SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN TOWNSHIPS: A CASE STUDY OF SOBANTU TOWNSHIP IN PIETERMARITZBURG.

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ABSTRACT

Township tourism is one of the recognised ways in the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism (DEAT) white paper to include communities that were previously excluded from tourism. However, township tourism is non existent in Pietermaritzburg, KwaZulu-Natal. This mini dissertation is an attempt to identify the tourism potential of Sobantu township in Pietermaritzburg in an effort to encourage development and empower the local community. The primary aims are therefore to identify tourist attractions in the township, to explore people's perceptions about tourism development and to suggest ways to link Sobantu to the established tourist destinations in the greater Pietermaritzburg area. A purposive sample of 48 respondents participated in the study. The respondents were sampled from youth organisations in Sobantu, school teachers, Pietermaritzburg Tourism, Indlovu Regional Council, community members and key people in South African Police services.

Semi-structured, in depth interviews, questionnaires, focus groups and site visits were utilised as data gathering techniques based on five leading questions designed by the researcher and modified through the first two interviews used as a pilot study. Tourist attractions are examined from an ideographic perspective and a thematic approach is used to analyse peoples' perceptions. A SWOT analysis is used to explore possible linkages and to provide a clear analysis of the critical issues that need to be addressed as they could promote or hinder sustainable tourism development in the area.

Results showed that the historical background, the political history, old red bricked buildings and the cultural experiences are the main tourist attractions in the township. The community has positive attitudes towards tourism development in the area and their perceptions are compatible with the principles of sustainable tourism development and the DEAT document.

To overcome the identified obstacles and realize sustainable tourism development, several recommendations are made. These include, extensive tourism awareness campaigns, education and training of tour guides from the community, proper community structures and an effective marketing strategy.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Preface

The research described in this mini dissertation is part of a year Master program and was carried out through the Centre for Environment and Development, University of Natal from August 2000 to January 2001, under the supervision of Mrs Linda Grant and Mr Nhlanhla Mkhize.

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The study represents the original work by the author and have not otherwise been submitted in any form for any degree or diploma to any university. Where use has been made of the work of other, this is duly acknowledged in the text.

Signed _____

Ms G. S. Boqo

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

SATOUR	South African Tourism Board
KZNTA	KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority
DEAT	Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism
W.T.O	World Tourism Organisation
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
SA	South Africa
SYCS	Sobantu Young Christian Students
SOYO	Sobantu Youth Organisation
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
SWOT analysis	Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities and Threats analysis

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH PROJECT

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1. Introduction

This chapter serves to introduce and motivate the study. The aims and objectives of this study are provided as well as a description of the study area, its demographic profile and the structure of the thesis.

1.1. Introduction to the Study

According to Ashworth (1989, cited in Law, 1996), the study of tourism in cities, or urban tourism has not attracted much academic attention. Law (1996) goes on to say that academics studying tourism have also neglected cities as a type of destination. This neglect is mostly attributed to the fact that most attention has been given to holiday tourism, experiences offered by resorts and mountains (ibid.). It can be argued that South Africa is not an exception in this regard. Further, within South African cities, townships which were severely neglected in terms of local economic development during the apartheid era, pose a particular challenge in the new dispensation. To rejuvenate the economic base of urban areas, sustainable tourism development is being targeted as one component of local economic development.

South Africa is plagued by massive unemployment. In 1995, the unemployment rate among the economically active sector of the population was estimated at around 50% and higher

in townships (Edmonds, 1995). This figure reveals the pressing need to economically activate the majority of citizens. Because tourism can provide job opportunities to host communities, it is being advocated as one of the vehicles for fighting unemployment in townships. Furthermore, Craik (1991) points out that tourism encourages higher educational and training opportunities, therefore heritage and environment may both be utilised in a sustainable way and protected. Moreover, the host community may benefit from the revitalisation of traditional arts, crafts, rituals and music (ibid). By the same token, Toyoyo (cited in Crookes, 1997) also highlighted that tourism to townships make residents to be more aware and proud of their culture. Facilitating sustainable tourism development in townships is therefore important in order to benefit host communities as well as boosting the economy of cities and thus, the country.

This study therefore examines the potential of tourism to facilitate sustainable development in townships. Sobantu township, located in Pietermaritzburg the twin capital of KwaZulu-Natal, is used as a case study.

1.2. Rationale

During the apartheid era, tourism development in South Africa was confined to apartheid geographic parameters and generated revenues mainly for the major hotel chains and transport enterprises (www.nasa-basel.ch/...). Furthermore, the tourism sector was primarily under the control of and engaged in by those who were in power and who benefitted from the blossoming of tourism: namely, white South Africans. During this pre democratic era, black South African citizens, who resided in both townships and rural areas neither participated in nor benefitted from the tourism sector. Dor (1995, cited in Goudie et

al 1999) notes how during this period the South African Tourism Board (SATOUR) was concerned with meeting the needs of the international market as well as the domestic white market but excluded the needs of the black South Africans. Edmonds (1995) argues that the exclusion of these citizens from tourism has exacerbated the reality that South Africa has one of the widest gaps in the world between the rich and the poor. This highlights the importance of inclusive tourism development in South African urban areas in order to help bridge this gap. The policy document also contends the importance of including black South Africans in tourism and promoting it in previously neglected areas as most have the potential to attract tourists (DEAT,1996).

Since the demise of apartheid, tourism has increased considerably both in terms of domestic and international tourists (www.nasal-basel.ch/fairtour_e.htm). It is believed that South Africa's unique political history along with its unspoiled natural resources and cultural diversity precipitated a considerably increased flow of tourists especially those to the province of KwaZulu- Natal.

In particular, Shapshak (1997) highlights the fact that the freedom struggle, which was a response to the apartheid regime, has left a number of legacies that are attracting many tourists to the country. The hugely popular tourist visits to Robben Island; day trips to Soweto and visits to the strife-torn East Rand townships of Thokoza and Katlehong support this statement (Shapshak, 1997). Consequently, it can be argued that the trend indicates that tourists are interested in visiting townships that were struggle sites. Further, tourists' behaviour indicates that they are interested in investigating black urban culture and black people's lifestyles. Goudie, Khan and Killian (1999) pointed out that, there are still few companies offering excursions into black townships in Cape Town even though tourism to

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these townships is regarded as booming. A need therefore exists for the promotion of township tourism.

A survey commissioned by KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority (KZNTA), a provincial government agency through which tourism in the province is promoted, developed and marketed, revealed that this province is still a leading tourism destination in South Africa (www.tourism-kzn.org). In spite of this, KwaZulu-Natal has not taken advantage of this trend, nor has it considered the kind of experiences that can be offered by townships to tourists as has been done in other provinces. This is evident in Pietermaritzburg where it has been confirmed that tourists do not visit townships (Botha, Pers. Comm, 2000; Dlamini, Pers. Comm, 2000). The proposed research therefore seeks to examine the tourism potential of townships in an effort to facilitate a more integrated urban society and economy.

1.3. OBJECTIVES

The aim of the research is to examine the potential for sustainable tourism development in townships, using Sobantu in Pietermaritzburg as a case study. The prospects for and constraints to the sustainable development of tourism in Sobantu will be assessed. The key objectives are as follows:

► To identify tourism opportunities and resources (both natural and man-made) that can be harnessed to achieve the aim.

► To explore people's perceptions about the benefits of, and restrictions to sustainable tourism development in Sobantu.

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- To explore the possible links between Sobantu and the established tourism activities in the greater Pietermaritzburg area.

- To identify factors that are inhibiting tourism development in the area.

- To provide recommendations for overcoming inhibiting factors for tourism development in townships.

1.4. Research Questions

This research purports to provide answers to the following questions:

- What features of Sobantu that could attract tourists?

- What opportunities exists for Sobantu residents?

- What is there that can prevent tourism development in the area?

- What are peoples' opinions and feelings about tourism development in the area?

- Can Sobantu be linked into other established tourist destinations in the greater Pietermaritzburg area ?

1.5. THE STUDY AREA

1.5.1. Geographic Location

Sobantu Township is a historically black township which is located about five kilometres to the east of the Pietermaritzburg city centre (Napier & Mthimkhulu 1989) (see Map 1). It is located within the boundaries of the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council and lies in a valley on a strip of land bounded by the Bayne's spruit river to the north and the Umsunduzi river to the south. This township is surrounded by the residential areas of

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Northdale, Raisethorpe, Eastwood and Woodlands (Kirkpatrick, 1994). The township is estimated to cover 85 hectares (Thorington-Smith, McChrystal & Rosenburg, 1974).

1.5.2. Demographic Profile

There is conflicting information on the population size of Sobantu. According to Zimu and Xaba (2000, Pers.Comm) Sobantu township has a population of about 30 000. They further estimate that this figure has dwindled from +/- 40 000 to +/- 30 000 partly because people are encouraged to go to other areas in order to avoid overcrowding. Furthermore, Kirkpatrick (1994) corroborates the opinions of Zimu (2000,Pers. Comm) and Xaba (2000,Pers. comm) by claiming that a number of consultants have also suggested a population of approximately 20 000 people in this area. Contrary to these figures, the 1989 census information indicates that there were about 12 000 residents in this area (Napier & Mthimkhulu 1989) and the 1996 census information shows that the population has dropped to 7 807 people.

Even though the population size has decreased, it has been highlighted by the residents that overcrowding is still a persisting problem. The average number of residents per dwelling is estimated to range between 3 to 12 (Kirkpatrick, 1994: Napier & Mthimkhulu, 1989; Sikhosana, 2000, Pers.Comm). The majority of people are within the age range of 21-30 (Census statistics).There are about 1 280 formal houses in this area ranging from one bed-roomed houses to three bed-roomed houses. However, other residents have extended their houses. There are +/- 300 new sites which means that there are about 1 580 houses (Zimu, 2000, Pers. comm). It must also be mentioned that there are informal settlements in this area.

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Key

— TLC and Ward Boundaries

----- Main Roads

Copesville

Northdale

Chase Valley

Raisethorpe

Montrose

World's View

Woodlands

Athlone

Mountain Rise Eastwood

Wembley

Willowton (Industrial)

CBD

Boughton

Clarendon

Willowton (Industrial)

Prestbury

Scottsville

Hayfields

Blackridge

Naplerville

Pelham

Mason's Mill (Industrial)

Cleland

Bisley

Mkondeni (Industrial)

N

GREATER EDENDALE AREA

REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA

MOZAMBIQUE

BOTSWANA

NAMIBIA

KwaZulu-Natal

Pietermaritzburg Durban

LESOTHO

Atlantic Ocean

Indian Ocean

Cape Town

0   1.5   3

Kilometres

0   180

Kms

Cartographic Unit, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg

Map 1- Location Map of Sobantu Township within the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council.

In terms of employment, the 1996 census figures reveal that out of 7807 people, 1573 are employed. Some of those employed are working in the Willowton industrial area surrounding Sobantu and other people work in formal employment in the city centre. Incomes range from R200 to R11 000 per month. However, the majority of residents earn R201 to R500 per month. Moreover, the 1996 census information also indicates that 53% of the population is unemployed and 27 % was unspecified. To this date, unemployment is perceived to be rife in Sobantu as in the rest of the country. This unemployment is affecting mostly the young generation.

A large percentage of the township population is literate. This is due to the availability of educational facilities. In this regard, there are three schools (a primary, a higher primary and a high school) in this area and a creche. Literacy levels can also be partly attributed to the call of the former president Mr Nelson Mandela that everyone should go to school. The majority of people have matriculation certificates and some have tertiary education.

1.6. Infrastructure and Services

According to Kirkpatrick (1994) the road system in Sobantu is to a greater extent planned and laid out on grid pattern. All the roads in the township are tarred, drained and in good condition (Mngadi, 2000, Pers. comm). There is a post office which is reported to be not in good working order. Public phones are mostly found in the shopping areas and are considered insufficient by the residents. However, there are Vodacom containers which are privately owned. There is also a clinic operating in the township. Residents depend mainly on taxis for transportation of which there is no proper taxi rank. The township is served by a water borne sewage system (Kirkpatrick, 1994). All formal houses are supplied with electricity and with water which is supplied from the Hawthorns Reservoir (Kirkpatrick,

1994; Mngadi, 2000, Pers. comm). Refuse is collected once a week and there is a recycling centre in the township where bottles are collected for recycling and the garden refuse.

1.7. Topography, Geology and Soils

Sobantu is relatively a flat area and well drained. Kirkpatrick (1994) pointed out that the areas adjacent to the Umsunduzi river are gently slopes whereas the middle slopes to the south of the built-up area are steep (average gradient 1:3) and those to the west of the built up area are very steep (average gradient1:1,5). The lower slopes adjacent to the rivers are not well drained (ibid.)

The geological investigation by Maud and partners (1988, cited in Kirkpatrick, 1994) shows that the township is in the flood plain and thus not conducive to further housing developments. It was further found that the soils in the areas below the 50-year flood line have a very high agricultural potential (ibid.). Hence the community is involved in community gardens mainly to prevent people from building informal houses in the areas vulnerable to floods (Mngadi, 2000, Pers. comm; Zimu, 2000, Pers. Comm).

1.8. The Structure of the Thesis

The mini dissertation is made up of 6 chapters including the introductory chapter, chapter 1. Chapter 2 examines the literature that serves to set the context and guide this dissertation. Chapter 3 outlines the kind of methodology adopted in this research process and limitations of the study. Chapter 4 provides an overview of tourist attractions in Sobantu township while Chapter 5 presents people's perceptions about tourism development in Sobantu Township. The community culture is also examined in this chapter. Factors that can inhibit

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sustainable tourism development in the area are also outlined in this chapter. Lastly,

chapter 6 concludes the mini dissertation by giving suggesting recommendations for

realizing sustainable tourism development in the area.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEWS: TOWARDS A FRAMEWORK FOR SUSTAINABLE TOWNSHIP TOURISM.

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2. 1.   Introduction

Since the 1994 elections, when the course of history of South Africa was turned around, this country became an increasingly favourable destination to tourists. In particular, the aim of this chapter is to hypothesise that tourism to townships in South African cities has the potential to become a new trend in the tourism industry in South Africa. The hypothesis is based on the assumption that townships extend the kind of urban experiences expected by tourists who visit South Africa's fragmented cities.

The chapter begins by defining tourism. A brief history of tourism development follows and leads into a discussion of township tourism and the need for the appropriate management and sustainable development of this product. In this regard, the concepts of sustainable development, sustainable tourism development and community participation are outlined as critical to township tourism.

2. 2.   Defining Tourism

Tourism is regarded as a multifaceted, multidimensional activity, which touches many lives and has many different economic activities (Cooper, Fletcher, Gilbert & Wanhill, 1993). This nature of tourism has made it difficult to define and has led to a lack of consensus on how tourism should be defined. Many definitions furthermore, favour the supply side of

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commodities and not the demand side. For example, a US Senate Committee on Commerce, Science and Transportation (1978,p.217, cited in Smith, 1995) defined tourism as an "interrelated amalgamation of businesses, organisations, labour and governmental agencies which totally or in part provide means of transport, goods, services, accommodations and other facilities, programs and resources for travel and recreation".

Gunn (1994, p.5) defines tourism as an "agglomeration of land development and programmes designed to meet the needs of the travelers. This conglomeration has environmental, social as well as economic implications. It is made up of more than one business sector". Jafari (1977, cited in Theobald, 1994,p.7) defines tourism as "a study of man away from his usual habitat, of the industry which responds to his needs, and of the impacts that both he and the industry have on the host socio-cultural, economic and physical environments". Mathieson and Wall (1982, cited in Theobald, 1994,p.7) state that"tourism is the temporary movement of people to destinations outside their normal places of work and residence, the activities created to cater to their needs".

The confusion on how to define tourism prompted the World Tourism Organisation (W.T.O) to develop a standard tourism definition (Smith, 1995; p.12). The standard tourism definition describes tourism as "a set of activities of a person traveling to a place outside his or her usual environment for less than a year and whose main purpose of travel is other than the exercise of an activity remunerated from within the place" (W.T.O, cited in Smith, 1995). A common trend through the range of definitions is that the visitor should be away from home and that services provided by the host community should benefit both the visitor and the host.

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2.3.   Tourism Development: The Global Context

Commentators maintain that the real advent of tourism started in the 20th century (Shaw & Williams, 1994, Theobald, 1994;). The origins of the industry however, are believed to have begun in England during the Industrial revolution with the rise of the middle class and inexpensive transportation (ibid.). Shaw and Williams (1994) claim that mass tourism emerged in the United States of America in the 1920's and 1930's. In the second phase, mass tourism emerged in Europe in the 1950's. It is reported that tourism was increasingly internationalised in the late 1950's and was eventually globalised in the late twentieth century (ibid.).

Mass tourism is defined by Poon (1993, cited in Vanhove, 1997) as that which is

▸   Standardised, rigidly packed 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.

Swinglehurst (1994) as well as Shaw and Williams (1994) outlined various reasons that led to the spread of mass tourism throughout the world. These include the growth of the commercial airline industry and the arrival of the jet airplane in the 1950's which is believed to have contributed to the rapid growth and expansion of international travel. Secondly, the spread of paid holidays and the extension of car ownership. Thirdly, the development of

tourist attractions around the globe was a driving force behind mass tourism and the mushrooming of travel agents who encouraged people to tour throughout the world.

Mass tourism outlined above proved to have serious negative impacts on the host countries. For instance, it impacted negatively on people's culture leading to commodification of culture, disrespect and the degradation of natural resources. The emergence of sustainable development as a management concept has given impetus to better integrate the needs of tourism with the protection of community resources (natural, built and cultural resources) it depends on.

2.4.   Contemporary Trends: South Africa and the Global Tourism Context

Following the second world war, tourism has grown into a huge industry commanding heaps of revenues (Murphy, 1985). Consequently, local and national governments around the world have discovered that tourism development is economic development and are actively promoting it. In this regard, South Africa is no exception and is regarded as one of the world's fastest growing tourist destinations. To illustrate this, the World Tourism Organisation (W.T.O), in its report released in 1999, rated South Africa as a one of the top destinations in the world in 1998 (Sunday Tribune, 1999). Subsequently, South Africa is ranked 25 in the world's top tourism destinations from position 55 in 1990 (ibid.). These statistics point to the considerable role tourism plays in economics both locally and globally.

Tourism was believed in 1995 to be providing employment to 212 million people in the world (Kerskin, 1998).In South Africa, 480 000 people were employed and this figure was expected to double by this present year (DEAT, 1996). According to Ludski (2000) 800 000

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jobs were created in 1999 in the country. The 1999 annual report of the Department of

Environmental Affairs and Tourism also confirmed that for every eight tourists to visit South

Africa, one new job is created. Furthermore, it was estimated that tourism has overtaken oil

to become the world's largest industry (Carter, 1992). In South Africa, it has been indicated

that tourism's contribution to Gross Domestic Product (GDP) has increased while mining's

contribution has decreased from approximately 10 % in 1991 to 8.6 % in 1998 (Fine, 1999).

In this regard, tourism in South Africa is estimated to bring twenty billion rands a year into

the economy and to contribute 7% to the GDP (DEAT, 1999).

It has been apparent from the research project commissioned by the Department of

Environmental Affairs and Tourism that tourism's contribution to GDP increased from 4.5%

in 1991 to 6% in 1998. Worldwide, tourism's contribution to GDP is 12 %.In addition,

employment opportunities in tourism rose more than 50% in the same period whilst

employment in the formal sector stagnated (Fine, 1999).

A distinguishing feature of post world war II is the growth of tourism in developing countries

like South Africa. An underlying reason for this trend is the growing demand from tourists to

visit unspoiled natural areas and cultural heritage (Lindberg, 1991). Tourists to South Africa

for example, mainly visit the country for its scenic beauty 51 %, political change 28%,

climate 26%, wildlife 21% and the rainbow cultures 18% (Satour 1996, cited in Lewis,

Mander & Wynne 1999). However, Ludski (2000) points out that the interest in the

country's political changes, which peaked during South Africa's first democratic elections

have now declined to a moderate 20% even though this country continues to attract

visitors. Many developing countries offer opportunities for exploring unique natural

environments and rich cultural heritages. Furthermore, tourism has become a well

promoted sector in developing countries. This is because tourism creates opportunities for

the small entrepreneur, promotes awareness and understanding among different cultures and creates economic linkages with agriculture and curios; and provides employment opportunities (DEAT, 1996).

2.5. Tourism Trends in KwaZulu- Natal

A recent comprehensive survey commissioned by Tourism KwaZulu- Natal revealed that this province has emerged as the leading domestic tourism destination in South Africa (www.tourism-kzn.org...). KwaZulu-Natal's share of the domestic market being 42% as compared to 24 % in 1995 (ibid). Satour (1998, cited in Lewis, Mander & Wynne,1999) pointed out that this province has consistently captured approximately 24 % of foreign visitors with the value of the sector bringing about 2.3 billion rands. The main attractions are reported to be beaches, visiting friends, arts and craft centres and museums (www.tourism-kzn.org...).

Township tours are considered to be the third favourite domestic tourist attraction in the province (Lewis, Mander & Wynne, 1999). By the same token, Ludski (2000) goes on to highlight that African cultures rate the third highest attraction to tourists from America, Australia, the Far East and Asia. McIntosh, Xaba and Associates (1999) pointed out that recent surveys indicated that 11% of international tourists visited townships in the summer of 1997/8 and 60 % of them rated the experience as good. This shows that with effective marketing strategies, townships can get their fair share in the existing market. However, although marketing is critical it should be done with the help of the host communities so as to promote the sustainability of an area. For instance, Gartner (1997) advocates that host

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communities must be directly involved in identifying appropriate images to project to tourists in order to sustain tourism in the area.

2.6.   Sustainable Development and Township Tourism

Concerns worldwide in the late 1960s about the harmful effects of mass tourism (i.e. degradation of natural resources) led to calls for more sustainable forms of tourism. The overriding principle was that resources upon which tourism depends should be sustainably utilised. In this aspect, Gunn (1994) and Murphy (1985) maintain that sustainable development is central to tourism and must be a planning principle for tourism. Thus, to be sustainable, township tourism should be in line with the principles of sustainable development. Sustainable development being defined as the kind of development that ensures the improvement of the quality of human life while living within the carrying capacity of supporting ecosystems (Kirkby, O'Keefe & Timberlake, 1995).

In the Brundtland report, sustainable development is defined as "development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (Kirkby, O'Keefe & Timberlake, 1995). This means that sustainable development in practice should strive to accommodate two main objectives as discussed in the Rio Earth Summit (Walmsley & Botten, 1994). The first is the intra-generational objective which strives to improve the well being of the current population through equitable allocation and utilisation of resources. Solutions to poverty are therefore a critical component if a large number of people are to be assured of improved livelihoods. In this regard, tourism and township tourism in particular must aim to contribute to the alleviation of poverty. The second objective is inter-generational, which strives to ensure that future generations will be better off than existing ones (Walmsley & Botten, 1994). Thus, the well-

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being of future generations should be of concern. Another factor critical to sustainable development is that it should be slow, small scale and locally owned. This will result in the protection of resources on which tourism depends.

2.6.1. Agenda 21 and Tourism

Agenda 21 is regarded as the most urgent global mandate which came out of the landmark conference in 1992 in Rio de Janeiro (DEAT,1999) . Mowforth and Munt (1998) describes it as a global action plan endorsed in Brazil by the '92 Rio Summit. It spells out priorities for sustainable development into the twenty first century. According to Mowforth and Munt (1998) tourism is specifically identified as offering sustainable development potential to certain communities.

However, Hinch (1998) is of the view that sustainability of tourism did not get much attention in agenda 21. Even though it might have been a bit neglected, Mowforth and Munt (1998) point out that there are priorities of Agenda 21 that are relevant to the sustainability of tourism both at national and local levels. Some of these priorities are that governments are urged to:

▸ Improve and reorientate pricing and subsidy policies in issues related to tourism
▸ Promote environmentally sound leisure and tourism activities, building on the current programme of the World Tourism Organisation.

Cities and local authorities are recognised as being particularly important in the implementation of agenda 21 (Walmsley & Botten, 1994). This is mainly because local

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authorities are at the level closest to people and thus are in a position to ensure sustainable development in cities. Further, Pearce, Moscardo and Ross (1996) maintain that local authorities are important in ensuring the sustainability of tourism development as development should be integrated into local, regional and national plans.

2.7. Sustainable Urban Tourism Development

Hinch (1998) pointed out that the sustainability of urban tourism has been neglected in spite of the fact that urban areas have been recognised as one of the important types of tourist destinations. In urban areas, an approach to tourism development had been mainly determined by economic growth (Louw & Smart, 1998). This means that other facets that are affected by tourism development were ignored. These included, social, cultural and environmental aspects. This therefore necessitated that for tourism to be sustainable, it should embrace these aspects and be conversant with the concept of sustainable development.

Sustainable tourism development is defined as an "activity which optimises the economic and other societal benefits available in the present without jeopardising the potential for similar benefits in the future" (DEAT, 1996,p.4). Wahab and Pigram (1997, p.29) defined sustainable tourism development as:

> "Tourism which is developed and maintained in an area (community, environment) in such a manner and at such scale that it remains viable over an indefinite period and does not degrade or alter the environment (human and physical) in which it exists to such an extent that it prohibits the successful development and well being of other activities and processes".

This is a definition that will guide this thesis. It is also important to note that for the purpose of this study, the concept of sustainable tourism is going to be used in the context of urban tourism and not used as a synonym with ecotourism as Wahab and Pigram (1997) suggest that these concepts can be used interchangeably.

The various definitions of sustainable tourism development are said to incorporate seven dimensions (Theobald, 1994). Included in these dimensions is the need for the management of resources which will ensure that tourism survives and benefit the community. Another dimension is the need to fulfill social obligations. This includes both inter-generational equity and respect for other livelihoods and customs. Thus, the integrity and continuity of these products therefore highly depend on their sustainable use. Furthermore, the concept of sustainable tourism development is crucial in seeking a more productive and harmonious relationship between tourists, host communities and the environment.

2.7.1. Community Participation as a Tool for Sustainability

Apart from the sustainable use of resources, the involvement of host communities in any tourism venture is an important ingredient towards sustainability. As such, Community participation is at the heart of sustainable tourism development. In essence, community participation in the decision- making process of tourism development is crucial in ensuring the acceptability of tourism, thus contributing to its sustainability. In other words, fairness and justice is important in tourism development in that tourism should not expand at a rate beyond the desire and the potential of the local community (Wahab, 1997).

Moreover, Marien and Pizam (1997) and Muller (1994) also maintain that sustainable tourism cannot be successfully implemented without the direct support and involvement of communities affected by it. Thus, it is important that in planning a sustainable tourism development, exploring communities' perceptions and sensitivity is a crucial first step to be undertaken.

Women and the youth as members of a community have also a particular role to play. For example, as teachers, mothers and mentors, they can generate awareness of the potential of tourism to stimulate community growth and development (DEAT, 1996). Further, they might also be able to assist in shaping a responsible tourism as restaurateurs, tour guides, travel agents etc. This clearly indicates that communities should be involved in every step of tourism development to counter negative impacts of tourism and crime associated with townships.

Murphy (1985) in his ecological community model also emphasized that public participation increases when scale of planning decreases in higher levels. This means that when locals are included in the planning phase of tourism development they can provide a reservoir of information and enthusiasm and contribute in shaping the future of their area. In addition when public participation is encouraged, people are able to have a sense of ownership of any development and able to support it. This is more pronounced when locals are engaged in the decision making process. The Sobantu community then has to be involved in all tourism development initiatives as this will impact on their social, economical, cultural and environmental aspects. Their participation will in turn ensure that tourism is sustained in this area.

In order to examine sustainable urban tourism, Hinch (1998) created a framework which is illustrated in figure 2.7 below.
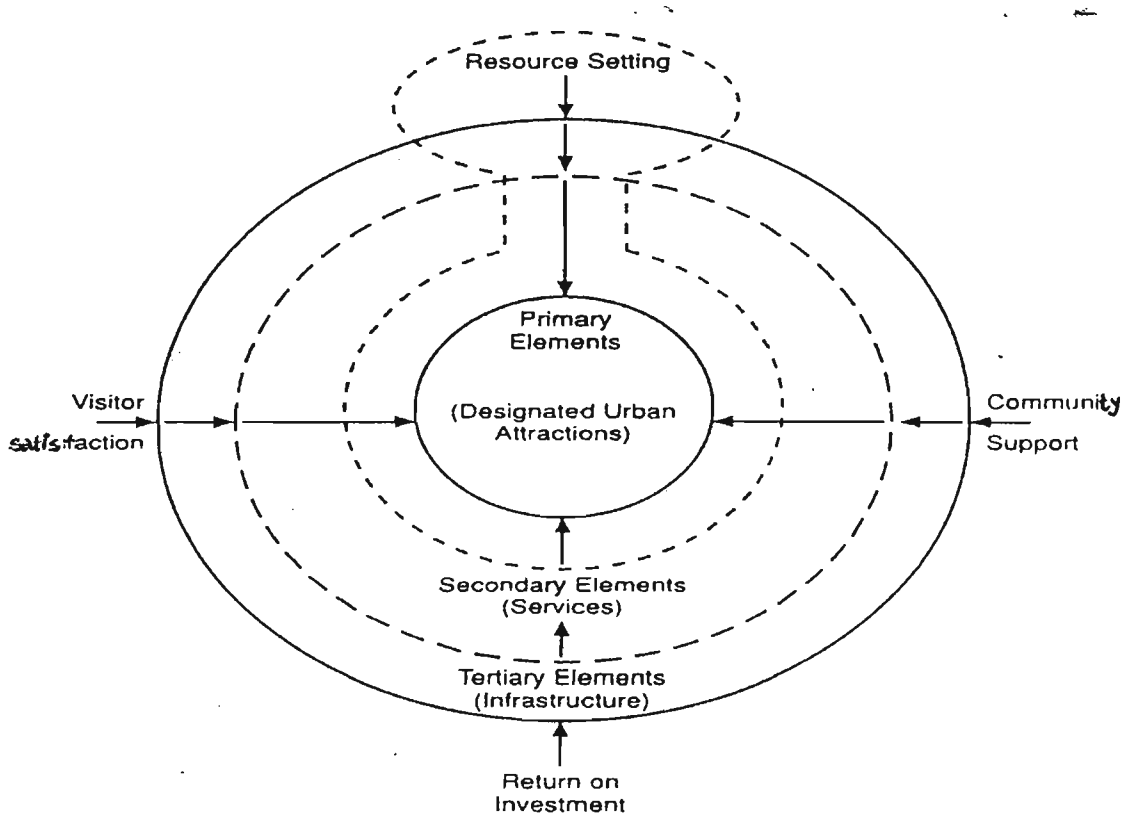
Figure 2.7.A framework for sustainable urban tourism (Source Hall & Lew, 1998)

Hinch (1998) describes the designated urban attractions in the core of the framework as the target of visitors and management attention. The dotted lines around the attractions show the need for a balance between the tourism product, secondary (services) and tertiary (infrastructure) elements. Finally, Murphy's (1985) four elements of community based tourism planning (i.e community support, resource setting, visitor satisfaction and return on investments) are integrated into the urban tourism framework as conditions for sustainability (ibid.). In the context of township tourism, it is of vital importance that the

attractions are balanced with secondary elements that have a function of supporting the core attraction. These could be catering services and taverns.

2.7.1.1.Empowerment and Tourism Awareness as a tool for Meaningful Community Participation

The importance attached to the inclusion of local communities is considerable and cannot be over-emphasised. However, without empowerment and capacity building, local communities are often not in a position to participate meaningfully in tourism development. They cannot for example, participate in complex decision making processes nor expect to have greater control over their resources and their future. Erskine (1996) also asserts that a central element to community development is empowering and enabling people, rather than directing and controlling them by perpetuating their dependence on hand outs.

To ensure effective empowerment and capacity building, Ashley and Garlard (1994) identified four models of community resource based tourism. These are as follows:

- A development enterprise is run entirely by outside developers with no community involvement
- A developer voluntarily shares profit with local people
- A development enterprise established through joint venture and partnership between the developer and local people
- A venture run entirely by the local people.

Each of the above models offers different levels of profit distribution, empowerment and capacity building within the community. A joint venture model is perceived as an option which has the greatest potential of allowing local people to participate in a way that allow empowerment, capacity building whilst they also enjoy financial benefits.

Tourism awareness is another dimension that needs to be explored for meaningful participation of local communities. The general need for community wide tourism awareness programmes is also highlighted as crucial in the policy document (DEAT, 1996). The document goes on to mention that inadequate tourism education, training and awareness are some of the factors that limit the effectiveness of tourism in the economy. This lack of tourism information and awareness is particularly recognised as limiting the meaningful involvement of local communities in tourism (ibid.). To add more, Sweeney and Wanhill (1996) argue that it is important that more awareness and understanding of tourism within the community is generated so as to change attitudes and behaviour of local communities towards tourists, rather than treating sustainability as the optimal trade off between economic development and the environment (ibid.). Furthermore, when the local community is tourism-aware, it could be in a position to share power with developers and be able to be involved in complex decision making situations.

Although meaningful community participation is desired and needed, Milne (1998) warns that local participation is often expensive to run and may cause the locals to have great expectations which could be more than the real outcomes of a project. Further, conflicts may arise within the community itself, especially between the elites who can get a better share of the benefits through their involvement and networks and the poor who may not get a big share of the benefits.

2.8. Is Sustainable Tourism Realizable?

Sustainable tourism is not without critics. Wheller (1991) and Wheat (1994) argue that the authentic experience that is searched for by tourists can have adverse impacts on the local environment and may therefore not be sustainable. Cater and Goodall (1994) go on to say that the small scale projects that are emphasized in sustainable tourism may conversely not be in a position to satisfy the needs of tourists. It is therefore argued that it may not be possible to balance tourist demands with environmental sustainability, and sustainable tourism may potentially not be realisable. In striving towards sustainable township tourism, it is thus important to find a balance between meeting the demands of tourists and operating within the constraints of what the local environment can support and sustain.

2.9. Focus on Urban Tourism: The South African Context and the Challenge of Sustainable Township Tourism

In their quest to attract as many tourists as they can, countries have attempted to draw tourists to their cities. This form of tourism is referred to as "urban tourism". It is alleged that urban tourism has been in existence for centuries and millennia, although only recently has it been acknowledged as a form of tourism (Grant & Scott, 1996). Shaw and Williams (1994) points out that this kind of tourism was mostly promoted in European cities as it could lead to environmental improvements. This is based on the fact that incomes are generated when visitors are attracted to the city. Furthermore new facilities can contribute to an improved urban environment and some benefits can be passed on to local residents and the image of the city could generally be improved (ibid.).

Moreover, even though cities have been relatively ignored, it is believed that urban areas act as tourism destinations attracting both domestic and international tourists (Shaw &

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Williams, 1994). Moreover, it is asserted that the most recent trends and studies by the World Trade Organisation indicate that cities will continue to be in high demand by tourists of all sorts (Mogensen, 2000). This is largely due to the fact that cities offer a wide range of attractions which are generally in close proximity to each other. Attractions being described by Lew (1987, cited in Page,1995,p.69) as "an integral feature of urban tourism, which offer visitors passive and more active activities to occupy their time during a visit". In this regard, Hinch (1998) is of the view that there are three urban settings that attract tourists to cities. These are the built environment, the natural environment and the cultural environment.

Law (1996) further identified some key urban attractions based on the survey conducted in the United States of America. The results indicated that museums, art galleries, churches, industrial establishments, heritage centres, historical monuments, restaurants, theatres and artefacts are major urban attractions. The historical image of an urban area is proved to be a strong tourist attraction (Murphy, 1985). However, the type of an attraction depends on whether the city is classified as a historical, cultural, a nightlife city or the shopping city (Shaw & Williams, 1994).

Apart from the expected urban attractions, a seminar on urban agriculture in Saint-Jean-Port-Joli in 1996 asserted that mixing urban agriculture and tourism is a good marriage and has been perceived to be as interesting as city museums (Mogenson, 2000). This is because agricultural tourism publicity would promote the areas products and services and thus benefiting the community.

The nature of attractions described above are determined and examined from various perspectives. Lew (1987, cited in Page, 1995) identified three perspectives. These are the ideographic perspective, the organisational perspective and the cognitive perspective. The

ideographic perspective focuses more on the general characteristics of a place, site, climate, culture and customs to develop typologies of tourism attractions. The organisational perspective is perceived as emphasising the geographical, capacity and temporal aspects of attractions rather than the managerial notions of organisations. Lastly, the cognitive perspective is based on studies of tourist perceptions and experiences of attractions and is described as focussing more on understanding the tourists' feelings and views of the place or attraction.

2.9.1. Township Tourism

As noted in chapter 1, South Africa has a range of experiences that it could offer to tourists. These include its relatively unspoiled natural resources, cultural heritage to mention a few. Recently, townships (where the majority of black people reside) have entered the field of tourism as one of tourists' destinations in this country. The policy document (DEAT, 1996) has recognised townships as one of tourism destinations in South Africa. These townships are mostly found on the peripheries of the South African cities. In the interest of tourism, there is a challenge to link the core to the periphery. In simplest terms, linking tourist attractions of the townships to the existing well-established attractions of the city is important. This will ensure that tourists visit townships as well. In this way, local communities could get a chance of being included and benefit from tourism as also advocated in the policy document.

Mention has already been made of the fact that township tourism in South Africa is an added dimension to tourism as a whole. It is pointed out that this new trend came up, as Makgwara (quoted in Ramothato, 2000 p.20) puts it, because "tourists visiting townships and traveling in a bus do not only want to sight see the township but also want to

experience the vibes and taste the African cuisine prepared in local eateries". In addition,

Minister of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, Valli Moosa pointed out that tourists want to

interact with local people and learn about the country they are visiting (Fine, 1999).

Tourism to townships of South Africa, such as Soweto, has proved to be a success even

though not all provinces have capitalised on this new trend. To illustrate this, it is alleged

that Soweto is hosting above five million tourists per annum (Ramothata, 2000). Thus, it

hosts between one thousand and four thousand tourists per day during the peak seasons

(Mathiane & Christierson, 2000). Furthermore, to illustrate that townships also have a great

potential to attract both domestic and international tourists, Soweto is internationally known

as the "little Mecca" in the tourist industry (ibid.).Mathiane and Christerson (2000) maintain

that Soweto has become a must see destination for international tourists and these tourists

consider a visit to the townships an essential part of their South African experience.

Apart from international tourists, townships also attract affluent domestic tourists who did

not have the guts and chance to do so in the past. To domestic "white" tourists, a tour to a

black township is a chance to dispel a few myths associated with townships. Moreover, a

tour to a township offers an opportunity for them to know their black counterparts and their

lifestyle. As one domestic tourist was quoted saying "All my life I've lived a protected and

privileged white life with no idea of what other people had to go through. This I guess, was

my way of finding out what it's like to be on the other side" (quoted in Makatile, 2000, p.19).

In this respect, one can argue that township tourism can contribute to Desmond Tutu's (the

Anglican Church's ex archbishop) concept of "The Rainbow Nation".

Townships have proved to extend the kind of experiences that are normally expected to be

offered by the city centre. This is because, there are areas in townships that could be

turned into museums. This has proved to be possible as Nelson Mandela's (the ex president of South Africa) old four roomed house, which has been converted into a museum is regarded as one of tourist favourites in Soweto (Shapshak, 1996). Other attractions include, homes of prominent political figures, areas where political meetings were held (i.e the world famous Regina Mundi Catholic Church in Rockville) taverns, clinics, schools which were involved in uprisings and areas destroyed during conflicts (ibid.). Makatile (2000) further notes how tourists like to sample the local brew.

On the same note, Robins (1998) is of the view that township tourism is flourishing in various parts of the country mainly because there seems to be an extra ordinary interest in more "exotic" urban spaces. The exotic idea of African culture therefore puts townships into the limelight (ibid.). To add more, Robins (1998) points out that one of the tour operators in Cape Town has made a point of transforming poverty of informal settlements into a narrative of African buoyancy, vitality and creativity that is enticing to international tourists. To add more, Crookes (1997) is of the view that turning a poverty-stricken township, like Rhini township in Grahamstown, into a tourist attraction is a motivated move. This township is one of the poorest townships in South Africa which is however fascinating to international tourists.

Although tourism in cities and townships is perceived as booming in South Africa, it is not without critics and some inhibitions. In this regard, Law (1992) mentioned that promoting tourism development in cities is not always warmly welcomed by critics. Reasons mostly cited by critics being that when more visitors come to a city, congestion increases and the costs for urban management increase as well. Townships on the other hand, are widely known as areas where crime, hijacking and rape are the norm which would jeopardise the sustainability of township tourism.

2.10. CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has attempted to outline key historical trends in tourism. It has gone on to illustrate the necessity of sustainability in tourism whereby the notions of sustainable development, community participation, and empowerment are embraced. Township tourism has been discussed as a new trend in South Africa's urban tourism and is promoted as one of the ways to boost the economy of the periphery and to facilitate local community's involvement in tourism.

CHAPTER 3

DESCRIBING THE METHOD

3.1. Introduction

This chapter aims to give insight into the design of this study. In this regard, the type of research methodology that is used is described. Techniques that were used to collect data are spelt out. Sampling procedures and limitations of this study are also covered in the chapter.

3.2. Literature Review

A literature review provided a framework within which to conceptualise and contextualise the study. Miles and Huberman (1984, p33) argue that the conceptual frameworks are "simply the current version of the researcher's map of the territory being investigated. Without such a map, the research is slipshod; and if several researchers are involved, fruitless empirical anarchy can result". The importance of a literature review in which key concepts are identified and used to guide the research process and focus data collection and analysis is clearly critical. This was mainly done by collecting information from secondary sources, i.e. academic sources, relevant policy documents, press articles and tour brochures.

3.3. Data Collection Techniques

Both qualitative and quantitative techniques were used in the study to overcome weaknesses of either technique and also to increase the rigour of the data (Neuman, 1997). In this regard, the following techniques were used:

- Semi structured in-depth interviews with key informants at different times. These key informants were community leaders, members of organisations working in Sobantu, members of the Sobantu youth organisation, members of the Transitional Local Council and people from the police station. Other community members including elderly citizens were also interviewed individually. Interviewing allowed the researcher to get a better response rate and an opportunity to probe more. To achieve the latter, both non-directive probing techniques and summary techniques were used. Sarantakos (1993) describes non-directive probing as a controlled probing which supplements the primary question and offers a brief affirmation of understanding and interest. A summary technique on the other hand is probing which consists of summarising the respondent's last statement, and motivating the respondent to tell more about the issue in question without being directed (ibid.). It was also advantageous in the sense that it allowed the researcher to detect problems such as unwillingness to offer information by some participants. Apart from the advantages, this method was costly and time consuming.

- Questionnaires were given to teachers to complete at their own convenient time. These questionnaires contained both open-ended and closed -ended questions. Closed ended questions were used to collect demographic data and open-ended questions were used mainly to collect opinions and

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perceptions pertaining to the study. These questionnaires were completed by school teachers from the three schools in Sobantu. The majority of these teachers were born and raised in Sobantu. This was a convenient method of information gathering as it was less expensive and had a wide coverage, thus producing quick results. However, it was noted that this method did not allow probing, especially when teachers raised some interesting issues, such as highlighting historical events, see also Babbie (1992). It was also noted that the response rate was poorer than expected. This is partly due to the fact that the questionnaires were completed in the absence of the researcher.

- Site visits with key informants to observe and identify tourist attractions were undertaken. These visits were done mainly to identify resources already in Sobantu that could be utilised to attract tourists.

- Participatory discussions with community members so as to tap their views about tourism development and to get to know their history were conducted. These were mainly the members of Sobantu Care For the Aged Society which is involved in crafts and the catering business. To achieve this, focus groups were conducted. This method was mainly chosen because most residents would have not felt comfortable completing written questionnaires or doing individual interviews. Apart from this, a focus group method is advantageous in the sense that it creates a relaxed, non threatening environment within which opinions and perceptions can be freely expressed (Stewart & Shamdasani, 1990).

3.6. Sampling Strategies

Sarantakos (1993,p.125) describes sampling as "the process of choosing the research units of the target population which are to be included in the study." Sarantakos (1993) further asserts that sampling is more economical, since it contains fewer people, less printed material and fewer general costs. Samples are also believed to offer more detailed information and a high degree of accuracy because they deal with relatively small numbers (ibid.). Participants for this research project were sampled from youth organisations in Sobantu, school teachers, community members, key people in Pietermaritzburg Tourism, Indlovu Regional Council and South African Police services.

A non probability sampling type was employed. This sampling technique is less strict and makes no claim for representativeness (Sarantakos,1993). It allows the researcher to decide sampling units to be chosen. Purposive and snowballing techniques, which are non probability techniques were both used in this study. A purposive sampling strategy means that not everyone had a chance of being included in the study, only those that could provide the researcher with rich and useful information were contacted (Miles & Huberman,1994). In this regard, key informants were firstly identified and contacted at the early stages of the project. These included a Sobantu councillor, the director of Pietermaritzburg Tourism, Indlovu Regional council tourism manager and the Mountain Rise Police Superintendent. Further, a strategy of snowballing means that an available informant was asked to provide the researcher with name(s) of another person that could provide the required information (ibid.).

3.4.1.   Sample Size

The sample size of this project was 48 participants. This is because the approach to the study was qualitative and therefore a small sample sufficed. In addition, Sarantakos (1993) also asserts that the sample size is considered sufficient when a point of saturation is reached. Since no more substantial or new information was probable through additional respondents, the sample size was considered "saturated".

3.5.   Procedure

Before conducting this study, the researcher contacted the participants personally to present the study and to ask them to participate in the study and then a preliminary meeting was held with participants at different times. This was done to present the study, clarify issues pertaining to the study and to make appointments with them for further consultation. Key participants were interviewed using semi structured interviews where open ended questions were used (see appendix A).The first two interviews were used as pilot which resulted in the modification of some questions. These interviews took approximately 45 minutes. Focus groups were conducted with community members who had on going projects in the township, for instance those involved in arts and crafts and catering business. This was seen as convenient for members of the community who are not literate and would thus be in a position to contribute verbally to the study. This was also important in order to probe for more information. This took approximately 60 minutes. Teachers were asked to fill in a short questionnaire which encompassed the same questions as the interview but with small variations. Site visits were done in order to identify

tourist attractions as well as physical factors that could hinder tourism development in the area.

3.6. Data Analysis

A SWOT (strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats)analysis, an ideographic approach and a thematic approach were used to analyse data. Barton & Borrini-Feyeraband (1997) describes a SWOT analysis as a powerful tool for an assessment of an issue of concern in particular to the intervention of services and general views or perceptions. It is based on structured brainstorming and at eliciting perceptions of the positive factors (strengths), the negative factors (weaknesses) and possible improvements (opportunities) and the constraints (limitations) or threats related to an issue. It was used in the study specifically to provide a clear analysis of the critical issues that need to be addressed in order to facilitate sustainable tourism development in the area. People's perceptions about tourism development in Sobantu were analysed using a thematic approach. This means that themes that arose from the data were identified and analysed. An ideographic approach was used mainly to examine tourist attractions in the area. This is the commonly used perspective which advocates the use of general characteristics of a place, site, climate, culture and customs or general descriptions in examining tourist attractions (Lew, 1987, cited in Page, 1995).

3.7. Ethical Considerations

Sarantakos (1993) argues that researchers usually have freedom of action to solve problems under investigation. However, this freedom can have adverse effects on the

participants and violate directly or indirectly their rights. In this respect, the rights of participants were taken into consideration in this research. The respondents were informed at the outset about the nature and purpose of the study. They were assured that the information they provide would be solely used for the purpose of the study. Those who did not wish to be part of the study were not in any way deceived into participating or forced to participate. Permission to tape record the participants was asked and the wishes of those who did not want to be recorded were respected.

3.8.   Limitations of the Study

The following limitations were observed but did not have a profound effect on the study.

▸   This study is based on one geographical location. It could be argued that this restriction limits the chance to generalize the results to other areas. However, the Sobantu community is one where the socio-economic profile and history are not extremely unique. Thus, it is likely that people's perceptions and some attractions reflect those of other townships. For instance, Sobantu could share some commonalities with other townships in South Africa as far as the political history is concerned.

▸   The aim of this study was to examine the potential for sustainable tourism development in townships. It did not focus on strategies of implementing tourism programmes.

- In terms of reliability, the flexibility of the research and interviews makes it almost impossible to ascertain the reliability of the method although flexibility allowed the respondents to air their views freely.

- A survey technique could have been used in order to give the majority of residents a chance to voice out their views about tourism development in the township. However, time constraints and delays in funding prevented the inclusion of more people in the study.

- Respondents from the community were easy to get as anticipated. Though the respondents were briefed about the purpose of the study and given assurance of confidentiality and anonymity, the majority of community members were not willing to be tape recorded. This put a strain on the researcher to write down answers and interview simultaneously. In such conditions the researcher used key words and short-hand notes which would be referred to after the session. It is possible that the respondents' exact meaning was lost in such circumstances. In other words, the researcher could have been subjective and therefore researcher bias is possible.

CHAPTER 4

SOBANTU TOWNSHIP AND TOURIST ATTRACTIONS

4.1.Introduction

Attractions are described by Page (1995, p.69) as " integral features of urban tourism, which offer visitors passive and more active activities to occupy their time during a visit". Lew 's (1987, cited in Page,1995) ideographic perspective, where the general characteristics of a place, culture and customs are used to develop typologies of tourism attractions is one of the approaches used in examining tourist attractions in Sobantu township.

This chapter outlines the historical development of Sobantu and provides an overview of tourist attractions in the township. Sobantu community has played a role in identifying tourist attractions as examined in the policy document (DEAT, 1996). Shapshak (1997) highlights the fact that the freedom struggle, which was a response to the apartheid regime, has left a number of legacies that are attracting many tourists to the country. The DEAT policy document further ascertains that township experiences, apartheid and struggle history are attractions that need to be utilized in an attempt to involve local communities in tourism (ibid.). Murphy (1985) is also of the view that the historical image of an urban area has been recognised internationally to be a strong tourist attraction. It is against this backdrop that the historical background of the township as well as its political history is reviewed in terms of its contribution to the tourism potential of the area.

4.2. Origin of the name "Sobantu"

Until 1947, Sobantu township was initially known by the authorities of the time as the "Pietermaritzburg Native Village" (Peel, 1988). However, according to Zimu (2000, Pers. Comm) and Sikhosana (2000, Pers. Comm) the pioneers of Sobantu were initially living at Bishopstowe (see Map 2). In this area, there was Bishop Colenso of the church of England who was a missionary and recognised as a human rights activist. As such, he was described as "a great tribune of African Freedom" (Mkhambathini Trail-Bishopstowe brochure,1999). Bishop Colenso was named "Sobantu" (this means "People's person") by people due to his sense of humour and sensitivity to African peoples rights. When people moved to the new site or township, they named it "Sobantu" township. The name has stuck to date.

4.3. The History behind the People and Politics of Sobantu

Sobantu township is the first and the oldest township to be built in Pietermaritzburg. It was established in accordance with the provisions of 1923 urban areas Act (Napier & Mthimkhulu 1989). Peel (1988) pointed out that prior to the urban area's act, black workers working for white employees accommodated themselves in the edges of the town or in the properties of their employees. This arrangement was not favoured by white employees. The urban areas' act came as a solution to this problem.

Consequently, this township was built in 1926 (Xaba, 2000, Pers. comm; Zimu, 2000, Pers. comm). Local authorities were given the responsibility of administering native affairs. They were responsible for deciding on where to build the "native village". There was no consensus on where this "native township was to be built". The lack of consensus

earmarked Sobantu early on as a struggle site.

According to Peel (1987 cited in Napier & Mthimkhulu 1989) there were two sites on which this township was to be established. The site at Bishopstowe was not favoured by Africans due to its close proximity to the sewage plant (Peel, 1988). Africans favoured the Mason's mill site as it was linked to the already established locations in Edendale which had transport routes. However, the site at Bishopstowe was the choice of the council because it was not going to be expensive to build this village on this site as compared to the Mason's mill site. The choice of the site was also supported by the realisation that the proximity of the sewage farm could not have any profound effect on the health of the residents.

Both Xaba (2000, Pers.Comm) and Cebekhulu (2000) ascertain that Sobantu was meant for people who could provide labour to the city centre. These people were mainly government employees, such as policemen, clerks. As a result this township enjoyed some benefits which were not given to other townships. For instance, some Sobantu residents were exempt from pass laws and benefitted from the then "Job Reservation Act". Furthermore, due to its close proximity to the city centre, the area was seen as more modern than others.

IMOOI RIVER

Boyne's Spruit

BISHOPSTOWE

Dorpspruit

**CENTRAL
PIETERMARITZBURG**

Umsindusi

**SWARTKOP
LOCATION**

SOBANTU VILLAGE

PRESENT NATIONAL ROAD

N

MASON'S MILL

**PIETERMARITZBURG
DISTRICT**

Slangspruit

EDENDALE

1 KM

DURBAN

(IMBALI)

RICHMOND

42
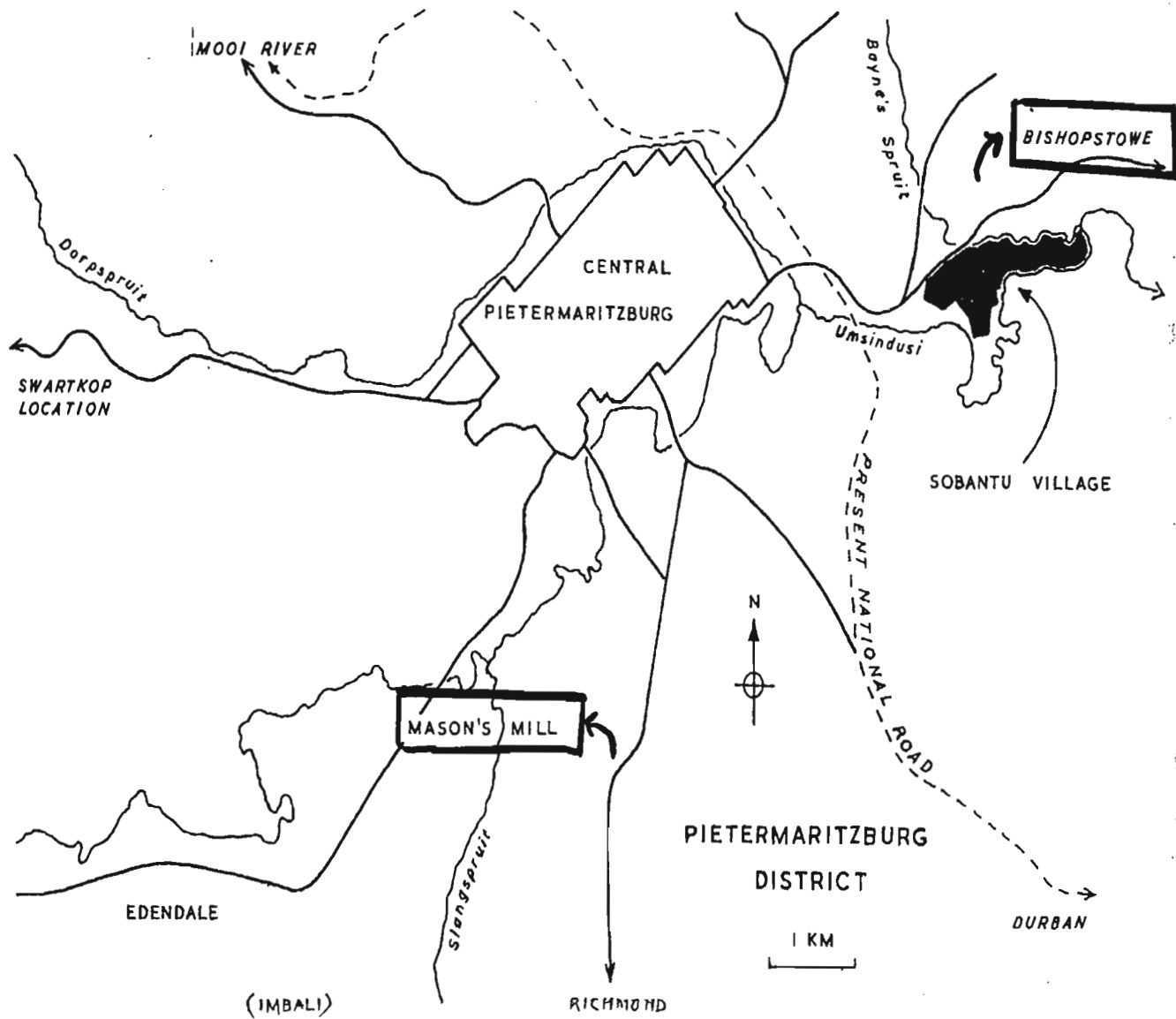
Map 2- The location of Mason's mill and Bishopstowe Sites. (Source: Peel, 1987).

4.3.1 Political History and Events That Attract Tourists

As mentioned earlier in the introduction of this chapter, the policy document views township experiences, apartheid and struggle history as attractions that need to be utilized in an attempt to involve local communities in tourism (DEAT,1996). In this regard,Sobantu has a rich struggle history which largely, remains undocumented. In spite of this, Sobantu is known historically for being at the core of the political struggle in the greater Pietermaritzburg area as it played a massive role in initiating political campaigns (Xaba, 2000, Pers, comm; Zimu, 2000, Pers.comm). The political activity of the township can be ascribed to the fact that it was a stronghold of the African National Congress (ANC) before it was banned (Kunene, 1998). During the time the ANC was banned, this township became the stronghold of the defunct United Democratic Front (UDF)(ibid.).

Shapshak (1996) made a note of how schools which were involved in the struggle are attracting tourists to the townships. An historical event which may contribute to urban tourism in this regard is that Sobantu was the first township in South Africa to initiate the "Bantu Education" boycotts before this was done in the well known "1976" Soweto school uprisings. This happened in 1959 just six years after the "Bantu Education" was legalised. As a result, the three schools of Sobantu were burnt to ashes by politically minded people on the Saturday night of 15 August 1959 (Zimu, 2000, Pers. comm; Sikhosana, 2000, Pers. comm; Magubane, 1998)(see appendix C for a view of these schools). People perceived themselves as destroying Bantu education and this was a gesture of resistance to the then government of South Africa and marked the beginning of the political history of this township. It is reported that three people died in this incidence (ibid). It is also reported that on 14th August 1959 there was a boycott of municipal beer halls. On this weekend, the

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Natal Witness of 17 August 1959 is alleged to have reported that residents set alight the schools as they were frustrated for not being able to burn the administration block since the police were available (Peel, 1987).

Taking into consideration that Sobantu residents acknowledged the importance of education, as inferior as it was, they rebuilt the schools for their children. Politics became the daily bread in these schools. To certify this, Cebekhulu (1998) points out that, as early as in lower primary school, everyone had political awareness. As a result, it is alleged that boys as young as sixteen years of age did underground work for banned political parties and served long sentences (Kunene, 1998). This can be attributed to the fact that all three schools are in the same area, only divided by a fence. In this way, pupils would easily influence one another. Kunene (1998) also maintains that the schools, especially the high school, indirectly influenced the youth.(see the pictures of the schools that were involved in politics in appendix C)

4.3.2. The Role of The Youth

The subsections on the role of the youth and women serve to illustrate the contribution of the youth and women in the struggle which is recognized in the policy document as an attraction on its own.

As already mentioned in 4.2.1.above, the youth of Sobantu was very interested and involved in politics. They were under the auspices of the Sobantu Young Christian Students (SYCS), a national organisation that was mainly spearheaded by the Roman Catholic Church. According to Cebekhulu (1998) this organisation honed the leadership skills of the

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youth and made them aware of what was happening around the world and in South Africa. The youth's commitment and interest resulted in 1982 in the birth of the then " Sobantu Youth Organisation" (SOYO) which enjoyed the support of SYCS (Magubane, 1998; Mngadi, 2000, Pers.comm). It is understood that while SYCS was not radical, SOYO was radical. SOYO became a model and a driving force behind the political involvement of the youth around the greater Pietermaritzburg area.

To further the struggle, SOYO meetings were usually held in a forest outside Sobantu next to the sewage plant (see appendix C for a view of the bushes near the sewage plant where this happened). This was because it was not easy to hold political meetings in the community hall due to police interference and the fact that the municipality would not give them permission to use the hall. Whilst the meeting was in progress, others would stand guard to lookout for the police. These meetings would be convened any time, about two to three times a day. This was meant to keep "comrades" abreast of all new proceedings of the day (Kunene, 1998). Mngadi (2000,Pers. comm) further points out that the bushes near the sewage plant also served as a perfect venue to hide weapons which are still believed to be there (see appendix C). By the same token, it is maintained that PAC members were trained in the nearby bushes of Bishopstowe in the 1960's (Magubane, 1998).

In the height of apartheid, as a politically active community, the majority of residents were imprisoned. Their sentences ranged from house arrests to life sentences and others got death sentences (Magubane, 1998;Mngadi, 2000,Pers.comm). It is alleged that others skipped the country to get military training. In this regard Xaba (2000,Pers. comm), who played a role in recruiting, mentioned that there are approximately more than 300 trained soldiers in the township.

The youth of Sobantu was also instrumental in the boycotts of advisory boards and defying local government authorities (Xaba, 2000,Pers. comm). This resulted in the rejection of community counsellors as they were seen as apartheid structures. One of the reasons for their rejection was the issue of "lodgers permits" (ibid.). This means that children were to pay rent for staying in their homes even though the rent was paid by the parents. The other mentioned factor for disbanding the counselors is the death of MaChina Xulu (The then leader of SOYO), whose cause of death remains a mystery. This is because Cebekhulu (1998) pointed out that this young man was killed by an off duty policeman. On the other hand, Mngadi (2000,Pers. comm) is adamant that he got a death sentence after he killed a person who was framed as a spy. Nevertheless, his death was perceived as a motivation to get the counsellors to resign. In view of that, the Sobantu committee of twelve was elected to fill the gap of counsellors.

For acceptance, this committee was to be elected in a community meeting. This was held in a community hall and the police continuously interrupted the process (ibid.). However, the committee was elected eventually. This committee enjoyed the support of the Sobantu community as a whole and succeeded to influence the authorities to incorporate this township into the Pietermaritzburg municipality in 1986 after it was detached from the city and transferred to Natalia administration board in 1973 (Peel, 1988).

4.3.3. The Role of Women

The Boycott of Municipal Beer Halls

The role of women in the struggle cannot be underestimated. Sobantu women were as politically active as the youth and males. "Kaffir beer" was in the control of the municipality

and hence perceived as another form of control and dominance of the government. Due to the fact that men spent most time and money on the municipal beer halls rather than with their families, these beer halls were despised and boycotted. The boycotts began in 1929 in Durban (Peel, 1987). Pietermaritzburg was influenced to do the same. Women of Sobantu played a significant role in the beer strike in Pietermaritzburg and joined by women from other areas around the city. Women took action as they were "sick and tired" of having to sleep with their children with empty stomachs while men spent all the money on municipal beers. The protest took place on Friday the 14th of August 1959 and resulted in three municipal beer halls being closed (Peel, 1987).

The above history illustrates the involvement and commitment of Sobantu in the struggle. Accordingly, this township can be put on par with townships, like Soweto, which produced prominent political figures, even though Sobantu produced a lot of unsung heroes and heroines who were in point of fact prominent in KwaZulu-Natal. These include Anthony Xaba (the veteran who was sentenced to life imprisonment under the terrorism act with Harry Gwala) and Mandla Sikhosana who died shortly after his return from exile.

4.3. Physical Attractions

This subsection outlines physical attractions. The architecture, the origins of the names of some of the residential areas and the use of some of these attractions during the struggle could entice tourists.

According to Zimu (2000,Pers. comm) and Peel (1988), Sobantu township was built through stages. As the oldest township in the greater Pietermaritzburg area, this township

has a lot of old red bricked structures characteristic of colonial Pietermaritzburg which could attract tourists. The tiny red bricked houses that were built in the first phase are called by the residents "koPondo"(Pounds) (see figure 4.3.1). This term came out as a result of the pound that was paid as rent during the early days.

Plate 4.3.1 A House from KoPondo section, Sobantu (Boqo, October 2000)

The houses which were built during the second phase are known as "Ezitimeleni" (meaning train). Zimu (2000, Pers. comm) pointed out that these houses got this name because they resemble a train (See figure below). The physical appearance of these houses could appeal to tourists. These houses were mainly used as a hostel but people were allowed to stay with their families. Such "perks" resulted in the township acquiring the reputation of being known as a "Model Community" which enjoyed benefits other areas did not.

Plate 4.3.2: Houses from "Ezitimeleni section, Sobantu (Boqo,October 2000)

The section built during the third phase is called "Broadway". This is the area where most activities are found. For instance, shops are in this section therefore it is believed that the name came from the business of the section (Zimu, 2000,Pers. Comm).The section built in the fourth phase is called "Dark City". This is because this section was dark at night since it was not provided with electricity. However, this section had big yards with two to three bed-roomed houses despite having no electricity.

Zimu (2000,Pers. Comm) maintained that the fifth stage was built in the 1960's during the peak of politics in the then Rhodesia. However, it is not known how this section was linked to Ian Smith who was the leader of the United Declaration for independence (UDI) in the southern Rhodesia, now known as Zimbabwe (ibid.). Nevertheless, this is not unexpected since this area was known for its political activities and political awareness.

The township has a lot of churches that were established in the early 30's. Some of these churches are now defunct as they were associated with the then apartheid system (Xaba, 2000,Pers. Comm). For instance, the N.G Kerk, the Dutch Reformed church.(see plate below.)

Plate 4.3.3: Picture of the Dutch Reformed Church (Boqo, October 2000)

Some of these churches were against the apartheid system. These churches include: the Methodist, Baptist, St Mary's, Anglican church. These are the churches that put the youth under their wing and were instrumental in the establishment of the Sobantu Youth Christian Students Association. These churches were sometimes used as venues for holding meetings during the struggle. Such buildings may therefore be of interest both from an architectural and political history perspectives. For example: the Lutheran church. (see picture below)
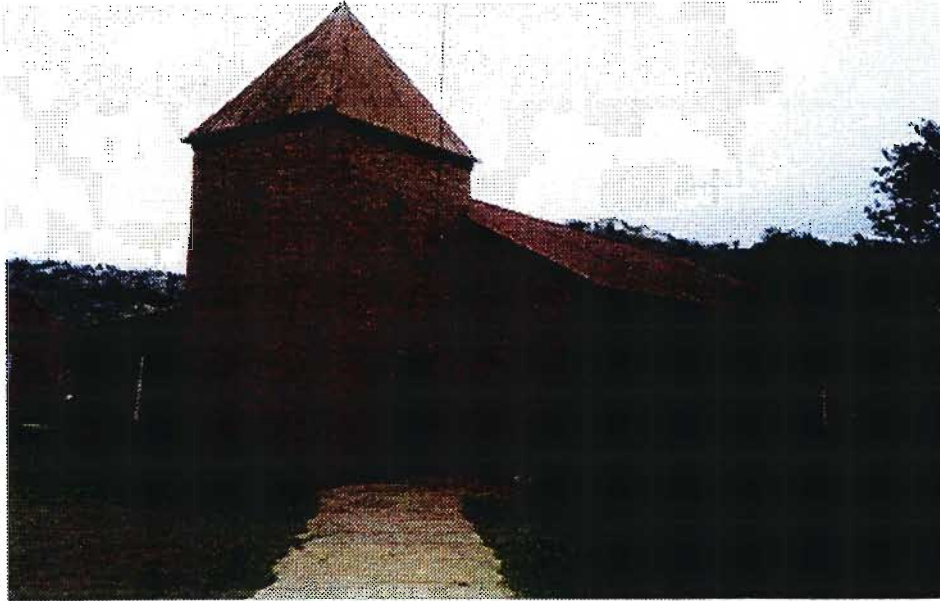
Plate 4.3.4:Lutheran Church which was used to hold meetings

There is a community hall in Sobantu. This hall faces the main entrance to the township. The events that happened during the struggle in this hall is particularly interesting to tourists although the hall was not used extensively for political events due to the security police interference. This is the same hall where the committee of twelve was elected. As the hall faces the entrance to the township, it was the ideal place for police to hang around in their mission to maintain law and order in the township. In this regard, some police would stand facing the hall while others stood facing the road in order to monitor outgoing and incoming cars to the township (Cebekhulu, 1998). (see below)

Plate 4.3.5. Sobantu Hall

Urban Agriculture: The literature illustrated that urban agriculture is a tourist attraction by itself. This had been pronounced in a seminar on urban agriculture in Saint-Jean-Port-Joli in 1996 whereby mixing urban agriculture and tourism was considered a good marriage and has been perceived to be as interesting as city museums (Mogenson, 2000). This is because tourism publicity would promote the areas products and services, thus benefitting the community. In this regard, the Sobantu community is engaged in urban agriculture. (see appendix C for a glimpse of their produce).

4.5. Cultural Experience and Entertainment

People of Sobantu are skilled in arts and in making curios. This means that, they would be in a position to sell curios to tourists. Culture is promoted and encouraged in schools and churches. The youth is also skilled in performing cultural dances and cooking traditional

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food which could be utilised to entertain visitors. In addition to this, the Sobantu Care for the Aged society clubhouse is a successful organisation which specialises in a catering business in the township and in doing handwork. As an already established business, it is willing to provide traditional food to visitors (Sikhosana, 2000, Pers. comm). An interesting idea that arose from the interviews was that there are plenty of sangomas (Traditional healers) which could be included to offer a cultural experience (Dlamini, 2000, Pers.comm). Their traditional medicines and herbs are recognised as specialty tourism products in the policy document (DEAT, 1996). Further, Vundla (2000,Pers.comm) has confirmed that tourists do visit sangomas in the Edendale area.

The literature revealed that tourists like to visit local taverns. The DEAT policy document (1996) contends that local communities have a unique opportunity in the form of taverns, shebeens, bars and restaurants. In this regard, there are two prestigious taverns in this township which are popular in the whole Pietermaritzburg area. These are the Hez tavern and the Honolulu tavern (see appendix 3 for their view). It has been claimed that these taverns are already visited by international tourists (Mngadi, 2000, Pers. comm). The literature further revealed that tourists like to sample the local brew as noted by Makatile (2000).The Sobantu community is in a position to offer this experience to tourists as the area commands a lot of shebeens.

To sum up, the chapter has revealed that there are a number of attractions in Sobantu which could entice tourists. Some of these attractions are also found in other South African townships as the literature suggests.

4.6 Chapter Summary

The following table provides a summary of attractions and experiences that could be offered by Sobantu township..

Table 4.6.1: A Summary Table Depicting Tourist Attractions And Experiences that can be offered by Sobantu Township	
History	‣ Origin of the name "Sobantu" ‣ Developmental History ‣ Political History
Built and Natural Environment	‣ Old Churches ‣ Old structures: koPondo, Rhodesia, Dark City, Ezitimeleni, Broadway. ‣ Schools involved in the struggle (1959) ‣ Community hall used by security police in times of unrest. ‣ Open area near the sewage plant where weapons were hidden and where meetings were convened
Cultural Experiences and Entertainment	‣ Arts and Craft ‣ Traditional Food ‣ Traditional dancing ‣ Sangomas ‣ Taverns, Shebeens
Other	‣ Urban Agriculture

CHAPTER 5

PROBING THE TOURISM POTENTIAL OF SOBANTU TOWNSHIP: SOME ANALYTICAL INSIGHTS.

5.1. Introduction

Marien and Pizam (1997) and Muller (1994) are of the view that it is important that in planning sustainable tourism development, exploring community's perceptions and sensitivity is a crucial first step to be undertaken. Understanding residents' perceptions of tourism is considered fundamental to tourism planning and development because residents' perceptions of any tourism development initiative may impact positively or negatively on new projects. People's perceptions indicate whether tourism development will receive a warm welcome by the local communities to ensure sustainability, support of the development as well as the safety of the tourists.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the feelings and perceptions of Sobantu residents' about tourism development in this township. Tourism trends in the Pietermaritzburg area are also highlighted in an effort to link Sobantu with the established tourism destinations. The chapter concludes with a SWOT analysis of tourism development in Sobantu township.

5.2. People's Perceptions about Sustainable Tourism development in Sobantu Township

As outlined earlier in chapter 3 (the methodology section of the study), Sobantu residents were consulted and asked to outline their attitudes and feelings towards various tourism related issues. Responces and results in this section are discussed according to themes that emerged from the data.

▸ **Tourism Awareness**

The general need for community wide tourism awareness programmes is highlighted as crucial in the policy document (DEAT, 1996). The document goes on to mention that inadequate tourism education, training and awareness are some of the factors that limit the effectiveness of tourism in the economy. This lack of tourism information and awareness is particularly recognised as limiting the meaningful involvement of local communities in tourism (ibid.). Sweeney and Wanhill (1996) also highlighted the importance of tourism awareness among the local communities.

In the light of the above, when the respondents were asked what tourism meant to them, the majority of them understood tourism to be an industry whereby people visit areas of interest to them. This can be illustrated by the following quotation.

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"Tourism means visiting areas of interest not familiar to your lifestyle"

"It means changing environment by going to other areas of interest for

the sake of recreation"

What emerged and was common in responses was that visitors were perceived to have different lifestyles to that of the host and that the visit should include an element of recreation. Such perceptions can be considered reasonably accurate in "global terms". One young respondent however, mentioned that tourists visit for the sole purpose of developing an area. The young respondent's feeling is mentioned below:

"I'm not sure what tourism means but I think visitors visit

poor areas so that they can help financially or otherwise.

I can be very glad if tourists come so that they see that we

are always afraid of being wiped away by floods here and

perhaps they could help"

This understanding highlights the fact that even though tourism is understood, tourism awareness amongst the youth is still needed before the area can be in a position to host guests as outlined in the policy document. Such knowledge would not only enable meaningful participation of the youth in tourism but would also enhance an understanding in the youth not to perceive tourists always as wealthy visitors but to respect and appreciate them as guests and not rob them of their riches. In this aspect, it was a common response from the youth that they need more information on tourism through workshops.

► The image of the township

The historical image of an urban area is proved to be a strong tourist attraction (Murphy,1985). In an attempt to tap the views of people about the image of the township, various opinions emerged. To begin with, the majority of respondents especially those who have resided in Sobantu all their lives or for a long time perceive the township as having a good image. The good image is ascribed to the fact that the township has been a role model as it excelled in sport and was actively involved in politics. Furthermore, the township was once perceived as a "modern village" by the authorities. Despite this, the respondents who have stayed in this township for few years perceive the political activity of the township to have contributed to the bad image they consider it has to the outsiders. On the same note, it was captured that the youth perceive that the township has both the negative and the positive image. The negative image is attributed to the element of crime, the presence of drug dealers in the area and alcohol abuse. Such perception is considered endemic to townships in South Africa as illustrated in the literature. The positive image is attributed to the friendliness of the community and the fact that people are multi-talented. The following examples illustrate the diversity of opinions:

"According to my knowledge the area has a good image e.g. socially,

politically, spiritually and a sports model." "Howvever, the image is

a man's creation, my sister. I can say the township has both negative

and positive images. It is bad to outsiders because it was at the

forefront of the struggle and there are drug dealers and alcoholics here"

On the whole however and comparatively, the township was perceived to have a good image although efforts to build a united image would be useful in order for the township to attract potential tourists.

▶ **Sense of Belonging**

The majority of the residents revealed that the area is very small and therefore people view themselves as a close knit family and feel that they belong to the area. This is mainly because the majority of participants happened to be born and bred in Sobantu or they have stayed in the area for a long time. It has been evident that friendliness of Sobantu people is another factor which contribute to their closeness and cohesiveness coupled with family ties. It can be argued that the closeness that is felt by the community is an advantage to tourism development since people are not divided and perhaps can be in a position to support development. This feeling can be observed in the following quotation:

> *"I was born and bred here besides this area is so small*
> *as compared to other townships, we know each other,*
> *my relatives are here. People support one another, we*
> *are just a close knit family"*

From an urban tourism perspective, Sobantu has something which few other townships can claim to have. This is because the smallness of the area could make training easier as identifying people to target for training, opinion formers and disseminate good practice will not be a time consuming job. This will ensure the involvement of communities as asserted by Sweeney and Wanhill (1996).

▸ **Safety and Security**

According to the policy document (DEAT, 1996) ensuring the safety and security of visitors is one of the major responsibilities of local communities. In this regard it emerged that the community is able to deal head on with problematic individuals and thus able to maintain order in the area.This ability is attributed to their closeness and family spirit. This is because the unruly individuals are easily identified and their act discouraged. It could be argued then that the family spirit is vital to tourism development. As such, tourists could be protected by the people themselves without much intervention from the police. For example, one respondent said:

> *"I do not see anything that can prevent tourists from coming here*
>
> *because we know each other. Even the unruly can be controlled*
>
> *and their act condemned. Because the youth respect the old people,*
>
> *they stop doing bad things"*
>
> *"The security is provided by the community itself here"*

In addition, Superintendent Ndlovu (2000) made a note of the community's commitment in working with police as reservationists (i.e. Community Policing forums). As such, the crime rate has subsided in the area, only alcohol-induced assault is reported and petty crime. This shows that there is an opportunity for the community to be in line with the government policy through providing security to the visitors. However, it was captured from the data that some respondents view security as not tight in the area and therefore not conducive for visitors. For example another respondent said:

" I can encourage people to visit Sobantu only

when tight security is provided"

The other respondent said:

"I can encourage visitors who visit some families but

not as tourists as such because of safety. Remember my sister,

this place is not in heaven, crime is veryhigh all over South Africa,

so we cannot be sure what would happen to a tourist on that day"

On the whole, one can argue that the closeness of the community and their willingness to work with police as reservationists is encouraging for creating a climate conducive to visitors. Lack of safety that is pointed out by other respondents reflects what is happening in South Africa generally. With tourism education and awareness these obstacles can be overcome significantly and the smallness of the township could make this easier.

▸   **Benefits**

It has been asserted in the literature that 800 000 jobs were created in 1999 in the country through tourism (Ludski, 2000). The Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism's annual report (1999) also confirmed that for every eight tourists to visit South Africa, one new job is created. In this respect, one of the questions which the research attempted to answer was "what does tourism as a development option mean to the people of Sobantu?. In this regard, the general feeling that emerged from the data was that they welcome tourism development in the township because of the realisation that they can benefit in

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terms of job opportunities and income generation. It can be argued that this perception is in line with trends in the country. The following quotation illustrates this feeling:

"If tourism is used as a development option here, there could be job opportunities to eradicate poverty especially for the youth". "We (as a community) can provide services to tourists and by doing so making some few cents for ourselves"

Apart from job creation, it has been apparent that the majority of respondents perceive tourism development as a vehicle for exposure. In other words, they feel that through tourism development they could be able to be known by the world and therefore be in a position to attract investments. For instance, they mentioned that:

"If tourists could come here, our life will be better because we will have a chance to get jobs, sell what we can do and be exposed nationally and internationally"
"We can also get advice about where we can market what we do around the world"

However, when considering the unemployment rate and population figures in the area and their enthusiasm towards tourism, it must be stated that tourism development is not a panacea to all social ills. Thus, their view of job creation could be a double-edged sword as mentioned by Milne (1997) because a very small percentage of the community are likely to get direct jobs out of the initiative. This means that the community could become easily disillusioned and therefore discouraged from participating meaningfully in the long run.

- **Mind-set Change**

Makatile (2000) and Botha (2000, Pers.comm) asserted in the literature that townships are associated with crime and are perceived as places where security is low. As far as this is concerned, the majority of respondents pointed out that the publicity and exposure that is envisaged through tourism will in turn help dispel myths and stereotypes about townships particularly Sobantu township. To illustrate this feeling another respondent said:

> *"I can be glad if tourists can visit townships so as to change*
>
> *their fear of "Black Hyenas" as they say so and*
>
> *also to get first hand information about Sobantu*
>
> *and not depend on hearsays"*

It is an undisputed fact that the image of an urban area is particularly important in attracting tourists in that tourists visit areas based on images they have of that particular area. However, literature shows that the image that townships have prevent these tourists from visiting. It is important then that tourists visit the townships so to mitigate the stereotypes about townships.

- **Information Sharing**

The majority of respondents highlighted that through tourism development in the area they will be able to share information with people from other areas. This information sharing is

believed to help the community in honing their entrepreneurial, tourism and marketing skills. They could also acquire new skills and information. For instance it was mentioned that:

> " If tourists can come here that will make us be in a position
>
> to share ideas,for example, about sports, arts, business and
>
> this will make us to keep abreast of going on around the world
>
> and to improve our skills "

This shows that the community does not believe in depending on handouts: they want to make things happen for themselves. This positive attitude and energy needs to be harnessed for sustaining tourism in the area.

▶ **Meaningful Involvement**

Apart from ensuring the security and safety of visitors, the policy document asserts that the responsibility of local communities is to become actively involved in the tourism industry and to practise sustainable development (DEAT, 1996). Linked to this, the respondents felt that they must be involved and must be given a chance to participate in all levels of tourism development. In other words they feel that everyone, from the youth to the senior citizens, must be involved. The involvement of the youth is particularly crucial since it is the youth that is vulnerable to turning to crime for survival and is mostly affected by the unemployment rate. To add more, Sobantu youth has a reputation of defying authorities in the '80s and this shows that if they are not involved they are able to jeopardise any development in the area. The following quotation illustrates this perception:

"I can be happy to welcome guests in this township,

but my child the community has to be involved,

I mean everyone-the poor,disabled, literate or illiterate,

the young or old and businesspeople."

The positive attitude towards tourism development that is displayed by the community is of advantage to the sustainability of tourism since the community is prepared to be part and parcel of any tourism initiative in the area. This theme shows the importance of community support which is a crucial element for sustainable urban tourism as reflected in the framework for sustainable urban tourism. This theme also highlights the importance of community participation and involvement in tourism as discussed in the literature.

► Improved Infrastructure

The literature revealed that urban tourism contributes to improved services and infrastructure of an urban area (Shaw & Williams, 1994). Further, Hinch (1998) in his framework for sustainable urban tourism highlighted that infrastructure as a tertiary element is important for sustainability of an urban tourism development. In line with this, respondents mentioned that they believe that tourism development in Sobantu will open more opportunities for improved infrastructure in the area. For example, posts and telecommunication services are not in satisfactory condition, through tourism development these are envisaged to improve. For example, one young respondent pointed out that:

"I think if tourists come here, we can be in a position to benefit through improved

infrastructure. For instance, our public communication services are poor, how can

we be of help in times of emergencies? This will open a window for more

development in the area."

▶ **Perceived Attractions**

The literature revealed that the policy document clearly articulates that one of the role of

communities in the new tourism drive is to identify potential tourism resources and

attractions within their communities (DEAT, 1996). In line with this, respondents were asked

to point out attractions in the area. In this regard, The majority of respondents believed that

Sobantu has the potential of being one of tourist destinations in Pietermaritzburg. The

history of the area, culture and the architecture came up as topping their list of attractions.

However, although people were enthusiastic about tourism in the area, some respondents

believed that something extremely beautiful should be built to attract tourists. They did not

believe that what they already have could be fascinating to tourists since tourist are

searching for something different from their lifestyle. One may argue that this shows that

people need to be made aware of tourism in its broadest sense. Specifically, they need to

be aware of the heritage in their areas.

To sum up, themes that reflect the opinions and views of Sobantu residents are interrelated

and are consistent with the principles for sustainability discussed in the literature. Thus, the

need for the generation of tourism awareness and understanding, meaningful involvement

of the community which leads to community support, the concerns about safety and

security are all crucial for sustainability.

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5.3. Potential Links to Tourist Attractions in the Greater Pietermaritzburg Area

The sub section which follows highlights tourist attractions in the Pietermaritzburg area which could be linked up with the tourism potential of Sobantu township

According to KwaZulu-Natal Tourism, Pietermaritzburg is one of the core destinations with 28 % of foreign tourists visiting this region as compared to 73 % of the Durban Metropolitan area (**www.tourism-kzn.org...**). A large number of tourists visiting Durban therefore are not being drawn to Pietermaritzburg. This is in spite of Pietermaritzburg being described as a historic high profile victorian city (Pietermaritzburg Heritage Tours brochure, 1999) with attractions like the old red brick buildings, museums, St Peter's church, Tatham art gallery. Further, the city hosts a range of events which draw thousands of participants and visitors to the city every year (Vundla, 2000,Pers.Comm). The latter include the Comrades ultra marathon, the Duzi canoe marathon, the Royal show, Drama festivals Swimming events and the Garden show.

The most popular area just beyond the city is the Midlands Meander, known for arts and specialised crafts, specialised restaurants and antique shops. 11 km east of the city is the Mkhambathini trail in Bishopstowe which is of relevance to this project since it was the home to Bishop Colenso with whom Sobantu is associated. In addition, there is a Freedom Trail which was initiated by Pietermaritzburg Tourism and the Museum (Botha, 2000, Pers.Comm). This is an urban based heritage route intended to link places of political and social relevance within the greater Pietermaritzburg area (Kerr, 2000, Pers.Comm). To date this project has been slow to get off the ground due to "in-house conflicts".

The above information highlights that Pietermaritzburg's key attractions can in theory be easily linked up to Sobantu's. Both Pietermaritzburg generally and Sobantu specifically have numerous common components which are explored in trying to link Sobantu with established tourism destinations in Pietermaritzburg. These components as well as strengths and weaknesses are explored in the SWOT analysis which follows.

5.4. SWOT ANALYSIS.

As mentioned previously (section 3.7) a SWOT analysis is an effective tool of identifying the strengths and weaknesses of an area and to examine opportunities and threats that can lead to the failure or success of sustainable urban tourism development. This is based on structured brainstorming. The following SWOT analysis identifies the relevant strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats to tourism development opportunities in Sobantu township.

5.4.1. Strengths

► It was explicitly noted during interviews that 80% of teachers were born and bred in Sobantu. Residents suggested that Sobantu is proud of its educated people and the prevalent culture of success is a strength which should be tapped for any tourism development initiative. That is, as residents are relatively educated and have an intrinsic desire to succeed in whatever they are doing, thus, when they support tourism development in the township they could work together to make it a success. Since residents perceive themselves as a close knit family, community involvement and ownership is less likely to be a problem in the process of tourism development in Sobantu.

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- As indicated in chapter 1 (section 1.4.1), the township is surrounded by rivers. As a result there is a wetland which provides life to reeds. These are natural resources that can be used to make traditional mats, bags to be sold to tourists. However, the sustainable use of these resources is vital.

- As mentioned in chapter 2 (section 2.5), the 1998 survey (**www.tourism-kzn.org...**) revealed that the Durban metropolitan area is the most visited area in KwaZulu-Natal. The survey shows the importance of linking townships with the already established tourist destinations in areas that are not along the coast, such as Pietermaritzburg so that when visitors visit these areas they are likely to visit townships as well. As far as this is concerned, Sobantu township has advantage over other townships in this city. This is because, the township is in close proximity to the city centre which is frequented by the tourists. Its close proximity therefore counts in favour of this townships because it can be easily visited by tourists who are already visiting the city centre.

- Apart from the city centre, there is Mkhambathini trail in Bishopstowe which is approximately 11km east of Pietermaritzburg. Bishopstowe is adjacent to Sobantu (see map 2). This area is known for its flora, fauna and birds and was resided by Bishop Colenso after whom Sobantu was named for 28 years (1855-1883). Furthemore, the St Peter's Church which became Bishop Colenso's cathedral in 1857, with the tomb of the bishop in front of the altar, is listed as one of the frequented museums in the city. For this reason, when tourists visit the city, particularly this church museum, they can thus be encouraged to visit a township that was named after this so called "controversial bishop".

▸ Furthermore, Sobantu township with its struggle history, can form part of the "Freedom Experience" which is an urban based heritage route.

▸ It is important to note that both affected (i.e. Community) and interested parties (i.e. Police, Development Authorities) have indicated strong support for tourism development in this area. For instance, Police and the community pledged to work together in strengthening community policing forums to ensure the safety of tourists and authorities promised to market this township if there are attractions.

▸ The existing Infrastructure is likely to support small scale tourism related initiatives. There is a satellite police station for security. There are also community policing forums that assist police in maintaining order.

▸ The township has an interesting history and famous taverns in Pietermaritzburg. These include the Hez and the Honolulu taverns that can also provide entertainment to tourists.

5.4.2. Weaknesses

▸ Sobantu township is currently not yet known to tourists and tour operators.
▸ The township is considered to have a bad image to the outsiders, especially those who have never been to this township. This could hinder visits.
▸ The township is currently only likely to attract those interested in the general history and political history of an area.

5.4.3. Opportunities

▸ According to Dlamini (2000,Pers. comm), the art of making curios and the love of culture has already been instilled in Schools. For instance, the local high school host a cultural competition whereby students display their art work. The students who will matriculate but not further their studies due to various reasons can be targeted to contribute in the tourism development of the area. This can be done in two ways. Firstly, these students can make curios which can be sold to tourists. Secondly, these students can either be trained as tour guides or be used as orators to narrate the contribution of Sobantu to the struggle. The second alternative is envisaged to be successful considering the fact that Sobantu is a small close knit family therefore it is easier for residents to prevent crime directed to tourists. Furthemore,"The Jambo Art Centre" a town based NGO specialising in producing first class curios, sewing, painting and providing training to matriculants was initiated in Sobantu (ibid.). This shows that the people of Sobantu have skills which they can use to their financial benefit.

▸ Developing a tourism venture in this small township could generate employment opportunities for the local community, especially the youth.

▸ The facilitation of tourism development could be provided by the Indlovu regional council or the new district 22 which will be operational after the local elections scheduled for December 5 2000. One of the reasons is that local councils are particularly important for the implementation of Agenda 21 (Walmsley & Botten, 1994). Pietermaritzburg Tourism could help in marketing this township and to ensure that tour operators know about the township.

- There a successful club house which is already involved in the catering business. This club house is prepared to provide tourists with African cuisine. The youth already have skills to make crafts and curios.

- There is a proposed Zulu village which is still on the pipeline. The proposed village will be built in close proximity to Sobantu, making it easier for tourists visiting the village to also access the township.

5.4.4 Threats

- At the moment there are no appropriate community structures which can facilitate community involvement in tourism development initiatives. Even though Sobantu community is regarded as a close knit family, if this kind of development is not approached with utter care, the community cohesion could be fragmented and thereby sustainable development not achieved.

- A general perception that crime is high and security low in townships. Crime figures reveal that there is petty crime that persists in the area ranging from house breaking to assault. However, criminals from nearby townships may be attracted to this township and more serious crimes can be committed.

- At the moment, there are only white trained tour guides who do not have much knowledge about township life. These tour guides cannot guide tourists in the townships effectively.

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5.5.   Chapter Summary

To conclude, it has been apparent that Sobantu community views tourism as a viable tool towards eradication of poverty. This is in line with what is happening in other South African townships as discussed in the literature, such as Soweto and Rini townships. It is also apparent that, townships have a reservoir of resources and skills which could be used to promote tourism development. However, crucial elements for sustainability of tourism development (such as, lack of empowerment, business skills and tourism awareness) are aspects that still need to be dealt with in townships. On a positive note, townships, as illustrated in the literature, have attractions which form the core of Hinch's (1998) framework for sustainable urban tourism (see Figure 2.7) and secondary services which support the core (such as catering businesses and taverns), tertiary services (infrastructure) which could support a small scale tourism development and community support which are also important aspects for sustainability.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1. Conclusion

The first objective of this study was to identify tourism opportunities and resources that are available to Sobantu township. This investigation has shown that this township has several attractions ranging from the struggle history, physical attractions and cultural experiences. These are some of the attractions that South African townships took advantage of in fighting poverty as illustrated in the literature. Furthermore, Sobantu township is a very small area which has an infrastructure that can allow small scale tourism initiatives and this is deemed necessary for sustainable tourism development as it contributes to the protection of resources on which tourism depends. In line with this, the identified tourist attractions in the area allow mostly for sightseeing whereby the information behind the sights could be provided by the tour guide. Thus, it is unlikely that visitors can impact negatively on the environment and socio-cultural aspects of the township as small numbers of visitors can be hosted per day.

The second objective was to explore people's perceptions about the benefits of, and restrictions to sustainable tourism development in the township. In this regard, findings have revealed that some of the dominant perceptions of people were the need for meaningful involvement and participation in tourism development in the area. People also perceived tourism awareness and training which would contribute to empowerment and capacity building as important to them. These could enable meaningful participation at all levels. Their participation will ensure the support of the development as well as improving

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the well being of the community through alleviation of poverty which is an intra-generational objective as discussed in the Rio Earth Summit (Walmsley & Botten, 1984). The community was enthusiastic about tourism development in the area. These perceptions are compatible with the principles of sustainabilty as pointed out by Murphy (1985), Hinch (1998) and the policy document (DEAT,1996). In this regard, Ashley and Garland (1994) have identified models which are covered in section 2.7.1.1 that the Sobantu community can use to choose the kind of community based tourism option which will allow their participation whilst enjoying the benefits. In this way, it can be argued that tourism in townships can be developed in a sustainable manner and in line with the definition of sustainable tourism development as defined by Wahab and Pigram (1997).

The third objective was to explore possible links between Sobantu and the established tourism activities in the greater Pietermaritzburg area so that the development venture in Sobantu could get maximum support. The most possible linkages are the Bishopstowe-Mkhambathini trail, the Freedom trail and the Church Museum.

The fourth objective of the study was to identify factors that could inhibit tourism development in the area. These include, the perceived bad image of the township, no appropriate community structures to facilitate community involvement in tourism development initiatives, lack of tourism awareness among the youth and the availabilty of only white trained tour guides who cannot guide tourists in the townships effectively.

The fifth objective of this study was to present recommendations on how these threats or possible obstacles could be overcome.

6.2. Recommendations

Even though there are prospects for sustainable tourism development in Sobantu township, there are possible constraints which have been identified in the SWOT analysis in chapter 5. In the light of those constraints, recommendations are outlined below:

▸ As mentioned in section 3.8, it was beyond the scope of this study to discuss implementation strategies that could be used to start up a tourism venture in Sobantu. However, it is recommended that the community should organise itself into an appropriate structure which can facilitate their meaningful involvement at all levels in the tourism development initiative. This structure will serve the purpose of ensuring that the community participate, benefit from the initiative inorder to sustain the initiative. It is important that this structure is representative of the community. It is also recommended that a steering community made up of members from Pietermaritzburg Tourism, KwaZulu-Natal Tourism Authority, iNdlovu District Council, the Pietermaritzburg-Msunduzi Transitional Local Council and the community structure should be established. The steering committee could serve the purpose of devising plans or strategies that could be used to start up a tourism venture in the township with the community involved from the planning stage. The expertise, resources (financial) and different skills of the members of the steering committee could be crucial in tourism development in the township.

▸ In the interest of sustainability, it is highly recommended that extensive tourism awareness campaigns be initiated, targeting the youth in particular. Such awareness campaigns are likely to minimise crime that is always targeted to tourists visiting townships since the community will know the importance of guests. Once the

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safety and security of visitors is established, the negative image that Sobantu has at the moment could be changed. Tourism awareness campaigns could be done in the form of workshops. These workshops could be conducted by institutions like the local university and technikon with the involvement and participation of the community.

- The unemployment rate in Sobantu is high and this can make people to target tourists. It is recommended that people from the township are trained as tour guides. These could be people who are respected in the township. It is of crucial importance that tour guides are those from the township and are conversant with the township life as it emerged that

  there are only white tour guides in Pietermaritzburg who could not feel comfortable into going to townships.

- At the moment the township is not known to possible visitors. To put Sobantu in the tourism map, it is recommended that an effective marketing strategy should be put in place. Marketing the unique features of Sobantu can help in mitigating some stereotypes about the township. The Pietermaritzburg Tourism could, with the help of community, identify the appropriate images to project thereby playing a very important role in marketing the township.

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PERSONAL COMMUNICATION

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APPENDIX A (Key Informant Interview Schedule)

Introduction

Historically, tourism in townships has not been promoted. In the post apartheid era, tourism has been perceived as one of the solutions to unemployment, to facilitate the inclusion of previously neglected communities in tourism and to rejuvenate the economic base of cities as well townships. Trends in this era have shown that tourists (both international and domestic) are interested in visiting townships which were struggle sites. This is evident in Soweto, Rhini and in Cape Town. I would like to ask you some questions about your views and perceptions about the potential of tourism development in Sobantu. The information will solely be used for the purpose of the research project and will be kept confidential.

Questions

1. For how long have you been staying/working in Pietermaritzburg?

2. According to your experience, what kind of images do townships have?

- What kind of image does Sobantu have in particular?

3. At the moment, do tourists visit townships in Pietermaritzburg?

- Do tourists visit Sobantu?

4. According to your experience, why do tourists visit or not visit townships (Sobantu in particular).

5. According to your view, how can those obstacles be overcome?

6. Do you think that Sobantu can be one of tourist destinations in Pietermaritzburg? Why?

7. Can you encourage tourists to visit Sobantu township?

8. What do you think are the benefits of promoting tourism development in Sobantu?

9. Where else do visitors go to in the greater Pietermaritzburg area?

10. What kind of experiences are offered by those areas?

11. How can townships be linked to existing tourist destinations in Pietermaritzburg?

12. What are your future development plans for Pietermaritzburg? (Sobantu in particular).

13. Any comments?

---------------------------------------Thank You---

APPENDIX B

Introduction

Historically, tourism in townships has not been promoted. In the post apartheid era, tourism has been perceived as one of the solutions to unemployment, to facilitate the inclusion of previously neglected communities in tourism and to rejuvenate the economic base of cities as well townships. Trends in this era have shown that tourists (both international and domestic) are interested in visiting townships which were struggle sites. This is evident in Soweto, Rhini and in Cape Town. I would like to ask you to complete the following questionnaire about your views and perceptions about the potential of tourism development in Sobantu. The information will solely be used for the purpose of the research project and will be kept confidential.

Demographic data

(Please tick the appropriate box)

▸　　Age range　　[20-25] [26-30] [31-40] [50+]

▸　　Gender　　[Female]　　[Male]

▸　　Occupation (Indicate)_____

Answer the following questions in provided spaces. You may use a separate sheet if necessary.

1. For how long have you been staying or working in Sobantu?

2. According to your experience, what kind of image does Sobantu have?

3.Given the chance, would you still choose to live in Sobantu?(please tick)

[Yes] [No]

▸   If yes or no.Why?

4.What does tourism mean to you?

5. What are your feelings about tourism development in Sobantu?

6. Do you think that Sobantu can be a tourist attraction (please tick)

[Yes] [No]

7.If yes, what could be top on your list of possible tourist attractions in the area? (You can as well list school activities that can be of interest to tourists.)

8. Do you think tourists can visit Sobantu? (Please tick)

[Yes] [No]. (If your answer is yes please proceed to Q11)

9. If no, what could prevent them from coming to Sobantu?

10. According to your view, how can those obstacles be overcome?

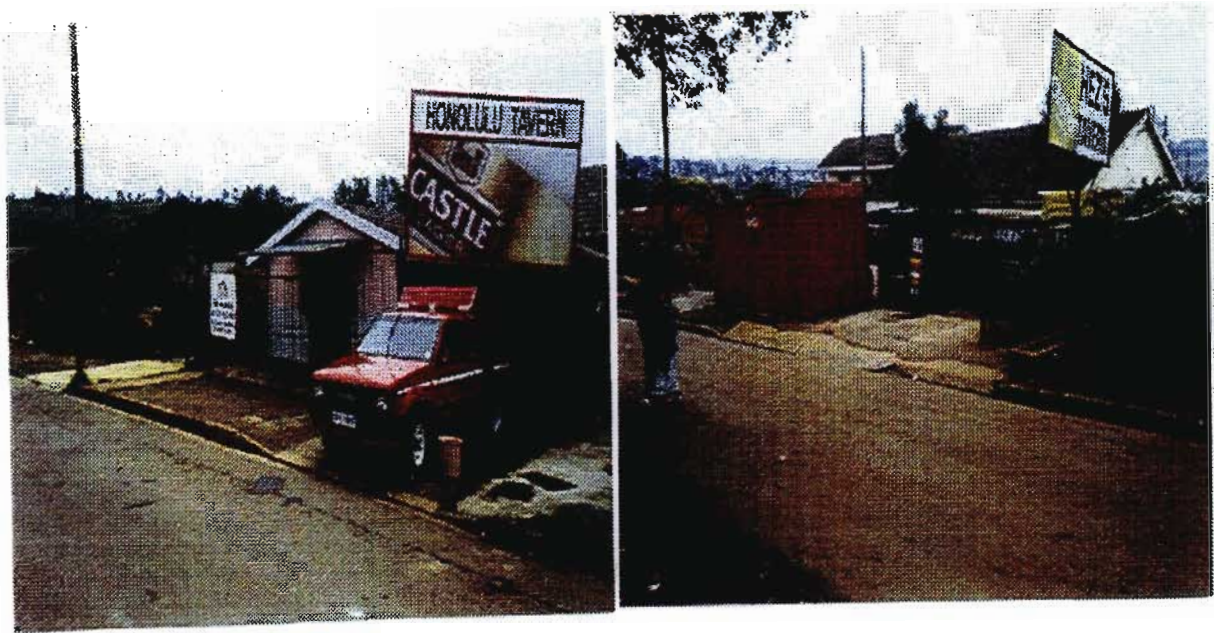11.Can you encourage people or your friends to visit Sobantu (please tick)

[Yes] [No]

▸   Why?

12.What do you think are the benefits of promoting tourism development in Sobantu?

----------------I Thank you for participating in this study-------GOD Bless.-----------------------
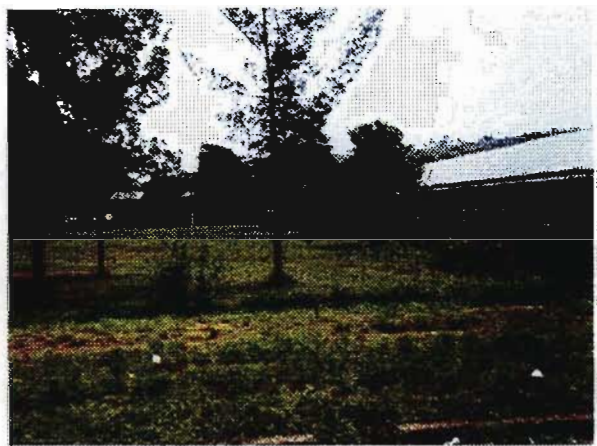
The above figures show taverns in Sobantu which are famous in Pietermaritzburg
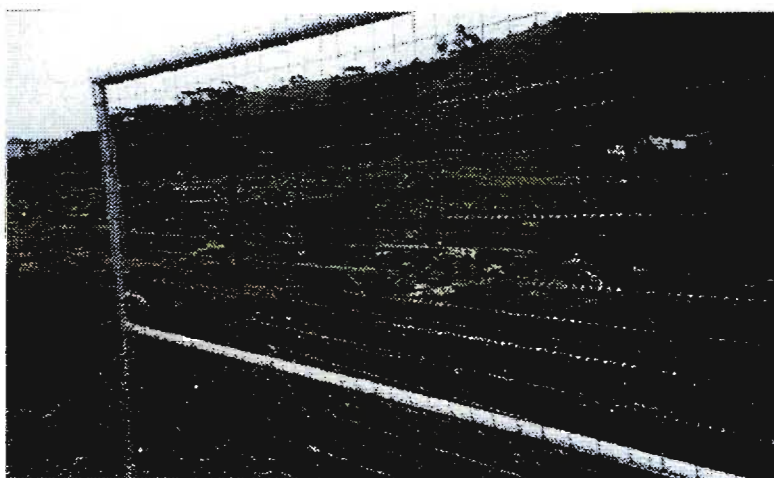

The above figure shows the bushes near the sewage plant where SOYO meetings were held and where weapons were hidden.

The figure above shows some of the red bricked houses in Sobantu

The figure above shows the schools that were involved in the struggle

The above figure shows urban agriculture in Sobantu