Community participation in urban tourism development: a case study- Georgetown and the Freedom Experience

by

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ABSTRACT

Since the reintroduction of South Africa into the international community, tourism has been emphasised, through policy and public speech, as a means to achieve socio-economic upliftment and job creation. Although tourism has potential to contribute to a country's well-being, its implementation may introduce many complexities and potentially undesirable consequences.

One way of alleviating some of the negative consequences of tourism, is through sufficiently involving communities in the tourism development and execution process. Most often the emphasis on involving local communities in tourism development has been rural based. The move to include previously disadvantaged urban communities, has been less well articulated. Local government authorities have only recently been given responsibility for both community involved tourism development and local economic development, and are therefore still formulating their approach to address these issues. Within KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) there are relatively few government projects currently concentrating on community-based tourism in urban and peri-urban areas. This project looks at one of these initiatives to build a case for sustainable community-based urban tourism.

The *Freedom Experience* is a predominantly urban-based heritage tourism initiative proposed by the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council for development within Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas. Georgetown is a previously neglected area falling within this region and is used as a case study to explore the process of participation in urban tourism development. The key stakeholders involved in tourism development within KZN are ascertained and interviewed. Difficulties and opportunities are identified for community-based urban tourism development in general, and for the case study area in particular.

Due to idiosyncratic characteristics of individual situations and communities, any specified procedure for community participation, and any organization involved with its implementation, needs to be flexible. A process is suggested, which attempts to avoid the dualistic nature of either top-down or bottom-up approaches to tourism development. It

introduces a less rigid approach, which breaks from the view that decision-making needs to be conceptualised within a hierarchical context. Communication and decision-making responsibility and accountability are shared between various levels. An approach is presented, which supports small scale community and tourism development projects linking into an overarching development framework.

This approach should result in sustainable development, bringing community benefits which can be immediately effective. It advocates the establishment of self-supporting enterprises which function successfully, independent of tourist demand. In this way contributing to the fulfilment of socio-economic, job creation and related capacity building objectives, without relying on an influx of tourists from a historically disloyal and unpredictable consumer base.

PREFACE

This dissertation was carried out in the Centre for Environment and Development, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg, under the supervision of Professor R. Fincham.

This dissertation is the original work of the author and has not been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any university. Where the work of others has been used, this has been acknowledged in the text.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATION

ACP   African Communist Party

ANC   African National Congress

B&B   Bed and breakfast establishment

CBT   Community-based tourism

COSATU   Congress of South African Trade Unions

CTMO   Community Tourism Management Organization

DEAT   Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism

DEAT-KZN Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism - KwaZulu/Natal

DEDT   Department of Economic Development and Tourism

FEMO   Freedom Experience Management Organization

IFP   Inkatha Freedom Party

KZN   KwaZulu-Natal

KZNTA   KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority

PMBT   Pietermaritzburg Tourism

PMTLC   Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council

PPA   Pietermaritzburg Publicity Association

SATOUR   South African Tourism

TLC   Transitional Local Council

UDF   United Democratic Front

WTO   World Tourism Organisation

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Tourism, although having been identified as the world's largest industry (Smith, 1995; Singleton, 1997) with the potential to contribute substantially to a country's economy, is a volatile industry subject to fluctuations arising from political, social, economic and general preference changes. Anything from an isolated criminal action or the voicing of a specific viewpoint by a politician to an innocuous event such as a change in consumer preference can lead to South Africa, or a specific area, falling out of favour with international and/or local tourists.

This highlights the need for establishing tourism development which is sustainable through fluctuations in consumer preference. Tourism has been targeted as a major means for strengthening the South African economy through job creation, foreign exchange and socio-economic upliftment (DEAT, 1996). The White Paper on 'The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa'(DEAT, 1996) provides a comprehensive policy, setting out responsible tourism as the tool to achieve these goals. The policy is relatively sound but needs a mechanism that will allow the recommendations to be followed through. Although other key constraints, such as inadequately resourced and funded tourism industry, and inadequate training, education and awareness are recognized, this dissertation focuses on the following key elements of responsible tourism:

▸ Involving communities in tourism planning and decision-making processes;
▸ Ensuring communities benefit from tourism.

It is believed that addressing these two will contribute to the alleviation of some of the other key constraints. It is however recognised that these two elements in no way address the greater socio-economic environment context in which this tourism development takes place.

If communities are, for example, adequately involved in tourism projects from their inception,

supported by local authorities and are seen to benefit from interaction with tourists, then training and education of future tourism entrepreneurs can be more easily facilitated.

These elements identify the need for community participation in tourism, which emphasises the widely accepted principle that the public has a right to participate in the planning of activities that affect their daily lives (Simmons, 1994). Simmons (1994) makes a further point in favour of community participation when he states that community residents are recognised as essential to the 'hospitality atmosphere'. Jansen-Verbeke (1997, p.246) talks of *mentifacts*, "...attitudes and behaviour patterns of both guests and host community", and how these can be measured along a continuum, from acceptance to annoyance. Without appropriate participation, affected communities may show more annoyance than acceptance to visitors in their environment. This could create a hostile atmosphere towards tourists, who if not seen to benefit the community, may only be seen as invaders of their territory. This could be extremely detrimental in the case of a heritage or cultural tourism product, where communities are most likely a crucial component of the experience. If increased participation is introduced through community management, a consequent greater sense of community ownership is more likely to result in the long-term success of a project (Abbott, 1996).

In this dissertation, participation is examined within the context of a predominantly heritage-oriented or cultural urban-based tourism initiative, entitled the *Freedom Experience*. It has been proposed by the former Pietermaritzburg Publicity Association (PPA), now Pietermaritzburg Tourism (PT) and the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council (PMTLC). It is located within Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas, with objectives as stated in a proposal document (PPA, 1998, p.1), being "To provide economic opportunity and employment for communities", and to "...tell a significant story of South African history as part of one compelling experience".

Georgetown, within the former township area of greater Edendale, has been identified as an area having significant national importance with regard to the histories of both the liberation struggle and the pioneering past in Pietermaritzburg. It has therefore been chosen as an area for inclusion within the greater *Freedom Experience* (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). Georgetown will be the focus of this dissertation, though other examples will be referred to, especially in

KwaZulu-Natal, in order to illustrate how community participation in tourism development has occurred in other previously disadvantaged areas.

1.1 RESEARCH PROBLEM

There are a number of problems that become evident on reading the White Paper on 'The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa'(DEAT, 1996), these are that, amongst others:

a) tourism is seen as a national 'solve all' panacea delivering numerous benefits to communities

b) there is no clear description of the type, duration and quantity of benefits that could be expected

c) a framework for urban based tourism as separate and different from rural based tourism is not provided

d) a clear implementation system that will ensure success is not offered.

The project aims to address the above issues using a participation-based framework that qualifies the benefits that can reasonably be expected within an urban and peri-urban environment. Participation of relevant communities in urban tourism development is essential for both moral and economic purposes. In this way it is a critical element for any urban tourism initiative which intends to contribute to job creation, socio-economic upliftment, or possibly take on a broader function of contributing to community development.

There is substantial research on tourism and its link to rural community development and sustainability in Africa (IIED, 1994; Davion, 1996; Jones, 1997; Nepal, 1997). Although it has been stated that "...academics studying cities have given very little attention to the role of tourism"(Law, 1996, p.3), there is an increasing amount of research on first world urban tourism (Law, 1996; Roche, 1992; Vanderborg, Costa, & Gotti, 1996). There has, however, been little which covers the inclusion of formally disadvantaged urban or peri-urban communities into tourism development.

This research will highlight the importance of the process involved in planning and initiating

a tourism product which involves formally disadvantaged urban communities. The intention is not to formulate a comprehensive plan for the 'correct' implementation process of the *Freedom Experience*, as the idiosyncrasies of each situation do not allow for a formulated approach. It is rather to highlight the relevance and intricacies of involving communities in the planning and initiation of such a project. Moreover it is intended to feed into the implementation process, as facilitation of community participation, as was indicated above, is an integral consideration in any tourism development initiative.

1.2 AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The *Freedom Experience* is a project still in its planning stage. This provides a window of opportunity to contribute to the further development of the concept and its implementation.

Aim:

This dissertation highlights issues of community-based urban tourism development with particular focus on the Georgetown community. It further examines the tourism planning process within an urban context encompassing that envisaged for the *Freedom Experience.*

Objectives:

1. Examine literature on community participation and tourism, and identify the role-players in urban tourism development.
2. Interview key informants involved in the tourism industry and in urban tourism development specifically, and look at the current procedures and ideas on both tourism in general and community participation and urban tourism development specifically.
3. Examine the process involved in planning and implementing the *Freedom Experience* in Pietermaritzburg, and identify possible difficulties and opportunities for this initiative.
4. Examine the Georgetown area and suggest ways of enhancing participation in the *Freedom Experience* initiative.
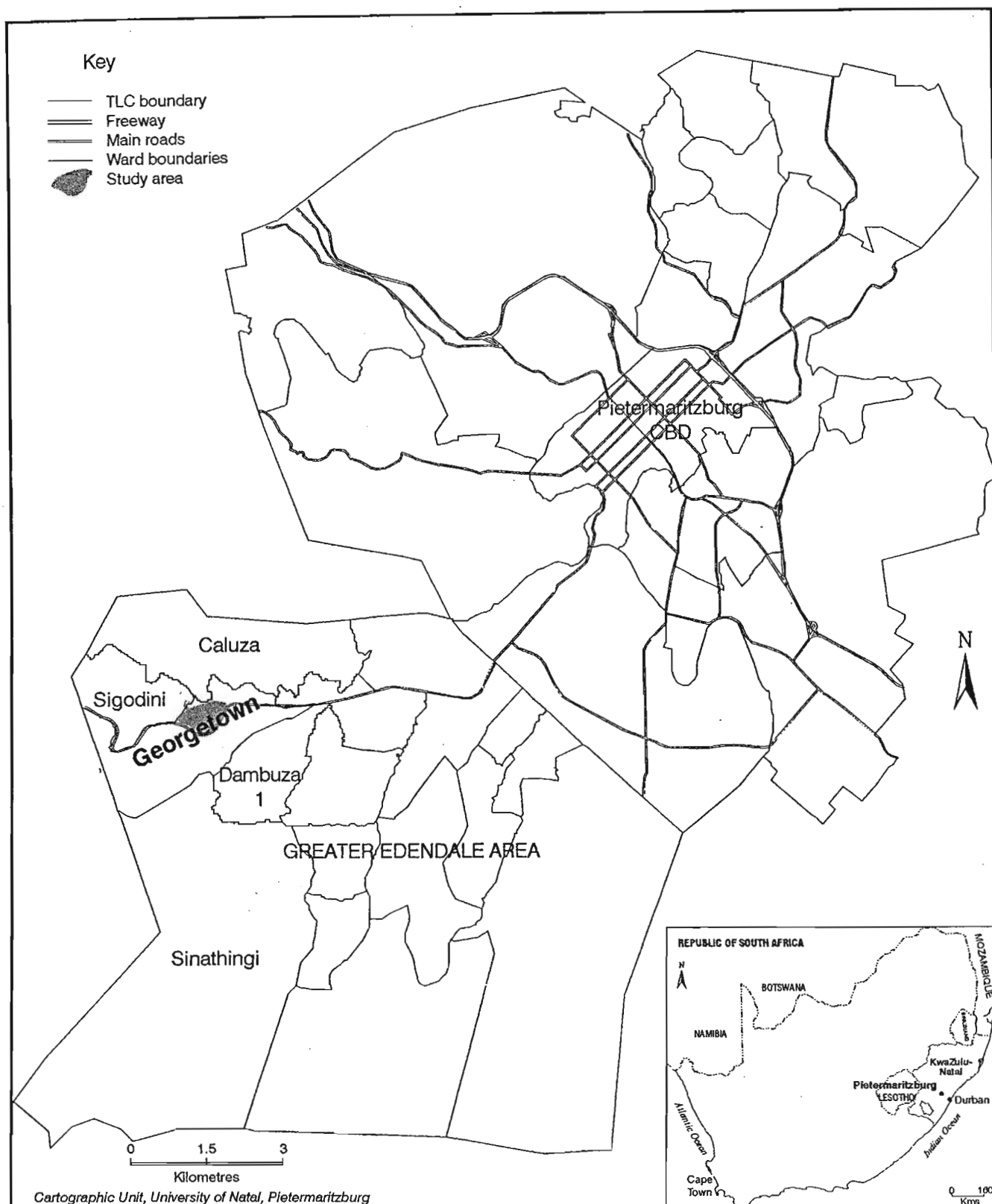
Figure 1.1 - Pietermaritzburg and Georgetown

1.3 THE *FREEDOM EXPERIENCE* AND THE CASE STUDY AREA

The *Freedom Experience* is a tourism initiative planned to identify and promote sites of historical significance in and around the city of Pietermaritzburg (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). Pietermaritzburg is situated in the Midlands of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The case study area is Georgetown, being the original residential area demarcated as such by the 'native' missionary settlers. It falls within Ward 22, in the Greater Edendale Area of Pietermaritzburg. Ward 22 also includes part of Sinathingi and Dambuza (Msimang, 2000, pers. com.; Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.). This ward is located in the South-West sector of the Msunduzi-Pietermaritzburg Transitional Local Council (Figure 1.1). The demarcation process which is currently underway is due to change these ward boundaries before the November 2000 elections (Haswell, 2000, pers. comm.).

1.4 METHODS

Both primary and secondary research information has been applied in this study. A review was made of relevant literature from academia, and an analysis of appropriate reports and policy documents related to the project has been undertaken. Furthermore, various local tourist publications and press articles have been scrutinized. Due to a paucity of academic literature on urban tourism in developing countries, much of the literature consulted was focussed on either rural or first world urban tourism development. That which was available, was assessed with regard to its relevance in the context of urban community-based tourism (CBT) development.

As the *Freedom Experience* is still in its preliminary stages, research techniques were used which would best allow this dissertation to contribute to the further development of this tourism project. Key informant semi-structured interviews were undertaken at various levels in order to access knowledge and information held by those of strategic importance in urban tourism development. In this manner the current processes of community-based tourism development could be established and areas of weakness identified.

Interviews with the primary role-players, those involved directly in the planning and

implementation of tourism initiatives, were recorded. Other key informant interviews, both telephonic and personal, were conducted whilst making written notes.

No tours of Pietermaritzburg's previously neglected urban or peri-urban areas were identified, so relevant Durban-based operators were interviewed. These tour operators were identified via newspaper articles, publicity and tourism organizations, and by word of mouth. They were chosen as they offered tours of previously neglected urban and peri-urban areas within the Durban metropolitan area. Although Pietermaritzburg will have its own idiosyncratic characteristics, it was felt that the experiences of Durban tour operators would offer some insight into the difficulties of such an undertaking.

Interviews were conducted with members of organizations involved at a grass-roots level in various community-based projects and undertakings. These provided insight into community dynamics and possibilities of integrating such organizations into an initiative such as this.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF STUDY

Certain stakeholders in the tourism industry are operating in the complex area of community based urban tourism, a realm of community development which is not yet well comprehended. The *Freedom Experience* is such an example, which upon commencement of this dissertation had already gained a fair amount of local interest and support. It was relatively undeveloped but nonetheless seemed to have the backing which would move it forward fairly rapidly.

Despite the commitment of those involved in the *Freedom Experience* project, it has lacked clear definition. This could be partly due to a number of reasons. The newness of this domain, both internationally and with regard to the local context, the vague parameters of responsibility and capacity at the local level, and the lack of a preliminary feasibility analysis are all likely factors. Although the lack of a clear definition does not set firm ground from which to work, it does allow this dissertation to contribute to the process as it occurs.

The planning process for involvement of communities in tourism development can never follow a prescribed formula. Due to distinctive conditions it would be virtually impossible to

establish a generic set of criteria which could be implemented across all cases. This study does not, therefore, attempt to prescribe such criteria. The findings of this dissertation are intended to provide a structure for debate around increased community participation in urban tourism development.

1.6 STRUCTURE OF THE DISSERTATION

The following chapter introduces the concept of tourism, and explains the changes in how people are beginning to view this industry. Tourism planners, tourists, and tour operators are becoming aware of a need for tourism which is less consumptive, and which benefits those people whom it affects most strongly. The relationship between tourism and development is considered, and prevailing trends identified. In addition, it examines current tourism policy and various aspects of community participation in tourism. Tourism-related, urban-based community initiatives are briefly explored.

Chapter three looks at the *Freedom Experience* generally and then focusses on Georgetown specifically. The process and progress of the *Freedom Experience* to date are examined. This chapter then gives a concise history of Georgetown, and the opportunities and limitations of linking it with the *Freedom Experience.*

In chapter four the argument is constructed for an integrative process, in which top-down and bottom-up responsibility and accountability over decision making are brought together. Information and power are shared at different levels and community development which can link back with tourism development is encouraged. This process intends to stimulate development that is hopefully sustainable, irrespective of the success of the overarching tourism initiative. The dissertation concludes with a summary in chapter five.

CHAPTER TWO

TOURISM

2.1 CONCEPTUALISING THE NOTION OF TOURISM

Tourism is a multi-disciplinary subject whose understanding draws from a range of academic and intellectual fields such as general economics, politics, sociology, geography and environmental sciences (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). The concept is not easily defined and is capable of diverse interpretation, with one survey finding forty-three definitions for a traveller, tourist, or visitor (Lea, 1988).

The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (1996, p.v) defines tourism as, 'All travel for whatever purpose, that results in one or more nights being spent away from home'. The literature consulted gives a considerable number of possibilities when trying to classify different types of tourism markets. For the purpose of this study I will draw a distinction between two main forms of tourism, mainstream or 'mass' tourism, and sustainable or 'new' tourism. This is not to imply that 'mass' tourism cannot be sustainable, but as explained below, it is usually associated with less sustainable forms of tourism development.

2.1.1 Mass Tourism

Mass tourism is the leisure and recreation tourism of the masses who travel to popular commercial destinations, where the facilities and services are typically those standardized to Western norms (Murphy, 1991). Many of these people find ease in the fact that they need not worry about arranging their own travel itinerary and accommodation, they will also usually have the assurance of relatively familiar foods and a comfortable surround. The safety of these arrangements often comes at a fairly competitive rate.

Mass tourism is defined by Poon (in Vanhove, 1997) as that which is:

▸ Standardized, rigidly packaged and inflexible.

▸ Produced through the mass replication of identical units, with economies of scale as the main motivating force.

▸ Mass-marketed to an undifferentiated clientele.

▸ Consumed *en masse*, with a lack of consideration by tourists for local norms, culture, people or the environments of tourist-receiving destinations.

It is this last point which emphasises some of the negative impacts of 'mass' tourism. In addition to the possible insensitivity of tourists to local norms, operators often pay little attention to the impacts their travellers have on the host environment. Problems identified include environmental degradation, socio-cultural abasement, the promotion of paternalistic attitudes, unequal distribution of financial benefits, and the spread of disease (Mowforth & Munt, 1998; Lea, 1988).

Although mass tourism has been identified as the cause of a range of problems, it is not a fundamental evil, and if well managed can become a generator of substantial economic benefits (Grant, 1998).

2.1.2 Towards a 'New Tourism'

The emergence of a number of 'new' forms of tourism has been a reaction to these problems (Mowforth & Munt, 1998). The 'new' tourist has been described as better educated, more culturally aware, more environmentally and culturally sensitive, and more curious and analytical (Doswell, 1997). Although this implies that 'new' tourists will have a less detrimental impact on their destinations, this is not always the case. The desire many 'new' tourists have to discover destinations with novel socio-cultural and biological environments can be the precise reason why they sometimes inflict harm on unspoilt locations.

Numerous terms are used when referring to 'new' forms of tourism. Many different definitions have been offered for each term, and some of these include: adventure tourism, involving outdoor excitement such as river rafting; alternative tourism, any tourism that steers

away from a mass orientation; appropriate tourism, focussing on benefits to those affected by tourism and of the impacts on the local environment; community-based tourism, which has a focus on community involvement; cultural tourism, introducing tourists to diverse cultures; eco-tourism, ecologically based tourism; heritage tourism; green tourism; responsible tourism; scientific tourism; and sustainable tourism (de Kadt, 1990; Smith, 1995; Mowforth & Munt, 1998; DEAT, 1996). What they all have in common is that they move away from the traditional, pre-packaged, leisure holiday towards a more independent form of tourism that generally tries to minimize the ill effects of mass tourism.

Sustainable tourism, one of the more popular terms used when describing 'new tourism', is related to sustainable development, a concept popularised by the United Nations Earth Summit held at Rio de Janeiro in 1992. The Brundtland Commission defined sustainable development as 'development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs (KwaZulu-Natal Province, 1997, p.18)'.

Rees (in Marien and Pizam, 1997, p.164) defines sustainable development most appropriately, not only for tourism development, but in a way that highlights the importance of community involvement in tourism planning. According to him: "Sustainable development is positive socio-economic change that does not undermine the ecological and social systems upon which community and society are dependent. Its successful implementation requires integrated planning, and social learning processes; its political viability depends on the full support of the people it affects through their governments, their social institutions, and their private activities". Some of the difficulties in achieving these requirements are outlines in section 2.3.4.

Historically, there seems to have been the idea that tourism is a secondary industry, normally not planned for, but if so, done by other agencies (Pearce, 1992). With this 'new' tourism has appeared an increased awareness of the necessity for planning, as well as taking into account both the negative impacts and benefits of tourism. Mowforth and Munt (1998) acknowledge an important link between sustainability and these 'new' forms of tourism. These, they say, share a common concern for development of local communities, the degree of 'local' participation and control of tourism development. As the tourism product is often inextricably

linked to the local community, particularly in the case of cultural or heritage tourism, the sustaining of the local community can mean the sustaining of the actual tourism product. The resources may indeed be the residents and hence the nucleus of the tourism product (Simmons, 1994).

The type of tourism proposed for the *Freedom Experience*, due to its scale, flexibility, and knowledge-based appeal, leans toward 'new' rather than 'mass' tourism. Georgetown, as a former township with the associated cultural appeal, could allow residents an opportunity to benefit from self directed small tourist oriented business development. Due to the probable lack of large multinational-type development, tourism could more easily be fashioned by the community into a sustainable form with which they feel comfortable.

The following section emphasises the link between 'new tourism', cultural and heritage tourism, and urban tourism, this being the context within which the case study falls. This 'new' tourism will be shown, in section 2.2, to be the form backed by government policy, and that which I expand upon in the specific Georgetown context.

2.1.3 Urban Tourism

Tourism in urban areas, due to its regular emphasis on the built or historic environment, often falls within the categories of cultural or heritage tourism. Many historic urban areas, such as Cairo in Egypt (Wahab, 1997), and Stone Town on the island of Zanzibar (Banasiak, 1995), are popular tourist destinations due to their historical buildings. The current success of urban tourism has hence been strongly linked to a 'cultural revival' in tourism (Jansen-Verbeke, 1997). Cultural, or heritage tourism, is seen as a growth sector in the tourism industry (Seymour, 1998, pers. comm.), and this suggests significant opportunities and possible consequences for previously neglected third world urban and peri-urban areas of cultural and historical significance, such as the case study area.

Although urban heritage and cultural tourism can both be categorised as falling under the banner of 'new' tourism, this does not immediately exempt them from the concerns associated with mass tourism. Both positive and negative components relevant to this urban context have

been noted (Inskeep, 1991; Herbert, 1997; Mowforth & Munt, 1998).

The positive components include the ability to:

- generate funds for preservation and conservation purposes;
- enhance local interest in heritage which could lead to increased community driven conservation of resources; and
- generate local employment and wealth.

The negative components include:

- authenticity issues, where the history of the site can become distorted, or where heritage is recreated and an 'identical copy' comes into being for which no original has ever existed;
- selectivity, where a bias exists regarding what sites to present to the public and what stories to tell; and
- the possible negative impacts on local people and environments (invasion of privacy, congestion, zooification, threat to environment and building fabric).

These impacts must, however, be considered in the context of the seeming co-dependency that exists between culture and tourism (Jansen-Verbeke, 1997), where tourism is made more valuable by the cultural heritage component of a destination, and the revenue generated from tourist expenditure is needed as a means, and motivation, to conserve and maintain these cultural resources. Bansiak (1995) writes of the symbiotic relationship that can exist between conservation and development, where conservation is seen as a development issue and buildings are preserved purposefully, giving them continued useful existence. This is particularly important in developing countries where conservation and heritage may be given a lower priority by local residents and government bodies, who find other needs more urgent (Zetter, in Bansiak, 1995). In this way residents of Georgetown could benefit greatly from linking the preservation of old buildings with a functional use, such as making them into libraries, clinics, business centres or community halls. They may then be able to access funding from different government or non-government organizations who assist the establishment of these various services or facilities.

Not only should the benefits of conservation be strongly linked with development, but it is important that any affected communities understand and agree with the image to be marketed

as their culture, heritage or history. Heritage can become a commodity created to satisfy modern consumption needs, which appears through a process of producing a marketable product. It is therefore important that this product be in line with the community's wishes, and is sensitive to socio-political beliefs.

Developing an urban product is identified by Pearce (in Law, 1996) as having four main components:

1.) Planning, including the development of a strategy, resource selection and activities, and the improvement of the environment and culture -*This is where planners would choose which primary and secondary elements were needed in the marketing mix. Primary elements being those which attract tourists, such as the actual heritage resources. The secondary elements being those which enhance the experience, or assist in attracting the tourist, these may be restaurants, shebeens, and so on*;

2.) Development, implementation of strategy, and finance acquisition -*Funding is identified as an area of difficulty and may need to be considered separately, possibly in 1. above*;

3.) Promotion and marketing -*Marketing includes a far wider understanding than merely promoting or advertising the idea, it incorporates all elements of an idea, from inception right through actually delivering the product to the consumer/tourist*; and

4.) Visitor services -*These are services which maximize the tourist experience, and hence enhance the financial viability of the project. These are such things as toilet facilities and an adequate transport infrastructure.*

The above planning process, number 1, would be the opportunity for creating the interpretation style, and it is here that the choice between 'mass' or 'new' tourism might be made. In addition, the distinction between creating a rigid, rigorous form of tourism and a more informal or alternative arrangement may be identified. The former can be used as a good mechanism for controlling tourist impacts to the urban environment. This could consist of a concentration of main attractions in one area, or a central information centre with visual presentations, high quality souvenir shops, or sound and light shows (Jansen-Verbeke, 1997). The more informal option could be created through the development of routes and trails with only a modest tourist infrastructure. This would hence be easier to establish in the short term and may be a more appropriate way to link with a cultural experience. The choice of whether

to cluster the tourism elements, or make use of a more dispersed arrangement, needs to be balanced between taking into account the quality of the tourist experience and the physical and social capacity of the area. These two forms of urban tourism development are not however mutually exclusive, and in the case of urban heritage tourism development in this country, could most likely be used in conjunction to great effect.

Whether a clustered or dispersed arrangement is chosen, the public sector has a key role to play in developing a tourism strategy, managing public space, constructing and maintaining certain key facilities, and financially assisting the private sector (Law, 1992). South Africa's support for tourism as a means for job creation and socio-economic development is illustrated in the next section.

2.2 TOURISM TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENT

The intention of this section is to outline the contribution of tourism to the South African, and KwaZulu-Natal economy in particular, and hence emphasise its potential as a development tool. It will also examine South African development policy as it relates to tourism development.

2.2.1 Foreign Tourism in South Africa and KwaZulu-Natal

International tourist arrivals to South Africa have increased from 729 000 in 1994, to 1 424 066 in 1997, with the South African growth rate substantially higher than that of the international rate (A'Bear, 1998). According to a recent South African Tourism (SATOUR) report, KwaZulu-Natal is visited by approximately a third of all South Africa's international air arrival visitors, equating to roughly 406 000 visitors in 1996 (A'Bear, 1998). Since this SATOUR report, more recent estimates are that KwaZulu-Natal has approximately 500 000 international tourists entering the province on an annual basis, spending on average R 4000 each and contributing around R 2 billion to the economy (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). This estimated increase in figures from 1996 to present, demonstrates the rapid growth and contribution of these visitors to the provincial economy.
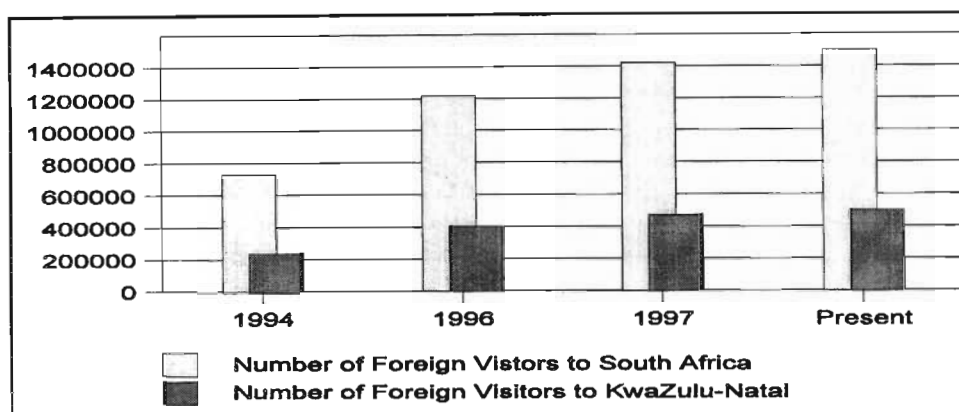
Figure 1: Estimated Increase in Foreign Tourists
Source: Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.; A'Bear, 1998.

Many international visitors are interested in political changes which have occurred in South Africa, as well as the cultural diversity of this country (Seymour, 1998, pers. comm.). Recent surveys revealed that 11% of international tourists went on township tours in the summer of 1997/98, and 60% of these rated the experience as good (McIntosh, Xaba & Associates, 1999). This combination of interest in both organized township tours, and political change and cultural diversity, opens a window of opportunity for urban heritage tourism such as that proposed for the *Freedom Experience*. It has the potential of linking these interests into one tourism product. Further to this, the introduction of tourism into the Georgetown area could lead to an improved living environment as a result of increased community concern for a tourism conducive environment. This could result in, among other things, improved cleanliness, services and aesthetically appealing areas.

2.2.2 Tourism and Development in South Africa

As indicated in the President's State of the Nation Address, on 4 February 2000, poverty reduction, development and job creation continue to receive significant attention from Government (Mbeki, 2000). A development focus on both rural and urban areas can be seen through the initiation of Government programmes such as the Integrated and Sustainable Rural Development Programme and the Local Economic Development (LED) Fund. With regard to this dissertation, the LED Trust has been established to support municipalities in meeting

their mandate of stimulating economic development at the local level. In this same address the President identified the tourism sector as potentially one of the most important sectors with regard to job creation, emphasising the government's political support for tourism development.

In addition to parliamentary addresses, South Africa has written policy at all levels recommending tourism as a tool for job creation and socio-economic upliftment. At national level is the 'Reconstruction and Development Programme' (ANC, 1994), and the 'White Paper on The Development and Promotion of Tourism in South Africa' (DEAT, 1996), hereafter referred to as the 'White Paper'. At provincial level there is 'The Tourism Policy and Strategic Framework for Tourism Development in KwaZulu-Natal' (A'Bear, 1998), and 'The KwaZulu-Natal Community Based Tourism Development Strategy' (DRA-Development, Pondocrop, & Scott Wilson, 1999). The Local Development Plan for Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC is the policy document that drives tourism and Local Economic Development at this level (McCormack & Associates, and Hlongwa & Associates, 1999).

The following look at relevant policies gives an idea of the hopes pinned on tourism in this country. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), and the White Paper, both acknowledge the potential of tourism to contribute to the national economy. The Reconstruction and Development Programme also stresses tourism's role at a local level, with the creation of local employment and its possibilities in Small, Medium and Micro Enterprises (SMME) development being highlighted. Local community participation is encouraged, with emphasis on benefits flowing to local communities.

The White Paper is the national guiding policy on tourism development, and emphasises that in addition to the natural beauty and generally sunny climate of South Africa, it has a wealth of cultural resources, of which the township and heritage experience is a powerful drawcard. It also emphasises that the recent political transformation in South Africa has created a potentially substantial market opportunity for the previously neglected communities in this country. This should not be seen as including only rural areas, but previously neglected urban and peri-urban areas as well. The recommendations within the 'White Paper' through their emphasis on community involvement in responsible tourism, strongly support the type of

tourism outlined in this dissertation. It is stated in the White Paper, that tourism perhaps more than any other sector, has the potential to achieve the objectives of the RDP.

The White Paper does not, however, provide a pragmatic framework within which to implement the proposed guidelines. The functions of various organizations are described, but the realities of executing the guidelines are not. The enthusiasm portrayed in the many guiding documents and speeches above must be held in light of the many difficulties facing any tourism initiative in South Africa. The suggested process and structure in this dissertation attempt to address this deficit by holding in mind the principles of Local Agenda 21.

Local Agenda 21 (LA21) is an approach to planning and development based on a broader worldwide programme, Agenda 21, which seeks to achieve sustainable development on a global level. This approach aims to achieve sustainable development of local (urban or settlement) communities and is currently being implemented in South Africa (KwaZulu-Natal Province, 1997). This implies that all planning and development, including urban tourism development such as that proposed for the *Freedom Experience*, must adhere to the seven broad principles of sustainable development.

These are:

- *'Ecological limits'*: All citizens and communities must learn to live within the earth's carrying capacity,
- *'Partnerships'*: Alliances among all stakeholders are established for collective responsibility, decision making and planning,
- *'Accountability'*: All stakeholders are accountable for their actions,
- *'Participation and transparency'*: All major groups of society are involved in sustainable development planning and all information is easily available to the general public,
- *'Systemic approach'*: Solutions address the underlying causes of problems, and the entire systems which are affected and not only the symptoms of those problems,
- *'Equity and justice'*: Environmentally sound, socially just and equitable economic development must go hand in hand,
- *'Concern for the future'*: Sustainable development plans and actions address short and long term trends and needs.

The purpose of LA21 is to broaden the scope of issues considered in existing planning and development initiatives at all levels of government. Its relevance to urban tourism development in the context of this study is for its emphasis on socio-economic development through community participation, whilst conserving existing resources. This case study, with potential economic benefits being stimulated through the conservation of the existing built environment, could be a very important contributor to achieving this objective.

A'Bear (1998) identifies two documents specifically influencing tourism policy for KwaZulu-Natal, the White Paper at a national level, and the Tourism Policy and Strategic Framework for tourism development in KwaZulu-Natal at a provincial level. He lists the following guiding principles, contained in these two documents, as creating a policy framework for tourism development in KwaZulu-Natal:

- Tourism development is dependent on the establishment of partnerships among key stakeholders: *A successful tourism industry requires a sound institutional framework based on effective partnerships between those who have a direct interest in the success of the industry.*

- Effective community involvement should form the basis of tourism growth: *Community involvement is defined as ownership of tourism facilities, the opportunity to participate in decision making, and achieving an improved quality of life and economic upliftment through income-generating activities.*

- Tourism should be used as a development tool for the empowerment of previously neglected communities: *Done through opportunities in entrepreneurial activities, becoming tourism operators, and service and supplies providers.*

- Tourism should be private sector driven: *The private sector has greater flexibility to respond to change, as well as the ability to finance tourism from sources other than government.*

- The practice of sustainable environmental processes: *Tourism development should be environmentally and economically sustainable to provide long term benefit. Tourism must therefore be carefully managed to preserve the natural and cultural resources upon which many tourism attractions are based.*

- Natural and cultural heritage should be managed, respected and protected: *The province and country are rich in both biological and cultural diversity. Due to a lack*

of knowledge about this diversity there is an unconscious destruction of these assets.

- 'Responsible tourism' development is advised, which promotes responsibility to the: *environment; involvement of local communities in the industry; safety and security of visitors; and government, employees, employers, unions and local communities.*

- Tourism development requires the provision of infrastructure, particularly in rural areas: *Tourism development of any scale requires the provision of infrastructure, particularly roads and communication networks, water and electricity supplies and disposal of waste.*

The recently completed KwaZulu-Natal Community Based Tourism Development Strategy (DRA-Development, Pondocrop, & Scott Wilson, 1999), in addition to emphasising the above points, indicates clearly that the primary focus for community-based tourism (CBT) seems to be weighted towards the rural context, pointing out that CBT "...has the potential to create much needed employment, to generate income and to address the inequalities between urban and rural economies" (DRA-Development et al., 1999, p.1).

Although the literature focusses more closely on nature-based tourism, the government of KwaZulu-Natal sees the tourism industry as a whole having the potential to become one of the lead economic activities in the province (A'Bear, 1998). It should thus play a development role in both rural and urban contexts. The KwaZulu-Natal Community Based Tourism Development Strategy (DRA-Development et al., 1999, Appendix 3F, p.9) cautions, however, that "...tourism is being pushed as South Africa's economic saving grace. In light of both the global and local economic climate this is unlikely to happen". Foreign tourists are notoriously unreliable as a steady source of income. Tourism must not, therefore, be taken in isolation of other sectors, but rather integrated into holistic economic and development planning (A'Bear, 1998).

At the local level, economic development is a recent mandate for TLCs and is generally given high precedence. In Pietermaritzburg, tourism is identified as one of the priority sectors for achieving this goal (McCormack & Associates, and Hlongwa & Associates, 1999). Linked with the case study, it is suggested that an integrated tourism plan is prepared and that the city's historical and cultural attractions are developed and marketed (ibid). One of the key

actions highlighted for tourism is to identify, design and develop CBT opportunities (ibid). Another area of interest is the support the council has stated for locally based SMME development, especially from previously disadvantaged communities, and the stipulated funding suggested for the local Business Support Centre.

It is cautioned however that the rapidly changing economic, political and other conditions at all levels highlight the need for flexibility when planning Local Economic Development (LED) (ibid). It is at this level that coordination and assimilation of seemingly disparate planning efforts into a holistic effort must be obtained.

The above government policy, summarized by the principles laid down by A'Bear, together with the seven principles listed by LA21, form a strong base from which to plan and develop tourism in this country. The fundamental issue now is converting this policy into practice. Despite ample rhetoric surrounding the potential of tourism, many tourism projects are delayed by institutional and other difficulties. It may hence be beneficial for tourism-related community development to be initiated prior to concrete tourism actions being put in place. This is an issue relevant to tourism projects aimed at both the international and domestic markets.

2.2.3 Domestic Tourism Trends and KwaZulu-Natal

Tourism often seems only to be thought of in terms of foreign visitors. Of course not all tourism is foreign, in 1993 almost 90% of the world's travellers were domestic, and the World Tourism Organization (WTO) estimated in 1997 that domestic tourism probably represented 80-90% of total world tourism demand (Doswell, 1997). In the context of KwaZulu-Natal, although the average expenditure per domestic tourist is substantially lower than that of international tourists, the large number of local tourists leads to an annual contribution to the provincial economy of about R 4 billion (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). For this reason the domestic market should not be underestimated.

The main purpose for domestic tourism to KwaZulu-Natal is to visit friends or relatives (Seymour, 1998), which may suggest that this is not a substantially lucrative heritage tourism

market. According to recent research, however, organized township tours are considered to be the third favourite domestic tourist attraction (ibid). A distinctive point to note is that the number of domestic tourists who recorded an interest in visiting an African township was significantly higher than the number who actually visited these areas (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). This suggests an opportunity for the *Freedom Experience* to capture a percentage of this market. There may be an increasing market consisting of educated black professionals, wanting to discover the history of those who dedicated, and sometimes sacrificed, their lives for the liberation struggle (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). If marketed correctly a substantial proportion of this market segment could also be captured.

2.2.4 Tourism and Urban Development

In the first chapter, one of the issues raised as part of the research problem was the abundance of literature on rural based sustainable tourism development. This contrasts with the seeming dearth of literature on urban and peri-urban tourism in 'third world' countries. Certain experiences and lessons learned in the rural context therefore become quite useful in relating to the urban or peri-urban environment.

Urban areas are in need of development, and as stated in the recent Presidential State of the Nation Address, urban and peri-urban areas contain the largest concentrations of poverty in our country (Mbeki, 2000). The President also emphasised the need for job creation, support of small and medium business and LED. The Local Development Plan for Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC (McCormack & Associates, and Hlongwa & Associates, 1999) emphasises local government's responsibility to stimulate this type of development in urban areas.

Although progress is being made, budgetary constraints limit the TLC's ability to provide all that may be considered important by a community (Ogilvey, 1999, pers. comm.). In an attempt to tackle this issue it would appear that a new form of joint responsibility and working together is evolving between communities and local authorities (Gengan, 2000, pers. comm.; Haswell, 2000, pers. comm.). This is in line with Government sentiment that it should no longer have exclusive responsibility for creating jobs. Urban communities, who deal with TLCs, have since 1994 been making greater input into decisions regarding proposed development

activities within their areas. This cooperation will hopefully result in a greater combined power of these communities and their local authorities, to provide appropriate development and job creation. The Greater Edendale Environmental Network (GREEN) is such a community organization that, in conjunction with a local government steering committee on the implementation of LA21, is working towards ensuring environmentally sustainable and responsible development.

It is with regard to this new attitude of joint responsibility for community development, that the process suggested by this dissertation shows its appropriateness. It suggests an integrated approach where local government and communities utilize their expertise and knowledge in a combined manner towards community development. Tourism becomes a motivating tool by which communities mobilize themselves in an effort to bring immediate community benefits and possible future rewards for their endeavours.

Tourism development in ex-township, urban or peri-urban areas, would not normally involve large external investors proposing elaborate lodges or similar ventures, such as is common with rural examples (Kerr, 2000, pers. comm.). The urban situation would most likely involve an operation of smaller scale, perhaps a tour operator or a local tourism authority planning on promoting the area as a cultural or heritage experience, such as with the *Freedom Experience* (Mackrory, 1998, pers. comm.).

Similarly the manner in which monetary benefits would be realised by local communities would differ. In contrast to an example of communal land ownership, as in many rural situations, opportunities which would arise in an urban or peri-urban environment would be more directly of an individual nature. This could result in only a few individuals from a community benefiting, and as a result the support of the community may not be forthcoming (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). This is a situation which could occur in Georgetown or any other urban area involved in tourism. It is therefore important that communities organize themselves through appropriate structures. These structures must be established in a manner that can lead to tourism development-related decisions that are backed by the majority of the affected community.

As the consensus on development related decisions can be extremely complex, it may be useful when considering community development, to expand one's view to encompass a development of the actual social coherence of a community. For communities in previously neglected, often historically conflict-ridden areas, it is possible that the true sense of community cohesion may have become fragmented. A community may be divided along lines of political affiliation, community or personal objectives, land ownership, religious denomination, or one of a number of other criteria. In a situation such as this, it may be useful to view community development not only from an economic or material 'Quality of Life' perspective, but from a social relationship or community health 'Quality of Life' perspective as well (Peters, 2000, pers. comm.). It is in this sense of community development that tourism, and especially heritage tourism, begins to be appropriate and valuable. In terms of heritage tourism a community would need to explore and reflect on their history and identity, and then negotiate ways of presenting this publicly. These processes of internal reflection and interpersonal testimony are at the core of most healing practises (Peters, 2000, pers. comm.). The readiness of a community to present an agreed upon historical picture to the outside world (a distinct form of community participation), could be interpreted as a measure of the health of that community. In this way organizations involved in community health, especially mental or social health, may wish to involve themselves in a project of this nature.

2.3 COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION IN TOURISM

Community Participation (CP) is one of the central components of 'new' or responsible tourism. It is part of an effort to both conserve the natural and built environment and assist in socio-economic development. The policy documents reviewed in section 2.2.2, indicate that substantial responsibility falls on government at all levels, and especially at local level, to include communities meaningfully, in order to achieve these objectives.

2.3.1 Why involve communities?

Simmons (1994) identifies two reasons for the recent inclusion of CP in tourism planning. Firstly, the negative impacts of tourism are felt most keenly by local communities. He states that this is a widely-accepted principle emphasising "...that the public has a right to participate

in the planning of activities that affect their daily lives" (p.99). The second point is that community residents are recognised as essential for the 'hospitality atmosphere'. This is a critical element, especially where a tour is based on cultural exploration and the local community, in a sense, becomes a central component of the product.

Although tourism has been identified as an industry which can have negative effects on a community's social and cultural fabric, CP in the planning process has been identified in certain instances to help with the survival or renaissance of traditional culture (Cater, 1996). Contemporary planners can benefit greatly from the contribution CP can make, via harnessing local knowledge, labour, and expertise. The CAMPFIRE project in Zimbabwe and ADMADE in Zambia are two projects involving local people managing wildlife. It has been noted that both of these projects have resulted to a considerable decrease in poaching and an increase in income for local communities (Koch, 1997). Community Participation can be considered important in its capacity to encourage community development and in its ability to contribute toward distributive equity, which is increasingly important in the face of the government's need to highlight its commitment to Local Economic Development (LED).

This implies that local community participation could be of ultimate benefit to both tourism planners and the community. If correctly implemented, it could contribute to an accepted level of benefit distribution, minimization of negative tourism impacts, involvement of the local community in planning, construction, and initiation of the project, and conservation of the environment. It is most probable that community participation could also be a fundamental component for the economic success of a tourism project. It is highly unlikely that a 'new' tourist would wish to visit an area where the local community is hostile or uninvolved, and does not benefit adequately from tourism. The success or sustainability of the tourism product is dependant, to a large degree, on the backing of the local community.

Community Participation is incorporated into a wide range of approaches, which tend to show mixed or inconclusive results (Murphree, 1996). Involving communities can either be done in a manner which contributes to their empowerment and socio-economic development or in a way which can leave them no better off, both mentally and socio-economically, than before. For this reason it is important to examine what can be constituted as meaningful participation,

and in this way be able to make recommendations towards maximizing the benefits of participation in urban tourism development.

2.3.2 Meaningful Participation

Community Participation (CP) has been addressed mostly within the context of 'sustainable' or nature-based tourism, which embraces many different understandings of this concept. Participatory procedures constitute a variety of approaches, and a variety of outcomes (Rakodi, 1993). Abbott (1996) emphasises the strong social and political implications of CP, and the dangers of it being interpreted in a manner which meets interests and perceptions of the developers. Development professional agencies may see it merely as a means of acquiring increased efficiency through community support; NGOs and CBOs may see it as a means for local communities to take control of development processes which affect them and to bring about political change; while many governments and civil servants may simply view it as threatening and subversive (ibid).

It is possible to distinguish between community participation being used either as a means to obtain a specific development objective, or as an empowerment tool, and therefore an end in itself (Moser, in Abbott, 1996; Rakodi, 1993). When participation is intended as a means then it generally becomes a way of mobilizing resident cash or labour, or perhaps increasing commitment to the upkeep of community facilities, and/or infrastructure. When intended as an end, the objective is not a specific tourism development goal but a process whose outcome is community empowerment, or rather an increasingly meaningful participation in the development process. The choice of which perspective to embrace is dependent on the underlying paradigm to which one subscribes. It has been noted in a recent Independent Development Trust draft paper (IDT, 2000), that development thought is moving towards the realisation that one cannot follow an isolated and technocratic approach towards development. There is a need to combine approaches within a paradigm which utilizes the relevant and positive aspects of each. It may be useful to consider these two approaches as not being mutually exclusive, and Moser (in Abbott, 1996, p. 37) states that, 'In reality it is not the evaluation of participation either as a means or as an end which is important, but the identification of the process whereby participation as a means has the capacity to develop into

participation as an end'.

Although empowerment of host communities is not the sole responsibility of tourism development, it is illustrated above that government policy identifies tourism as a potential means of generating economic growth and job creation, and that one of the guiding principles of tourism is to use it as a development tool for the empowerment of previously neglected communities (A'Bear, 1998). Although the primary purpose of the local authority for initiating the *Freedom Experience* appears to be increasing tourist visitation to the Pietermaritzburg area, this project has the ability to fulfill the dual purpose of contributing to job creation and socio-economic growth of previously neglected areas. In this manner participation can be seen as a means of stimulating the Pietermaritzburg economy as a whole, and as an end in itself through utilizing a process which can lead to sustainable community managed development.

The concept of participation is subject to many interpretations, all dependent on individual interests and perceptions. As Abbott (1996, p. 3) indicates, '...there is no clear understanding of what constitutes meaningful and effective community participation'. A useful manner in which to view the extent of participation, is to rank the degree to which people are involved in projects which affect them, such as that done by Pretty (in Mowforth & Munt, 1998). He identifies seven levels of participation, ranging from manipulative participation, in which virtually all power and control over the proposal or development lies with people or groups outside the local community, to self-mobilization, in which the power and control over all aspects of the development rest squarely with the local community (Table 2.1). This seems to be a variation of Arnstein's ladder of participation (in Abbott, 1996, p. 34), in which she "described participation in terms of a series of increasingly meaningful inputs into the decision-making process, with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining what she called the end product".

Although extremely useful, this laddered classification has been criticized as not being sufficient to fully explain community participation in a third world context. Peattie (in Abbott, 1996, p.34) argues that "...citizen power is more complicated than a simple transfer of power from top to bottom". The third world context, with levels of knowledge and expertise being extremely varied and complex, suggests a need for an approach that is more encompassing of

this diversity. It is argued that before communities can become meaningfully involved in projects or programmes, there needs to be a certain level of information sharing, knowledge and available skills within that community (Simmons, 1994; Mowforth & Munt, 1998).

Once the initiative is in place it will need to be operated and maintained, requiring further skills (Abbott, 1996). By including community members adequately in the decision-making process, and giving them responsibility for management of the initiative in their area, a sense of ownership will be instilled, opportunities for greater community involvement created, and the likelihood of long-term success for the initiative enhanced (Abbott, 1996).

Where Pretty's typology of participation approaches the question of citizen power from a linear perspective, it may be necessary rather to view participation from a more integrative perspective. This would entail balancing a top-down approach, which is needed to create an enabling environment for community participation, and a bottom-up approach, which sees communities self-mobilising. It is this approach which is covered in more detail in chapter 4.

Table 2.1 Pretty's Typology of Participation

Typology	Characteristic of each type
1. Manipulative participation	Participation is simply a pretence: people's representatives on official boards, but they are unelected and have no power.
2. Passive participation	People participate by being told what has been decided or has already happened: involves unilateral announcements by project management without listening to people's responses; information shared belongs only to external professionals.
3. Participation by consultation	People participate by being consulted or by answering questions: external agents define problems and information- gathering processes, and so control analysis; process does not concede any share in decision-making; professionals under no obligation to account for people's views.
4. Participation for material incentives	People participate by contributing resources (eg. labour) in return for food, cash or other material incentive: farmers may provide fields and labour but are not involved in testing or the process of learning; this is commonly called participation, yet people have no stake in prolonging technologies or practices when the incentives end.
5. Functional participation	Participation seen by external agencies as a means to achieve project goals, especially reduced costs: people may participate by forming groups to meet project objectives; involvement may be interactive and involve shared decision-making, but tends to arise only after major decisions have already been made by external agents; at worst, local people may still only be co-opted to serve external goals.
6. Interactive participation	People participate in joint analysis, development of action plans and strengthening of local institutions: participation is seen as a right, not just the means to achieve project goals; the process involves interdisciplinary methodologies that seek multiple perspectives and use systemic and structured learning processes. As groups take control of local decisions and determine how available resources are used, so they have a stake in maintaining structures and practices.
7. Self- mobilisation	People participate by taking initiatives independently of external institutions to change systems: they develop contacts with external institutions for resources and technical advice they need, but retain control over resource use; self-mobilization can spread if governments and NGOs provide an enabling framework of support. Self-mobilisation may or may not challenge existing distributions of wealth and power.

Source: Mowforth & Munt, 1998, p 241.

2.3.3 Planning for Meaningful Participation

Getz and Jamal (1994) suggest a movement away from traditional tourism planning towards 'dynamic collaboration'. They state that many of the planning approaches of the past, such as those proposed by Inskeep (1991) and Murphy (1985), are all based on the assumption that the political process would allow and encourage a rational evaluation of tourism costs and benefits, and would hence make the best decision for present and future generations. This does not however seem to be the case, which is seen in the increasing request for community participation in tourism and other planning spheres (Getz & Jamal, 1994). Many rural or nature-based guidelines on increasing local participation in tourism planning exist (Brandon, 1993; Lubke, 1998). Brandon (1993) identifies ten issues which he feels are critical in eliciting community-based participation in nature tourism, of particular relevance to urban tourism are: empowerment as an objective, creating stakeholders, understanding site-specific conditions, and monitoring and evaluating the progress of the project.

In any complex urban planning effort these and other issues need to be considered within a context of collaboration. This needs to be done in order to provide a flexible process which can evolve over time. Collaboration is defined by Getz and Jamal (1994, p.155) as "...a process of joint decision making among key stakeholders of a problem domain about the future of that domain". Collaboration theory, through its emphasis on the interdependence of stakeholders who retain their independent decision-making power, acknowledges the necessity of a balance being obtained between traditional 'top-down' and newer forms of 'bottom-up' approaches to tourism planning. It stresses that the complexity of these planning initiatives necessitates working together.

Dynamic collaboration may suppress possible conflict rising from attempts at participation, but Abbott (1996) acknowledges the potential for conflict in any community participation project which attempts to gain input from many divergent actors in the decision-making process. He emphasises the usefulness of facilitation and/or mediation of an objective external intervention in dissolving the conflict. As will be illustrated later, Georgetown has a complex set of community dynamics which suggest a need for both collaboration and mediation skills by those involved in the collaboration process.

By combining Pretty's typology of participation, and its useful but rather linear approach, with the idea of collaboration theory, and its emphasis on communication between various stakeholders on different levels, a more integrative approach to tourism development could be practised. This new combination being able to transform the historically 'top-town', and the newer forms of 'bottom-up' approaches, into an integrative dynamic approach, in which information and power are shared at various levels. In such a case the likelihood of conflict between Government and community would be reduced. An understanding could be reached, that through collaboration the knowledge and expertise of the various contributors could be used to ensure more appropriate decision making. This arrangement could be held until the project was operating, the relevant competencies learned, and underlying conflicts resolved. At this point local government could withdraw to a management of the overarching programme. They could perform a marketing, general coordination and supervisory role, with arrangement of specific events or functions.

All intended projects will, however, have obstacles to overcome and issues which hamper their progress. The following section outlines some of these issues.

2.3.4 Difficulties and Possibilities

The meaningful inclusion of the local community in tourism development will be faced by certain adversities. Each community is unique and although there are a number of general difficulties to tourism development, there are also a number of idiosyncratic circumstances. What follows are a number of constraints which have an influence on the ability of key stakeholders to initiate meaningful participation in urban tourism development. In the section on the case study more specific issues will be discussed.

A.) Crime

At a national tourism level, crime is considered to be one of the country's most severe problems. Analysts are concerned that the government is not doing enough where crime is concerned. Incidents such as the Planet Hollywood and subsequent pipe-bombings in Cape Town, and the rape of Swiss tourists in rural KwaZulu-Natal, cost the country dearly in foreign

exchange (Sunday Tribune, 8/11/1998; Natal Witness, 29/11/1999). Senior scenario researcher for the South African Police Service (SAPS), Dr Jan de Vries (Sunday Tribune, 3/1/1999) stated at the beginning of 1999 that the SAPS budget would not allow real growth for the organization in that year, and it would be keeping its head above water rather than creating solutions to the current crime levels. The actual crimes, and associated perceptions created, could be even more devastating for tours that lead people into areas historically troubled by violence. This includes many rural and previously neglected urban areas, that may not be currently dangerous, but where continued unrest would not improve the existing negative perceptions of safety. Even extensive positive marketing may not be enough to convince a tourist to enter an area where a number of residents had recently been killed. Efforts are being made to tackle crime around the country on a local level, where a number of community programmes exist focussing on crime prevention. Tackling crime is the responsibility of all, it is an issue which needs to be tackled at all levels, by government and communities, by private sector, NGOs and parastatals. One way of doing this is by creating jobs and hence improving socio-economic conditions.

B.) Government/Institutional issues

South Africa has policy which emphasises responsible tourism planning and community involvement (section 2.2.2). Policy does not, however, illustrate ways for practical implementation, and government at different levels may not have the clarity, political will, commitment, or resources to effectively execute the guiding policy (McCormack & Associates, and Hlongwa & Associates, 1999; DEAT, 1996). Local government presently assigns tourism related responsibility of functions according to a vague competency in an area. As local government gains experience in the area of LED and community tourism, they will hopefully create a structure which has the relevant competencies and is capable of greater flexibility to adapt to change and facilitate community mobilisation.

Policy also relies on personal interpretation and the vision of those charged with responsibility to implement it. For this reason it might be beneficial for a system to be in place, whereby simultaneous assessment and monitoring can occur between local government and community organizations.

Irrespective of how much good work is being done on a particular tourism project, if benefits to the community are stressed by local government as being solely reliant on the success of the initiative to bring in tourists (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.), more diverse opportunities may very well be lost. It should therefore be a priority of those involved in tourism planning to also stress entrepreneurial activity which is not solely reliant on the tourism industry.

C.) SMME financing; tourism training, education and awareness

In the past there has been insufficient support and financing of Small Medium and Micro Enterprise (SMME) development for previously neglected communities (DEAT, 1996). There has also been inadequate training, education and awareness (DEAT, 1996), and although this is not as severe as in the rural areas, it still plays a significant role. Training, education and human resource development are crucial issues which underlie both the establishment and sustainability of a tourism project such as the *Freedom Experience*. These issues will hopefully be alleviated to some degree by the government's new enthusiasm for LED and SMME development. Communities should nonetheless be proactive in this manner and seek out organizations which can assist them, where government is not. It is in the area of SMME development, for which training and awareness are significant, where opportunities for tourism development in previously neglected urban areas lie. This is the case with the *Freedom Experience* and Georgetown. If heritage tourism is to benefit urban communities they need to be proactive in a manner which enables them to start small businesses and hence exploit the benefits of having visitors to their area.

D.) Defining Local Community

In order to establish whether meaningful community participation has occurred, it is first necessary to define who the community is. Defining the community can be difficult in many CBT projects, especially where divisions exist within communities (DRA-Development, Pondocrop, & Scott Wilson, 1999). This can be more difficult in the urban context as the concept of community is much bigger (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). It has also been written that in the urban context the definition of community could be easier, as it can be defined according to designated municipal/administrative boundaries (DRA-Development et al.,

1999). Nonetheless this does not deal with how far to extend these boundaries or how to deal with the divisions within the community. Should previously neglected communities in South Africa be defined according to wards, whose boundaries are once again changing, or should they be defined in terms of who considers themselves to be part of a community? These issues lead on to the more fundamental problem of who should benefit from tourism.

E.) Achieving a high degree of citizen involvement, equity, and efficiency of participation

At the heart of meaningful community participation in a project, is achieving an adequate level of involvement by the affected communities. This is a concern which permeates through the literature and policy documents in section 2.2.2.

In addressing this concern it is useful to note that from analysing twenty-one case studies Sewell and Phillips identified three fundamental tensions for the design and implementation of community participation programmes (in Simmons, 1994). These were:

- A high degree of citizen involvement. This involves two factors of importance: the number of citizens involved and the degree of individual participation. These two factors tend to contradict one another, as a high degree of participation is more difficult to achieve when dealing with large numbers of people.
- Achieving equity in participation. Equity in participation is defined as "..the extent to which all potential opinions are heard (p.99)". It was noted that representation is usually more forthcoming from interest groups than from the general public. This should not on its own, however, constitute a problem as the central issue is to ensure a balance of differing viewpoints.
- Efficiency of participation. This is usually measured as the amount of time, personnel and other resources used to carry out public participation. The public may view efficiency as how well their views have influenced the planning decisions.

It is not likely that these three conditions can be optimized simultaneously, and consequently it is indicated that government agencies would need to trade-off between them (Simmons, 1994).

F.) Benefit Distribution

Benefit distribution is seen as an area of major concern (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.) with many of the opportunities in urban tourism development being in SMME development and private business. This could lead to skewed benefit distribution, with only a few individuals from affected communities benefiting directly (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). The indirect benefits of tourism usually go unnoticed. Problems may hence arise where community members will not participate unless they see direct benefits linked to their personal income, safety or health (Marien and Pizam, 1997). This could lead to inadequate support from the affected communities, thus compromising security and tourist safety (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.).

Points D, E, and F above are relatively closely linked, and are issues which any person planning a tourism venture in urban areas needs to be aware of. They will most likely be significantly idiosyncratic and thwart with complex community dynamics. It is here where great attention needs to be paid in assessing the context within which a tourism venture is considered. Communities may be defined according to different criteria and benefit distribution may occur in varying manners.

G.) Poverty - A need for instant financial return

Linked with the above issue of benefit distribution, is the influence of poverty on the willingness of community members to participate long-term. Although poverty is a contributing factor to many difficulties, the need for instant financial return warrants special attention. When poverty stricken community members receive skills training, they may abandon a project as soon as they are able to acquire employment elsewhere (Martin, 2000, pers. comm.; Peters, 2000, pers. comm.). This is particularly relevant in a situation such as tourism development, where financial returns are often not immediately forthcoming. It is also evident where skills training is given to somebody to run an organization or community committee, where the individual is either not remunerated or receives a negligible amount. There may be a reality where capacity building is viewed as a means to a financial end rather than as skills training itself. It may, therefore, be necessary to link the empowerment/capacity

building process with more direct benefits, this being one of the key elements of the approach suggested by this dissertation.

H.) Attitudes and Perceptions of Local Communities

Even before tourism development takes place, the attitudes and perceptions of the local community may need to be addressed. This is an issue closely linked to education and awareness, where programmes may need to be developed which encourage a culture of hospitality and service. These could run concurrently with a promotion on the possible benefits derived from tourism development. It has been noted that communities may not be willing to exert any effort to improve their environment and create tourism attractions unless they are guaranteed tourist numbers (Msimang, 1998, pers. comm.; Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.). If tourism is slow in materialising, direct benefits from the tourism project might initially be linked to a select few members of the community. This concern could lead to dissatisfaction amongst community members. It is for this reason that the direct benefits mentioned in point G above, should be emphasized and promoted to the affected communities.

I.) Local political and/or powerful, influential members of the community

Certain community members will have their own personal agendas. This is an issue which needs to be held in mind when initiating any form of tourism development. It often leads to community conflict and difficulties of true community objectives being realized. An attempt can be made to minimize the influence of political dynamics within a community, but there is no way to avoid it (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.). It is therefore imperative that an attempt is made to try and establish structures which minimize the chance of this occurring.

J.) Opening the Power Distribution Channels

Further to the above point is the need to open power distribution channels so as to get the kind of community participation which can be considered meaningful (Marien and Pizam, 1997). Barriers to opening power distribution channels include:

1.)   The power-holders will generally resist relinquishing power unless they see some

benefit for themselves.

2.) The second type is associated with 'have-nots'. It can be divided into two issues:

i.) The community's political and socio-economic infrastructure, as well as their level of capacity is not sufficient for an adequate transfer of power.

ii.) There is often difficulty in producing an adequately representative and accountable group of community members to assume the role of power-holders and decision-makers for the community. This leads to the next point.

K.) The establishment of a representative and accountable local community organisation

This concern has been expressed by certain key stakeholders involved in urban CBT in KwaZulu-Natal (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.; Luvuno, 1999, pers. comm.). It has been noted that certain individuals in these types of organizations have been known not only to carry out their work insufficiently, but also to claim for time which was not worked (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.). The actual representation of these established organizations, structures, or committees has also been questioned, but it has been noted that the local authority does not have the right to query community elected bodies which are said to represent communities (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.).

Communities are identified as sometimes being extremely fluid in nature, with committee members and representatives often changing, making it particularly difficult to establish a long standing competent, representable community organizations (Martin, 2000, pers. comm.; Haswell, 2000, pers. comm.).

L.) Private sector apathy

Although some private sector operators could be considered sympathetic to CBT development (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999), these organizations are still motivated by financial realities. It has been noted that they therefore adopt a 'wait and see' approach (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.), which means that they are usually not very involved in the planning stages of CBT initiatives. It may therefore be advantageous to encourage the private sector, as is

illustrated in Figure 4.5, to join the planning procedure, either at a steering committee or Community Tourism Management Organization level.

2.3.5 The Role of Key Players

In order for an increased level of participation to occur, there may be a need for the key role players to address the issues raised, as well as tackle the difficulties that prevail in the third world urban context. Research has identified discrepancies in the perceptions of key stakeholders, regarding the degree of expertise and available human capacity of responsible bodies to effectively plan tourism initiatives (Shortt, 1994). What follows is a look at the role of key players according to the White Paper (DEAT, 1996) and other sources.

Due to the multi-disciplinary nature of tourism it falls within the jurisdiction of a number of government departments and parastatals at various levels (WTTC, 1996). For the purpose of this dissertation the focus is on those departments and organizations specifically charged with the responsibility of tourism development. Responsibility for the development and management of tourism is a fairly recent competency for both provincial and local government.

Addressing the difficulties mentioned in 2.3.4 most likely contributes to the confusion experienced between the various government and quasi-governmental organizations, with regard to functions and responsibilities (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). The following stakeholder's legislative responsibilities do not necessarily depict implementation, and a gap often exists between development facilitation agencies (private or public) and communities. One of the intentions of this dissertation is to assist in narrowing the gap, and hence allow previously disadvantaged communities greater access to these agencies.

A.) National level

Although this level of government cannot be considered directly as a key role-player at the local level, it does have an important overarching role to play. For this reason it has been included here, rather than be addressed in any detail later.

At a national level the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) is ascribed the task of creating a general environment in which tourism will thrive. This department is responsible for facilitating the development of a tourism culture in South Africa, and is tasked with promoting tourism as a national priority (DEAT, 1996). It has a coordinating and liaising function with the diverse ministries whose actions may influence tourism development, and is responsible for the formulation, monitoring and updating of national tourism policy and strategy (ibid). It thus is responsible for creating a framework in which tourism can lead to community development through meaningful participation.

South African Tourism (SATOUR) is the statutory body that is mandated at national level to market and promote tourism in South Africa (ibid). Due to inadequate staff and resources of the DEAT, SATOUR has taken on further functions such as research and development, training, product development, licencing, and grading and classification (ibid). These national bodies, although crucial to the process of community-based tourism development, are rather removed from the level of implementation. Many of the specifics of tourism development are therefore left to government departments closer to the ground.

B.) Provincial level

According to the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, specific provision is made for tourism to be a provincial responsibility (DEAT, 1996). Two bodies have primary responsibility for tourism at the provincial level, these being the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDT, formerly the Department of Economic Affairs and Tourism, DEAT-KZN), and the KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority (KZNTA).

The Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDT) is responsible for similar functions to those of the DEAT at a national level. They have expanded and fashioned themselves to fit the provincial context and are thus more pragmatic in focus. As tourism is often contextualised more clearly at a provincial level, it is here that more emphasis is placed on developing a provincial tourism product (ibid). This would include ensuring safety and security of tourists, involving local communities through facilitating workshops, promoting the development of tourism-related SMMEs, and assisting with and funding of the registration

of appropriate legal entities (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999).

The KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority (KZNTA) is a provincial body responsible for certain marketing and development functions. These include providing seed funding, assisting in marketing of CBT products, and facilitating research into new tourism products and their viability (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). Although the DEDT has programmes aimed at CBT development, the projects currently underway seem to be concentrated more on large provincial initiatives such as the Spatial Development Initiatives (SDIs). They are also predominantly rural based, such as the Lilane and ShuShu hotsprings projects (Cele, pers. comm., 1998; Luvuno, pers. comm., 1999).

C.) Local level

Local government is obviously the authority that is closest to the tourism product. It is at this level that more specific action must be taken to identify tourism potential and go about facilitating the planning and development of tourism products that will enhance the local environment. Aside from the usual functions of local government which affect the tourism industry, such as land use planning, public health and safety, the provision of appropriate public transport services and road signage and so on, this department has specifically been targeted with facilitating the participation of local communities in the tourism industry (ibid).

The local government has been identified as the tier responsible for tourism implementation within the statutory framework of Local Economic Development (LED). Another specific function is to promote and financially support the establishment of local publicity associations which should facilitate, coordinate, market, and administer tourism initiatives (ibid). It is here that partnerships with the community ought to be established, and where the facilitation of collaboration for a common strategy, both upward and downward, should occur.

Although the above responsibilities and functions have been outlined, it must be noted that there is increasing support for the idea that communities should play a stronger role in providing services, and in the management and maintenance of public assets (Hughes, Pupuma, & Vaughan, 1999; Gengan, 2000, pers. comm.). This emphasises one of the

underlying themes of this period of political and social transformation, that of community ownership and empowerment (Hughes et al., 1999), a theme emphasised by the process outlined in chapter 4.

D.) The Private Sector

The central responsibility of the private sector is to, in collaboration with the government, ensure the safety, security and health of tourists, and assist in planning, promoting and marketing tourism (DEAT, 1996). The government policy also gives the private sector the function of involving local communities and previously neglected groups in the tourism industry (ibid). Big business could also be involved on a broader level, through various staff programmes and community projects.

E.) Non-Government Organisations (NGOs)

The White Paper identifies NGOs as having a vital role in the development and spread of responsible tourism practices (DEAT, 1996). They are attributed the task of assisting the government, private sector and communities with the implementation, monitoring and evaluation of responsible tourism (ibid). They are expected to attract funding from donor agencies to assist communities and community groups in organizing themselves in preparation for tourism, and in the actual implementation of tourism projects (ibid). They are expected to do this through assisting the government in conducting awareness programmes and by delivering education, training and bridging courses to local communities (ibid). To date, NGO involvement in the *Freedom Experience* initiative has been noticeably absent.

F.) The Affected Community and Community Based Organisations (CBOs)

The affected community has its own responsibilities regarding tourism development. The White Paper (DEAT, 1996) urges communities to organize themselves into functional bodies and to identify potential tourism resources and attractions within their community. The paper also requires local communities to participate in all aspects of tourism, including decision-making and the education of those who are unaware of tourism issues. It is thus up to the

communities to democratically appoint some form of leadership structure that can deal with these issues through an effective training programme (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). Community Based Organisations have the responsibility of representing communities and mobilising action with regard to tourism development.

G.) Women

Gender issues are given high priority in political rhetoric, with the Presidents State of the Nation Address highlighting the plight of women (Mbeki, State of the Nation Address, 4 February 2000). Women have been assigned 'special roles' in the new tourism drive of South Africa (DEAT, 1996). Included in these roles is the need to generate awareness of the potential of tourism to stimulate community growth and development, and the need to organize themselves in a manner which will lead to the implementation of community projects that will have positive environmental, social and economic impacts. They also need to ensure equality and respect are maintained in the treatment and inclusion of women in tourism development.

H.) Parastatals

Parastatals are charged with formalising activities on the ground in support of both government and community initiatives. They are responsible for conservation issues and for contributing to the development of policies and plans relevant to their areas of expertise.

2.4 : Examples of Community Based Urban Tourism in KwaZulu-Natal

Although community-based tourism (CBT) initiatives exist in other areas of South Africa, such as Soweto in Gauteng and Khayelitsha in the Western Cape, KwaZulu-Natal examples were chosen due to their proximity to the case study area. Had another area been chosen this would have increased the likelihood of introducing variables unique to that area, with the possible result of limiting the applicability of such a comparison to the case study area. In addition to this, KwaZulu-Natal examples allowed the researcher to personally interview key role-players involved in these initiatives.

The following two examples of Community-Based Tourism (CBT) are both situated within the Durban Metropolitan Council. They were consistently named by key role-players in the tourism and development fields as being the best examples of urban CBT in KwaZulu-Natal. The Inanda Tourism Route highlights some important procedural issues, and illustrates how murky the urban tourism development process can become. The Inanda Tourism Development Business Plan provides some useful guidelines and lessons learned to date. The Cato Manor example is an interesting, as the tourism aspect of the project is a component of a more inclusive development orientation for the area. Tourism is therefore approached from a slightly different perspective than in the case of a purely tourism focussed project.

2.4.1 Inanda

The Inanda Tourism Route is the only urban/peri-urban CBT initiative in previously neglected areas that has, at this stage, had any considerable resources injected into it by provincial government (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). This tourism development process was started in 1994 and the route is still not operational (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.; Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.). Some of the reasons attributed to its slow progress are institutional issues, the reshuffling of responsibilities within and between stakeholders, the matter of community tourism being a new concept in urban areas, the difficulty of mobilisation within the community, and difficulties with community participation (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.; Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.).

The process to date

As a result of working in the Inanda area, a social anthropologist began exploring the potential the area had to develop an urban/peri-urban community tourism project (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). The Inanda Development Forum subsequently wrote a letter to Tourism Durban requesting funds to start a tourism project (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.). After receipt of the letter by Tourism Durban, the Economic Development Department of the Metropolitan Council commissioned a feasibility study. This indicated a favourable scenario, which prompted a fact-finding mission to Inanda by the Durban Metropolitan Council, KZNTA, Tourism Durban, and the then DEAT-KZN (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.). In Pietermaritzburg, no preliminary research, in the form of either a feasibility study or business plan, has yet been undertaken for

the *Freedom Experience*. The relevance of issues raised by similar tourism initiatives, such as the Inanda Tourism Route, would be tested at this point.

After the fact-finding mission to Inanda, an interim committee, made up of these above bodies, was formed. A meeting was held, planning started, and other stakeholders, such as owners of possible tourism products, were included. Progress was hampered by government institutional issues until November 1998, at which stage Durban Metropolitan Council took on the responsibility for driving the process forward(Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.).

A tourism office is in the process of being established, with guidelines for this in the Inanda Tourism Business Development Plan (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). The general community is in theory represented by the Inanda Development Forum. This incorporates the taxi industry, community, business, and civics associations.

A section 21 company has since been registered, a Tourism Development Plan has been completed, and the directors of the section 21 company are in the process of being appointed (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.). The Durban Metropolitan Council has expressed its role in this regard as assisting in the creation of awareness for the process within the community, and assisting in establishing community facilities and structures in order to drive the process forward. At this point local government will withdraw, leaving the community to take over full responsibility (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.). Concern has been expressed by the Durban Metropolitan Tourism Unit that they took on the project after it had already been initiated, and hence are unsure of the representativeness of the community bodies which were already in place (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.).

It is evident from the muddled nature of the above process, that lines of authority and responsibility are hazy. This confusion has led to slow progress and possibly much frustration from both government and affected communities. It is this type of situation which can hopefully be alleviated through following the process and institutional arrangement similar to that suggested by this dissertation.

The Inanda Tourism Development Business Plan

The Inanda Tourism Development Plan is a useful source of information for those planning an urban CBT initiative. It provides a description of the present Inanda situation and 'rests on a clear vision' for tourism development, with three key elements of significance to the *Freedom Experience* (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999, p.iii):

- to use tourism as a means to create self-sustaining local economic development.
- to empower the community to take advantage of the opportunities which will emerge through tourism development.
- to integrate the Inanda Tourism Project into the public framework for tourism development, and into the tourism industry.

The recommended legal entity for the registration of a community tourism project is identified as being the section 21 company (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). This is due to their apparent transparency and flexibility in terms of long term growth prospects. The role of this entity is to "...promote local economic development, facilitate the emergence of tourism-related SMMEs, and raise funds for projects, programmes and events" (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999, p.10). In the case of an initiative where the overall product is likely to include more than one community, as in the case of the *Freedom Experience* it may be advisable to have specific CBOs for each community who have representatives as members of a section 21 company at a higher level of coordination.

The recommendation of the Business Plan is that the tourism office be staffed by a skilled person with a development background. He/she will be largely responsible for initiating sustainable tourism development in Inanda (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999).

Difficulties

The Development Business Plan identifies poor infrastructure, a poor physical state of tourism sites/attractions, and the potentially unsafe environment as major constraints (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). Divisions within the community, conflicting institutional and economic goals and objectives, a fragmented public sector approach to tourism development, and the incoherence of attractions in the area, are seen as obstacles. Education, training and awareness are fundamental in addressing issues which relate to general appearance of the area and safety

of tourists. These could also contribute to the establishment of a representative community tourism organisation which would have the potential to formulate collaborative goals and objectives. An inclusive institutional framework is seen as a means to overcome conflicting interests and developmental incoherence.

Competition from similar tours necessitates aggressive marketing, which is costly. Limited funding has been identified as a problem, the Development Business Plan can, however, be used as an instrument to raise project-based funding, in order to supplement that provided by local government (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999).

Lessons learned

Understanding the market is an imperative component of any tourism venture. The following lessons from Inanda are all relevant to the case study, and give valuable insight into precautions regarding market viability. The Inanda Development Business Plan lists the following points (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999):

- Getting involved in the high volume 'package' market would be a long term process.
- It would be a mistake to be too optimistic about the Inanda product. A sudden influx of tourists, whether international or domestic, is not likely.
- The township tour concept is becoming overused and dated and should not be a central element in product definition. Focus should rather be on the historical interest, and the authenticity of the tourism product.
- Domestic demand for a product such as this is very difficult to assess. Firstly, very few domestic tourists travel in organized tours. Most travel independently and do not feel particularly safe in KwaZulu-Natal. Organized tours, although giving a certain degree of safety to a tour, are too expensive for the domestic tourist.
- There is a possibility of establishing working relationships with tour operators who would be 'sympathetic' to the Inanda product.
- It may become necessary to re-package the product at some stage in order to cater for shifts in supply and demand.

Promoting Local Economic Development

The Tourism Business Development Plan identifies a need to create conditions of self-

sustaining local economic development (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). It has also been noted that efforts should be made to ensure that opportunities and income are spread widely and not concentrated in the hands of a few.

Local Economic Development opportunities are envisaged in the areas of tour guiding, tour operators, services, arts and crafts, fresh produce, and employment in the area of infrastructure development (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). It was however pointed out that the benefits of this tourism initiative are long term, and that the local 'community will never benefit unless the project succeeds' (Ntuli, 1999, pers. comm.). The concept of benefits, in this instance appear to be viewed from a purely material, monetary basis.

2.4.2 Cato Manor

The Preservation Strategy for Cato Manor encourages the preservation of historical buildings, an area where Georgetown could benefit from their experience (Hughes, Pupuma, & Vaughan, 1999). The Cato Manor example is of significant interest as it approaches tourism from a distinctively development orientation, as opposed to a tourism one. This in itself may be more sustainable as the end goal emerges from a perceived need.

Tours around the area already exist. Some are linked with large tour operators and others on a smaller local scale. An emerging tour operator from Wiggins in Durban, who does not own a vehicle, rents one from local taxi operators in order to operate his business. His tour incorporates cultural events, such as dancing, and places of historical significance. The people who have been on this tour are predominantly international backpackers, holiday-makers, and researchers.

The Preservation Strategy for Cato Manor emphasizes the need to link sites of historical and cultural importance into these tours. In addition to this it stresses the need for a community heritage centre, which will allow for the expression of cultural and entrepreneurial energies in Cato Manor, as well as fulfilling a tourism function.

Certain guidelines for implementation have been recommended, of which the following can

offer some insight:

- The strategy must be owned by local people and integrated into the social fabric of Cato Manor - *Community objectives must be understood and any tourism venture should not go contrary to these;*

- The skills and capacities of local people should be used in the implementation of this strategy - *A point which is as pertinent in Georgetown as anywhere else;*

- Business principles must be applied in running the community heritage centre - *Strict business principles and accountability should be stressed for any organization which is established in Georgetown or for the Freedom Experience generally;*

- The community heritage centre should be self-financing - *Independent sustainable profitability should be encouraged in Georgetown as soon as possible, this could be aided by appropriate community education and training programmes;*

- The tourism office should be a community-based venture which reduces reliance on public funding over time - *The goal of any aided tourism venture should be a systematic reduction in reliance on outside assistance.*

2.5 - Synthesis

In terms of current policies, prevailing trends in tourism implementation strategies and current inclinations in tourist preferences, there is significant opportunity for tourism development to lead to meaningful community participaticn, and vise versa. Tourism is growing worldwide, with South Africa seeing a substantial increase in international tourist arrivals.

An introduction to some of the changes and trends occurring in the tourism industry has been provided. Emphasis has been placed on the importance of involving local communities in the planning, development, and running of tourism initiatives, and general direction for guiding the implementation of meaningful involvement has been suggested.

Combining the above points with current policy and the roles of stakeholders, emphasizes the need for government structures, especially local structures, that have a potential means of including democratically elected community representatives in the decision making process. This stresses the need for a pro-active government who assists in idea generation, education and information sharing with local communities. Government therefore needs to continue creating an enabling environment in which CBT can operate by tackling the difficulies which face tourism development. This enabling environment needs to be established under the guidance of current policy, especially Local Agenda 21, which should permeate all planning and development activities. In this manner socio-economic development needs to occur whilst subscribing to principles which will provide a sustainable, and where appropriate, functionally preserved future for generations to come.

In order to achieve meaningful development, it is seen as necessary to increase communication between role-players through 'dynamic collaboration', this suggests a flexible arrangement of interaction between local government structures and the community. This would hopefully result in a situation where development occurs in line with broader local community objectives, and the community has a strong input into decisions regarding tourism in the area.

There are two broad ways in which government can become involved in the stimulation of tourism development in previously neglected urban areas. The first is that the tourism potential

is recognized by those in government and the community is then encouraged to become involved, and the other is for government to create a broad awareness of tourism and hence try to stimulate creative thinking amongst the community (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). These are not mutually exclusive conditions and should likely occur simultaneously.

South Africa is often faced with the situation where tourism ideas are generated outside of the community they actually affect. This is in line with policy recommendations that both provincial, and especially local tourism bodies, identify possibilities and facilitate development for community tourism products (DEAT, 1996). In order for meaningful participation to occur, however, there now needs to be a rapid appraisal of the local context, and if the political, social and economic conditions are favourable then the community needs to be included as efficiently as possible. Tourism development should not be able to continue without the support of the local community, through an appropriate community body. This body should have knowledge of the community's broad objectives and through them a sense of ownership for the initiative could be developed. This sense of ownership ought to be for the local tourism product, and to a large degree extend to the decisions driving these ideas. This interaction needs to be done in a manner which fosters self-worth and the ability to achieve set objectives. In order to achieve this, community management of the project should be encouraged.

Although these are positive points, there has been considerable caution voiced regarding the ability of tourism to fulfill the wishes which have been placed upon it by many. In light of these warnings it would be prudent to move carefully when developing community-based tourism initiatives, and not place too much emphasis on their ability to be a panacea for development in this country. Tourism strategies could be developed which allow for the incremental development of the community as a whole, in an effort to work back to a broader tourism objective which, if successful, could lead to further community development. The objective here would be to encourage community-driven development as a means of linking with a tourism project, but which is also an end within itself, as it would benefit the community irrespective of the tourism development and lead to a community managed operation. In this manner community development would not be solely reliant on the success of a fickle tourism industry.

CHAPTER THREE

CASE STUDY:
GEORGETOWN AND THE *FREEDOM EXPERIENCE*

3.1 THE *FREEDOM EXPERIENCE*, PIETERMARITZBURG

The *Freedom Experience* was identified as a case study due to it being a tourism initiative conceived by the local tourism body. This tourism project therefore takes cognisance of policy regarding tourism development, specifically at the local level. It is a convenient and potentially important case study with which to investigate and highlight the process of community participation in urban tourism development.

3.1.1 The Proposed Tourism Initiative

The *Freedom Experience* was initiated through the Pietermaritzburg Publicity Association (now Pietermaritzburg Tourism) as a way to include previously neglected communities in tourism development (Kerr, 1999, pers. Comm.). The initial idea has, "...transformed into a fairly serious project with the hope of bringing realistic returns from tourism to the greater Pietermaritzburg area" (ibid). This project is predominantly an urban-based heritage route through the Pietermaritzburg and surrounding areas which intends to "...tell a significant story of South African history as part of one compelling experience" (PPA, 1998, p.1). The route plans to ultimately link places of political and social relevance within the greater Pietermaritzburg area and surround, and focus the marketing drive on the significance of the Pietermaritzburg area with regard to the freedom struggles of the people of South Africa. The key focus will be on the resistance movement against racial injustices and apartheid, although other possible themes have been identified. These other themes include the Bushman raids; the Early Nguni chiefdoms; Voortrekker history; British colonial rule; and the Bhambatha

Rebellion (Natal Museum, 1999).

Besides accessing government funding and kick-starting the Pietermaritzburg tourism industry, one of the objectives of the project, as stated in a proposal document (PPA, 1998), is "...to provide economic opportunity and employment for communities" (p.1). This objective agrees strongly with the recent Local Economic Development plans for the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi area, which emphasise the need for wider and more meaningful participation of disadvantaged groups in the local economy (McCormack & Associates, and Hlongwa & Associates, 1999). Participation in this project is seen by Pietermaritzburg Tourism as involving representative community members sitting on some form of management board or trust. Local Economic Development opportunities are expected to be through inclusion in activities such as employment of tour guides, or the opening of taverns or restaurant type establishments, which could link with the heritage route (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.).

It has been stated that the *Freedom Experience* will include tours into previously neglected areas (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). The actual particulars of areas to be included in the project, as well as how the project will be structured, are all details which are not yet finalized. The project will have a permanent display, most likely situated at the Natal Museum, with either a guided or self-drive tour, including information points at the places of import.

The stages of the project have been identified as firstly the research stage (currently underway), the development phase (at which point it is intended that the community become involved), and lastly the marketing drive (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). This dissertation will offer a contribution to the research stage, hopefully encouraging attention to areas where gaps may exist.

3.1.2 Pietermaritzburg as a tourist destination

According to the results of the first phase of the international component of KZNTA's tourism consumer survey, conducted in January 1998, 28% of foreign visitors to KwaZulu-Natal visited Pietermaritzburg and the Midlands (KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority, 1998). It also revealed that 11% of International tourists went on township tours, and 60% of these rated the

experience as good (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). Pietermaritzburg's appeal to international tourists wanting to go on 'township' type tours has, however, been questioned by both local and Durban individuals involved in the industry (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.; Scott, 1999, pers. comm.). As most international tourists to KwaZulu-Natal stay in the Durban area, it was suggested that there was no apparent reason why they would wish to travel to Pietermaritzburg for a tour such as this when a number of similar tours already exist in Durban (Scott, 1999, pers. comm.). Although this statement was made without a full understanding of what the *Freedom Experience* proposes, it is concerning to note the lack of interest from an established Durban tourism operator. It does emphasise caution when looking at the international market, due to a possible lack of Durban-based support.

According to a recent survey commissioned by the KZNTA, KwaZulu-Natal was the most popular domestic tourism destination (Seymour, 1998). Approximately 2.5 million domestic tourists visited this province during the period October '97 to January '98 (ibid). Although KwaZulu-Natal was a popular destination, most of the tourists came from within the province, and the majority of these were travelling in order to visit friends or relatives (ibid). This means that these tourists were not really holiday makers in the true sense (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.), and therefore not a good indicator of tourism success. Of these tourists who came to KwaZulu-Natal, only 13% visited Pietermaritzburg and the Midlands (Seymour, 1998). The majority of these people travelled in their own cars or in a minibus, and their travel arrangements are made independently of tour operators (ibid). Township tours were not extremely popular with only 7% of these tourists listing them as a favourite tourist attraction (ibid). Therefore, although KwaZulu-Natal was the most popular domestic tourism destination, caution needs to be practised when estimating possible tourist numbers. Organized 'township-type' tours do not seem to be particularly popular and most tourists appear to travel in their own vehicles. This could pose a problem if these tourists do not feel comfortable taking their own vehicles into ex-township areas.

Domestic tourism has been identified by the principle planner of the *Freedom Experience* as the dominant focus, as it is here that he feels the main opportunity lies (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). It is believed that international tourists will not show considerable interest without intensive marketing, which lies beyond the capacity of Pietermaritzburg Tourism (PT) to

administer (ibid). There does however seem to be a contradiction in the response from the local tourism body, who feel that the greatest possibility of success is with the domestic market, whilst simultaneously stating that it is the 'working class mind-set' who visits KZN for the beach (ibid). If this is the case it does not seem logical that these 'working class' tourists would be interested in an historical tour of the freedom struggle. Reservations which may be raised by the above information suggest that a more comprehensive feasibility study is probably needed in order to establish the focus of this project.

Planners of this tourism initiative should not ignore the possibility of linking international educational facilities. A programme could be introduced whereby presentations or displays, linking with international curriculum, are developed. An increased involvement of the local university could be encouraged, where postgraduate history students could be assigned projects in which they research certain aspects of these presentations.

3.1.3 Process to Date and Involvement of Role-players

Pietermaritzburg Tourism (PT) is the facilitating body responsible for driving this project forward (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). The project started approximately three and a half years ago, although nothing decisive seems to have occurred until a month prior to this interview in August 1999 (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). The project is currently in the research stage, and will be for the first half of 2000 (ibid).

At the provincial level the Department of Economic Development and Tourism (DEDT) has had no direct involvement in the *Freedom Experience*, although the KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority (KZNTA) is in the process of securing funds to aid the project (minutes to FE meeting, 23 Aug. 1999). The various roles of those involved has been described by PT as follows: the iNdlovu Regional Council is a funder; the TLC is a funder and most likely to be involved in community participation issues (as PT has expressed its lack of expertise in this area); the Natal Museum is a funder 'in kind' and a research agency; and KZNTA will hopefully be included as both a funder and to assist with part of the marketing drive (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). Representatives from the above bodies comprise the *Freedom Experience* steering committee.

The process of involving local communities in a tourism initiative is a complex one. On the one hand caution has been voiced not to approach any communities regarding their possible involvement until the research stage is complete (ibid). It would not be wise to raise any expectations, especially considering the political sensitivity of many previously neglected urban areas (ibid). On the other hand it often puts tourism planners in a difficult position not to include communities earlier, as it takes time to organize any community participation programme, and communities often want some indication that tourists will arrive before they are motivated to get involved (Msimang, 1998, pers. comm.). A pilot walk through Georgetown was organized in order to emphasise to the community that people are interested in visiting their area (Haswell, 2000, pers. comm.). This, however, was done under police patrol, which may not have painted a positive picture to residents. In addition to this it was done some time ago, in 1998, and the community has seen little progress since. A level of frustration has been expressed by certain residents at the lack of tourism delivery to the area. According to the ward councillor, the development committee has no money and is waiting for further action from the TLC (Msimang, 2000, pers. comm.).

Aside from this walk there has been limited interaction with the community regarding the *Freedom Experience*. It has been pointed out that once the areas have been convincingly identified through research, the process will move forward in conjunction with the community itself, through local community structures (Kerr, 2000, pers. comm.). It was also mentioned that Pietermaritzburg Tourism will 'inform' the communities of the idea that they 'propose' to develop, and will then 'ask' them how they feel the best way to achieve this would be (ibid). The Pietermaritzburg Transitional Local Council (PMTLC) has expressed that this interaction with the communities will take place through the relevant ward councillors (Gengan, 2000, pers. comm.).

It was stated that the mandate for Local Economic Development (LED) has only fairly recently been allocated to the PMTLC, and the TLC has yet to acquire the capacity to deal adequately with this issue (Gengan, 2000, pers. comm.). Pietermaritzburg Tourism, although charged with the responsibility of tourism development in the Pietermaritzburg region, does not have the capacity to successfully involve communities in tourism initiatives. It is fundamentally a marketing body and this comes across in both its current functioning and

approach to tourism in and around the city. The situation currently exists where PT needs to rely on the PMTLC structures for certain elements of tourism development. A sensible suggestion by PMTLC is that PT either be subsumed into its ranks, under the Department of Economic Development, or alternatively be adequately supplied with the resources and expertise it requires to successfully administer all the functions necessary for successful tourism development (Gengan, 2000, pers comm.).

Although policy exists which encourages community participation in tourism development, this goal does not appear to be easily achievable. Due to the complex duplication and unclear functioning of the tourism structure nationally, and the nature of community participation, there seems to be difficulty in efficiently implementing what the policy proposes. The Project has been stalled for a considerable length of time in the past and now seems to be caught up in institutional debate focussing around matters of funding and research coordination (Londt, 2000, pers. comm.). It has been expressed that no one person has grasped this project with the enthusiasm to successfully drive it forward (Londt, 2000, pers. comm.). Although this view may have some grounding, it seems that a strong common interest and shared objectives for the project are wanting by the representatives on the steering committee. It is important that the reasons and main objectives for initiating this project are agreed upon at this stage.

It has been suggested that a trust be established to administer funds and manage the route development of the *Freedom Experience* (Kerr, 2000, pers. comm.). A funding procurement agent has been approached to acquire funding via external sources (Kerr, 2000, pers. comm.). This agent has stated that it will not begin operating until the trust or a similar legally established controlling body is in place (ibid). According to PT this trust will then be in a position to use the funds to complete the research, acquire artifacts, erect signposting and the various displays, train tour guides, and for printing and marketing (Kerr, 2000, pers. comm.). No deadline has yet been set in which to establish this trust and nor has it been decided who will constitute the board of trustees (Kerr, 2000, pers. comm.).

The progress of the project is predicted as follows: the establishment of a trust; research to be completed by July 2000; a display to be erected shortly thereafter; communities to be included; publication of map, brochure etc. by December 2000; launch of *Freedom Experience* at The Durban Tourism Indaba in April or May 2001.

Generally the process to date has been relatively top-down, with minimal involvement from the potentially affected communities. The idea has been decided, and although there is to be community involvement, this is after the major decisions have been made. The process itself seems to have not been structured in a manner which does not allow for an adequate level of bottom-up involvement. As was indicated in section 2.2.2, this is in line with current policy, as long as participation by affected communities is rapidly encouraged. At present the *Freedom Experience* could be considered as sitting somewhere between Pretty's levels of functional and interactive participation (Figure 2.1). This project has the potential, however, to move easily into the area of increased community participation. Collaboration between government and the affected communities needs to be rapidly commenced. It would be beneficial to do this in a manner which leads rapidly towards increasing a sense of community ownership. Government would then hold a coordinating and advisory position whilst continuing to promote the tourism venture through their various marketing efforts and established networks of information sharing.

3.2 GEORGETOWN

Georgetown has been identified as an area having significant national importance with regard to the histories of both the liberation struggle and the pioneering past in Pietermaritzburg, and was in early discussions with the previous Director of PT, proposed as a possible pilot implementation area for the *Freedom Experience* project (Mackrory, 1998, pers. comm.). Subsequently it was decided that there had not been sufficient historical research to convincingly identify any previously neglected areas to be included in the *Freedom Experience* (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). Recent conversation with PT suggest, however, that Georgetown has once again been identified as a key area for possible inclusion (Kerr, 2000, pers. comm.). This agrees with the belief that Georgetown can be seen, through research to date (Natal Museum, 1999; Mkhize, 1997), as a potentially prime pilot area.

3.2.1 The area

Pietermaritzburg, as indicated in Figure 1.1, is situated in the Midlands of KwaZulu-Natal. The physical area identified as Georgetown falls within Ward 22, in the Greater Edendale

Area. For the purpose of this dissertation Georgetown is referred to as the original residential area demarcated as such by the original missionary settlers. In addition to this area Ward 22 includes parts of Dambuza and Sinathingi (Msimang, 2000, pers. com.; Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.). This ward is located in the South-West sector of the Msundusi-Pietermaritzburg Transitional Local Council. The demarcation process which is currently underway is due to change these ward boundaries before the November 2000 elections (Haswell, 2000, pers. comm.).

It must be held in mind that although Georgetown is the specific area of interest for the *Freedom Experience*, due to its relevant resources, in some respects it cannot be addressed as a community separate from the rest of Ward 22. This is because of the socio-political make-up of the area, with a ward development committee made up of mostly newer members of the ward, who predominantly live outside of the original Georgetown. The socio-political dynamics of Ward 22 are addressed later, in the section on community dynamics.

3.2.2 A Concise History of Georgetown

On the 19th November 1851 Rev. James Allison purchased the farm Welverdient from Andries Pretorius, who went on to become the first President of the South African (Transvaal) Republic (University of Natal, 1951). The land was acquired in order to establish a new mission station and settlement for himself and his native converts (*amakholwe*), and was renamed Edendale (ibid). In 1855 Governor Sir George Grey gave Mr Allison financial assistance through a period of difficulty, and hence the portion demarcated town residential area, Georgetown, was named in his honour (ibid). By 1858 the farm was paid off, and in 1860 surveyed and subdivided (ibid).

Georgetown was laid out in Voortrekker grid pattern, where today many of the original 'European style' buildings still stand (Meintjes, 1988) in streets with typically colonial names such as Scott, Garden, and Gibb street. It was here that the first freehold land was acquired by native Africans in Natal and perhaps even in the country (Meintjes, 1988; Natal Museum, 1999). The native African converts who settled here under Allison's guardianship adopted a fundamentally European lifestyle, rejecting many of their traditional beliefs and practices

(Meintjes, 1988). These 'responsible, mission-educated Christians', were at one point, the major suppliers of vegetables and maize for the Pietermaritzburg market (ibid). They showed substantial loyalty to the crown, and fought in support of the 'Great White Queen' at both Bushman's Neck and Isandhlwana (ibid). Despite these actions Georgetown was continuously refused borough recognition, and the community also suffered legislative measures introduced to encourage African cultivators into the labour market, as they were becoming too competitive in the retail market (ibid).

Georgetown also holds a strong history in the struggle for liberation/equal rights, dating back to 1888, when the *Funamalungelo* (the society of those who seek rights) was formed (ibid). Since then Georgetown has played an important role through recent history with Richard Msimang, who wrote the ANC's original constitution, and his brother Henry Selby Msimang, a founding member of the ANC, Liberal Party, and Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), both coming from the area (Natal Museum, 1999). Nelson Mandela made his last speech as a free man near Georgetown before his arrest and imprisonment a year later (PPA, 1998).

3.2.3 Community Dynamics

In order to begin understanding the dynamics within Ward 22 and Georgetown, it is important to refer again to the history of the area. As was indicated above, the ownership patterns within Georgetown have a unique flavour, being one of the earliest places in South Africa where 'natives' acquired freehold land. This history has created a situation of division between established land owners and newer arrivals to the area. These newer community members having arrived as a result of political violence elsewhere, and are mostly renting property or are part of an informal settlement (Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.). The established property owners, referred to as 'the originals', are apparently considered conservative by the newer members of the community and are seen as disinterested in issues of development within Ward 22 (Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.). This has led to a situation where the Ward 22 Development Committee consists of mostly newer community members (ibid). The Land Owners Association is a body which seemingly protects the interests of 'the originals' (ibid). There has apparently been conflict between these two organizations, which the urbanization unit is attempting to resolve through trying to increase communication between them (ibid).

There are other groups which seemingly exist at a community level. These are church groups, a youth group, a woman's group, a business group, and an ANC/ACP/COSATU Alliance office (Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.; Msimang, 2000, pers. comm.). These community organizations exist on various levels, with their personal agendas making for a complex situation which may not easily be negotiated. Some represent the community of Georgetown itself, others Ward 22, and still others the entire Edendale community. These diverse groups have all been listed here as they were given as groups which represent the local community.

At present communication regarding community development issues, occurs between communities and local government through a number of channels. The councillor sits *ex officio* on the development committee (Msimang, 2000, pers. comm.). He then communicates the desires and objectives of the community to local government. Local government also invites the councillor to any meetings in which development in the ward he represents is discussed (Haswell, 2000, pers. comm.). Any community member is also invited to attend standing committee meetings (ibid).

The urbanization unit of the TLC currently holds a Development Committee forum once a month (Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.). Five members from each development committee are invited to attend. Broad issues affecting the community are discussed at this forum, including crime, poverty, child support, etc. (Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.). Capacity building workshops are held once a month with the urbanization unit. All members of the Development Committees are invited to attend these programmes. Narrower issues, such as housing, project management, health, Local Economic Development, and how the TLC works, are workshopped at these meetings (Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.). The above process is considered inefficient by the TLC and is due to change (ibid). The two meetings are to be combined in order to reduce costs in time and money. It has been noted that as it now stands some development committees do not attend, due to ward related problems, and some development committees, including Ward 22 at present, do not function particularly well (Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.).

The community dynamics within Edendale and Georgetown are complex. The socio-political component of the feasibility study would need to examine these more closely.

3.2.4 Potential of Area and Possible Linkages with the *Freedom Experience*

Research conducted by the Natal Museum (1999) recognizes the following six themes for possible inclusion in the *Freedom Experience*:

1. The Bushmen Raids, *during the period (± 1850 - 1870) Khoisan or 'Bushmen' conducted raids on farmers stocks in the Zwartkop and Cedara areas, North West of Pietermaritzburg.*

2. Early Nguni Chiefdoms, *in the early 19th Century, prior to the Zulu kingdom, many Nguni chiefdoms, such as the Zondi, Nyavu, and Wushu chiefdoms, occupied the areas surrounding Pietermaritzburg.*

3. **Voortrekker, *Pietermaritzburg was established by Voortrekkers in the late 1830's, and buildings such as the Church of the Vow and Voortrekker House are monuments to this era. Georgetown was a farm once belonging to a Voortrekker leader, Andries Pretorious.***

4. **British Colonial Rule, *from the 1840's to 1910 Pietermaritzburg was the colonial capital of Natal and enjoyed the associated judiciary status. Pietermaritzburg boasts many buildings from this era, including the City Hall and Colonial building. Georgetown has a character combining elements of both Voortrekker and British colonial periods.***

5. Bhambatha Rebellion, *in 1906, in reaction to the 'poll tax' imposed by the government in 1905, an uprising occurred during which an estimated 3000 Africans died.*

6. **Resistance against racial injustices and Apartheid, *many sites in and around Pietermaritzburg exist, relating to this struggle which occurred from the late 19th Century to late 20th Century. These include a statue to Mahatma Gandhi whose life's dedication to non violent freedom was said to have begun as a result of his being thrown from a train in Pietermaritzburg station. There are also various sites relating to those who participated in the struggle against apartheid.***

Georgetown has been identified as significant across themes **three, four** and **six**.

Buildings linked with Andries Pretorius, from his former farm Welverdient, could be used as structures of interest for the theme on Voortrekker occupation, highlighting an interesting

transition of this land into the hands of 'native' African converts. A project championed by Amafa aKwaZulu- Natali, and involving the Voortrekker Museum and local community, is currently underway to repair and functionally preserve a building supposedly constructed by Andries Pretorius, known in the community as 'Potolozi', which stands on the grounds of the current school (Amafa aKwaZulu- Natali, steering committee meeting for 'Potolozi', 1999). Discussion in the meetings to date has included mention of using local community members to assist in the repair of the building, whilst possibly simultaneously receiving training in the techniques used for repairing these old buildings. The idea would be to use this approach until community members are confident enough to take over any contemporary projects, at which stage the external contractor would withdraw (Amafa aKwaZulu- Natali, steering committee meeting for 'Potolozi', 1999).

One of the only two memorials to native African people in the city stands in the grounds of the Georgetown Methodist Church (Natal Museum, 1999). It is interesting as it commemorates the native Africans who fought against the Zulu at Isandhlwana (ibid). The church is also of interest as it signifies the Christian reverence practised by the *amakholwa* (Christian converts), and was built by them out of clay bricks made on the banks of the local stream (Natal Museum, 1999).

The Georgetown graveyard holds the remains of Henry Selby Msimang, a founding member of the ANC, Liberal Party, and Inkatha, who was born in Georgetown (Natal Museum, 1999), as well as other significant community members. The Wadley Stadium was the site of many political rallies during the 1980's and early 1990's by the UDF, COSATU, IFP, and ANC (ibid). In addition to these sites there is the Thuthuka Hall which was used as refuge for those in the 7 Days War of 1990 (ibid). The old buildings, with their particular architectural style and Victorian cottages, the Voortrekker grid street formation with its distinctly British street names, and the unique history of this area, could possibly be a powerful draw card.

These, and many other physical attractions within Georgetown, open a window of opportunity to developing tourism within Georgetown. The local community could be included in a number of different ways. Guides for an historical tour could be employed, and local artists could supply a local community craft centre. Community members could also contribute

through inclusion in development activities, such as painting walls, repairing buildings and in idea generation. If the initiative becomes popular, spin-off activities in entertainment and services could be provided as the project diversifies. These could take the form of bed and breakfast establishments, shebeens, restaurants, live music, dancing, story telling etc. In addition to these, links could be made with other local business sectors such as with the taxi operators and local stores. All the above could, of course, boost local SMME development.

The incredible academic wealth of the area has been highlighted above, which lends itself to the establishment of educational tours for both local and international students and scholars. The organizers could possibility consider some kind of community-based freedom festival once a year on Freedom Day, or a Heritage Day celebration.

Communities can generally be quite efficient at organizing themselves into structures which could be used to enhance development in an area. This mobilization of the community can, however, depend on the ability of the local authority to ensure that the basic skills are evident in the community, and that they are adequately included in the processes proposed for tourism development activity in their area.

The private sector is often considered to appear in the form of big business or large tourism development. With regard to the current research the private sector is more likely to appear in the form of SMME developments or even communal markets and informal traders, most, if not all, from the local community. It is highly improbable that large scale external investors will develop in the case study area. External private sector organizations, if they get involved, will almost definitely come in the form of independent tour operators offering guided tours of the tourism product.

3.2.5 Specific Difficulties

In order to meaningfully involve local communities in tourism initiatives, these initiatives need to be planned in a manner which will either lead to a sustainable operation, or will benefit the community meaningfully through the actual planning and implementation process of the project. If the initiative is not economically, environmentally, and socially sustainable, there

is a far greater possibility that benefits to the community will be negligible. In order to attain a sustainable operation, or meaningfully involve communities, there are many difficulties around which to navigate. All the obstacles and constraints from the previous chapter are relevant to the case study, but the following are additional, more specific difficulties, identified through the investigation.

Crime and safety are both general and specific issues, which were raised on numerous occasions (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.; Botha, 1999, pers. comm.; Haswell, 2000, pers. comm.), and obviously need to be addressed rather urgently. Ongoing taxi violence in different areas throughout South Africa does not instill confidence in our transport system. This type of constraint, which would most likely see an unwillingness by tourists to use taxis, could greatly hamper the inclusion of community members into a project such as this. There are also strong perceptions of crime, violence, and unfriendliness which seemingly exist, regarding the case study area (Botha, 1999, pers. comm.; Haswell, 2000, pers. comm.). Linked with the issue of crime is benefit distribution. If the community feels that they are not adequately benefiting from the tourism initiative then the safety of the tourists may be compromised (Seymour, 1999, pers. comm.). If community benefits are understood in monetary terms, tourism may not supply the expected returns, especially in the short term. This may lead to a lack of community enthusiasm and result in frustration, which could manifest itself detrimentally for the project.

It has been noted that a sense of community is lacking within the study area and that the community is divided between different, relatively hostile, affiliations (Mngadi, 2000, pers. comm.; Haswell, 2000, pers. comm.). It has been expressed by certain community members that any attempt to draw together residents of Ward 22 would be hampered by animosity. Another obstacle in the way of meaningful community participation is the political uneasiness of many of these previously neglected communities (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). Tourism planners seem not to want to approach communities about possible inclusion in tourism projects, until they are absolutely confident that the community will be included in that initiative (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). Part of this reasoning is so as not to build false hope within the community, but also there is fear of political backlash if one area is indicated for inclusion and then another area is designated as more suitable (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). With upcoming local elections, another area for concern is the possible attempt by candidates to

gain votes by promising unrealistic returns from planned tourism initiatives which they are involved with, or supporting in some way (Kerr, 1999, pers. comm.). Infrastructure could also be a possible problem, with inadequate infrastructure already existing in this area. This has recently been highlighted by heavy rains closing the main access bridge into Georgetown for more than a week. The implications for tourism delivery is therefore the need for adequate infrastructure prior to tourism development in these areas.

3.3 SYNTHESIS

The case study area has a wealth of tourism potential. It is steeped in an interesting and diverse history, which boasts some attractive historical structures. Georgetown is historically a good example to link with the proposed *Freedom Experience* trail. It could contribute towards a diverse and interesting new tourism product. The many factors highlighted through this paper have illustrated that in order for this tourism product to succeed, the process of planning and implementation need to be executed in a fashion which fosters meaningful participation. If this is done, and the various difficulties are navigated successfully, this project has the potential to not only create a successful tourism initiative, but also to achieve many objectives outlined in the Pietermaritzburg Local Development Plan (LDP).

Without questioning the efforts of the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC to include appropriate communities in decision-making processes, the channels of communication between stakeholders seem to be unclear. The complex socio-political factors of Georgetown, with their many community organizations, and a Community Development Committee that does not appear representative of the entire community, does not simplify this task. As this project is still in its infancy, it is unclear what path these communications will take. They nonetheless need to be clarified.

The many obstacles and constraints which have been listed, including the complexity of community dynamics, illustrate the difficulty of this endeavour. Local government is also treading on new ground, only having recently been given responsibility for including the involved functions of LED and CBT in its portfolio.

What follows is an attempt to sift through some of the confusion and explore an alternative viewpoint to a complex situation. Community structures and their socio-political make-up are fluid and it would seem that in many cases community participation is often, through necessity, done via a series of problem solving activities that only become evident once the process has begun.

CHAPTER FOUR

REFLECTIONS ON IMPLEMENTING URBAN TOURISM

In order to escape the dualistic view of tourism planning as being either top-down or bottom-up, an integrative approach is suggested. This approach attempts to reap the mutual and hopefully enhanced benefits, from a process where a circular flow of information is fed both upwards and downwards. In this model tourism development can start at both extremes, resting decision making power at various levels. One of the key aspects of this approach is the need for dynamic collaboration, a process of 'joint decision making among key stakeholders'. As a result of collaboration, collective decisions can be made at various levels, whilst also allowing for independent decision making where appropriate. This would either be at the community level, where management decisions are made regarding what tourism related development is needed, or at the government level where decisions are made regarding the viability of certain overarching tourism initiatives. This is of course not a perfect system, with room for personal preferences and underlying paradigms to influence decision making at all levels. The approach does, however, encourage a system where communities, with the assistance of local government, can mould their own path towards tourism development.

It must be kept in mind that the planning process for the *Freedom Experience* is already underway. This project is an externally generated initiative which originated at local government level. The Georgetown community have had minimal interaction with planners at this stage, and a brief look at the socio-political characteristics of the area suggest a complex scenario. A flexible approach is needed in order to deal with possible varying circumstances. The uniqueness of each situation, and possible changing nature of environments, necessitates the application of guidelines to be pliable and adaptable to specific needs of a particular community.

Although the process suggested in this dissertation may alter to make allowance for individual conditions, the basic premise does not. This is that tourism development should be planned and implemented in a way that leads to an increased degree of meaningful participation. The process outlined below is based on this idea. It undertakes to promote tourism development which is relatively independent from the success of an externally generated initiative. This is attempted through concentrating simultaneously on top-down tourism development and appropriate bottom-up community development, which has the potential to link with tourism development. The community development projects would hopefully be self-sustaining and beneficial in their own right, whilst initially having access to assistance from the management organizations. Tourism development would hence be including community participation which may be initiated as a means of achieving top-down objectives, and community participation as an end in itself. Thus providing not only tangible benefits to the community, but empowering them to develop and manage initiatives that benefit their environment.

Tourism is an ideal framework in which to bring diverse community efforts together. Not only can it encompass a wide variety of activities and endeavours, but it has the potential to act as a motivating factor. Through government awareness programmes and media coverage, tourism is increasingly in the spotlight. This puts it in a favourable position, if for no other reason than being widely known.

4.1 PRESENTING AN INTEGRATIVE PROCESS

The following process is explored as a means of taking the *Freedom Experience* forward. These steps are directed toward Georgetown as a pilot area for implementation. It is understood that the project may, in practice, develop in other areas simultaneously. It must also be kept in mind that there will be various development oriented projects already running, and some of these could be relevant to, and linked with, tourism development. The following suggestions can hopefully be used to benefit planners, at both a government and community level, by drawing these individual projects under the wing of a broader tourism initiative. This could provide for the creation of a lively interactive product linking diverse areas within the city, or region, whilst simultaneously contributing to community development. It provides an opportunity of linking LED and tourism development in a manner that will hopefully benefit

both the Government and the community it serves.

Considering the history of the *Freedom Experience*, the current process although driven by the motive of including previously neglected communities in tourism development, has a bias toward being top-down. This dissertation attempts to outline steps which could now most effectively lead to meaningful community participation, whilst simultaneously offering planners elsewhere insight into the presented integrative process. The following figures and explanations of the suggested process must be understood in this light. These will attempt to stretch across a generic scenario, whilst drawing on the case study as an example. The following steps are outlined and then expanded upon in context of the *Freedom Experience* and Georgetown community:

1.   Idea Generation

The first step in any initiative is the formulation of an idea. This can occur at government or community level. Irrespective of where the idea originates, it would need to follow certain procedures if it was to have the backing of municipal structures, and benefit from their knowledge and associations. A favourable scenario would be one where the system put in place generated ideas predominantly from a community level. If relevant communication systems and structures were in place then these ideas would more likely find local government support.

Although the conceptual idea for the *Freedom Experience* was generated externally from the Georgetown community, there are likely to be many current community projects and latent ideas that could provide opportunities for retrospective integration. The idea has, at this point, not given rise to any specific tourism product, although the general idea behind the *Freedom Experience* seems to have been agreed upon at a steering committee level. When it is decided to investigate the viability of a specific initiative, an interim or steering committee should be established in order to do this. In the case of the *Freedom Experience* a steering committee has been established.

Although Pietermaritzburg Tourism seems to be driving this project, it might make more sense

to have a tourism development department, within the Department of Economic Development, which would be responsible for community tourism development within the TLC. This department could then work closely with the LED department in agreeing upon projects which could benefit both bodies. Pietermaritzburg Tourism would then work closely with the above TLC departments in the marketing of Pietermaritzburg.

2. Establishment of a steering committee

A steering committee has been established for the *Freedom Experience*. It consists of members from Pietermaritzburg Tourism, KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority, iNdlovu Regional Council, Natal Museum, and the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council, Figure 4.1.
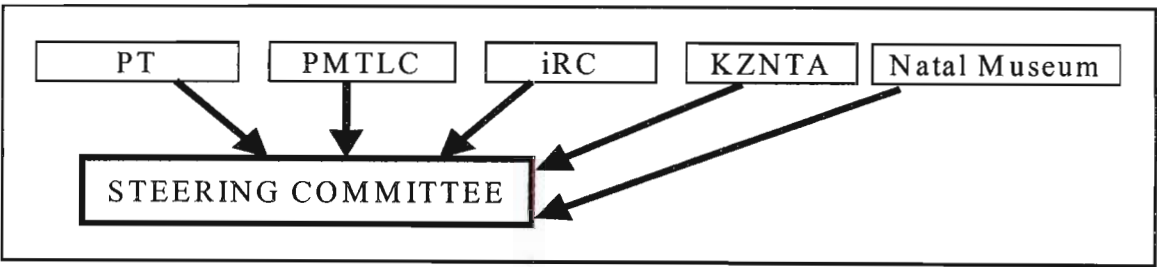
KEY: PT   = Pietermaritzburg Tourism
         PMTLC   = Pietermaritzburg Msunduzi Transitional Local Council
         iRC   = iNdlovu Regional Council
         KZNTA   = KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority

Figure 4.1 - The *Freedom Experience* Steering Committee

All stakeholders should be aware of the mutual advantage, for both this project and tourism development in general, of operating within a paradigm that emphasises meaningful participation. It is at this stage that the objectives and goals for the tourism initiative are agreed upon, and the level of community participation confirmed. Without consensus on these fundamental issues, room is left for later disagreement and conflict. Local community dynamics may, however, alter the form which participation is able to take, only allowing

specifics to be decided after the socio-economic research is complete.

By this stage, heads need to have come together and preliminary ideas shared, but detailed knowledge of the resources available would most likely not yet be known. Without an understanding of the distinct social dynamics present in an area, especially relating to power distribution, interaction at a community level may be useless. In addition to the need for detailed resource research, it would seem important that there is an understanding of the socio-political characteristics of the proposed areas. These points lead to the next step.

3.   Preliminary Research (Resources & Feasibility)

Some research into available historical resources has already begun through the Natal Museum. The former primary researcher is no longer working on the project, research has temporarily halted, and discussion is currently underway regarding steps forward in this regard. This matter needs to be resolved in order for future research to continue, nevertheless enough preliminary research seems to have been carried out in order to establish areas of historical significance.

It is suggested that a feasibility study be commissioned. This study would examine the viability of the project across many areas, establishing fundamental constraints and opportunities. It would need to include a preliminary market analysis. This would examine the viability of developing the identified resources, based on the findings of market demand, and in this way creating a platform from which a more clearly defined project can emerge. The feasibility study should not only look at economic sustainability, but also at possible benefits that could be expected as a result of the entire project. This entails briefly investigating potential organizations, or projects, which involve appropriate community development. This should include projects which have the potential to benefit the social and environmental sectors.

An important component of this feasibility study would be a socio-political analysis. This could identify the social dynamics evident within the community, and the applicability of any existing community-based organizations (CBOs) to link with the project. A brief examination

of this context in Georgetown has already identified a number of possible difficulties. The multitude of CBOs, and the divided nature of the community could potentially lead to an unmanageable situation. If the community is not able to reconcile its apparent differences then the viability of this initiative needs to be seriously considered. A preliminary study may be able to partly assess this situation. The information can be used in approaching the next step, which is to hold a community meeting.
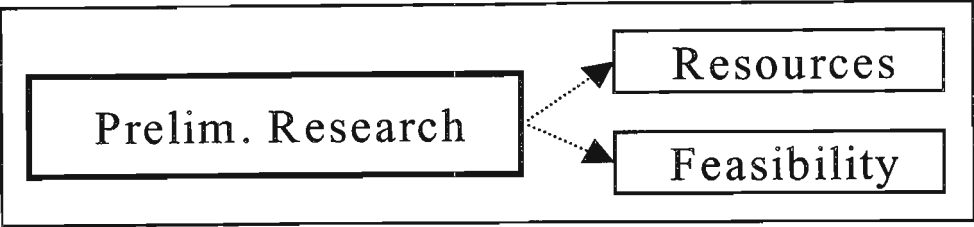

Figure 4.2 - Conducting Preliminary Research

4.   Community meeting

Consultations with the ward councillor, together with the results of the preliminary study, should lead to adequate information regarding what would constitute a relatively representative community meeting. The meeting of community organizations is a critical component in assessing the social dynamics of an area, and it would be valuable if information acquired here fed back into the feasibility study. The composition of the meeting, although required to be representative of all affected communities, needs to weigh representativeness against efficiency. Representatives from all existing CBOs could be invited to this meeting. It would be beneficial if a representative from the TLC, preferably someone from the tourism or LED department, attended this meeting, in order to explain the tourism initiative and objectives of the meeting, Figure 4.3.
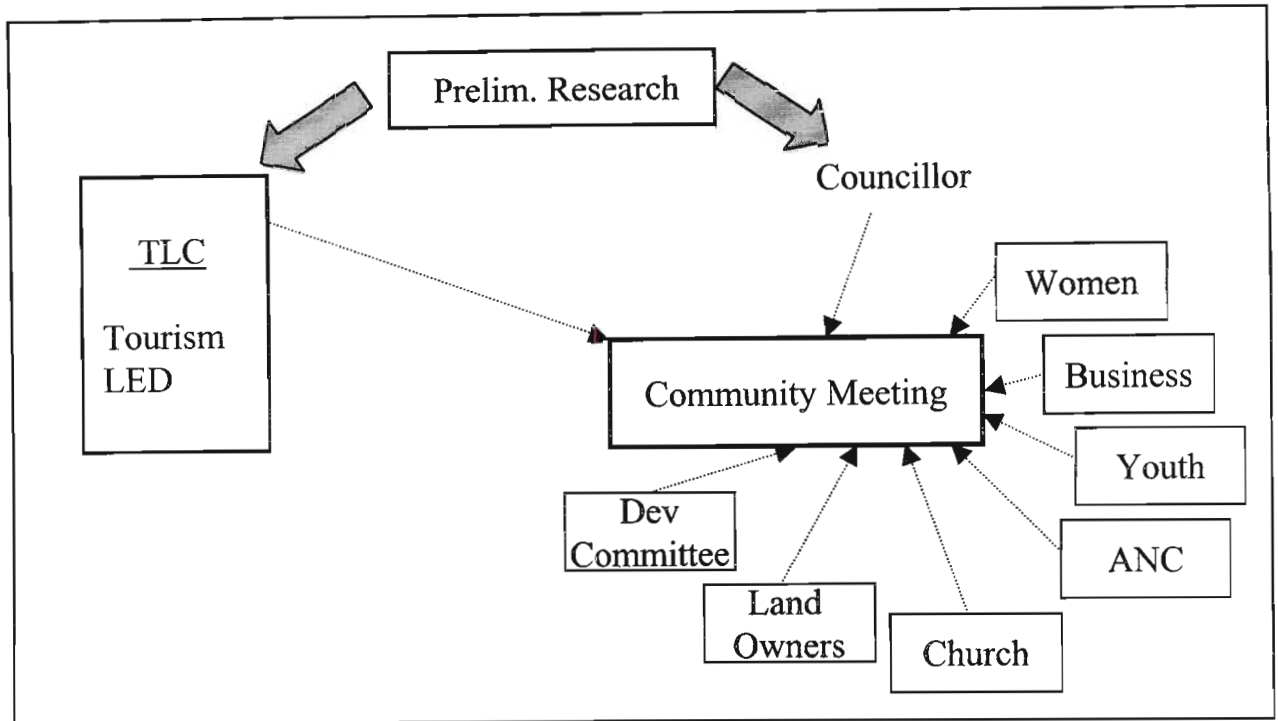
Figure 4.3 - Bringing a Community Meeting Together

It might be valuable if this TLC representative was trained and skilled in community work and conflict resolution, in order to assist if disputes arose. This could aid those in disagreement to collectively decide on alternatives required to enable the fulfilment of needs. It is suggested that this decision process be done in a manner which allows the parties themselves to provide solutions which apply equally, and without bias, to all parties involved (Abbott, 1996).

5.   Establish a Community Tourism Management Organization (CTMO).

From the community meeting it is recommended that a Community Tourism Management Organization (CTMO), or other appropriate entity, be established. This organization could be the nerve centre from which development activities on the ground are brought together. It would be a community managed organization where existing projects are identified and development of new ones facilitated, Figure 4.4.
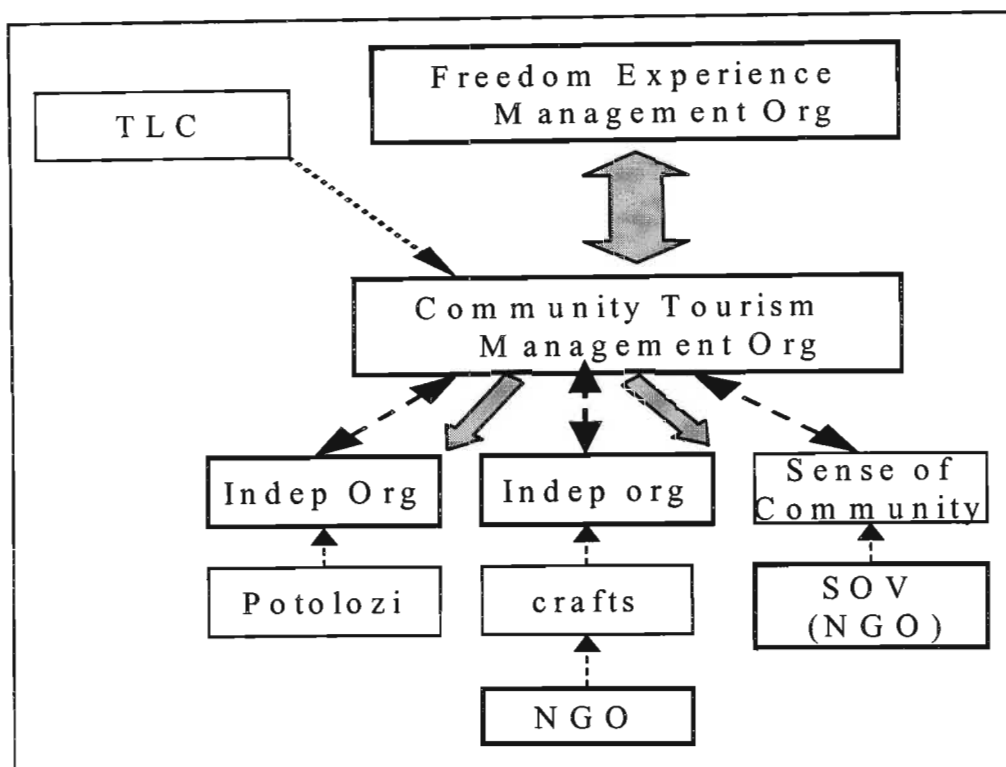
Figure 4.4 - Links to the Community Tourism Management Organization

Considering this organization could be a fund raiser and a community development facilitating body, it may be appropriate to establish a non-profit community organization here, such as a section 21 company. This type of company is said to be one of the most transparent and flexible institutions, and hence a likely choice.

Without physically proceeding through these steps, it is difficult to assess who would best be a member of this organization or committee. A logical option would be to have a member from all existing interested CBOs and committees sitting on the board. It is suggested that entrepreneurs and champions of specific projects or community-based initiatives be identified and possibly included. It is often through interacting with such members of the community, and not through injecting money into large projects, that progress is achieved at community level (Martin, 2000, pers. comm.). This links with the idea that those motivated toward economic incentives, and already operating, may be prime candidates for receiving assistance with SMME development.

The idea is to have complete community management of all tourism related activities at this level, with an open line of communication directly to the economic development department within the TLC. This line could be an imperative link for the community management organization needing to access information or knowledge regarding TLC plans. It could also provide the TLC with important information regarding possible new opportunities. There would also be links to the tourism department through the Freedom Experience Management Organization (FEMO), although these would be more specifically related to The *Freedom Experience* project. The Community Tourism Management Organization (CTMO) could in turn be there to advise and assist the community. In certain cases knowledge or advice may flow, through initial contact via the community tourism organization, directly from the TLC to an independent community project.

The CTMO would have the responsibility of drawing various community efforts together in a manner which is inspired towards a backward integration into the proposed tourism initiative. This would include general tourism management and establishment of action plans. Community needs and objectives, which link with tourism development, could be established here. For example, the community may identify the need for refurbishing the community centre/hall, solutions will be proposed and agreed upon at this stage. The action plan may include the zoning of part of the community centre/hall as a craft area, where crafts are both made and displayed. This plan may acknowledge the need for strengthening of existing organizations or the establishment of a new organization to implement and manage the project. In Georgetown there is currently a locally run woman's sewing group that may wish to diversify with an initiative such as this. Via the CTMO, training could be supplied and links established with external organizations or individuals. The ideal would be to operate and display in the refurbished community centre/hall, but also to sell the crafts externally. A woman's craft-making group in nearby Caluza exports their merchandise, and links between these types of projects could be beneficial. The community centre/hall example suggests that negotiations between the CTMO and the community might include the potential use of physical and human resources. This would entail discussion on which resources were worthy of refurbishing or building up, and how to implement these changes with the use of existing networks and resources.

The Community Tourism Management Organisation could assist in linking local SMMEs with NGOs such as the Pietermaritzburg Business Support Centre, who could possibly assist in facilitating business plans and linkages with external organizations. If the CTMO does not have this capacity, it could initially be assisted by the Freedom Experience Management Organization or the TLC. The Pietermaritzburg Transitional Local Council has recently acquired the responsibility in facilitating LED and it may be beneficial for links to be strengthened between LED and tourism development, a point already expressed in the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Local Development Plan. Local Economic Development opportunities are envisaged in the areas of tour guiding, tour operators, services, arts and crafts, B&B's, taverns, restaurants, fresh produce, special events, and employment in the area of infrastructure development. An advantage to having a community managed tourism organization is that if there are any institutional holdups or delays in the process, the development activities can continue on an independent basis. This would apply not only to the initial implementation period, but through the ongoing running of the *Freedom Experience.*

A variety of development organisations usually exist in most communities, these have divergent areas of focus, where there is hopefully a constant involvement in development projects. If a tourism management organization were established, and few tourism-related projects existed, it would be here that this organization started motivating appropriate community tourism related development. Once established, however, this organization could constantly, together with the community, harness their knowledge in identifying relevant community projects.

If certain initiatives did already exist, these could then have the option of linking with the larger tourism initiative. Such an existing venture in Georgetown is the 'Potolozi' project. The successful implementation of this project would lead to the functional preservation of an old Andries Pretorious building, by establishing a school library, and a relevant historical information display within. This project could set a precedent for similar future projects. In setting up the historical display the CTMO could assist in establishing links between the community and researchers such as the Voortrekker and Natal Museums, or the University of Natal. Together with the community the interpretation process for the display could be completed. It may happen, as in the case of the 'Potolozi' project, that the community makes

initial contact with an external organization. The community contacted Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali and asked for assistance. This project is currently at the point where a responsible organization or committee needs to be established in order to take the process forward. It may happen that this group contributes to the integrative nature of this process by initiating a community meeting. This meeting, stage four, is then pre-empted by the actions of an existing independent community project.

By establishing links between the community and urban-based organizations, the CTMO could help facilitate both the conceptualization, as well as the construction and presentation of a viable product. Non-Governmental Organizations, such as the KwaZulu-Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence, the Business Support Centre, the Built Environment Support Group, and others, could be approached at this level. Through interaction with some NGOs functioning within the Pietermaritzburg area, it has been identified that an interest exists, which could be expanded upon. The KwaZulu-Natal Programme for Survivors of Violence holds an interesting view on the possibility of linking community health with the willingness of a community to tell its story (Peters, 2000, pers. comm.). It could be extremely beneficial to utilize an NGO such as this to encourage a sense of common purpose and hope, which extends beyond material benefits. This could go a long way towards addressing possible conflict between different interest groups, a concern which has been expressed in Georgetown. If programmes attempting to do this are linked together through the tourism organization, it may lead to a stronger community. A community such as this, with a sense of common purpose, and therefore one who works together, may experience the results as financially prosperous. It could be suggested that this organization work more closely with the community tourism management organization in an attempt to facilitate an overall sense of community shared vision.

6.   Establish Freedom Experience Management Organization(FEMO).

Once a representative Community Tourism Organization has been established, the steering committee and this organization can join together in establishing a legal entity to guide and oversee the entire tourism initiative, the Freedom Experience Management Organisation (FEMO). This management body would need to be fairly flexible, as the development of a

large tourism initiative may necessitate tourism organization members joining at different times.

The FEMO would fulfill a coordinating and management role for the overarching *Freedom Experience* project. Once established it would contain certain members from the steering committee, dependent on their capacity to assist in the implementation of this initiative. It is suggested that the management organization at this level includes: a member (or members) from the tourism committees of relevant wards; the councillors from these wards; knowledgeable members from the private sector; members from local government (dependent on structures in place at this time: members from the LED Department, Tourism Department, iNdlovu Regional Council, Pietermaritzburg Tourism, and any others identified by the steering committee as beneficial to the project), Figure 4.5.
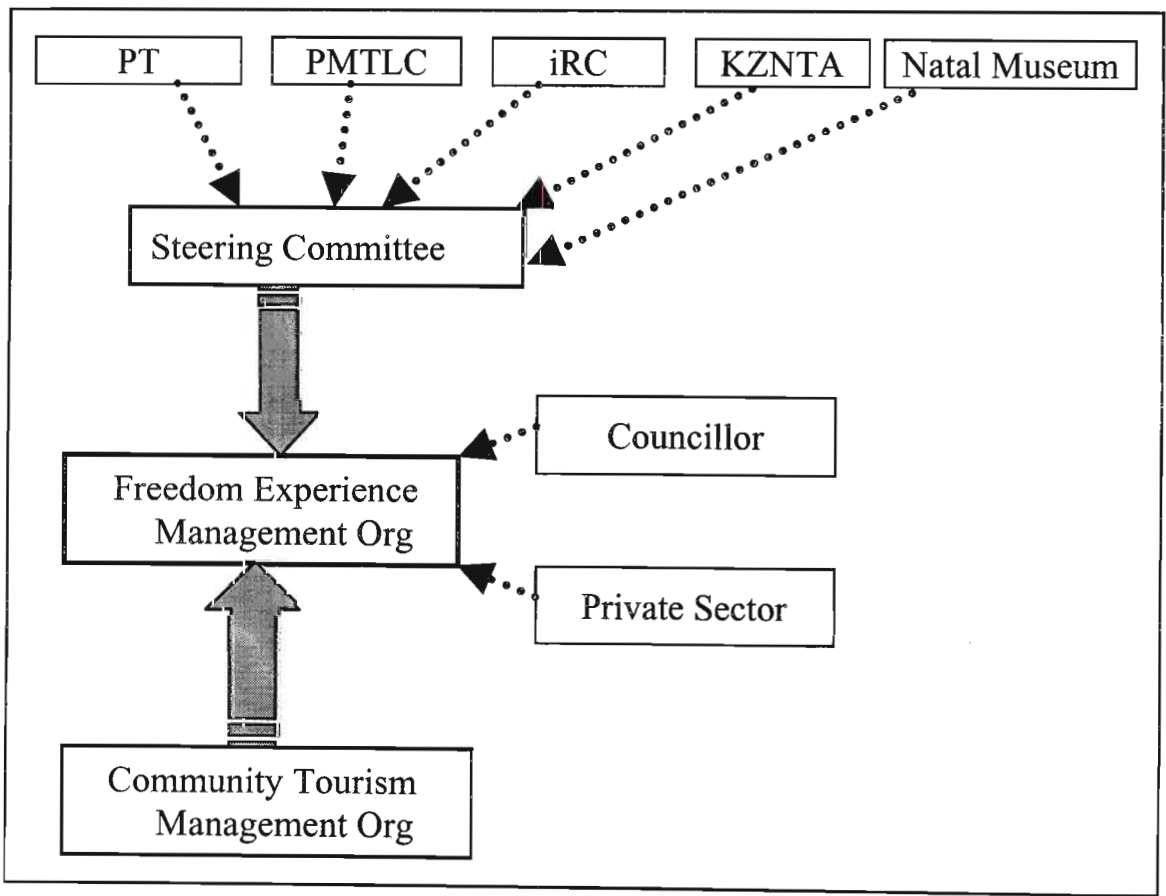

Figure 4.5 - Establishing a Freedom Experience Management Organization

The steering committee would more than likely be dissolved at this point. A possible legal entity to oversee this project is a section 21 company, as it has been identified as being more transparent and having greater flexibility with regard to long-term growth prospects (McIntosh Xaba & Associates, 1999). Although the above would be a registered non profit organization, it may employ or contract staff. The details could be worked out according to specific circumstances.

Roles of the FEMO could be to:

- assist the CTMO in educating the community through tourism awareness;
- motivate for local government infrastructure development;
- ensure standards are maintained;
- administer inclusion of tourism committees and sub committees wishing to link with the *Freedom Experience*;
- access funding for, and implement, marketing and other tourism functions;
- through their link with the CBOs, act as an interface between potential investors and local business partners;
- be aware of trends and other changing circumstances within the tourism industry in order to make appropriate changes to ensure survival of the tourism product;
- promote safety and security of tourists and tourism related businesses;
- facilitate the emergence of tourism related SMMEs; and
- identify and provide necessary training and capacity building specific to the project.

7. Joint decision-making, Tourism Development Business Plan and Marketing Plan

Although the entire process illustrated herein is integrative, with power and information being shared across many levels, the above stage (six) is the focal point where top-down and bottom-up meet. Albeit that the suggestion for independent project planning is made in stage five, it is only after the formation of the FEMO that true joint decision making between top and bottom can occur, with consensus needed on various management issues. It is here that issues such as the decision between creating a rigid, rigorous form of tourism or a more informal or alternative arrangement should be made. These complex scenarios need creative and informed
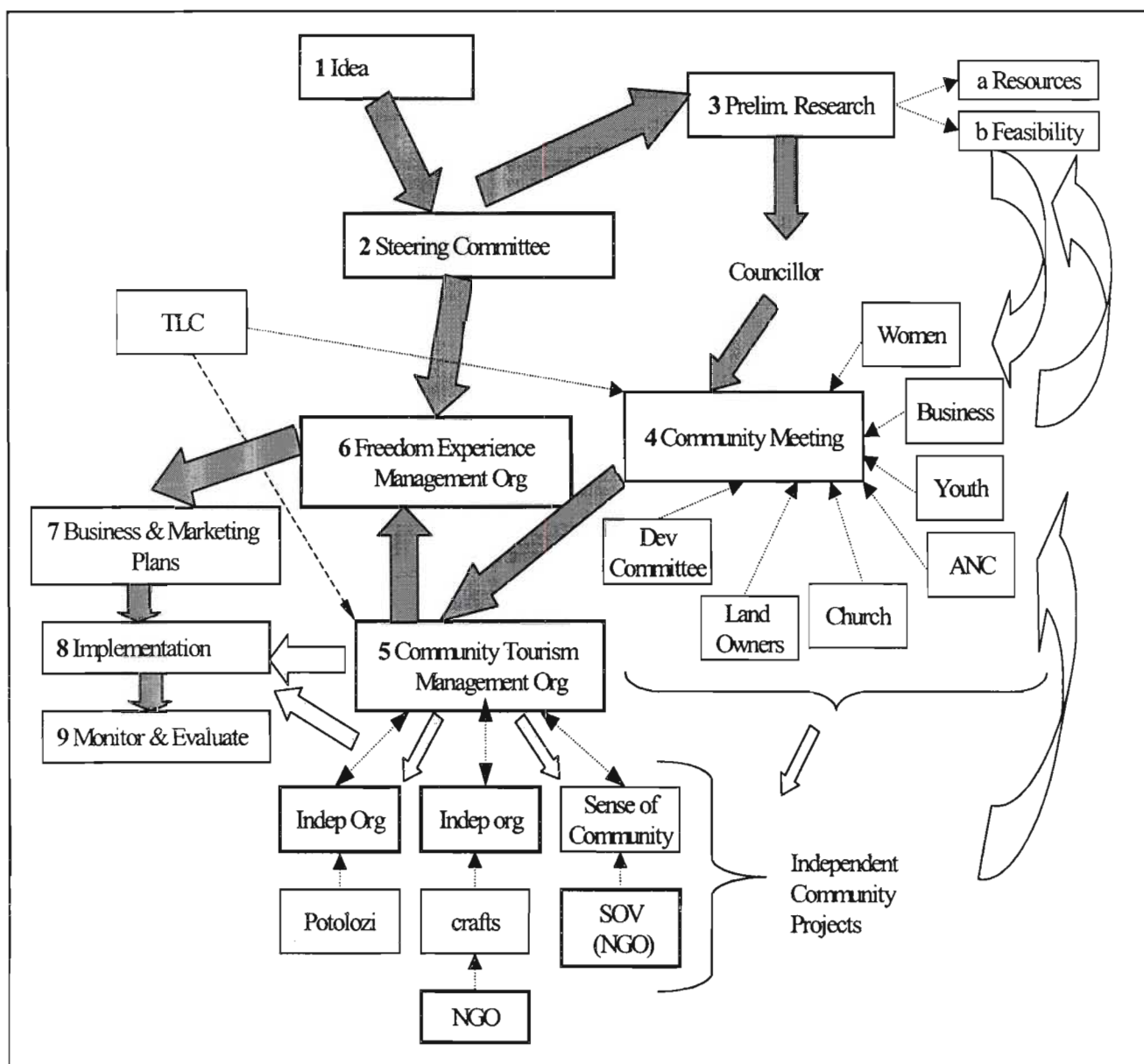
input from all relevant levels, drawing on existing community projects and the organizational and resource capabilities of the TLC.

A comprehensive business plan can be commissioned and utilized to motivate for project-based funding, in order to supplement local government funding. It is here where the strategy for the *Freedom Experience* should be finalized, and an encompassing marketing approach outlined. The business plan should provide a framework and guiding principles for implementation of the overarching tourism product, the *Freedom Experience*. This document should encompass all the functions outlined in stage six. The FEMO would need to keep strong initial links with the CTMO, in order to assist establishing successful operations. These CTMOs would, however, be community managed and have autonomy at this level. The marketing plan would drive the marketing and coordination of the encompassing tourism initiative.

8. Implementation

In this speculated alternative, implementation is another non-linear step. If this model were operating, implementation of tourism related development activities would ideally be functioning at a community level, sometimes even before an overarching concept has been discussed at local government level. Community initiated independent tourism related projects would ideally contribute to idea generation via meetings with TLC representatives or through their own communication efforts.

Although implementation is listed diagrammatically at level eight, it could occur at any level. As arrows indicate in Figure 4.6, implementation could occur from the independent organization level, the community tourism management level, or the *Freedom Experience* management level. Implementation could be stimulated by the community meeting or from one of the existing community organizations. This illustrates the cyclical nature of this approach, with links and causal relationships being far too many to attempt uncovering all. The steps indicated in Figure 4.6 are the major progressions which should, according to this model, be completed at some stage during the process. This initiative will have these various links making it difficult to depict an hierarchical model where power and process are clearly delineated.

1 Idea

3 Prelim. Research

a Resources

b Feasibility

2 Steering Committee

Councillor

TLC

Women

Business

6 Freedom Experience Management Org

4 Community Meeting

Youth

7 Business & Marketing Plans

Dev Committee

ANC

Land Owners

Church

8 Implementation

5 Community Tourism Management Org

9 Monitor & Evaluate

Indep Org

Indep org

Sense of Community

Independent Community Projects

Potolozi

crafts

SOV (NGO)

NGO

KEY :   TLC   = Transitional Local Council

NGO = Non Governmental Organisation

SOV = KwaZulu-Natal Program for Survivors of Violence

Figure 4.6 - Steps in a Suggested Process

9. Monitor and evaluate (assist with any difficulties, facilitate and mediate)

Monitoring and evaluation needs to occur at both community management and *Freedom Experience* management levels. Community and local government objectives should be addressed by the implementation of the project. If not, then the structures should be flexible enough to make adjustments in order to do so. Communication channels, between local government and the community should continue to exist, and be enhanced, through the FEMO and the CTMO.

As was illustrated in section 3.2.3, on community dynamics, there are a number of CBOs with opposing opinions on certain matters. It may be necessary for local government to initially monitor the progress for any signs of conflict, thereafter being available for facilitation or mediation if required.

4.2 AN INTEGRATIVE VIEW OF COMMUNICATION

Adequate levels of communication and information flow are essential components of a truly integrative process. Figure 4.7 combines current structures and communication pathways with suggestions for increasing the integrative elements of the process. The somewhat confusing nature of Figure 4.7 is indicative of the complexity of communication networks which can exist for community development-related projects. Information, and hence decision making power, is shared between various levels. This reflects the manner in which the flow of knowledge can evade relying on either top-down or bottom-up definitions of idea generation or decision making power. This diagram does not, of course, illustrate all possible linkages, but it does give an indication of how some of the information currently flows, or possibly could flow.

Three levels of management and decision-making exist: local government level, community level, and the level of joint decision making. At present the TLC does not have a functional Economic Development Department, which if they did, could deal with LED and tourism development. The current process for tourism planning in Pietermaritzburg seems to involve an ill defined combination of decision making from the TLC and Pietermaritzburg Tourism. Communication regarding community development currently channels from the local government level, through the Urbanization Unit, through the respective Development Committees, back to the community level. The Development Committees meet with the Urbanization Unit in a monthly forum.

A dotted line between the Economic Development Department and the Development Committee Forum, indicates a suggested need for someone from this department to attend the forum. The purpose of this would be to inform the community of possible tourism ventures, and to explain the logic of setting up tourism management organizations to start tourism-related development. Once a CTMO has been established, it could also use the path through the development committees. The Development Committee may, however, bypass the Management Organization and directly stimulate community tourism-related development.
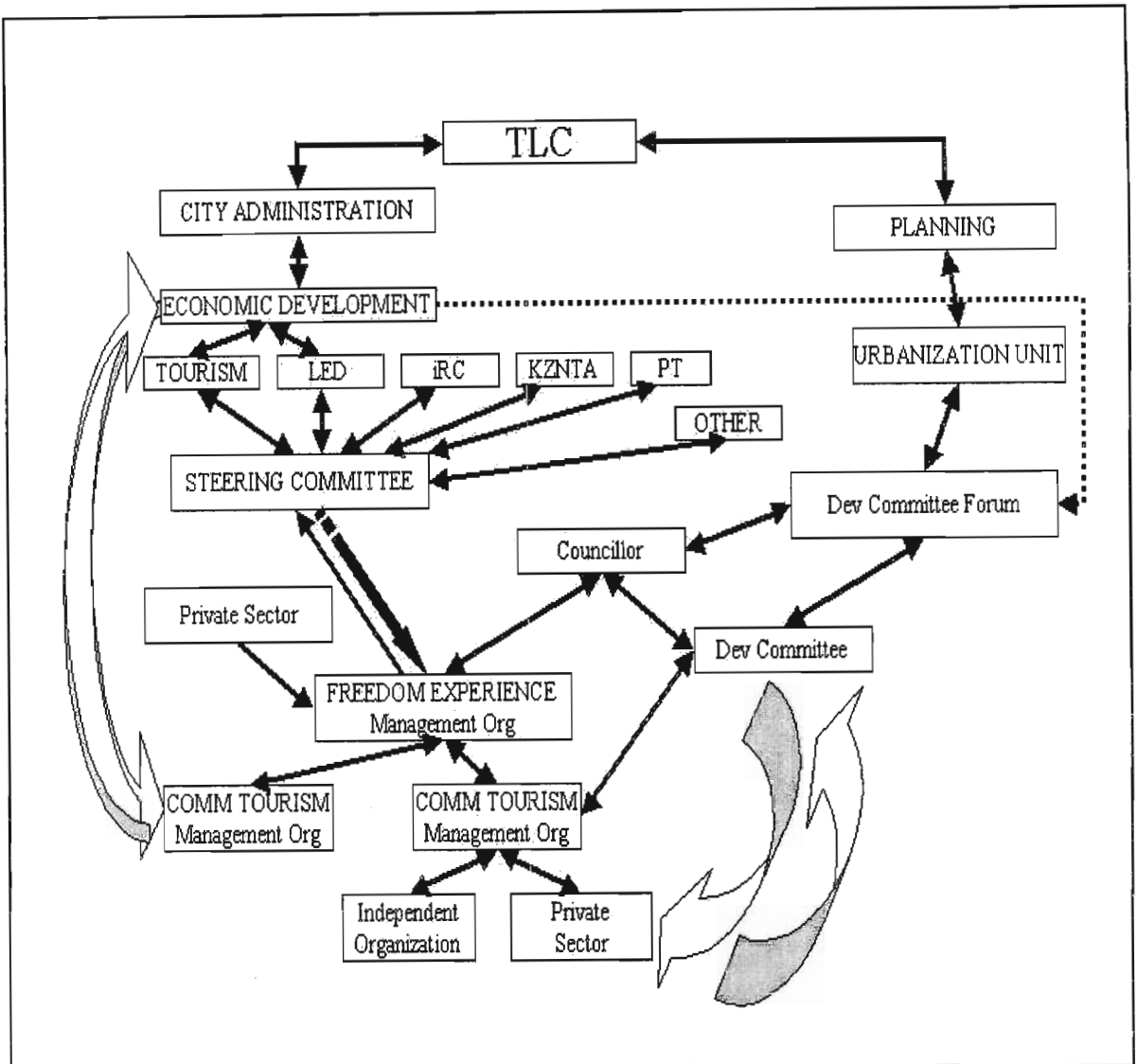
KEY: TLC = Transitional Local Council

LED = Local Economic Development

iRC = iNdlovu Regional Council

KZNTA = KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority

PT = Pietermaritzburg Tourism

Figure 4.7 - Structures and Communication Flow

If these links exist via the Development Committee forums, it might be asked when looking at Figure 4.7, why the links indicated on the left of the diagram are necessary. These links

between the CTMO and the Economic Development Department exist because it has been stated that the Development Committees for each ward may not be representative of the entire ward. These Development Committees could possibly be partisan and may represent specific political objectives. It is therefore necessary to provide another channel for members of a community to communicate with the local authority.

The Freedom Experience Management Organization is the point around which much of the communication should be centred. It should have communication links with various organisations through its membership. This should include certain members from the steering committee, dependent on their applicability (represented by broken arrow from steering committee), members from relevant CTMOs, councillors, knowledgeable private sector members, and others identified as appropriate. Joint decision making is hopefully practised at this level, with a flexible approach to collaboration.

The integrative approach to communication, if implemented, would bring about a change in the structure of communication patterns. This would result in a greater degree of community power into the decision making process at different levels, and hence over the end product. This could become rather confusing, as it is difficult to conceptualize in a truly linear manner, as described by Pretty. Community representatives would be managing community projects, coordinating tourism projects at a community level, and sitting on an overarching FEMO. In an established system designed to encourage this type of development, there would already be mechanisms in place that could facilitate community motivated and managed community development programmes. It may happen that communities voluntarily begin the entire sequence of steps which could lead to tourism development, or alternatively, that they have little interest in working on a specific project.

Community management would be facilitated via contact loops through the FEMO, the Development Committee Forums, and links through the Economic Department of the TLC. In this way information
regarding tourism and LED-related TLC policy and plans would reach the communities whom it intends to include. These communication pathways are complex and their possible structure may only become evident for each community at some point during the integrative interaction.

The communication channels illustrated in Figure 4.7 are intended to stimulate alternatives and guide individual processes rather than prescribe an answer to a multifarious situation.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

Tourism has the potential to benefit South Africa significantly. Statistics and reports show that tourism is a thriving industry in South Africa, and government stresses its importance in contributing to job creation and socio-economic development. The concern is that benefits, if realised, will not be felt directly by many of South Africa's residents. The government-backed projects which currently exist in community tourism development are mostly rural focussed. Those in urban and peri-urban areas appear to be hampered by slow progress, and predominantly rely on possible long-term benefits from tourist arrivals.

There has been a call to integrate tourism into holistic economic and development planning. The suggestions in this paper attempt to structure policy into a model of practice. An attempt is made to partly address the fragmented nature of government towards tourism development, suggesting a structure and process which more clearly delineate local government responsibility for tourism development. The paper undertakes also to recommend alternatives which could bring together the resources of communities in a manner which assists access to expertise of development facilitation agencies. In so doing creating an environment in which the gap between facilitation agencies and communities is narrowed, increasing the support for resident owned initiatives.

This process attempts to link Local Economic Development with tourism development. The overarching intention is to stimulate tourism development through meaningful community participation, which will enhance the environment and socio-economic circumstances of residents. This is suggested through a process which is envisaged to increase immediate community benefits, both general and individual. These benefits are viewed in terms of community development, which includes empowering the community via the actual process

of implementation, irrespective of whether the tourism initiative is a success or not. This process is intended to assist communities in harnessing their own resources and capacities, and developing new skills in a manner which results in community management of tourism-related projects and businesses. In this way contributing to the fulfilment of socio-economic, job creation and related capacity building objectives, without relying on an influx of tourists from a historically disloyal and unpredictable consumer base.

Community management, increased decision-making power, and tangible benefits would hopefully lead to an increased sense of ownership in tourism-related projects and the broader tourism initiative. This, in turn, should lead to an increased positive regard for both tourism and tourists. The likelihood for success of a broad tourism initiative is thus improved through increasing the opportunities of independent project and business sustainability, and through improving the hospitality atmosphere of residents. This will further the chances of creating a regional environment for encouraging tourism.

This integrative approach to tourism development, with its proposed joint decision making and balancing of top-down and bottom-up methods, attempts to overcome the possible frustration and disillusionment produced by an inability to provide the promises expected from tourism. In this way it is envisaged that communities will benefit through the process of meaningful participation, irrespective of the eventual outcome of the proposed tourism initiative. The success of the tourism venture will become more probable, however, due to increased community support.

The proposed tourism development process, emphasising the mutual responsibility of local government and residents, has the potential to further the goals of both parties. Local government can increase its regional appeal as a tourist destination by diversifying its product offering whilst contributing to the goal of local economic development. Residents, on the other hand, will potentially benefit through access to support via established structures and communication pathways, and hence through the creation of self-supporting enterprises which function independent of tourist demand.

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- Mackrory, J. (14/10/98) Director, Pietermaritzburg Publicity Association, Pietermaritzburg.

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- Mngadi, B. (21/01/00) Urbanization Officer, Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi TLC.

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- Marawa, F. (10/05/99) Hamba Kahle Tours, Durban.

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- Kerr, S. (14/01/00) Director, Pietermaritzburg Tourism.

MEETINGS ATTENDED

Freedom Experience Steering Committee Meeting, 23 August 1999, Pietermaritzburg Tourism.

'Potolozi', Edendale Project, 23 November 1999, Amafa AkwaZulu-Natali, Georgetown.

Civic Honours Ceremony Meeting, 17 January 2000, Pietermaritzburg Tourism.

'Potolozi', Edendale Project, 26 January 2000, Amafa aKwaZulu-Natali, Georgetown.