grants. The fact that Utrecht received grants for two separate projects gives testimony to the in-depth and insightful

business plans of these projects, indicating their importance and potential. In fact, the Department of Provincial and Local Government has rated Utrecht's LED projects as the top LED projects in KwaZulu-Natal. Although the successful acquisition of funds could certainly be said to be one of the key successes of the Utrecht initiative to date, one must question issues relating to an over-dependence on funds. It is too early to tell whether the game farm project and the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village will not only be self-sustaining, but will generate sufficient profits so as to have a significant impact on the lives of those previously unemployed people from the rural communities, who may have come to rely on each of the projects for their sole source of income. It is obviously important that external funds should help to establish the groundwork for such projects, rather than provide on-going subsidies for them, but an assessment of whether the projects in Utrecht can in fact become self-sustaining and profitable, as well to kickstart an overall growth in tourism in the town in general, can only be made in time.

Another critical finding of Binns and Nel's (2003) study that played a role in the success of the tourism development, was the interconnectedness of the different projects, and this research corroborates this fact. With the various initiatives having reached further stages of development and operation since their study was undertaken, it has become even clearer that each play a supportive role to the other initiatives, promoting the industry within the town. The Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village provides a retail point for products harvested from the Community Game Farm, and cattle from the Agri-Village are being used for grazing within the Game Farm. Vegetables and other fresh produce from the Agri-Village will be supplied to the lodges and various accommodation facilities. The two primary projects, the Mangosuthu Arts and Crafts Village and the Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products are seen to be the 'stepping stones' for the further development of tourism in the town, with these and the other development projects, forming part of one single initiative to include the whole of Utrecht in its re-branding of a 'town within a game park' (Mtshali, pers. com., 2003).

LED, at its core, involves the utilization of locally available resources and skills to create jobs and improve the quality of lives for all in that local area. Fundamental to the initiation of the projects has been the emphasis placed on the involvement and empowerment of poorer communities. It is certainly clear that the various projects of the Utrecht initiative have, through their successful re-orientation of the town's economy to tourism, contributed to an improvement in the quality of lives for a number of people, in what could be considered, a form of pro-poor tourism. This is particularly evident in terms of the encouragement of entrepreneurship and the development of new skills. All of the benefits related to employment creation, skills development and the encouragement of entrepreneurship have contributed to alleviating conditions associated with poverty. However, there remain high levels of unemployment in the Utrecht area. Various tourism development projects have created jobs, however the number of jobs created appears rather modest when compared to the number of jobs lost with the down-scaling of the mining operations. The potential for future employment opportunities as the tourism industry in Utrecht grows, has been examined. However, as town councillor, Mr Wright (pers. com., 2003) notes, one has ask "how many jobs can tourism actually create?"

Furthermore, the tourism developments have not occurred entirely without conflict. As a result of the introduction of wildebeest into the game park, farmers have lost a large number of cattle to Malignant Catarrhal Fever (MCF), an acute generalized disease of cattle commonly known as 'snotsiekte'. It is believed that wildebeest calves act as a source of virus that infect the cattle, often resulting in mortality (du Toit, 1991). Fortunately, financial compensation and negotiations with game farm management and the farmers have been met with peaceful resolutions thus far. However, it must be acknowledged that there is the potential for further problems of this kind in the future. The introduction of game such as buffalo and rhino must be carefully considered, so as to avoid potential conflict with farmers and their livestock, and rural community members that require access to the natural resources for the collection of firewood, grass and plants.

Although the town has successfully shifted the economic focus to tourism and currently have the necessary infrastructure to support a growing tourism industry, one must question whether in fact the town will be successful in attracting sufficient tourist numbers to utilize such infrastructure. Will tourists numbers start to increase such that crafts and game products are sold, accommodation facilities filled, and the game reserve visited to the point that more jobs are created and tourism comes to dominate the local economy? Furthermore, there is the very real possibility that if and when the tourism industry in Utrecht begins to take off, profits may be accrued and income generated may be injected into the local economy, but only a few select members of the community will truly benefit. Although the game farm project may successfully expand such that a number of additional people are trained and employed on a full-time basis as game and birding guides, or as adventure tourism activity guides (such as horse rides and hiking). Yet despite involvement of people (most likely previously unemployed) from the rural communities in this regard, the tourism industry may become centred around a few certain enterprises (such as accommodation facilities, restaurants), benefitting a few 'elites'. Apart from employment provided by such enterprises, the 'poor' may otherwise become excluded from the tourism development process in the town of Utrecht.

Despite these, and concerns relating to the sustainability of the projects (bearing in mind the unreliable nature of the tourism industry), all of these initiatives have, to some degree, promoted local economic development, and the promotion of natural resource-based tourism (or more specifically game/wildlife-related tourism and in some instances ecotourism) has contributed to the revival of the economic vitality of the area. With the construction of all infrastructure having only just been completed and with the official launch of the 'town within a game park' initiative having recently occurred in July 2003, one will have to wait and see as to whether tourism development can live up to its expectations.

CHAPTER 7. DISCUSSION

This chapter attempts to draw together the three case studies, briefly comparing them with respect to their impacts on the local economy, employment and the livelihoods of the poorer rural communities. The experiences of the three case studies is placed in the context of LED policy and practice in South Africa, and the success of the case studies is discussed relative to broader LED theory and the experience of international case studies. In addition to this, the three case studies are discussed relative to the concept of pro-poor tourism in South Africa, and finally, the potential of natural resource-based tourism in driving LED in other centres across the country is assessed, highlighting key catalytic factors and the potential conflicts and problems that may arise when adopting such an approach.

7.1 THE THREE CASE STUDIES RELATIVE TO EACH OTHER AND LED POLICY AND PRACTICE IN SOUTH AFRICA

In all three case studies, it is clear that, like so many small towns across South Africa which remain marginalised from large cities and global market forces, unemployment remains high and many people are living in conditions of poverty, particularly previously excluded black communities located in the rural peripheries of each town. In each case, the natural resource base has been identified as having the potential, if properly managed and marketed, to attract tourists. Lacking the financial and institutional capacity to boost the local economy and create employment opportunities through other sectors, tourism has been recognised as being a key driving force for achieving local economic development. Although on a very small scale, most particularly in Eshowe, the overall picture of the impact of the natural resource-based tourism LED is positive, with some impacts of the projects being more tangible than others and obviously varying between all three case studies. It must be further acknowledged that all three projects were, at the time of this research, in their incipient phases, with the Mehlosing Horse and Hiking Trail yet to be

fully operational, and similarly with various endeavours related to the Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products project still to be fully operational.

The Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk project in Eshowe was the smallest project examined, and its impacts were noted to be on the most part, positive. The project has been successful in providing a number of permanent jobs to previously unemployed people from the rural areas, and has provided training in a number of fields, resulting in the development of a number of skills for these people. In terms of utilising locally available natural resources and the creation of employment opportunities and skills development, while simultaneously stimulating the local economy (more specifically the local tourism economy), the Boardwalk project reflects a number of key factors vital to achieving LED. However, the impacts on development should be assessed relative to the need. Even though the Boardwalk project has employed a number of people on a permanent basis, the numbers are extremely small when one considers the levels of unemployment in the area. Apart from those directly employed by the project, there has been very little impact in terms of improving the livelihoods of members of the rural communities which are considered to be the poorer communities. Although future plans for the expansion of the project and the development of further trails aim to involve the rural communities, these communities at this stage have not been fully integrated into the endeavour.

The key issue regarding the Boardwalk project, however, is the fact that it can serve as an example from which the rest of Eshowe can learn, particularly the local municipality. Visitor arrival numbers to the town and greater area appear to be growing with the number of private sector tourism initiatives increasing. This could be as a result of increased advertising and marketing efforts of the individual tourism initiatives, including the Boardwalk, as well as the more recent efforts of the municipality, together with other stakeholders in promoting the attractiveness of the town and greater area. The major groups of beneficiaries of these other tourism initiatives have been groups of existing white tourism entrepreneurs, with the spread of this development having not yet spread into the rural communities. Clearly, local government can play a significant role in ensuring that

the pro-poor rhetoric of South African LED and tourism planning is matched with the need for the economic development and empowerment of these rural communities which have been historically excluded from the tourism development process in Eshowe. The uMlalazi Municipality has recognised the potential of developing the locally available natural resources for tourism in order to create employment opportunities and to address the needs of the many thousands of people living in the surrounding rural areas in conditions of poverty. However, the local government has not yet embarked on any tourism-based development initiatives that so clearly have the potential to achieve LED.

Although in the early stages and yet to achieve significant economic and employment benefits, the Utrecht Community Game Farm and Wildlife Products and other related endeavours illustrate the potential of tourism-based development to lay a basis for the re-orientation of a local economy as well as to gradually address the legacy of Apartheid. Furthermore, the case of Utrecht reflects a number of features that are internationally recognised as being instrumental in successful LED. These include the use and marketing of locally available resources that have development potential, strong local leadership, the collaboration and co-operation of a number of key stakeholders, partnership formation, local, regional and national government support and overall community unity (World Bank, 2001).

However, it must be acknowledged that although a number of permanent jobs have been created, and areas identified for the future creation of further employment opportunities as the tourism industry in the town grows, the Utrecht initiative cannot be said to have fully compensated for the loss of jobs following the closure and downscaling of the mines. While the livelihoods of those from the rural communities including those from the Agri-village, that have been directly employed by the various projects, have undoubtedly been positively affected, it is clear that only a limited number of people from the rural communities have participated thus far and it is difficult to say as to whether the rural communities as a whole have been fully integrated into the Utrecht initiative.

Clear vision by a rural community member and with strong leadership from a local NGO, together with financial support from government, were instrumental in driving the initiation of the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail in Matatiele. A key finding has been the degree of rural community involvement and participation at all phases of the project, facilitated through the community tourism organisations (CTOs). Apart from the number of permanent jobs that will be created upon the hiring of staff for each guesthouse, there are also a number of casual workers involved, including those earning an income from sources such as crafts, from supplying food and other inputs to the operation. Although many of those involved in the project remain poor, livelihood conditions have improved, to some extent, since their involvement in the project. The benefits are spread unevenly but widely across poor households, as earnings accrue to a few but are used to support a larger number of family members and are re-spent locally, generating multipliers. Many elements of the Matatiele initiative are clearly in line with the established theory regarding the key characteristics of successful LED that is community driven and that has a pro-poor focus.

On the negative side, however, has been issues relating to a lack of understanding of the concept of tourism by members of the rural communities, and the fact that the jobs created by such a project are limited. Although the majority of rural community members affected by the project have been located in the Eastern Cape, the project nonetheless serves to illustrate to the town of Matatiele, much like the case of Eshowe, the potential of harnessing the attractiveness of the surrounding mountainous areas for tourism in order to create jobs, boost the local economy and improve the livelihoods of those in the rural communities.

In drawing all three case studies together, certain key findings are noted with respect to economic, employment and training, and livelihood impacts. All three projects have endeavoured, to some degree, to involve and/or empower members of the local rural communities. Income levels, however, have generally only been improved for project participants and assisted entrepreneurs, with little to no improvements to income for the rural communities at large. The ability to secure external funds has been noteworthy in

all three case studies, but it must be acknowledged in many instances, this may lead to dependence. With the three projects still in their incipient phases, it is difficult to ascertain as to whether the operation of the projects will continue to be dependant on the provision of funding. It is generally asserted that in situations of grant dependance, projects need to achieve economic sustainability if project participants and members of the communities are to reap continued rewards. However, just because a project has become grant dependant, that is not to say that people will not continue to reap the benefits of the project. Employment has resulted from all three case studies, although much of it has been of a short term nature. The number of permanent jobs created has been limited, especially in the case of the Aerial Boardwalk in Eshowe. Training has been a key ingredient of all three projects, but overall, skills levels have only improved for those that have secured permanent jobs. Benefits accrued from the short term employment opportunities have been relatively widespread in Utrecht and Matatiele, but it can be said that it is only the project participants employed on a permanent basis, whose livelihoods have been, to date, positively impacted upon. It can therefore be noted that overall, the most positive gains of all three LED initiatives include skills development, sustainable employment in some instances, and positive endeavours to promote the interests of the rural communities and stimulate economic activity through tourism. A clear role for the private sector and other outside agencies has been identified. The major drawbacks in each case study include grant dependance and an apparent limit to the number of permanent employment opportunities.

In the light of these drawbacks, it could be argued that small-scale tourism development and LED projects, like the three case studies, may have a limited life span with respect to their economic, employment and livelihood impacts. Due to the size and nature of such projects, very often they become grant dependant, but nonetheless impact positively on employment and overall livelihood conditions for a number of years. However, it is clear that there is a limit to the number of jobs and benefits such projects may provide, and after a number of years, a 'saturation point' is reached, and the projects may no longer be self-sustaining. Contrary to being viewed as negative, this is simply a reality of small-scale

projects, and indicates that, at this point, other similar projects should be initiated such that renewed benefits may be accrued.

Within the broader context of LED practice in South Africa, these findings give credence to further examination of the issues of funding and the role of stakeholders in promoting LED. It has already been stated that all three case studies have been successful in securing external grants. It must be noted at this point, that the fact that all three projects have secured significant amounts of external funding, is a success in itself. With respect to state funding and the LEDF in particular, it has been mentioned that there are a number of projects across KwaZulu-Natal that compete for the acquisition of such financial assistance. The fact that the projects in both Matatiele and Utrecht have been successful in securing a number of consecutive grants from the LEDF, reflects the insightful business plans and successful marketing and management of each of these projects. To date, the Boardwalk in Eshowe has had a relatively large degree of private sector investment with very little financial support from local government, reflecting an overall trend in Eshowe of the dominance of private sector involvement in tourism. The Utrecht initiative and the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking trail have relied heavily on government poverty relief and local economic development funding. While the Matatiele project has received some support from the Swiss Development Agency and Fair Trade in Tourism, Utrecht is yet to receive significant private sector funding. A town that has experienced similar hardships to Utrecht and which has also sought to re-orientate its economy towards tourism is that of the aforementioned Stilbaai in the Western Cape. It has been stated that the significant growth that has accrued in Stilbaai has been as a result of its appeal to private investors (Binns and Nel, 2002). While a range of stakeholders, led by local government, drove the process forward in Utrecht, private sector, and rural community members together with an NGO, were instrumental to the initiation of the projects in Eshowe and Matatiele respectively. The role of stakeholders is therefore a critical consideration when analysing the key catalysts of LED.

This is related to the issue of LED policy in South Africa in which local government is defined as the main driver of LED (RSA, 2002), with little recognition of the role of the private sector, NGOs and CBOs and the partnerships formed between all of these. International experience has suggested that local government is more effective as a facilitator rather than a driver of LED. The reality is that local government across South Africa often lacks the capacity to undertake LED on its own, and as noted by Hindson (2003a), is inherently unsuited to take a lead role within certain domains of LED given its organisational structure and operating ethos. It is apparent that in many small towns pursuing LED across South Africa, high degrees of state intervention or facilitation are often required in order to create jobs and drive economic revival. Furthermore, there may be a range of LED initiatives in a single locality pursued by a range of different actors with different interests, resources and objectives. It has been argued that this may result in a lack of co-ordination and missed opportunities for synergies between initiatives (Nel, 2001; Hinsdon, 2003a), and public-private-community partnerships can diversify an initiative by drawing in more stakeholders and maximising the potential benefits of the initiative. Although it is still early days, the most tangible results achieved from all three case studies in terms of employment, skills development, impacts on the quality of life and overall boost to the local economy, have occurred in Utrecht in which co-ordination and partnerships between a range of different actors were formed. While there is clearly scope for increased policy support for the different stakeholders pursuing LED and partnerships formed between such stakeholders, there is also the challenge in different localities to bring together government, NGOs and CBOs, and private sector business organisations pursuing LED to enable convergence of interests and initiatives around shared goals.

7.2 CONTEXTUALISING THE CASE STUDIES WITHIN LED THEORY AND THE INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

Having assessed the case studies relative to each other and relative to LED policy and practice in South Africa, a reflection of the research within the broader LED theory and the international experience is required. All of the findings are critical when considering the future application of LED in various localities across South Africa, as the country, which

is still in its early stages of LED practice, looks to draw upon the international experience of LED.

Within the overall theoretical context, it is apparent that the experience of LED in all three case studies share similarities with the definition, nature and operating principles of LED as discussed in chapter two. In reviewing the literature, a definition of LED that repeatedly emerges is that by Zaaier and Sara (1993, p 129), who have defined it as “essentially a process in which local governments and/or community based groups manage their existing resources and enter into partnership arrangements with the private sector, or with each other, to create new jobs and stimulate economic activity in an economic area”. It is clear that all three case studies are operating along the same or similar lines as Zaaier and Sara’s (1993) definition of LED. A characteristic of LED as specified in this and in other definitions, that is most obviously evident in all three case studies, is the use of existing resources. In each of the three case studies examined, the local natural resource base has been creatively utilised for tourism in order to achieve LED.

Zaaier and Sara’s (1993) definition of LED also clearly states that the process may be driven by a number of different agents, or through partnerships arrangements between all these agents. This research, in which a range of actors have been the driving forces in promoting LED, has parallels with the international experience which features a range of development agents across different localities currently pursuing LED (World Bank, 2001). While the Aerial Boardwalk in Eshowe is private sector driven, the project’s objectives have been to involve the local rural communities, and empower them through capacity building and skills training. International experience has shown that private sector involvement in LED, particularly in the countries of the developed world including the UK, generally occurs in cities and metropolitan areas, and is related to influencing market based processes and business expansion (Clark, 2002). Within South Africa, possibilities exist for the involvement of the private sector in promoting LED, not only in large cities, but in small towns and rural areas as well, as the Aerial Boardwalk project has indicated. In addition to this, as mentioned earlier, private sector *investment* as well as *drive*, can be

instrumental in achieving successful LED. While the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail in Matatiele is community driven and managed, with support from the NGO and a consultancy firm, it is premature to ascertain as to whether the project will become self-sustaining and generate sufficient profits such that the communities continue to reap the rewards. Nel (1999) has noted that only one-third of community-based initiatives in the United States ever become sustainable and attain the goals to which they aspire. In addition to this, it has been noted that community driven projects across Europe have generated a low number of jobs (Stohr, 1990). While other community based initiatives in South Africa, such as Stutterheim in the Eastern Cape as mentioned in chapter two, have proven to be relatively successful, these issues indicate that very often community type projects are grant dependant and success is not always inevitable.

As has been discussed, the role of stakeholders is a critical consideration when identifying catalysts of LED, and in South Africa, although local government has been acknowledged as a key driver of LED, little attention and policy support has been given to the role of other agents, and more specifically the role of partnerships between the different agents. It has been noted that in cities in the UK and USA, the coherent delivery of any LED strategy has required local government, business, civic and community organisations acting in tandem (Clark, 2002). Partnership development in this research has parallels with the European experience regarding the need for differing partnership arrangements and network structures according to local circumstances. The research of Bennett and Krebs (1993) on a number of localities in twelve European Community countries has demonstrated the importance of government leadership at all levels, and the significance of co-finance and collaboration with other agents, particularly the private sector and Chamber of Commerce in local economic development planning. The case of Utrecht has been revealed to be the most successful of all three case studies, and while partnerships have been of an informal nature with co-operative arrangements between major stakeholders, these have clearly been pivotal in the success to date of the various tourism-based initiatives in Utrecht.

In defining LED, and describing the nature and purpose of the process, the application of LED in response to a local economic crisis and its role in regenerating a local economy, has been extensively documented. As was discussed in chapter two, many cities in the UK and Eastern Europe, have sought to encourage development and assist economic and physical regeneration through the promotion of leisure and tourism (Law, 1992, 2000). Clearly, Utrecht is seeking to re-structure its economy through tourism. In his examination of the city of Manchester in the UK, Law (2000) has pointed to a number of problems that have occurred in such cases of tourism-led urban regeneration, including the fact that very often new visitor attractions win new visitors but that numbers often fall away after a few years. Obviously this is a critical consideration for the case of Utrecht, in which high expectations are being placed on tourism in creating employment opportunities and stimulating economic growth in the town.

7.3 THE EFFECTIVENESS OF NATURAL RESOURCE-BASED TOURISM IN DRIVING LED IN SOUTH AFRICA

While it has been indicated that all three case studies appear to concur with the theoretical principles of LED, and certain elements of the international experience of LED, it now becomes necessary to assess the effectiveness of natural resource-based tourism in driving LED in other localities across South Africa, particularly in small towns and the previously dis-empowered rural communities associated with them. It has been revealed in chapter two that LED strategies applied in smaller centres and rural areas can vary considerably from those applied in cities. Lacking the physical and human resources, any understanding of LED in these smaller localities needs to be in terms of a modest and appropriate strategy. It is obvious that there is the need to adopt an approach in the small town and rural context that encourages an assessment of local comparative advantages such that the basis for sustainable local growth is laid, and that is realistic with respect to the potential for external investment. While the initiation of tourism-based LED projects in each of the three case studies was appropriate to each of their respective localities, this is not to say that tourism-based LED should be a 'recipe approach' for all

small centres seeking to promote socio-economic development. Instead, this research has served to illustrate that tourism, based on the locally available natural resources, is a *possible option* through which small centres and other localities which have suffered an economic crisis or have been experiencing persistent unemployment and/ or deprivation, may achieve local economic development.

However, as has been argued by many authors on the topic of tourism development, tourism at a local level may not be sustainable in meeting local needs and providing benefits to local people (Lea, undated). In South Africa, the possibilities of a pro-poor approach to tourism is being increasingly explored (Mahony and Van Zyl, 2002), and within LED, specific attention is being given to poverty alleviation and improving the quality of lives of previously disadvantaged communities. Within this research, associated with each town were the surrounding rural communities, and to which each tourism-based LED initiative looked to assist in some way. While it is only the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail in Matatiele that appears to have an explicitly pro-poor mission, with a significant degree of community involvement in the project, it is clear that all three case studies have created jobs and empowered people, and, although to a very small extent, alleviated poverty. Ashley and Roe (2002) state that a critical element of PPT is ensuring that the poor are involved at all levels and scales of the tourism development process. There is clearly evidence of this in the case of the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail, as has been discussed, where a number of benefits derived from the tourism development process have been maximised, including employment, the encouragement of entrepreneurial activity and inducement of a number of multipliers (Table 2).

It must be re-iterated that within the South African context, a 'community' is generally associated with the previously disadvantaged black communities located in the rural areas. Within this research, the projects have been assessed with respect to their empowerment and livelihood impact on these community members, located in the rural areas surrounding each town. However, it is important to note that a community as defined by this research, also includes the people living within each town. So while the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking

Trail in Matatiele has been discussed as a truly 'community-driven' project, it could be argued that the initiatives in Utrecht, although driven by local government in collaboration with private consultants and other key stakeholders, is also a form of community-driven LED. The case of Utrecht can be viewed as a situation of a 'community in crisis', in which all of the town's citizens responded as a community to an economic decline.

In the context of LED and poverty alleviation, Hindson (2003a) argues that although it may effectively complement welfare interventions, LED is not well suited to playing a passive welfare role. It should connect economic operators and work seekers in poor communities with the wider economy through a range of linkages - markets, subcontracting, financial and employment exchange. In light of the rapid growth that tourism is experiencing in South Africa (The Citizen, 2003) and the linkages that can be made to regional and national tourism markets, it is possible that a LED strategy based on tourism can achieve these results. However, Rogerson (2001), in his study on route tourism and local economic development in South Africa, has found that the private sector-driven initiatives, the Midlands Meander in KwaZulu-Natal and the Highlands Meander in Mpumalanga, have resulted in successful tourism expansion but without any of this development having spread into the surrounding poor communities. The major beneficiaries of these initiatives remain the white tourism entrepreneurs. Therefore, in moving towards a pro-poor approach, a number of issues should be considered, such as who should act as a catalyst to involve the poor in a tourism initiative; will power relations be transformed such that the local people are empowered to directly initiate and control the tourism development process within their communities; and will the poor actually benefit and their livelihoods be improved? One also needs to question whether such communities truly understand the notion of tourism, and the needs of the tourist market and economy. Tourism is essentially a Westernised concept, and if a tourism-based project is to succeed and have a significant impact on the poor within the local communities, the ideals, ethics and values of the 'westernised tourist' need to be fully understood by the communities initiating the tourism development.

In addition to these concerns, it is critical to note that while natural resource-based tourism is an effective tool for driving LED, historically, tourism is a fickle and volatile industry (Keyser, 2002). It has been revealed that tourism-based LED as it currently exists in South Africa, appears to be experiencing greater success in larger cities in which the tourism industries are already well established. While the tourism industry may be fairly well established in Eshowe, the success of the initiatives in Utrecht and Matatiele depend to a large extent on the promotion of the towns themselves as tourist destinations. Matatiele has not yet looked to market itself as a tourist destination, despite the attractiveness of the surrounding mountainous areas. The tourism-based LED initiative will therefore have to aggressively market the initiative itself so as to attract tourists. It could therefore be said that while a number of other LED projects based on tourism can and should be embarked upon in Eshowe and Matatiele, aided by the further promotion of the attractions in the town and greater area, these projects may be most successful when pursued in conjunction with other forms of LED. For a town such as Utrecht, that is looking to re-orientate its economy entirely towards tourism, it is imperative that concerted and continued efforts are made to promote the entire town as a tourist destination. In order to establish a secure market, tapping into the support of regional and even national tourism agencies may be beneficial. While this may contribute to the successful promotion of Utrecht as a tourist destination, further diversification of the economic base is necessary. This renders the potential conflict between encouraging economic growth and diversity while still preserving the tranquillity and 'tourism character' of the town high on the agenda. It is evident that Utrecht has placed high expectations on the tourism industry within the town, but one has to question as to whether this will merely lead to yet another 'eggs all in one basket' scenario, with an over-dependence on the tourism industry. This is clearly an imperative consideration in the light of the fact that an over-reliance on one single industry was the original reason for the town's economic decline. Experience elsewhere has revealed that a dependence on a single activity in any economy is inherently dangerous, and this should be kept in mind for other small towns looking to re-focus their economies towards a single economic activity such as tourism.

The three case studies and the preceding evidence of tourism promotion and tourism-based LED, has revealed that various localities across South Africa have recognised tourism as a growth path to pursue. However, there are numerous other concerns associated with tourism acting as a catalyst for economic development, as was highlighted in chapter two in the discussion relating to the economic, social and environmental impacts of tourism development. In pursuing LED through tourism, issues relating to the seasonality of tourism will obviously impact on employment, and difficulties may arise for projects in sustaining profits during low seasons. On the positive side, it is clear that tourism demands a range of supporting products and services, and as such LED initiatives based on tourism will encourage a wide range of entrepreneurial activity and business development (food, laundry, entertainment, transport, furnishings and construction). In Stilbaai for instance, the number of formal small enterprises tripled from approximately 60 in the mid-1990s to a total of 191 in 2002 (Nel and Binns, 2002). While many localities that have pursued LED based on tourism have achieved significant results, such as Stilbaai, it has been argued that market saturation could threaten activities such as craft market and game parks (Binns and Nel, 2002).

Furthermore, there are the internationally recognised and documented problems of natural resource exploitation and environmental degradation that occur through tourism development, and issues relating to the balancing of natural resource protection and local economic growth and employment gains. Often, the environmental and cultural impacts of the industry are the very reason that tourists no longer return to a tourist destination. It has been contended that "as a location is developed for tourism, it begins to lose its original appeal as an 'authentic' travel destination" (Lea, undated, p 7). In all three case studies it is possible that increased tourist numbers to each project, as well as the development of additional tourism-based initiatives in each town, will place increased stresses on the natural resources to which the tourists are initially attracted. In case of Stilbaai for instance, the unspoilt scenery is what attracts the tourists, and like all natural resources, is finite in nature. This means that as the tourism industry grows, so do the number of tourism enterprises including hotels, and as the landscape becomes built-up,

so it loses its initial tourism appeal. However, the growth in the tourism industry equates to additional jobs, small business opportunities, and multiplier effects on the local economy. When then, does one view the growth of the tourism industry as no longer being successful but rather as harmful? Despite certain measures that may be taken to minimise environmental or social degradation, developing a town or specific attraction for tourism results in the loss of cultural uniqueness, and as is particularly relevant in this case, natural resource and ecosystem integrity, and thus tourism development in itself precludes sustainability. It is obvious that for all three case studies, there are challenges of sustainability and the long-term success of all three initiatives is questionable. Such issues must be kept in mind when initiating tourism-based LED, particularly in small towns, such as Utrecht, that are looking to re-orientate their economies and place market themselves as tourist destinations.

However, bearing in mind the mixed results LED has experienced in small towns and other centres across South Africa, it is important to acknowledge the achievements of job creation and empowerment through skills training, that the creative use of local natural resources and environment has led to in all three case studies. Although achievements and success has been limited in all three case studies, they clearly indicate the possibilities for other small towns across KwaZulu-Natal and South Africa to initiate projects that utilize the locally available natural resources for tourism in order to create employment opportunities, contribute to poverty alleviation and to catalyse local economic growth.

CHAPTER 8. CONCLUSION

This chapter revisits the aims and objectives of this research that are outlined in chapter 1. It must be noted that during the course of this research, certain limitations prevented a truly accurate and representative analysis of each of the case studies. At the same time however, it was apparent there were a number of strengths associated with the chosen research methods, and both the limitations and strengths are briefly discussed. Finally, the recommendations of the researcher are presented, followed by the overall concluding statement.

8.1 REVISITING THE AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Aim:

This research aimed to detail and critically examine how three small towns in KwaZulu-Natal are achieving LED through the promotion of natural resource-based tourism.

Although differing in concept and achievements, all three case studies examined illustrate the potential of natural resource-based tourism to drive a process of local economic development.

Objectives:

1. *To examine literature on local economic development (LED) and tourism development, as well as the development context in which LED and tourism is emerging in South Africa.*

A considerable volume of literature was examined, and it was found that LED has become well established in countries of the developed world, and it is becoming increasingly implemented in a number of developing countries as well. Similarly, tourism development is being pursued, both within the interantional context and within South Africa, in a number of different forms and by a range of different actors.

Statistics and reports reveal that tourism is a flourishing industry in South Africa, and government stresses the role it can play in promoting socio-economic development in a range of localities across the country. Paralleled with the numerous efforts to promote tourism development, the policy and practice of LED in South Africa has become well established in recent years, and a variety of approaches are currently being adopted in a range of localities from large cities to small towns and rural areas. The increasing incidence of LED in this country has brought to the fore the needs of marginalised communities and the efforts of groups previously unable to play a key role in development including local governments, NGOs and CBOs.

In reviewing the literature, it became evident that efforts to promote LED in small towns and rural areas differs considerably from LED in large cities. A discernable trend across South Africa is that while large cities such as Johannesburg and Cape Town, are currently in the reaches of becoming 'world cities', small towns are becoming increasingly marginalised and are unable to feel the effects of global market forces. In some instances, industrial rationalisation has resulted in a number of small towns suffering a loss of economic viability. In addition to this, they lack the financial resources and institutional capacity to attract external investment and big business support. As such, many small towns are currently experiencing an out-migration of skills, severe unemployment with the surrounding rural areas they service characterised by extreme levels of poverty. However, what many of these small towns do possess is a natural resource base that, if properly developed, has the potential to attract tourists. Tourism, based on the scenic attraction of the locally available natural resources, can therefore be used to drive a process of LED, in order to promote economic growth within the town, create job opportunities and improve the quality of lives of those living in poverty.

2. *To identify the role of tourism-based LED in South Africa and the need for further research on this topic.*

The link between tourism and LED has become increasingly realised and a number of localities across South Africa currently have tourism as an explicit part of their LED programmes. Despite the fact that there is an increasing incidence of tourism-based LED, it was found to be markedly underdiscussed and documented. This research therefore revealed that there remains significant scope for further examination on the topic of tourism-based LED.

3. *To identify the natural resource base, and to explore the context in which LED is being pursued, and in which tourism is being promoted in each case study.*

Each case study was identified as having a vast natural resource base. Eshowe is clearly unique in that it has a large tract of indigenous forest located close to the centre of the town, and this natural resource is regarded as being a vital asset to the town, having successfully attracted a number of tourists to date. In addition to this, the area possesses a number of other similar forests, that although they have not yet been developed for tourism, nonetheless possess significant potential to be developed, much like the Dlinza Forest. It is contended however, that the natural resource base in both Matatiele and Utrecht is not specifically unique to each respective locality, and as such will require innovative marketing and aggressive advertising in order to successfully attract tourists. A key finding of this research has been that tourists are attracted to the uniqueness of a locality's natural resource, or the peace and tranquility associated with that resource. However, as more tourists are attracted to the natural resource, so it begins to lose its original appeal of peace and tranquility. While the tourism industry is well-established in Eshowe, this loss of original appeal is a key consideration for the newly established tourism-based initiatives in Matatiele and Utrecht, in terms of both the sustainability of such natural resource-based tourism projects, and the viability of the local tourism economy.

With local government having been assigned the role of key initiators of LED in a specific locality, the LED endeavours of each municipality were examined. Although the uMlalazi Municipality in Eshowe is yet to initiate LED projects as such, a number of small projects have been initiated by the Matatiele Municipality. In both cases however, the link between tourism and LED is yet to be fully embraced.

4. *To document and analyse the initiation and success of the natural resource-based tourism development project in each case study with respect to its key features, actors and local economic development achievements.*

It must be noted that certain limitations within this research prevented a thorough assessment of the local economic development achievements of each project. At the time of this research, all three projects were in their early stages, with certain initiatives yet to become fully operational. A time constraint of a year therefore restricted the assessment of the operational success and sustainability of each project. However, key impacts with respect to employment, skills development and training, and overall livelihood conditions were noted. Although employment opportunities have increased for all three case studies, social advancement has been limited, and it is clear that all three depend on a sustained, yet unpredictable tourism boom.

While individual tourism-based LED projects in each respective town have been the central focus, it is clear that in each case, much can be drawn from these projects by the rest of the town. Although, the projects examined in Utrecht form part of a greater initiative to re-orientate the town's economy to tourism, both the Dlinza Forest Aerial Boardwalk project and the Mehlooding Horse and Hiking Trail project serve to illustrate to the rest of Eshowe and Matatiele respectively, the importance of promoting the locally available natural resources for tourism, such that other similar projects may be embarked upon by local government, private sector, NGOs and the community alike. In doing so, additional jobs will be created and skills taught, and such efforts may help to address poverty issues.

5. *Assess how this natural resource-based tourism approach fits into the broader LED policy context and practice and in South Africa.*

While all three case studies have successfully marketed their locally available natural resources for tourism, one cannot presuppose that a locality's natural assets are necessarily attractive to tourists. It therefore becomes necessary to question whether other localities can or should pursue LED driven by tourism. In addition to the volatile nature of the tourism industry, not all centres are able to promote LED and drive economic change through the marketing of local assets. It can be argued that successful development initiatives elsewhere can only be ensured if there is a presence of strong local leadership, supported by the local community as a whole. There is the need therefore to identify agents that can initiate and lead development strategies that will provide jobs, and stimulate the local economy while simultaneously contributing to community development and poverty alleviation.

While LED is seen to exist in a number of forms and at a range of levels, it must be stressed that, as a result of financial, skill and resource constraints, not all localities will achieve their LED objectives. It is obvious that political, social and cultural factors as well as physical resources within a locality will play a determining role in local level responses. As Nel (1999) contends, despite the hopes being placed on LED in South Africa, it cannot be regarded as a development panacea. The three case studies clearly face numerous constraints, and it is difficult to ignore the fact that a similar trend is occurring across South Africa in which success has been small and sporadic. On the positive side, however, each of the case studies, even though to an extremely small extent, have created employment and community empowerment, and this research has therefore served to illustrate the potential for other localities to initiate a similar process of natural resource-based tourism promotion in order to catalyse local economic development.

8.2 LIMITATIONS AND STRENGTHS

It is clear that in any study, the research methods employed will have a number of strengths as well as a number of limitations. In addition to the limitations regarding the time constraints that restricted the assessment of the operational success and sustainability of each project, other factors prevented an in-depth analysis of each tourism-based LED project. The most notable of these was the fact that, in being female and in terms of safety, the researcher had limited access to the rural areas was thus prevented from interviewing the local Amakhosi and other rural communities members. The assessment of the impacts on the livelihoods of rural community members was restricted to project participants, and interviews were conducted on site at each of the respective projects. Related to this, was the issue of language. In Utrecht for instance, when interviewing members of the rural communities that were being employed on a part-time basis, use was made of an interpreter. Obviously, a language barrier yields bias of information, with the interpreter selecting which information to convey back to the researcher. Furthermore, the respondents in Utrecht may have felt reluctant to speak freely to the researcher, having being unsure of the researchers motives.

With all three projects still in their incipient phases, mention has been made of the limitations regarding the assessment of the operational success and sustainability of each tourism-based LED project. This being said, having conducted a longitudinal study as well as cross-sectional study, the researcher was able to observe the developmental processes occurring at each project and associated town. In addition to this, a number of other strengths of the research are noted. For each of the tourism-based LED projects that were assessed, a relationship developed at each project between a number of key informants and the researcher. These key informants provided information freely to the researcher, allowing for significant details of the nature and workings of each project to be understood and documented. In addition to this, the research environment associated with each case study remained relatively stable during the course of the research, with project participants interviewed at the start of the research remaining involved in each project.

8.3 RECOMMENDATIONS AND OVERALL CONCLUSION

In the light of the key findings of this research examined in chapter 7, certain recommendations can be made with respect to the general approaches of LED and natural resource-based tourism. Firstly, in pursuing LED through natural resource-based tourism, issues of sustainability must be carefully considered. Tourism and its associated demands place considerable pressures on natural resources. As tourist numbers to a natural resource attraction increase as a result of the marketing efforts of a certain initiative, so does the potential for environmental degradation. As the natural resource becomes degraded, so it begins to lose its initial tourism appeal. This will therefore have significant consequences not only on the preservation of the natural resource, but on the sustainability of the LED initiative that relies on sustained tourism flows for its existence. If such considerations are kept in mind, there nonetheless exists considerable possibilities for localities to pursue LED initiatives based on natural resource-based tourism.

While there are possibilities for localities to embark on such initiatives, warning must be made to localities attempting to re-orientate a local economy entirely towards tourism. This research has highlighted the fact that there is inherent danger in relying on one particular economic sector. It is clear that tourism is a fickle and unreliable industry and this, as well as the related issue of natural resource sustainability, must be kept in mind.

This research has however, illustrated the economic, employment and skills development opportunities that may result from the pursuit of LED through individual natural resource-based projects. It could be said that the most appropriate plan of action for localities similar to those being assessed in this research, is to 'start small'. Evidence has shown that large LED initiatives often become too complicated, and often very few benefits are accrued to poorer community members. One of the key objectives of LED in South Africa today, is to address the needs of the poor. In order to ensure community empowerment and overall livelihood improvements, small projects with a high degree of community consultation and participation is what is often required.

If a locality is to embark on small-scale LED projects, careful consideration must be given to issues of funding and leadership. As has been made clear, very often small projects become dependant on grants, and are unable to ever become self-sustaining. It is contended therefore that external funds should help to establish the groundwork for such projects but not provide on-going subsidies for them. Furthermore, a project should not become over-reliant on a single project leader. The development of partnerships and collaboration with a number of stakeholders is critical for ensuring project success.

In conclusion, it must be stressed that tourism-based LED in small towns should not be seen as a cure for all 'poverty-associated evils'. It is obvious that tourism-driven initiatives will never be able to fully address unemployment when one compares the number of jobs created to the scale of unemployment that exists, but instead should be seen as a compliment to other local development efforts. Within this context, it could be said that there exist numerous possibilities for small towns across South Africa to create a sustainable local development process that draws upon the utilization and management of local natural resources and human skills. It can be concluded that the process of LED, within this context, has merit in its applicability to the development challenges that face South Africa.

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APPENDIX

Appendix 1. Interview schedule for Eshowe.

Appendix 2. Interview schedule for Matatiele.

Appendix 3. Interview schedule for Utrecht.

APPENDIX 1. ESHOWE

QUESTIONS FOR THE PROJECT CO-ORDINATOR (Mrs Janey Chennels)

PHASE 1: INITIAL AND ON-GOING ASSESSMENT

General Questions

1. When was the project started?
2. Who initiated the project
 - is there a local champion for the project
3. Who were / are the key participants
4. Are partnerships important in the initiative?
 - what partnerships exist (local and regional government, community members)
 - what was the purpose and achievements of such partnerships
5. What were the original goals of the project?
 - how were they agreed to and by whom?
6. What are the goals now or are they the same?
 - if they have changed, why?
7. Have participants joined / left the initiative since it was started?
 - who and why
8. Was external support secured?
 - what form did it take
9. If external support (infrastructural, institutional) was secured, how important was it to the success of the project?
2. If financial support was secured,
 - how much funds were secured?
 - where from (government, private business)
 - what commitments do they impose
3. Are there any other tourism initiatives in the area which are benefiting the community?

- do you have a good working relationship with them
- 12. To what degree have the local communities understood the potential of tourism in the area through the utilization of available natural resources?
- 13. To what degree does the performance of the project impact on the local economy?
- 14. Have there been any limitations or problems
- 15. Have there been any lessons learnt for the future?

Employment and Training

1. Has the project employed people from the local community?
 - if so, how many people have gained employment so far?
 - what kind of jobs have been created?
2. What is the race and gender breakdown of those who have been employed?
3. How stable is the 'tourism' employment?
 - is there a variation on a seasonal basis
4. Has the local skills base affected the terms of employment (are there noted patterns of staff recruitment)
 - jobs requiring limited skills (from the immediate local area)
 - more skilled jobs (search extended beyond immediate locality)
 - highest skilled (from big centres)
5. What skills have been gained by those employed?
6. Have any training projects been embarked upon?
 - who has benefited from them

Business Performance

1. Have tourist arrivals increased in the last 12 month period?
 - do you expect an increase in tourist arrivals over the next 12 months
2. Have business profits increased in the last 12 month period?
 - do you expect similar projections for the next 12 months

Resource Utilization

1. Has there been any other use of natural resources locally available to the community?
2. Has the building and refurbishing been done by local builders and local labour?
3. Are perishable food supplies local?

PHASE 2: FINAL ASSESSMENT

Economic

1. Has the project increased other private sector investment and confidence?
2. Has the project fostered and supported new and emerging enterprises?
3. Has the government provided support / co-financing?
4. Has income in the community been improved?
 - If so, by how much approximately and who are the beneficiaries?
5. Has the project promoted self-sufficiency for those employed?
 - For how many people
6. How much money has the project
 - raised locally
 - raised from external sources
 - generated internally
7. How has tourism prevented / improved other types of earnings? (from alternative uses of the land and available natural resources)

Employment and Training

1. To date, how many short term and long term jobs have been created since the initiation of the project (have employment numbers increased in the last 12 months)
 - do you expect an increase in employment numbers over the next 12 months
2. Have people learnt new and relevant skills for employment?
3. Has newly derived income made a real / major difference in the lives of the beneficiaries?
4. Were people trained?
 - If so, in what and what are they doing now

5. If there was training, who undertook it?
6. Has there been any external support for such training endeavours?
7. Are there broad opportunities for community development and education?

Empowerment

1. Has the project encouraged local / community involvement and ownership?
2. Has community life improved as a result of its involvement in the project?
- in what ways
3. Has the project promoted a 'sense of belonging' in the community?

Services and Infrastructure

1. Have the provision of services been improved or have new services been provided?
2. Have any independent services / facilities developed as a result of the presence of the tourism initiative?
3. Have improvements been made to transport and other infrastructural services?
4. Are premises available locally for new enterprises and activities?
5. Have land and buildings been brought back into use?

Assessment of the Project

1. What are the primary successes of the project?
2. What are the primary weaknesses of the project?
3. Is it sustainable?
4. Has anyone suffered costs or negative impacts from the project? If so,
- Who
- How
- Why
5. Who is expected to benefit further from the project?
6. What role is there for government / local government / external agencies / private sector / community groups to play in any further endeavours associated with the project?

7. What are your future plans?
8. Could your knowledge and experience benefit any other projects/initiatives that look to capitalise upon the tourism potential of the natural resources available in the town?
9. Are the natural resources being managed in a sustainable manner (as part of the natural resource-based tourism experience)? Is there a conservation agency in the area?
10. In your view, has the basis been laid for the further development of natural resources for tourism within the town?

QUESTIONS FOR OTHER ROLE PLAYERS AND STAKEHOLDERS

(Municipal Tourism and Publicity Officer; Representative of the Environmental Education Centre; Manager Corporate Services; Representative of Zululand Historical Museum; Chamber of Business; Owners of other tourism ventures)

Tourism and the Local Economy

1. What is the local leading sector in the town?
 - agriculture (what form)
 - manufacturing
 - industry
2. Has there been a decline in the local economy?
 - some type of local crisis/socio-economic change or just a period of economic stagnation
3. If so, what were the causes of this economic decline/stagnation?
4. What sectors in particular have been affected?
5. What has been / and is the current local importance of tourism in relation to other economic activities? (agriculture, manufacturing, industry, informal sector, wholesale and retail)
6. Is tourism growing or declining?

7. What type of tourism?
 - ecotourism
 - adventure tourism
 - cultural / historical tourism
 - community-based tourism
8. Are the natural resources being managed in a sustainable manner?
9. Which organisations are influential in tourism development?
10. What is the attitude of government towards tourism?
(Has the Municipality embarked on any tourism-led development projects or initiatives to date? Do they intend to do so in the future)
11. What socio-economic impacts have the tourism initiatives in Eshowe (either private sector or local government initiatives) had on the town?
Provide examples of any notable changes that have occurred thus far as a consequence of the initiation of tourism ventures in the town.
12. Are any of these tourism initiatives integrating the poorer sections of the Eshowe community? (has the local community been truly uplifted as a result of any of the tourism initiatives in place in the town?)
13. Apart from the tourism-led projects, are there any other development initiatives in place in the area?
14. Has the Municipality embarked on any LED initiatives?
- if so, what are the projects
15. What socio-economic impacts have the LED initiatives in Eshowe had on the community? (economic, employment, skills and training, empowerment)
16. In your view, has the basis been laid for the further development of natural resources for tourism within the town?
17. What is the overall dream or vision for the town?

The Tourism Economy

1. What do you see as the 'tourist attractions' or 'pull-factors' to the area?
- key geographical, natural, cultural or historical characteristics

2. Has there been any market research done in order to promote tourism (natural resource-based tourism) to the area?
 - has a consultant been called in to specifically research the tourism potential of the town?
3. Does the town embark on promotional campaigns and events?
4. Is the town marketed as a tourist destination through the media (word of mouth, internet, newspapers, radio)?
5. Are there any negative factors that potentially affect the promotion of the town as a tourist destination (petrol prices, toll gates, crime)?
6. Is the town an established tourism destination?

Core market

1. Is tourism in the town marketed towards regional, domestic or international tourists?
 - high income versus backpackers?
2. Is tourism leisure related or business (conference) related or both?

Seasonality

1. Is there any pronounced seasonal variation in tourism flows?
2. and is there any clearly demarcated 'high' and 'low' season for tourism arrivals?

QUESTIONS FOR EMPLOYEES

General Questions

1. How much are you earning/month and/year?
2. Is there anyone else in your immediate family earning a salary?
3. How many people in your family/household? (how many people does their earnings support?)
4. Have you tried to get a job in the town before they were employed by the project?
5. What does the income from your salary help to buy?
 - clothes
 - food
 - household goods
 - extensions to households
 - schools / services
6. Does this money stay/flow back into the community? (is it spent in small informal shops within the rural communities)
 - or does it move straight into the town itself? (buy goods from larger stores in town)
 - or does it move out of the town altogether? (spent on goods/services in larger centres)
7. What are the natural resource bases in the town?
8. What is your understanding of tourism, and use of these natural resources for tourism?

Positive and Negative Impacts on Members of the Rural Communities

		POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
IMPACTS ON ASSETS (Natural and human)	Natural resources Access to and use of: - land - wood (fuel) - grazing - potential to collect plants - water Question of sustainability of use		
	Skills - gaining of new skills / training courses		
IMPACTS ON LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES (Opportunities to compliment livelihood activities)	Other livelihood activities Subsistence farming of: - livestock - crops		
	Opportunities for entrepreneurs and small businesses		
	Tourism market access and opportunities		
LIVELIHOOD GOALS AND OUTCOMES	Education - Opportunity to improve		
	Health - Access to health care facilities		
	Access to information - kept informed of the tourism development process		
	Empowerment and sense of pride in the Community		
POLICY ENVIRONMENT	Policy - influencing policy / are changes in policy felt		

APPENDIX 2. MATATIELE

QUESTIONS FOR THE PROJECT FACILITATOR (Mrs Nicky McLeod)

PHASE 1: INITIAL AND ONGOING ASSESSMENT

General Questions

1. When was the project started?
2. Who initiated the project?
 - Is there a local champion for the project?
3. Who were / are the key participants?
4. Are partnerships important in the initiative?
 - what partnerships exist (local and regional government, private sector)
 - what was the purpose and achievements of such partnerships
5. What were the original goals of the project?
 - how were they agreed to and by whom?
6. What are the goals now or are they the same?
 - if they have changed, why?
7. Have participants joined / left the initiative since it was started?
 - who and why
8. Was external support secured?
 - what form did it take
9. If external support (infrastructural, institutional) was secured, how important was it to the success of the initiative?
10. If financial support was secured,
 - How much funds were secured?
 - Where from (government, private business)
 - what commitments do they impose
11. Are there any other tourism initiatives in the area which are benefiting the community?

- do you have a good working relationship with them
- 12. To what degree has the local community understood the potential of tourism in the area through utilization of available natural resources?
- 13. To what degree does the performance of the project impact on the local economy?
- 14. Have there been any limitations or problems
- 15. Have there been any lessons learnt for the future?

Employment and Training

1. Has the project employed people from the local community?
 - if so, how many people have gained employment so far?
 - what kind of jobs have been created?
2. What is the race and gender breakdown of those who have been employed?
3. How stable is the 'tourism' employment?
 - is there a variation on a seasonal basis
4. Has the local skills base affected the terms of employment (are there noted patterns of staff recruitment)
 - jobs requiring limited skills (from the immediate local area)
 - more skilled jobs (search extended beyond immediate locality)
 - highest skilled (from big centres)
5. What skills have been gained by those employed?
6. Have any training projects been embarked upon?
 - who has benefited from them

Business Performance

1. Have tourist arrivals increased in the last 12 month period?
 - do you expect an increase in tourist arrivals over the next 12 months
2. Have business profits increased in the last 12 month period?
 - do you expect similar projections for the next 12 months

Resource Utilization

1. Has there been any other use of natural resources locally available to the community?
2. Has the building and refurbishing been done by local builders and local labour?
3. Are perishable food supplies local?

PHASE 2: FINAL ASSESSMENT

Economic

1. Has the project increased other private sector investment and confidence?
2. Has the project fostered and supported new and emerging enterprises?
3. Has the government provided support / co-financing?
4. Has income in the community been improved?
 - If so, by how much approximately and who are the beneficiaries?
5. Has the project promoted self-sufficiency for those employed?
 - For how many people
6. How much money has the project
 - raised locally
 - raised from external sources
 - generated internally
7. How has tourism prevented or improved other types of earnings? (from alternative uses of the land and available natural resources)

Employment and Training

1. To date, how many short term and long term jobs have been created since the initiation of the project (have employment numbers increased in the last 12 months)
 - do you expect an increase in employment numbers over the next 12 months
2. Have people learnt new and relevant skills for employment?
3. Has newly derived income made a real/major difference in the lives of the beneficiaries?
4. Were people trained?
 - If so, in what and what are they doing now

5. If there was training, who undertook it?
6. Has there been any external support for such training endeavours?
7. Are there broad opportunities for community development and education?

Empowerment

1. Has the project encouraged local / community involvement and ownership?
2. Has community life improved as a result of its involvement in the project?
- in what ways
3. Has the project promoted a 'sense of belonging' in the community?

Services and Infrastructure

1. Have the provision of services been improved or have new services been provided?
2. Have any independent services / facilities developed as a result of the presence of the tourism initiative?
3. Have improvements been made to transport and other infrastructural services?
4. Are premises available locally for new enterprises and activities?
5. Have land and buildings been brought back into use?

Assessment

1. What are the primary successes of the project?
2. What are the primary weaknesses of the project?
3. Is the project sustainable?
4. Has anyone suffered costs or negative impact from the project? If so,
- Who
- How
- Why?
5. Who is expected to benefit further from the project?
6. What role is there for government / local government / external agencies / private sector / community groups to play in any further endeavours associated with the project?

7. What are your future plans?
8. Could your knowledge and experience benefit any other projects/initiatives that look to capitalise upon the tourism potential of the natural resources available in and around the town?
9. Are the natural resources being managed in a sustainable manner (as part of the natural resource-based tourism experience)? Is there a conservation agency in the area?
10. In your view, has the basis been laid for the further development of natural resources for tourism within the town?

QUESTIONS FOR OTHER ROLE PLAYERS AND STAKEHOLDERS

(Municipality representatives; Tourism and publicity Officer; EDA representative; UMTA representative; CTO representatives; Mountain Lake Trust Representative; Chamber of Business representative)

Tourism and the Local Economy

1. What is the local leading sector in the town?
 - agriculture (what form)
 - manufacturing
 - industry
2. Has there been a decline in the local economy?
 - some type of local crisis/socio-economic change or just a period of economic stagnation
3. If so, what were the causes of this economic decline/stagnation?
4. What sectors in particular have been affected?
5. What has been / and is the current local importance of tourism in relation to other economic sectors? (agriculture, manufacturing, industry, informal sector, wholesale and retail)
6. Is tourism growing or declining?
7. What type of tourism?

- ecotourism
 - adventure tourism
 - cultural / historical tourism
 - community-based tourism
8. Are the natural resources being managed in a sustainable manner?
 9. Which organisations are influential in tourism development?
 10. What is the attitude of government towards tourism?
(Has the Municipality embarked on any tourism-led development projects or initiatives to date? Do they intend to do so in the future)
 11. What socio-economic impacts have the tourism-led initiatives had on the town?
Provide examples of any notable changes that have occurred thus far as a consequence of the initiation of tourism ventures in the town
 12. Are any of these tourism initiatives integrating the poorer sections of the Eshowe community? (has the local community been truly uplifted as a result of any of the tourism initiatives in place in the town?)
 13. Apart from the tourism-led projects, are there any other development initiatives in place in the area?
 14. Has the Municipality embarked on any LED initiatives?
- if so, what are the initiatives
 15. What socio-economic impacts have the LED initiatives in Matatiele had on the community? (economic, employment, skills and training, empowerment)
 16. In your view, has the basis been laid for the further development of natural resources for tourism within the town?
 17. What is the overall dream or vision for the town?

The Tourism Economy

1. What do you see as the 'tourist attractions' or 'pull-factors' to the area?
- key geographical, natural, cultural or historical characteristics

2. Has there been any market research done in order to promote tourism (natural resource based tourism) to the area?
- has a consultant been called in to specifically research the tourism potential of the town?
3. Does the town embark on promotional campaigns and events?
4. Is the town marketed as a tourist destination through the media (word of mouth, internet, newspapers, radio)?
5. Are there any negative factors that potentially affect the promotion of the town as a tourist destination (petrol prices, toll gates, crime)?
6. Is the town an established tourism destination?

Core Market

1. Is tourism in the town marketed towards regional, domestic or international tourists?
- high income versus backpackers
2. Is tourism leisure related or business (conference) related or both?

Seasonality

1. Is there any pronounced seasonal variation in tourism flows?
2. Is there any clearly demarcated 'high' and 'low' season for tourism arrivals?

QUESTIONS FOR EMPLOYEES

General Questions

1. How much are you earning/month and/year?
2. Is there anyone else in your immediate family earning a salary?
3. How many people in your family/household? (how many people does their earnings support?)
4. Have you tried to get a job in the town before they were employed by the project?
5. What does the income from your salary help to buy?
 - clothes
 - food
 - household goods
 - extensions to households
 - schools / services
6. Does this money stay/flow back into the community? (is it spent in small informal shops within the rural communities)
 - or does it move straight into the town itself? (buy goods from larger stores in town)
 - or does it move out of the town altogether? (spent on goods/services in larger centres for example Kokstad)
7. What are the natural resource bases in the town?
8. What is your understanding of tourism, and use of these natural resources for tourism?

Positive and Negative Impacts on Members of the Rural Communities

		POSITIVE IMPACTS	NEGATIVE IMPACTS
IMPACTS ON ASSETS (Natural and human)	Natural resources Access to and use of: - land - wood (fuel) - grazing - potential to collect plants - water Question of sustainability of use		
	Skills - gaining of new skills / training courses		
IMPACTS ON LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES (Opportunities to compliment livelihood activities)	Other livelihood activities Subsistence farming of: - livestock - crops		
	Opportunities for entrepreneurs and small businesses		
	Tourism market access and opportunities		
LIVELIHOOD GOALS AND OUTCOMES	Education - Opportunity to improve		
	Health - Access to health care facilities		
	Access to information - kept informed of the tourism development process		
	Empowerment and sense of pride in the Community		
POLICY ENVIRONMENT	Policy - influencing policy / are changes in policy felt		

Appendix 3. Utrecht

QUESTIONS FOR PROJECT MANAGER (Mr Eric Madamalala)

PHASE 1. INITIAL AND ONGOING ASSESSMENT

General Questions

1. When was the tourism initiative started?
2. Who initiated the project?
 - Is there a local champion for the project?
3. Who were / are the key participants?
4. Are partnerships important in the initiative?
 - what partnerships exist (local and regional government, private sector, community members)
 - what was the purpose and achievements of such partnerships
5. What were the original goals of the initiative?
 - how were they agreed to and by whom?
6. What are the goals now or are they the same?
 - if they have changed, why?
7. Have participants joined / left the initiative since it was started?
 - who and why
8. Was external support secured?
 - what form did it take
9. If external support (infrastructural, institutional) was secured, how important was it to the success of the initiative?
10. If financial support was secured,
 - how much funds were secured
 - where from (government, private business)
 - what commitments do they impose

11. Are there any other development initiatives in the area which are benefiting the community?
 - do you have a good working relationship with them
12. To what degree has the local community understood the potential of tourism in the area through utilization of available natural resources?
13. To what degree does the performance of the project impact on the local economy?
14. Have there been any limitations or problems to date?
15. Have there been any lessons learnt for the future?

Employment and Training

1. Has the initiative employed people from the local community?
 - if so, how many people have gained employment thus far?
 - what kind of jobs have been created?
2. What is the race and gender breakdown of those who have been employed?
3. How stable is this employment?
 - is there a variation on a seasonal basis?
4. Has the local skills base affected the terms of employment?
 - jobs requiring limited skills (from the immediate local area)
 - more skilled jobs (search extended beyond immediate locality)
 - highest skilled (from big centres)
5. What skills have been gained by those employed?
6. What training projects have been embarked on?
 - who has benefited from them

Business Performance

1. Have tourist arrivals increased in the last 12 month period?
 - do you expect an increase in tourist arrivals over the next 12 months
2. Have business profits increased in the last 12 month period?
 - do you expect similar projects for the next 12 months

Resource Utilization

1. Has there been any other use of natural resources locally available to the community?
2. Has the building and refurbishing been done by local builders and local labour?
3. Are perishable food supplies local?

PHASE 2: FINAL ASSESSMENT

Economic

1. Has the initiative increased private sector investment and confidence?
2. Has the initiative fostered and supported new and emerging enterprises?
3. Has the government provided support / co-financing?
4. Has income in the community been improved?
 - If so, by how much approximately and who are the beneficiaries?
5. Has the project promoted self-sufficiency for those employed?
 - For how many people
6. How much money has the project
 - raised locally
 - raised from external sources
 - generated internally
7. How has tourism prevented or improved other types of earnings? (from alternative uses of the land and available natural resources)

Employment and Training

1. To date, how many short term and long term jobs have been created since the initiation of the project (have employment numbers increased in the last 12 months)
 - do you expect an increase in employment numbers over the next 12 months
2. Have people learnt new and relevant skills for employment?
3. Has newly derived income made a real / major difference in the lives of the beneficiaries?
4. Were people trained?

- If so, in what and what are they doing now

5. If there was training, who undertook it?
6. Has there been any external support for such training endeavours?
7. Are there broad opportunities for community development and education?

Empowerment

1. Has the project encouraged local / community involvement and ownership?
2. Has community life improved as a result of its involvement in the initiative?
- in what ways
3. Has the initiative promoted a 'sense of belonging' in the community?

Services and Infrastructure

1. Have the provision of services been improved or have new services been provided?
2. Have any independent services / facilities developed as a result of the presence of the tourism initiative?
3. Have improvements been made to transport and other infrastructural services?
4. Are premises available locally for new enterprises and activities?
5. Have land and building been brought back into use?

Assessment

1. What are the primary successes of the initiative?
2. What are the primary weaknesses of the initiative?
3. Is it sustainable?
4. Has anyone suffered costs or negative impact from the initiative? If so,
- Who
- How
- Why?
5. Who is expected to benefit further from the initiative?

6. What role is there for government / local government / external agencies / private sector / community groups to play in any further endeavours associated with the initiative?
7. What are your future plans?
8. Could your knowledge and experience benefit any other projects or initiatives that look to capitalise upon the tourism potential of the natural resources available in the town?
9. Are the natural resources being managed in a sustainable manner (as part of the natural resource-based experience). Is there a conservation agency in the area?
10. In your view, has the basis been laid for the further development of natural resources for tourism within the town?

QUESTIONS FOR OTHER ROLE PLAYERS AND STAKEHOLDERS

(including former project manager and environmental consultant; town councillor; the mayor; community liaison, town engineer)

Tourism and the Local Economy

1. What is currently the local leading sector in the town?
 - agriculture (what form)
 - manufacturing
 - industry
 - mining
2. Has there been a decline in the local economy?
 - some type of local crisis / socio-economic change or just a period of economic stagnation
3. If so, what were the causes of this economic decline / crisis?
4. With respect to the recent mine closure:
 - How many mines were closed and how many are still in operation?
5. How many jobs were lost?

- What was the level of skills of those who lost their jobs? (semi-skilled, highly skilled)
6. What has been / and is the current importance and role of other economic sectors? (agriculture, manufacturing, industry, informal sector, wholesale and retail)
 7. What has been / and is the local importance of tourism in relation to other economic sectors?
 8. Is tourism growing or declining?
 9. What is the attitude of local government towards tourism in the town?
 10. Which organisations are influential in tourism development?
 11. What is the overall dream or vision that you (and the other role players) have for the town?

The Tourism Economy

1. What are the 'tourist attractions' or 'pull factors' to the area? (key geographical, natural, cultural or historical characteristics)
2. Has there been any market research done in order to promote tourism (in particular natural resource-based tourism) to the area?
 - has a consultant been called in to specifically research the tourism potential of the town
3. Does the town embark on promotional campaigns and events?
4. Is the town marketed as a tourist destination through the media? (word of mouth, internet, newspapers, radio)
5. Are there any negative factors that potentially affect the promotion of the town as a tourist destination? (petrol prices, toll gates, crime)
6. Has there been an increase in the number of tourists in the last year?
7. Do you expect an increase in tourist numbers within the next year?
8. Is the town now established as a tourist destination?

Core market

1. Is tourism in the town marketed towards regional, domestic or international tourists?
 - high income versus backpackers?

2. Is tourism leisure related or business (conference) related or both?

Seasonality

1. Is there any pronounced seasonal variation in tourism flows?
2. and is there any clearly demarcated 'high' and 'low' season for tourism arrivals?

General Questions

1. Why was "tourism" chosen as a means to boost the local economy and create jobs?
2. Has the initiative received any private-sector financial investment to date?
3. What socio-economic impacts has the initiative had on the town so far?
 - economic
 - employment (both temporary and permanent).
How many permanent jobs will have been created within the next year
 - skills and training
 - empowerment
4. What, in your view, has made the initiative and its associate tourism projects successful to date?
5. Are the natural resources being managed in a sustainable manner (as part of the eco-tourism experience)? Is there a conservation Agency in the area?
6. What are your perceptions of the future sustainability of the initiative?
7. In your view, have the poorest sections of the community been fully integrated into the endeavour? (has the local community been truly uplifted as a result of the initiative?)
8. In your view, has the development basis been laid for a re-orientation of the town's economy towards tourism?

QUESTIONS FOR EMPLOYEES

General Questions

1. How much are you earning/month and/year?
2. Is there anyone else in your immediate family earning a salary?
3. How many people in your family/household? (how many people does their earnings support?)
4. Have you tried to get a job in the town before they were employed by the project?
5. What does the income from your salary help to buy?
 - clothes
 - food
 - household goods
 - extensions to households
 - schools / services
6. Does this money stay/flow back into the community? (is it spent in small informal shops within the rural communities)
 - or does it move straight into the town itself? (buy goods from larger stores in town)
 - or does it move out of the town altogether? (spent on goods/services in larger centres for example Newcastle or Dundee)
7. What are the natural resource bases in the town?
8. What is your understanding of tourism, and use of these natural resources for tourism?

Positive and Negative Impacts on Members of the Rural Communities

		BENEFITS	PROBLEMS OR LOSSES
IMPACTS ON ASSETS (Natural and human)	Natural resources Access to and use of: - land - wood (fuel) - grazing - potential to collect plants - water		
	Skills - gaining of new skills / training courses		
IMPACTS ON LIVELIHOOD ACTIVITIES (Opportunities to compliment livelihood activities)	Other livelihood activities Subsistence farming of: - livestock - crops		
	Opportunities for entrepreneurs and small businesses		
	Tourism market access and opportunities		
LIVELIHOOD GOALS AND OUTCOMES	Education - Opportunity to improve		
	Health Access to health care facilities		
	Access to information - kept informed of the tourism development process		
	Empowerment and sense of pride in the Community		
POLICY ENVIRONMENT	Policy - influencing policy / are changes in policy felt		