

**“TOURISM IS WHITE PEOPLE’S CRAP”:
COMMUNICATIVE RATIONALITY, HUMANISM
AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT**

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Tourism in South Africa has been recognised as having enormous potential as a means of generating sustainable economic growth and development especially in historically marginalised rural areas. It has been promoted in rural areas as a means of diversifying the economy from the traditional focus of agriculture. Furthermore it has been advanced as an instrument for the establishment of related services and production activities and offers the opportunity to develop small, medium and micro economic (SMME) opportunities and thus play a redistributive role and empower local communities.

Tourism has provided historically marginalised rural areas with natural capital, such as wildlife and aesthetic value, the potential to form joint-venture partnerships with the private sector, mobilising investment and lending. However, this has to date occurred only to a limited extent, and is mainly focused in certain Spatial Development Initiative (SDI) areas.

What happens to those communities or areas which do not fall within a Spatial Development Initiative, but nevertheless fall within an area that relies on tourism as one of its primary industries?

Planning for tourism must be directed by an understanding of how communities react to increasing levels of tourism development. Tourism is based on the fact that you should not "kill the goose that lays the golden egg". In other words, it is an inherently sustainable industry. It relies on a number of factors bestowed upon an area that should be maintained if sustainable economic growth is required. These factors include aesthetic values, healthy biophysical environments and a stable tourist-friendly community. Communities can arrest this growth in tourism and call an end to tourism prosperity in the area through violence towards tourists and those working in the tourism industry, strike action, halting development through sabotage and disruptive legal action. Furthermore communities can degrade the biophysical environment and its aesthetic value in an area, to such an extent that tourism potential declines.

Currently work is being done to plan for tourism areas such as the Special Case Zone of the Drakensberg region. However little or no work is being done on how communities respond to and live with tourism.

What perceptions, attitudes and knowledge do communities have of tourism? This extract from the Mail and Guardian (1998), which was the catalyst for this study, is an example of negative perceptions of tourism.

' Most of the people from across the N2 and the railway line in the coloured Railton laughed derisively when asked about the benefits they get from tourism. Ta Stofia, a bellicose gap-toothed woman put it succinctly when she said: "Ag, that's just white people's crap. Who else has so much time to waste? A person would swear they've got nothing better to do with their time. Look at me, I have to work my arse off for a piece of meat for my pot. Sies, ga!"' (Mail and Guardian March 1998:16)

Furthermore who should be responsible for its control and development? How can tourism-community relationships be improved and how can marginalised communities become active partners in the tourism industry?

Rural based tourism areas are characterised by groups of people with divergent interests, whether it is game farmers and bordering disadvantaged communities or hotels and resorts, KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Society areas (KZN NCS) and traditional tribal authorities. Possible answers to the issues that have been raised could be formulated in these fragmented societies through a process of rational communicative action.

1.1 Research Argument and Questions

The fundamental argument is that a host communities perceptions of tourism, in an area reliant on the tourism industry to generate opportunities, impacts on the successful outcome of sustainable tourism development. If these attitudes and perceptions are not taken into account the growth of tourism may be halted by a community backlash ending tourism prosperity in an area.

Understanding and accounting for these divergent attitudes and perceptions will increase the opportunities for sustainable tourism development in the area. Collaborative action, taking into account the divergent attitudes and perceptions of the host community will lead to an increase in institutional and intellectual capacity and will generate ideas from extensive local knowledge. Furthermore, it will facilitate an understanding of the divergent perceptions regarding sustainable tourism development and allow for “fragmented societies” to foster positive tourism-community relationships.

Residents, which include those that have been historically marginalised from the mainstream economy, will not simply become active partners in tourism development. A planning framework and institutional arrangements are therefore required to actively involve the community, not just in the process but in active participation.

Therefore the main question that this dissertation is attempting to answer is: *what could be proposed as a successful outcome for tourism development in the case study area, taking into account the perceptions and attitudes of the host community, the principles of collaborative planning and sustainable tourism development?*

Other subsidiary questions raised from the above argument are: *what are the perceptions and attitudes regarding tourism, the environment in which they live and institutional frameworks, of the Amazizi people, commercial farmers, Hotel and Resort owners / managers and the KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services and other interest groups in the study area?*

Secondly, to what extent do the perceptions of the people living in the study area potentially support or undermine the proposed successful outcome of tourism development?

Thirdly, how is it possible to incorporate these diverse and varying perceptions into a planning framework that leads to a productive and successful outcome for tourism development in the area?

And finally, how do you incorporate marginalised communities into sustainable tourism development? What is it that historically marginalised people in the area need to do in order to ensure that they become serious actors in sustainable tourism development?

1.2 The Case Study Region

The study area is in the Northern Drakensberg area of KwaZulu-Natal and shares borders with Lesotho and the Free State (see map 1). It is located in the Northern Drakensberg Node encompassing the Royal Natal National Park, under the jurisdiction of KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services (KZN NCS), the Amazizi tribal area and surrounding commercial farmland and tourist accommodation.

1.3 Methodology

This dissertation has been a result of working in the study area over the last two years with various tourism related initiatives and furthermore by an interest in a particular approach to planning, namely “collaborative planning” and a more general interest in sustainability and tourism. The study has also been influenced by the differences in opinions and attitudes that are present in the study area and how one can come to an understanding that leads to a successful outcome for tourism.

Collaborative planning challenges the notions of a top down, technical, rational and scientific exercise with a concern about the environment in which people live and

how people manage their coexistence in shared spaces. It accounts for the notion that all forms of knowledge are socially constructed, and that ways of knowing, such as that of technicians, scientists and experts are not as different from practical reasoning. Planning is therefore seen as an interactive and interpretative process in which formal techniques of analysis and design processes are but one form of discourse.

Research in terms of this approach is a product of discussion and probing between different interested and affected stakeholders in the study area. Communicative action involves an attempt to understand the different attitudes and perceptions of stakeholders with different frames of reference. The result is hopefully to achieve a level of understanding about the different stakeholders' perceptions, and therefore to establish a framework for consensus and joint action. 'Plan-making is an interactive process that requires a search for mutual understanding, and respectful and open discussion in a process of dialogue between groups that might have different interests' (uThukela Regional Development Plan 1997:2). Furthermore, this research was also influenced by the principles of Participatory Rural Appraisal.

Principles of PRA

- **Reversal of learning:** learn from rural people, face-to-face, gaining from local knowledge.
- **Learning rapidly and progressively:** flexible use of methods, improvisation, not following a blueprint programme but being adaptable in a learning process.
- **Optimising Trade-offs:** relating the costs of learning to the useful truth of information, with trade-offs between quality, relevance, accuracy and timeliness.
- **Offsetting biases:** by being relaxed and not rushing, listening and not lecturing, probing instead of passing onto the next topic, being unimposing instead of important, and seeking out the poorer people and women, and learning their concerns.
- **Seeking diversity:** seeking variability rather than averages. Deliberately looking for, noticing and investigating contradictions, differences and anomalies.
- **Self critical awareness and responsibility:** meaning that facilitators are continuously examining their behaviour, trying to do better and using ones own best judgement at all times.
- **Sharing:** of information and ideas between rural people, between them and facilitators, and between different stakeholders.

The study made use of both primary and secondary sources of information. The primary information was collected through conducting interviews with those active in the field of tourism and development at parastatal, NGO, civic organisations, Regional Government, Provincial Government and individual level (Appendix 1). Interviews were conducted to gauge the attitudes and perceptions of all interested and affected parties. The research used semi-structured focus groups and semi-structured interviews of key informants.

Focus groups were identified in the marginalised community area in order to access relatively large numbers of people in a short time period. The groups were chosen as firstly, they already existed in the community and were therefore relatively easy to access. Secondly, they were chosen to actively pursue women's perceptions, which are often ignored in community decision making structures. Four focus groups were identified (Appendix 1): two groups of women, a mixed gender group of teachers and the group of traditional leaders. Each group consisted of between six and 12 members of the community. Contact was established through the interpreter and Peter Carte, director of Cavern Properties and member of the uThukela Regional Council. Key informants were also identified in the community by enquiring who they were from different stakeholders and seeking them out.

Furthermore, a "snowball" approach was utilised to identify the various stakeholders in the study area who were also interviewed. This was then expanded to include agencies outside of the study area at NGO, governmental, civic and parastatal level (Appendix 1).

The interviews followed a fairly open framework allowing for a flow of information where one is able to give and receive information (Appendix 2). This format also afforded the opportunity for answers and issues to be probed. The questions probed the perceptions and attitudes on a variety of issues.

Issues probed

- What tourism means to the marginalised community
- The access and level of participation of the marginalised community in tourism
- How to increase the participation of the community in tourism
- A tourism vision for the area
- The level of environmental awareness and its importance to tourism
- Planning legislation, regulation, guidelines and initiatives and their influence

Secondary information used included information from journals, Internet, planning reports, environmental impact assessments, statistical releases, newspapers and the like.

1.3.1 Limitations of the Study

In conducting research for this dissertation it has been a problem trying to identify the difference between perceptions and attitudes. According to Oelofse (1994), to fully understand perceptions and attitudes, it would be necessary to become immersed in the lifeworlds of individuals for a considerable period of time, using a longitudinal survey technique, in order to differentiate between fixed attitudes and perceptions. This can be seen as a constraint, as stated earlier, in terms of understanding the perceptions and attitudes of the interested and effected parties in this dissertation and has to be taken into account.

Difficulty was experienced in setting up interviews with some of the focus groups and key informants in the community, whilst the use of an interpreter was a limitation in fully comprehending the attitudes and perceptions. Furthermore, the actual length of the interviews became a problem when using an interpreter and therefore certain questions had to be omitted.

The women's focus groups interviewed were also hesitant to answer questions which was probably due to the presence of the male interpreter. However, this problem was not encountered with the group of teachers as the interview was

conducted in English and it was possible to probe and understand the perceptions and attitudes of women in the community through the women teachers.

Two of the hotels and resorts refused to be interviewed due to time constraints and the attitude that they had been subjected to enough discussion.

1.4 Structure of the Document

The dissertation applies three fields of theory and their related concepts. These are namely:

- Sustainable development and the concept of sustainable tourism development.
- Collaborative planning and the concept of communicative rationality.
- Humanism and the concepts of perceptions and attitudes.

The theory of sustainability and sustainable development is the underlying discourse throughout this dissertation and sets the framework within which sustainable tourism development and a successful outcome for tourism in the study area is located. However, how does one arrive at this successful outcome for tourism?

This study believes that the theory of collaborative planning provides part of the answer. Through communication, collaborative planning strives towards reaching consensus, shaping places in fragmented societies and managing coexistence in shared spaces. Communicative action involves an attempt to understand the different attitudes and perceptions of stakeholders with their different frames of reference. The concepts of attitudes and perceptions are located within the Humanism discourse and further add to our understanding in achieving sustainable tourism development in the study area. However, there are a number of criticisms of collaborative action which will be accounted for.

These discourses are used as a theoretical and conceptual framework for the dissertation and the ideas and concepts are linked throughout this work.

The following chapter provides a review of the theory of sustainability and sustainable development. It identifies the current debates before examining the concept of sustainable tourism development and a definition of sustainable tourism development for this dissertation.

Chapter 3 considers Healey's theory of collaborative planning. It expands on the concept and criticisms of communicative action, before looking at the concept and a definition of communicative rationality.

The theory of Humanism and the importance of perceptions and attitudes to this dissertation are engaged with in Chapter 4. The chapter further examines the nature of place and the power struggles that take place within it as an addition to the criticisms of collaborative planning.

The Northern Drakensberg encompassing the Royal Natal National Park, under the jurisdiction of KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services (KZN NCS), the Amazizi tribal area and surrounding commercial farmland and tourist accommodation is the subject of the case study in Chapter 5. The chapter further examines the institutional and policy framework impacting on the area.

Chapter 6 examines the issues that are gained from the perceptions and attitudes of the stakeholders in the study area.

Chapter 7 proposes a collaborative planning framework which incorporates the marginalised community into sustainable tourism development.

The concluding chapter, chapter 8, attempts to answer the questions posed by this dissertation taking into account sustainable tourism development and communicative rationality.

CHAPTER 2: SUSTAINABILITY AND SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

Sustainability and sustainable development may be a useful framework for ensuring that environmental concerns are integrated into development and planning agendas, and for finding solutions to environment and development problems. However, several theorists have argued that it is impossible to implement as it is an ambiguous discourse which is difficult to implement, whilst, other theorists suggest that sustainability and sustainable development is but another means of maintaining the status quo.

This theoretical outline sets out to examine the above theoretical positions on the sustainability and sustainable development debate. This outline will critically analyse these statements by referring to the origins of the concept and by considering the debates around its value and implementation.

2.2 Sustainability, Development and the Environment

Sustainable development has been widely referred to as 'meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs' (WCED, 1987). This, supposedly, was in order to mitigate against the massive use of non-renewable resources which had been utilised with little concern for long-term consequences. In the future, the discourse stated that people would have to function in a symbiotic relationship with the earth's environment to ensure their own survival (Lock, 1992).

However, is this theory of sustainable development a useful framework for ensuring that environmental concerns are integrated into development and planning agendas and for finding solutions to environment and development problems?

Firstly, let's briefly examine the limits of the World Conservation Strategy and ecodevelopment as a precursor to sustainable development. As Adams (1990) points out, ecodevelopment and the World Conservation Strategy both suffer from being theoretical and concerned with the local scale of development rather than the global. They, to a large extent, do not address the issue of national economic management let alone the question of international political economy.

The Brundtland report, on the other hand, recaptured the spirit of environmentalism and placed the sustainable development debate within the economic and political context of international development. Furthermore, it placed environmental issues firmly on the political agenda and starts from the concept that development and environmental issues cannot be separated. It also makes the important link between poverty and the environment recognising that poverty is a major cause and effect of environmental problems.

According to Adams (1990) the definition of sustainable development is based on two concepts. The first is the concept of basic needs and the importance of development for the poor. The second involves the idea of environmental limits. The Brundtland report states that sustainable development revolves around the need to maintain the world economy. The critical objectives for environment and development are:

- reviving growth
 - changing the quality of growth
 - meeting essential needs for jobs, food, energy, water and sanitation
 - ensuring a sustainable level of population
 - conserving and enhancing the resource base
 - reorienting technology and managing risk
 - merging environment and economics in decision making
- (Brundtland, 1987).

Therefore, the term sustainable development is seen as a means of combining the conflicting terms of economic development and environmental protection and ensuring that environmental concerns are given equal importance as political and economic. To what extent this is happening in South Africa is debatable, given the nature of our history, the huge social inequalities and the state of the world economy. In light of this, others have argued that sustainable development is impossible to implement and is too ambiguous to be useful.

2.3 Sustainable Development as a “Fuzzy Buzzword”

The term, sustainable development, brought together the objectives of economic development and environmental protection. However this has been interpreted in varying fashions according to one’s viewpoint with “sustainability” and “sustainable development” having become “fuzzy buzzwords” : ideas that appear to have a common meaning but actually have multiple interpretations (Palmer et al, 1996:181).

Mitchell et al (1995) identified four principles that underlie sustainable literature which are a useful framework for this analysis. They are:

- futurity
- environment
- equity
- public participation

Cooper and Palmer (1996) have used a self-assessment technique based on these principles (figure 1) which can be useful in illustrating a theoretical position on sustainable development. Applying these principles helps define where a group or individual is situated on the sustainable development issue, towards a weaker or stronger definition and the amount of emphasis placed on each principle. Due to the interrelationship of sustainability issues, the four principles are closely linked (figure 2).

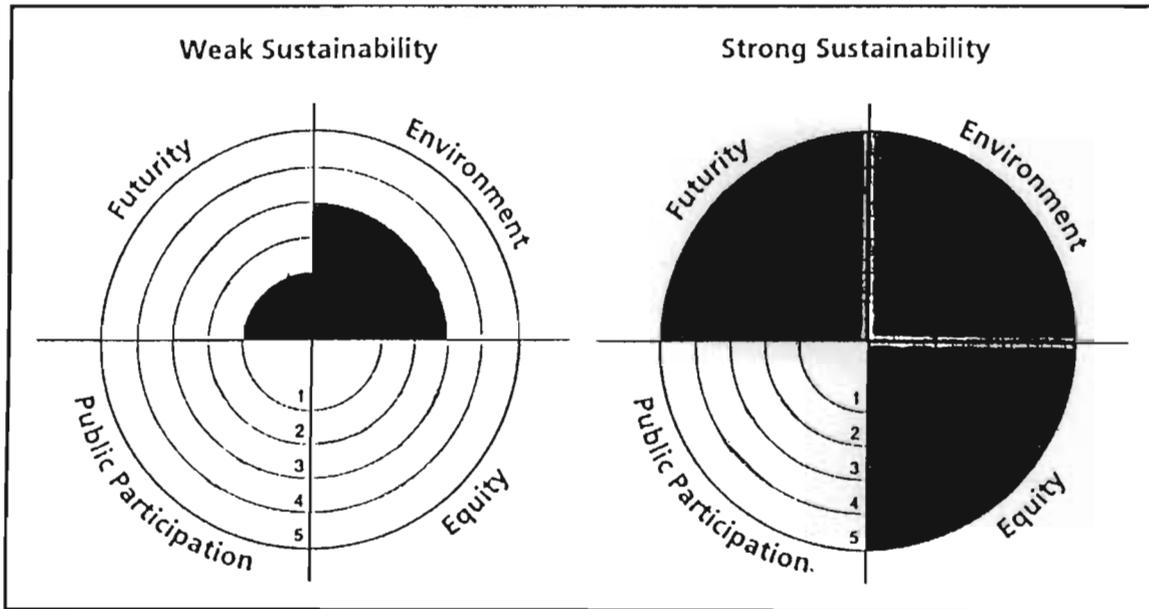


Figure 1 Charts mapping different kinds of commitment to sustainability

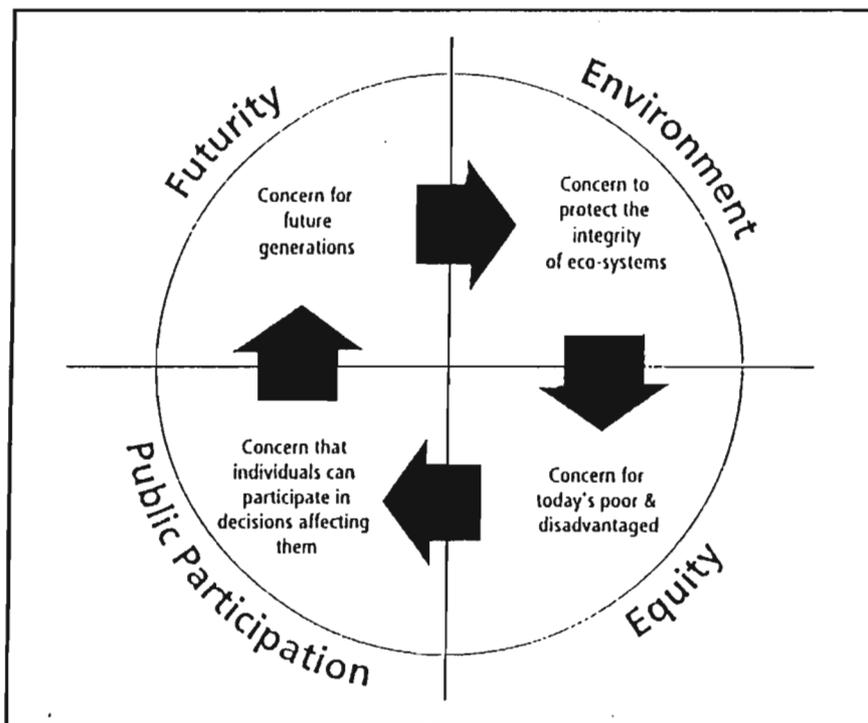


Figure 2 The principles underlying sustainable development

Beckerman (1994) is of the opinion that sustainable development confuses the issue of development and that, 'it would be difficult to find another field of research endeavour in the social sciences that has displayed such intellectual regress' (Beckerman 1994:192). The concept is flawed as it combines the technical characteristics of a particular development path with a moral conviction to pursue that path.

Therefore, the argument is that a definition of sustainable development as a technical concept cannot be combined with a moral framework as who decides which moral framework is more relevant than the next, and what right do they have in doing so? Beckerman (1994) continues to add that the fusion of technical and moral aspects of sustainable development have confused the issue and if this is true then sustainable development should be seen as a purely technical concept.

He adds that the concept of sustainable development has over time changed from a strong concept to a weaker version. The Bruntland report saw sustainable development as a strong concept as it argued for the preservation of the environment as it was. However such a concept of sustainable development could not be morally justified given the vast poverty and environmental degradation in which the majority of the world live and the cost that would be incurred in order to preserve the environment.

As the strong concept was seen as morally unjustifiable and impractical, the concept shifted towards a weaker version of sustainable development. This weak version implied that the level of well-being should not decline over time and that natural capital could be replaced by man-made capital.

Beckerman (1994) argues that sustainable development cannot be justified under such conditions;

'..if the choice between preserving natural capital and adding to (or preserving) man-made capital depends on which makes the greatest contribution to welfare the concept of sustainable development becomes redundant. In the attempt to rid the

original 'strong' concept of sustainable development of its most obvious weakness the baby has been thrown out with the bath water' (Beckerman 1994:195).

According to Adams (1993) however the significance of this lack of definition is that the success of sustainable development lies in its flexibility. It encompasses diverse and complex ideas and is both unifying and simple. O'Riordan (1993) argues that sustainability should be seen as a mediating term to bridge the gap between developers and environmentalists. Adams (1993) continues to add that sustainable development gained a wide following, not because of its analytical powers, but because of its tradeability and the manner in which it could be used to encompass diverse and often opposing concepts.

O'Riordan (1993) sums up the debate.

'Sustainable development may be a chimera. It may mark all kinds of contradictions. It may be ambiguously interpreted by all manner of people for all manner of reasons. But as an ideal it is nowadays as persistent a political concept as are democracy, justice and liberty. Indeed, it cannot be disconnected from these three other ideals. If the prospect of an earth uninhabitable for many millions of people does not encourage the fusion of these great verities of human existence, this speaks much for the failure of the human family to manage its earthly household' (O'Riordan 1993:65).

Redclift (1992) adds to this debate by focusing on the potential of human behaviour and the manner in which it effects global environmental change.

'The tortuous road to greater global responsibility for environmental change will not, ultimately, be built on the uncertain predictions of natural scientists. Rather, it is likely to be built on the daily lives of human subjects, and the recognition that these lives involve choices of global proportions' (Redclift 1992:32).

Redclift (1992) draws on the work of social theorists such as Giddens and the post-modernist debate around the meaning and construction of reality. He examines our relationship with the environment and the idea that "progress" in developed countries has become entrenched, with environmental policy becoming the arena in which conflicting views of human development are fought out. It follows that although global processes such as sustainable development are remote from everyday life and consciousness, human consciousness is a large factor in shaping the policy agenda. The way in which people construct the environment socially, determines the role that policy interventions will play. The implication is that the human purposes involved in environmental discourse are either dismissed or are treated superficially.

Redclift (1992) does not see sustainability per se as a problem but rather as an imperative of policy. The logical conclusion of this argument is that in order to impose sustainable development as an imperative, it will require a radical rethinking of our cultural assumptions, which lie at the essence of industrialised countries, and therefore a radical political change.

This dilemma is highlighted by Khan (1995) who has stated that the culture of consumerism and materialism poses a threat to sustainable development. The rise of Western ideology, power and economics has led to the demise of cultures of moderation such as Buddhism, Sufism and Gandhism, which caused people around the globe to live comfortably with an austere lifestyle and harmoniously with nature. New efforts according to Khan (1995) are needed to revive the virtues of these cultures, to give them respectability and help people to adopt environmentally sensitive habits.

Is this probable? Not likely considering the impact of globalisation and the drive to democratise the world by democratic countries intent on imposing development and investment as the key to sustainable futures.

2.4 Sustainable Development as the Status Quo

Sustainable development, on the other hand, may be just another way of maintaining the status quo. In order to examine this statement critically, one has to examine “anti-development” paradigms.

In the same way that development has spawned an intricate development industry that permeates the developing world landscape - so also has it evolved into a language that has often been left unquestioned. The terminology of sustainable development is familiar: “sustainability”, “empowerment” and “capacity building” are common development terms that permeate development reports. On the other hand notions of “need”, “growth” and “develop” have been revised within the complex framework that development theory has become.

For a science that is only 40 years old, development has not only adopted its own language, but has based its practice upon a series of assumptions that have largely gone unquestioned.

Some of the central ones are:

- the belief that the South is underdeveloped and this is bad
- the notion that western intervention will improve this condition
- the idea that growth as determined by measure of GDP is good
- the belief that the results of development projects are predictable and that social intervention is positive.

The theorists that argue for a post-development paradigm disagree with these assumptions and do so in varying degrees. Central to this argument is a critical examination of the discourse of development. The ways in which development discourses contribute to people's experiences and the meaning-constructs of their life-worlds as well as the power- relationships that underlie and underwrite its practice are placed under scrutiny. The last point is particularly important: the networks of power and domination that define our world (and especially the Third

World) contains within it the relationship between power and knowledge. 'Knowledge is power....power decides what knowledge is' (Alvares in Crush, 1996:5).

The development industry uses this power at the many levels that it operates. Some post-developmentalists argue for a redefinition of the development language and others believe that it should be transcended completely.

The post-development paradigm has to a large degree been inspired by post-modernist theorists such as Derrida and Foucault. According to Schuurmann (1993) the deconstruction of language set out by Derrida and his assertion that language consists of a set of signifiers which ultimately become more important than the message they convey no doubt calls attention to the powerful symbols of the language of development.

Foucault's notion of the multiple discourses within society that are counter to the 'hegemonic power ideology which tries to colonise the inner life world' (Schuurmann, 1993:21) of individuals, relates to the belief that development is based on the hegemonic American model of influence. Development knowledge has succeeded to colonise people's minds to the point where, according to Sachs (1993), it has simply become just another instrument of imperialism. Similarly, knowledge and discourse should be seen as both a potential instrument and effect of power, in the same way that it can be 'a hindrance, a stumbling-block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy' (Crush, 1996:20).

Sachs (1993:2-5) argues that central premises upon which development interventions are based are outdated by history which negates the need for development. He argues the following:

- The path towards industrial advancement inspired by economic growth has led to an ecological predicament.
- Development was utilised as a strategy by both sides in the cold war, but now the cold war is over.

- Development intervention has failed: in 1960 developed countries were 20 times richer than the Third world; in 1980, 46 times.
- Development has been misconceived from the beginning since the criteria used to measure its success have been generalised across the globe. The heterogeneity of society has therefore not been recognised. The call for development of the Third World also reflects a hidden agenda: the Westernisation of the world where the market, the state and science are seen as the great universalising powers of the world.

Sachs (1993) manages to highlight the inadequacies as well as the inequalities inherent in the development industry. However, Sachs falls prey to a reductionist stance, as the following can also be said of the basis of his anti-developmental argument:

- The obsession with industrial growth is a global reality that is much a part of the global economy as it is of the aims of development.

Furthermore, not all development strategies have used industrial growth as its imperative as can be seen in the case of sustainable development. However, in the case of Africa, it seems as if development rhetoric has not changed and that Sachs may still have a point.

Estava refers to development as: *'A political and philosophical proposition if Marx, packaged American-style as a struggle against communism and at the service of the hegemonic design of the United States, succeeded in permeating both the popular and intellectual mind for the rest of the century'* (In Sachs, 1993:6-7).

Sachs (1993) refers to the Basic Needs Approach as merely the developmentalists way of doing damage control. Sustainable development is seen as merely sustaining the ill effect of ill-conceived development and is cynical about its political persuasions, whilst pointing out that that the yardstick for measuring human development and access to resources is still economic growth as indicated by GNP!

Development is seen as a simile for economisation and makes the observation that it: *'transmogrifies people's autonomous activities embodying wants, skills, hopes and interactions with one another, and with the environment, into needs whose satisfaction requires the mediation of the market'* (Sachs, 1993:18).

Estava wants us to believe that the practice of development not only perpetuates the evils of the global economy but also created it; thereby perpetuating mass consumerism as well. Development is one of the many processes that has contributed to the interconnectedness of the world economy, and spread of mass consumerism is an unfortunate spin-off. However, these are symptoms that are as much a reflection of our societies wants and needs as it is of its' increasing materialist values.

2.5 Sustainable Tourism Development

Sustainable tourism development, as a concept of the theory of sustainability, recognises the interdependency between economic investment in the tourism projects, programmes and policies and the successful management of the human, built and natural resource base. It is what could be proposed as an outline for the successful outcome to tourism in the study area. Sustainable tourism development seeks to enhance the quality of life and the quality of the tourist experience, at destination areas through the promotion of economic developments which conserve local natural, built and cultural resources (Hunter and Green, 1996).

Lane (1991) defines sustainable tourism as providing: *satisfying jobs without dominating the local economy. It must not abuse the natural environment, and should be architecturally respectable. ... The benefits of tourism should be diffused through many communities...* (Lane 1991:2).

Middleton (1998) who has a managerial view defines sustainable tourism as being: *'... development (that) meets the needs of present visitors, tourism business and host destinations while protecting and where possible enhancing opportunities for the future. It is envisaged as leading to the management of resources in such a way*

that social, economic, and aesthetic needs can be fulfilled while maintaining cultural integrity, essential ecological processes, biological diversity, and life support systems (Middleton, 1998:247).

Hunter and Green (1996) suggest that in Developing Countries it is in the long term best interests of local communities, people involved in the tourism industry and decision makers to agree on principles, policies and management tools that allow the development of tourism as an engine of economic growth and the conservation of environmental resources. The aim of sustainable tourism development is therefore to strike a balance between the aforementioned two issues. It is about conserving, maintaining and enhancing environmental resources, the quality of life of the local community and the quality of the tourist experience.

Cronin (1990) defines the challenge of sustainable tourism development: 'to develop tourism capacity and the quality of its products without adversely affecting the quality of the physical and human environment that sustains and nurtures them' (Cronin, 1990:13).

In order that tourism conforms to the principles of sustainable tourism development, Cronin (1990) suggests that development:

- 'follow ethical principles that respect the culture and the environment of the destination area, the economy and the traditional way of life, the indigenous behaviour, and the leadership and political patterns;
- involve the local population, proceed only with their approval and provide for a degree of local control;
- be undertaken with (intra-generational) equity in mind, i.e. with the idea of access to a fair distribution of benefits and costs among tourist promoters and host peoples and areas, not only now, but in the future;
- be planned and managed with regard for the protection of the natural environment for future generations;
- be planned in an integrated manner with other economic sectors; and,
- be assessed on an ongoing basis to evaluate impacts and permit action to counter any negative effects' (Cronin, 1990:21).

Cronin (1990) emphasises the intra-generational factors of sustainable tourism development. Sustainable tourism development should recognise the contribution that local communities and cultures make to the experience of tourists and that local people should share in the benefits of tourism developments. For sustainable tourism development to develop into reality, local people and governmental authorities must participate, and be allowed to participate, in the shaping of the local tourism industry. Local communities' access to the benefits of tourism development is a critical step, especially in developing countries such as South Africa, as the concept of sustainable development recognises the need for economic growth in these areas, to enhance the quality of life and to satisfy human aspirations.

Concern for the protection of natural resources, Cronin (1990) continues, could be taken to the point where innovation and appropriate tourism development is stifled, removing the opportunity for the poor to benefit from tourism development. A balance between the benefits for current generations and the protection of wealth-generating resources for future generations is at the centre of sustainable tourism development.

Hawkins in Pearce (1996) identifies nineteen major issues which are shaping global tourism policy. Of these, two have specific reference to sustainable tourism.

Firstly, tourism must strive to develop as a socially responsible industry in a proactive manner rather than responding to pressures as they arise. Secondly, that community demands for active participation in development, management and planning cannot be ignored.

According to Middleton (1998) in *Sustainable Tourism: A Marketing Perspective* there are at least six areas in which sustainability and marketing meet. The first three points in table 2.1 are based on customer demands for higher environmental quality whilst the next three points below are based on the threats which may turn

customers away for environmental reasons. All of the points act as powerful motivations for destination choices.

In *Tourism: A Community Approach*, Murphy (1985) argues for a framework in which to develop tourism's potential and its contribution to the well-being of the host communities. Top-down centralised tourism planning has led to rapid growth and development whilst sidelining the host communities. As a result, tourism development failed to live up to the expectations of the communities and resulted in negative attitudes. Tourism relies heavily on the goodwill and co-operation of the community involved as they are part of the product and attraction to an area.

'Where development and planning does not fit in with local aspirations and capacities, resistance and hostility can raise the cost of business or destroy the industry's potential altogether (Murphy, 1985: 53).

Murphy (1998) continues to add that if tourism is to become sustainable, it needs to be planned and managed as a resource industry based on local capacity and community decision making. More participation at the planning stage gives communities an interest in the industry and results in more responsive partnerships.

However, Middleton (1998) adds to this discourse by stating that in practise, according to Taylor (1995), community led planning for sustainable tourism is a difficult concept to achieve as communities are often impossible to define for practical purposes. There are also numerous problems involved with communities, such as lack of capacity and knowledge, lack of support for community representatives and lack of community consensus around the issues.

Pearce et al (1996) draws on the work of the Australian Government's Ecological Sustainable Development Working Group Report for Tourism (1991). An important feature of the derivations from the Ecologically Sustainable Development (ESD) debate to tourism issues is the role of community well-being as a priority. Whilst the community gains much attention in the goals of ESD, much of the language of the ESD emphasises biological and biophysical considerations. If the ESD debate fails

to include communities as an integral facet of sustainable tourism it will gradually fail as a system for tourism thinking. Sustainable tourism is defined according to its goals and characteristics as seen in table 2.2.

2.6 Conclusion and Definition of Sustainable Tourism Development

This chapter has outlined the debate on sustainability and sustainable development. It has shown the continuum of sustainable discourse, ranging from theorists who suggest that sustainable development is impossible to implement due to its ambiguous nature; others who maintain that it is an expedient framework for ensuring that environmental concerns are integrated in development; and those who believe that it is another way of defending the existing state.

This dissertation takes the view that sustainable development should be seen as a mediating concept that bridges the divide between tourism developers, environmentalists, commercial farmers and marginalised host communities. The very nature of its ambiguity allows these diverse and opposing groups and organisations with disparate concepts, to work together towards a common vision and negotiate a sustainable future for tourism.

Sustainable tourism development must be seen as a concept of sustainability which ensures that environmental concerns are integrated into tourism development and planning agendas. As such it outlines a framework for the successful outcome for tourism in the study area. It understands that tourism in the study area relies heavily on the goodwill and co-operation of the host community involved, as they are part of the product and attraction of the area. It recognises that there is a need for economic growth in marginalised host communities in order to satisfy human aspirations and increase the quality of life. The concept of sustainable tourism development, in terms of this dissertation, will rank highly the principles of equity and public participation, followed by the principle of environment and futurity (refer to figure 1&2).

Therefore, the concept of sustainable tourism development will be defined as:

- development that follows ethical principles that respect the culture and the environment of the destination area, the economy and the traditional way of life, the indigenous behaviour, and the leadership and political patterns
- development that involves the historically marginalised residents of the area through active participation and provides for a degree of local control..
- development that is undertaken with intra-generational equity in mind.
- development with the idea of access to a fair distribution of impacts and benefits especially amongst marginalised people. It should maximise the flow of revenue to the host region through employing local residents, using local building materials, purchasing local food and handicrafts, increasing local ownership in the tourism industry.
- tourism which makes a positive contribution to the host environment by providing a percentage of profit to the host community.
- development that is planned and managed with regard for the protection of the natural and aesthetic environment.
- development that is planned in an integrated manner with government, non-government organisations and residents of the area.
- tourism which educates both visitors and local stakeholders

In order to negotiate this sustainable tourism development, diverse groups and organisations with disparate attitudes and perceptions have to enter into debate and interaction. This understanding leads into the next chapter of “shaping places in fragmented societies”.

CHAPTER 3 COLLABORATIVE PLANNING

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter set out sustainable development as an overarching discourse before examining sustainable tourism development as a framework for the successful outcome for tourism in the study area. How does one arrive at this successful outcome for tourism?

Collaborative planning provides part of the answer. Through communication, collaborative planning strives towards reaching consensus, shaping places in fragmented societies and managing coexistence in shared spaces.

Collaborative planning has emerged from postmodern debate. Postmodernism has seen a shift in understanding from a rational, scientific, top-down perspective to one in which diversity of lifestyles and differences are celebrated. We live in pluralist societies which result in conflicts of group interests, and thus difficult issues and agendas arise with respect to the coexistence in our shared local environments (Healey 1992; 1997). The challenge to logical human reason strikes at the heart of modernity and rational thought, where the philosophy of postmodernism undermines the foundations of two hundred years of rational, scientific thought. Postmodernism is not a meta narrative waiting to take over from modernist theory, but rather it is a diverse multiplicity of critical deconstructive and oppositional voices. It can be seen as a dismantling exercise directed against the failures of modernity rather than a search for new ways of planning.

This is not to imply, however, that modernity has not been challenged. Notions of planning rationality have been reformulated and reasserted to take account of such challenges as the concept of genealogy, the methodology of archaeology, deconstructionism, postmodern-feminism, critical and structuration theory.

According to Healey (1997) concern about the environments in which we live and how to manage our coexistence in shared spaces has led to new ways of understanding in a global society. Her theory of collaborative planning develops an

institutionalist approach to understanding urban and regional change drawing on developments in regional economics and sociology. The focus is on social relations of daily life and the interweaving of social and biospheric relations. The institutional approach emphasises the power relations in local environments and reveals the diversity of ways in which that power is expressed. 'It makes visible and explains the dimensions of that diversity and helps to reveal the way power relations enter the finegrain of practises, structuring the public policy game and inhibiting the assertion of many stakes' (Healey 1997:5).

Healey (1997) develops a **communicative** approach for the design of government systems and practices, focusing on building collaborative, consensus-building practices. Drawing on the work of the sociologist Anthony Giddens' structuration theory and the philosopher Jurgen Habermas' theory of communicative action, a way forward is offered in the shaping of government processes in a world of power sharing, and takes the ethical position that all stakeholders should have a voice. ' It offers a way of mobilising for change through collective efforts in transforming ways of thinking. It thus presents a way forward in realising the practical meaning of participatory democracy in pluralist societies' (Healey 1997:5).

However, Healey states that the communicative approach to planning has paid little attention to the development of understanding of regional economic analysis, urban geography and urban sociology which also emphasises the social processes through which everyday life and economic activity are accomplished. Therefore an objective of collaborative planning theory is to bring these two bodies of thought together, which are both grounded in the social construction of meaning, thinking and acting; and therefore, 'overcome the persistent tendency in planning thought and practice to separate the understanding of urban and regional change from the processes of governance through which political communities can collectively address their common dilemmas about what is happening to their neighbourhoods' (Healey 1997:30).

Furthermore, emphasis should also be placed on the importance of the realisation that all collaborative planning takes place in systems of power relations which effect the successful outcome of communication-based consensus building.

3.2 Institutional Approach

Healey (1997) argues that the institutional approach is based on the conception that individual identities are socially constructed through social relations with other people in particular geographic and historical contexts. From this our attitudes and values are framed and influence our cultural perceptions. Therefore, the diversity and differences which cause problems in local environments are not just about individual differences but also involve differences in culture. 'The problem which arises in working out how to manage our coexistence in shared spaces through working collaboratively is that this typically involves intersecting with multiple lifeworlds and multiple cultural communities' (Healey, 1997:63).

The institutionalist approach argues that a way through collaborating across cultural differences is firstly to recognise where a cultural is coming from, and secondly, to actively build a shared understanding of meaning or a new cultural formation.

Furthermore, the institutionalist approach put forward by Healey (1997) recognises that social constructions are inter-linked with a web of powerful structuring forces that influence our social relations. Such forces can be employment ties, money markets, ethnicity, family status, class position etc. Collaborative planning is therefore grounded in the theory of such relation-building processes focusing attention on the networks which shape our lives.

Local conflicts over space therefore do not just bring together individuals with different agendas and interests, but people in different cultural relations, with different ways of constructing meaning. Local conflict may not be just about specific issues, therefore, but organisational forms and ways of conducting discussions. Therefore any collaborative effort which is trying to reach an understanding across different cultural relations to address matters of common environmental concern will

require attention to the way in which the issues are discussed, who gets to participate in the discussions, and lastly to the issue in question (Healey, 1997).

However some voices always dominate the public arena which leads to cultural domination rather than cultural consensus building and inter-cultural communication.' Through choosing an inclusionary dialogical style, political communities in a location may be able to generate the practices of reciprocal respect through which we challenge the 'competitive babble' into which many policy debates founder and build a relevant and stable consensus' (Healey, 1997:67).

The relational encounters discussed have a role to play in the building of institutional capacity. The concept of institutional capacity refers to the quality of the collection of relational networks in an area. It has been developed in the regional economic literature to refer to the social relations which make a difference to regional economic performance. The quality of institutional capacity matters in the objective of economic competitiveness, sustainable development or sustainable tourism development. The relational encounters over a shared local environmental issue reflect power relationships and therefore the potential exists to change the balance of power. In the discussion of ideas, new ways of organising and networks are established, systems of meanings may be changed and authority exercised in different ways (Healey, 1997).

The institutional approach to spatial and environmental planning places emphasis on how people changed their ways of doing things, their perceptions and therefore a changed frame of reference. The generation of intellectual and social capital is an important outcome of collaborative planning. What the outcomes of this process would be are difficult to identify but should allow for learning during policy development and implementation. Furthermore, collaborative planning facilitates and maintains new links appropriate to the history and circumstances of an area and reaches out to all stakeholders. The inclusion of all stakeholders derives from a search to find an enduring, legitimate and stable process for addressing problems of coexisting in an area. Unless all stakeholders are included in the process, policy

and practice will be continuously challenged and ignored, leading to an unsustainable practise for managing collective concerns.

3.3 Communicative Approach

Critical theory of Jurgen Habermas puts the power of rational consensus against the power of domination. Habermas treats power as the entity which destroys and violates the conditions for communicative consensus which is needed to keep democratic communities intact (Forester, 1980). Critical theory contributes to the challenge of “making sense together” while “living differently” (Forester, 1989) through Habermas’ approach to the concept of reason and the process of public reasoning. Habermas views a ‘conscious inter-subjective understanding of collective communicative work as a force to sustain an internally critical democratic effort, resisting the potential domination of one-dimensional principles, be they scientific, moral or aesthetic’ (Healey, 1993:241).

There are three modes of reason, based on our cultural lifeworlds ,which we fuse together: *emotive-aesthetic reasoning*, *moral reasoning* and *instrumental-technical reasoning*. The first refers to emotive experience, the second to reason focused on ethics and values and the third to reason based on scientific and rational thinking, linking ends to the means and evidence to conclusions (Healey 1997).

Habermas, according to Forester (1980) and Healey (1997), see the power of rationality as threat which destroys the conditions for communicative consensus of democratic communities. Habermas argues that scientific reasoning and instrumental rationality have strong links with political and economic spheres. Power struggles are often utilised by the ruling elite to get their own agendas on the table whilst utilising analysts and technicians to make their scientific explanations seem inevitable and universal. Scientific rationality dominates in public discourse, enabling instrumental-technical reasoning to invade our lifeworlds, crowding out other reasoning modes. ‘Our moral cares and emotional concerns have to be recast in the measured debate of technical analysis or legal principle’ (Healey 1997:51). Moral value and emotive-aesthetic appreciation are also a part of public life and

should be given an equal status in debate rather than giving privilege to the rational-technical sphere.

In an open, multicultural society, it is therefore important to recognise and acknowledge the different forms of reasoning when discussing shared concerns about local environments. Only through open conversations amongst diverse people, based on available information, can one arrive at the truth and values of those people. Therefore, 'we must construct our ways of validating claims, identifying priorities, and developing strategies for collective action *through interaction, through debate*' (Healey, 1997:53).

Healey sees the challenge to rationality in finding new ways of acknowledging different perceptions, attitudes and understanding, whilst seeking to make some sort of common sense. Communicative rationality offers a new form of planning through discussion and debate. Its openness, exteriorising quality and its internal capacity for criticism should ward off any potential to turn mutual understanding into a repressive regime (Healey, 1993).

The key elements of communicative theory, according to Healey (1993;1997), are:

1. That all forms of knowledge are socially constructed, and that ways of knowing, such as that of technicians, scientists and experts are not as different from practical reasoning. Planning is an interactive and interpretative process and therefore formal techniques of analysis and design processes are but one form of discourse.
2. That the development and communication of knowledge and reasoning are of different forms. It is a process which could be enriched by discussions of moral dilemmas and aesthetic experience, using a range of presentation forms from poetry to prose and storytelling to scientific analysis. Communicative action should focus on achieving mutual understanding whilst being aware of that which may not be understood.

3. That there is a social context in which individuals form their ideas and beliefs. They do not arrive at these beliefs as individuals but learn about their views in social contexts and through interaction. Intercommunication involves respect for different forms of knowledge and implies recognising, valuing, listening to, and searching for translative possibilities.

4. People have diverse interests, lifestyle choices and expectations. As a result power relations have the potential to oppress and dominate through inadequate access to information, technology and material resources and through presumptuous assumptions and practises. Therefore planning involves deciding on who to consult as well as organising a platform for meaningful debate and input and as such, needs to be critical about its own processes.

5. 'That public policies which are concerned with managing coexistence in shared spaces which seek to be efficient, effective and accountable to all those with a "stake" in a place need to draw upon, and spread ownership of, the above range of knowledge and reasoning' (Healey, 1997:29). Therefore the struggle of engaging in communicative action is to grasp the diverse range of viewpoints, and find ways of compromising between competing claims without devaluing them until they have been explored.

6. That this leads away from disparate competitive interest bargaining to a form of collaborative consensus building. Cultures can be built through the developing and sharing of organising ideas, co-ordinating actions by different groups and the transformation of the ways of organising and knowing. Interaction is not simply bargaining around predefined interests but involves a process of mutual learning through mutually trying to understand. Therefore, diverse people from different cultural/social backgrounds are encouraged to recognise one another and negotiate their concerns.

7. A reflective and critical capacity should be encouraged in the process of debate and communication using Habermas' criteria of comprehensibility, integrity, legitimacy and truth. Criticism should not be directed at discourses of communities but at the discourse surrounding the proposals and outcomes of the communicative action.

3.4 Collaborative Planning in Shared Spaces

Pressure arises on land management and spatial planning practises due to the difficulties in societies in dealing with the problems generated by the coexistence in common spaces by people living disparate lifestyles, caring about different environmental qualities and conducting diverse forms of survival strategies. The challenge of managing coexistence in shared spaces requires the interlinking of social, environmental and economic dimensions.

Changes in local environments have major consequence on everyday patterns of survival. They upset people's sense of well-being, identity and opportunity and therefore can be of a contentious nature. The result, where there are great differences in relational interaction between people, may be the domination and exclusion of those who have fewer power bases. As a consequence, the practice of land use regulation is harnessed in the attempt by some groups of people to keep different 'others' out of their neighbourhoods, in the practice of 'exclusionary zoning' (Huxely, 1994 in Healey 1997) or locational conflict.

We still have to live in shared spaces and collaboration among neighbours can be helpful in fulfilling everyday survival strategies. This does not rely on a shared moral order or a return to the idea of place-based community, which could lead to immediate hostility, but rather that people are reworking the meaning of a place-based political community. The critical challenge to political communities is that they should rely on an awareness of diversity and differences whilst building up trust and understanding. This requires active discussion processes through which local knowledge can be used in public forums, where there is recognition of diverse

viewpoints, respect for these views, and sufficient trust to move from discussion to action on these issues. (Healey 1997).

3.5 Criticisms of Collaborative Planning

There has been little critique of collaborative planning in the 1990's. Tewdwr-Jones et al. (1998) however, provides this opportunity to examine, firstly, the increased questioning of its theoretical foundations. Second, that practical problems have undermined any attempt to translate collaborative planning into realistic projects and have focused on process rather than outcomes. Thirdly, that 'we perceive a growing dissatisfaction with the unfulfilled promises of communicative rationality as well as evidence (to back up our own perceptions) that those who pursue it as a theoretical exercise seek to speak on behalf of others that do not hold similar views' (Tewdwr-Jones et al. 1998:4).

3.5.1 Theoretical Concerns

Tewdwr-Jones (1998) are of the opinion that stakeholders within collaborative planning discourse may not all be striving for enhanced democracy for communities, especially when local and national concerns are raised on the same agenda. Stakeholders in the arena of debate will possess different aims, values and professional agendas. Furthermore, the assumption that being involved in a democratic process will lead to greater involvement is also open to debate.

Collaborative planning assumes, according to Tewdwr-Jones (1998), that uncoerced consensus can be reached, but how does one mediate when such consensus is not reached? The use of 'tribunals' represents a dominatory approach to politics which goes against the grain of communicative rationality and furthermore shows a desire to mediate and unify disagreements. Reaching agreement through open debate is then dependant on the threat of imposition and is hardly uncoerced. Another factor is whether communicative rationality should aim for consensus. The argument is that seeking consensus where it does not exist is against the principles of self expression and difference. 'There is a danger (if not

inevitably) that seeking consensus will silence rather than give voice' (Tewdwr-Jones, 1998:9).

3.5.2 Practical Concerns

Collaborative planning assumes that all sections of a community can be incorporated in the planning process, although little has been said on how all the stakeholders are identified, who identifies them and how this could be achieved. With the role of the expert (the planner) being sidelined by the communicative process, who will facilitate the process, sort through the arguments expressed and where do the personnel opinions or judgements of the planning professional fit in (Tewdwr-Jones, 1998).

Collaborative planning recognises the distribution of power between stakeholders and suggests that by building up trust and confidence the balance of power will shift. However, this is an optimistic version of reality. Firstly, it does not take into account the power inherent within individuals who could intentionally employ tactics to bring about their own agendas. Secondly, groups contributing to the collaborative planning exercise will have common agendas and values in an attempt to ensure that their agendas succeed, even if they agree to open, honest debate (e.g. environmental groups). Thirdly, individual stakeholders put forward a particular image of themselves in presenting their viewpoints, to elicit an acceptable image or to present a false position to minimise the debate (Tewdwr-Jones, 1998). Forester (1989) recognises this point by discussing the power elements of planner's everyday activities and their ability to use strategic action.

'Communicative action is therefore inherently political and powerful, since it is unable to control the individual thought processes of stakeholders or guarantee that all participants will act in an open and honest manner all the time. And so long as there is a possibility that individuals will not wish to build trust, understanding and new relations of power among participants, to generate "social, intellectual and political capital which can endure beyond the particular collaborative effort" (Healey 1997:264, after Innes (1994)), a truly successful communicative action process is

infeasible since power and political action will remain dominant determinants'
(Tewdwr-Jones et al, 1998:13).

The view that individuals put forward their thoughts in an open, honest manner and are then persuaded to change their opinions through discourse fails to take account of the benefits of argumentation. If everybody is to agree what would be the purpose of expressing their opinions in the first place? Would not collaborative planning only benefit the majority and exclude minority groups: the very section collaborative planning is seeking to support? Furthermore, an evaluation of the outcome of discourse is not established by collaborative planning. If people, as stakeholders, are to be persuaded to openly and honestly voice their opinions, they will want to know how the decisions made will lead to policy outcomes and decisions (Tewdwr-Jones, 1998).

Collaborative planning assumes that in order for debate to take place honestly and openly individual stakeholders should possess equal knowledge about issues to be discussed and that they have the necessary skills for effective participation. Both suppositions have obvious inherent problems. Furthermore, collaborative planning theory assumes that individuals or large powerful lobbying groups will welcome criticism of their values and would admit defeat in the face of competing arguments. This, however, is not realistic (Tewdwr-Jones, 1998).

3.6 Conclusion and Definition of Communicative Rationality

This chapter has an underlying assumption that communicative rationality is imperative in order to reach a successful outcome for tourism in the study area. It has shown that through communication, collaborative planning strives towards reaching consensus, shaping places in fragmented societies and managing coexistence in shared spaces. Communicative action involves an attempt to understand the different attitudes and perceptions of stakeholders with their different frames of reference and focuses on building collaborative, consensus-building practices.

However, communicative rationality has been criticised on its theoretical foundations, aspects of its practical implementation and growing dissatisfaction with a concept that has not fulfilled its promise.

These concerns, however, must be seen in the light in which “planning” finds itself in a post-apartheid South Africa. The perceptions and attitudes of the community and stakeholders are to be investigated in order to arrive at common interests where it does exist and note differences in attitudes which would have to be dealt with in a tourism planning framework for the area. As such, communicative rationality offers a welcome change to technocratic, top-down, rational planning initiatives of the past.

In this light and for the purposes of this dissertation communicative rationality will:

- focus on achieving mutual understanding whilst being aware of diverse and varying perceptions.
- take into account diverse interests, lifestyle choices and expectations. Intercommunication involves respect for different forms of knowing and implies recognising, valuing, listening to, and searching for translative possibilities.
- allow for community learning during policy development and implementation
- allow for the inclusion of all stakeholders.
- grasps the diverse range of viewpoints and find ways of compromising

Furthermore, communicative action involves an attempt to understand the different attitudes and perceptions of stakeholders with their different frames of reference. The following chapter examines attitudes and perceptions which are located within the Humanism discourse. Understanding and accounting for these divergent attitudes and perceptions will increase the opportunities for collaborative action and sustainable tourism development in the study area.

CHAPTER 4 HUMANISM, PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES

4.1 Introduction

The chapters preceding this have examined sustainability and sustainable tourism development as a successful outcome to tourism in the study area. Communicative action was demonstrated as a possible conduit to establishing debate and dialogue and therefore expediting the process of achieving sustainable tourism development. Humanism as a theoretical framework offers an insight into the perceptions of the residents of the study area and therefore adds to the framework for achieving sustainable tourism development. The notion of perceptions and the meaning given to it, falls within this paradigm. In the following section, the concepts of perception and attitudes are considered. Models of perception which are relevant to this research are discussed. The concept of sense of place and the meaning that people attach to place are investigated. The interpretation of landscape and lifeworlds that people create form part of our understanding. The action of people in forming their own world views, as well as the way in which their actions and behaviour changes or serves to maintain the world in which they live, is also discussed and is linked to the theory of collaborative action.

4.2 Perceptions and Attitudes

Reality is socially constructed by people as they experience the political and social nature of the environment, reflecting on the role that social, political and economic relations play in defining how people position themselves in relation to attitudes, beliefs and values. People's environmental perceptions may differ considerably from the "true" nature of the "real" world (Potter, 1985). It is thus difficult to perceive what is "real" and what is perceived as being real. The variability in perceptions and attitudes can be seen at both the global and local scale. Perceptions influence the way we behave or act and so an understanding of perception is crucial in the resolution of environmental problems (Tuan, 1974). We need to understand the unequal relationships that are present in society and in the study area if we are to comprehend the plurality of views that people have about the environment and if we

are able to open up dialogue and negotiate solutions to sustainable tourism development problems.

The study of environmental perceptions, attitudes and values is highly complex (Tuan, 1974) and therefore it is essential to define what is meant by perception, since this concept is central to the research. Perception is dealt with in a wide range of literature, with considerable research being focused within the behavioural school of geography which developed in the late 1960's and 1970's.

According to Saarinen (1969;1974) perception is an extremely complex concept.

'In the simplest terms perception is generally concerned with the effects of social and cultural factors on man's (sic) cognitive structuring of his physical and social environment. Perception then depends on more than the stimulus present and the capabilities of the sense organs. It also varies with the individual's past history and present "set" or attitudes acting through values, needs, memories, moods, social circumstances, and expectations. The major problem in studying people's perceptions is that of measurement, since people often have difficulty articulating the conscious or unconscious feelings, attitudes, or ideas associated with perception' (Saarinen, 1969:5).

Steele (1981:22) states that, 'perception helps us organise external information so that we can feel that we "know" something about what surrounds us and what is likely to happen to us. Having this information provides us with some control over our own fate, so that we are not always at the whim of unpredictable events'.

Perception is thus an active process of interaction between the perceiver and the environment in which differences in physical, functional or emotional significance of the latter lead to personal responses. The characteristics that produce a personal response include the individual's personality attributes, attitudes, social class, age, sex, etc (Pocock and Hudson, 1978). Tuan (1974:4) adds that a perception is 'both the response of the senses to external stimuli and purposeful activity in which

certain phenomena are clearly registered, while others recede in the shade or are blocked out.'

An attitude, according to Pocock and Hudson (1974) is the most important element conditioning perceptions, if attitudes are interpreted as the summary of past experiences and perceptions.

'Composed of a collection of feelings and beliefs, including evaluative beliefs, an attitude disposes an individual to behave or perceive new situations in a particular way. Thus nothing is approached in a state of innocence' (Pocock and Hudson, 1974:29).

An attitude, is 'primarily a cultural stance, a position that one takes vis a vis the world. It has greater stability than perceptions and is formed of a long succession of perceptions, that is of experience' (Tuan, 1974:4). Experience is then 'a cover-all term for the various modes through which a person knows and constructs a reality' (Tuan, 1977:8). According to Oelofse (1994) an attitude is understood to be fixed and stable, predisposing people to particular behaviour. Attitudes generally become entrenched and often are difficult to change as opposed to perceptions which are more fluid and change with time, as experience forces or causes change.

Theoretically the difference between perceptions, attitudes and values is relatively clear. However in conducting research for this dissertation it is a problem trying to identify the difference between perceptions and attitudes. According to Oelofse (1994), to fully understand perceptions and attitudes, it would be necessary to become immersed in the lifeworlds of individuals for a considerable period of time, using a longitudinal survey technique, in order to differentiate between fixed attitudes and perceptions. This can be seen as a constraint, as stated earlier, in terms of understanding the perceptions and attitudes of the interested and effected parties in this dissertation and has to be taken into account.

The current perceptions of residents in the study area, towards tourism, are being influenced by existing attitudes which have been entrenched over time. In South

Africa the apartheid system and its consequences will have played a dramatic role in forming people's attitudes and these influence the way in which they perceive the present tourism environment. Furthermore, it could have a major influence in achieving collaborative and communicative action and therefore in actualising some form of sustainable tourism development.

4.3 Key Decision Makers and their Attitudes

According to Saarinen (1976) attitudes are important factors in decision making, though their precise role is not well documented. Attitudes appear to enter into decisions in three ways: first, through the personal attitudes of those making the decisions; second, through their opinions of what others prefer; and third, through their opinions of what others should prefer. One problem is that many decisions are made on the basis of someone's opinion of other people's attitudes without any real knowledge of what these attitudes are. Therefore it becomes important to gauge the opinions and attitudes of decision makers.

The criticism of collaborative planning has already partly addressed the issues that have been raised above and this further adds to the debate. The opinions and attitudes of the key decision makers in the study area have been sought and hopefully this will add to an understanding of the institutional and planning framework which are or could impact on the study area.

4.4 Models of Perception

Many geographers have attempted to theorise about environmental perceptions, realising the importance of environmental perceptions in the study of space. Lowenthal (1961) argues that perceptions of individuals are fixed in their personal worlds, and occur because people elect to see certain aspects of the world and ignore others. All places and landscapes are individually experienced through the lens of the person's own attitudes, experiences, and intentions, and from an individual's own unique circumstances. Furthermore, different cultures have their own shared stereotypes, which are reflected in language and effect the members of

the group's perceptions. Therefore landscapes are shaped by the conveying of information through both cultural and personal lenses.

Pocock and Hudson (1978) provides a useful model for considering perception. The model reveals the complex interactive process between humans and the environment. Perceptions are created by: (1) accumulations of the past, stored experiences and knowledge, (2) the present situation and context, (3) the psychological and physiological make-up of the person, (4) their cultural background, and (5) their current state at the time of the environmental perception. All of the above are interlinked and function together both to influence and create perceptions, attitudes, beliefs and values.

According to Tuan (1978) the factors which effect perception are: the senses; common psychological structures and responses; ethnocentrism; symmetry and space; personal worlds; individual differences and preferences; culture, experience and environmental attitudes; world views and topophilia. Most of the factors mentioned above fall within the humanist tradition. People interpret their world differently, creating different meanings of place. They act under free will and hence determine the nature of their own experience.

For the purpose of this dissertation, perception is used in a way which takes into account the definitions and model suggested by Tuan (1974) and Pocock and Hudson (1978). Both approaches are essentially humanist and this broad theoretical framework is used for an understanding and interpretation of residents' attitudes and perceptions of tourism. However it must also be taken into account that perceptions are also influenced by society and the particularities of place.

4.5 Nature of Place

The meaning and value that people attach to place is now considered, as the sense of place of the study area is fundamental in understanding the perceptions of people to tourism. People develop an understanding of the place in which they live and of

the world, which is partly personal but largely social - it is created by an attitude or belief system. This concept is extended to the concept of place.

An approach to the study of place is phenomenology, which evolved as the descriptive philosophy of experience. According to Relph (1976) the foundation of geographical knowledge lies in the direct experiences and consciousness we have of the world we live in. Phenomenology focuses on how the meaning of the environment is defined by each individual and involves the researcher seeking to identify, through empathetic understanding, how the individual structures the environment in a subjective way. It attempts to understand how people live in relation to everyday places, spaces and environments.

The theory accepts that personality, history and culture alter perceptions but suggest that there is a certain give-ness to humans' existence that transcends this (Relph, 1976). The concept of lifeworlds was developed by Ley and Samuel (1979) and goes beyond the mundaneness of day-to-day living, being rather the way in which the world presents itself to us. It investigates the meaning places have for people and considers the experience as it happens in its own way, through its own structure and dynamics. According to Simmons (1993) the world has meaning for humans and therefore each individual constructs a world with a set of objects and relationships among which they live, called a lifeworld.

According to Oelofse (1994) the development of lifeworlds creates essentially a conservative force, which is resistant to change and which leads to the development of a strong sense of place because it is consistent and continual. Place is experienced without conscious or deliberate thought and yet is full of significance. This is the foundation of the experience of place. Interaction between groups and individuals in a place develop interpersonal co-operation and familiarity and trust within a community, thereby defining a neighbourhood.

Individuals seek meaning in the landscape and it is this meaning that Tuan (1974) refers to as topophilia. Relph (1976), on the other hand, accounts for human place experiences by saying that they are constructed in the memories of people,

becoming so through the repeated encounters and experience of place, and through the complex associations and interactions that happen in space and place.

The study of lifeworlds is important since it addresses people's attachment to place. Relph (1976) explores place as a phenomenon of the lifeworld of our everyday experience. He considers the relationship between people and place in terms of how place manifests itself in the human experiences and consciousness.

'...individuality is the essential quality of place, it is what sets place apart, makes it itself, a reflection of ecological diversity and human variety, and an expression of people's efforts and accomplishments. It is also a quality that is ineffable and easily destroyed. To recognise and respond to the individuality of places therefore requires a way of seeing that it is not confined to the observations of a single colour-blind eye but which is thoughtful and compassionate' (Relph, 1981:176).

At the community level the relationship with place is a powerful one in which community and place each reinforces the identity of the other. The landscape therefore becomes an expression of the communally held beliefs and values and of interpersonal involvement's. In this environment, groups which people identify with at the community level, attempt to protect their local areas against change and development (Relph, 1976).

'In short, people are their place and a place is it's people, and however readily these may be separated in conceptual terms, in experience they are not easily differentiated. In this context places are "public" - they are created and known through common experiences and involvement in common symbols and meanings' (Relph, 1976:34).

In both a community and an individual's experience of place there is often a close attachment and familiarity. This attachment constitutes "roots" in a place with concerns of deep care and concern for that place (Relph, 1976). However within this framework there is a central paradox of territoriality: people come together in space to facilitate survival, human betterment and prosperity yet may be obliged to exclude

people in order to ensure that survival, betterment or prosperity. Conflict is an inevitable outcome of this paradox which may range from trivial incursions by others into an individual's or group's personal space - to strife and the kind of global conflict which threatens human survival (Smith and Chisholm, 1990).

'Good fences may keep out intruders at one spatial scale, and even make for better relations with others, but the wider resolution of conflict with a territorial basis challenges human wisdom to its limits' (Smith and Chisholm, 1990:2).

The concept of place and an understanding of its influence on individuals, community and neighbourhoods is essential in achieving sustainable tourism development and a successful outcome to tourism in the area. Understanding other individuals and groups sense of place in the study area helps to build familiarity and co-operation. Furthermore, it is helpful in dealing with conflict which may arise in the area and in achieving a collaborative planning framework and inclusion of marginalised communities in sustainable tourism.

4.6 Human Agents as Instruments of Change

The humanist interpretation of society and space stresses the importance of human agents in shaping the nature of social processes. As human agents act, so they change the outcomes and events thereby influencing the nature of the causal powers and contingent circumstances (Oelofse, 1994). It is therefore important to consider the role of human agents in shaping the processes that would lead to a successful outcome for tourism in the area. However, it is important to recognise that human agents are enabled and constrained by structure and so it is also necessary to investigate and take cognisance of structural underpinnings. Gibson (1978:153) comments that;

'we see the ...patterns of our time being changed or preserved, or we see them merely continuing according to the will of interrelated interest groups and the material conditions involved. We learn to see the relationships among interest groups, the values they pursue, and the consequence of this in the form and

meaning of places. We locate our values in this process and thus recognise our own existence as actors making, maintaining, or countervailing changes.'

In the study area there are different processes and human agents that are shaping the tourism and environmental landscape. The interaction of these human agents, such as the media, Drakensberg Resort Association, Northern Drakensberg Biosphere, with each other, the Amazizi community and Government have to be taken into account and considered in reaching an outcome for sustainable tourism development.

4.7 Conclusion

In this theoretical discussion of Humanism the meaning of the term perception has been outlined since it influences the way we behave or act and so is crucial in the resolution of environmental problems which is fundamental to this research. It is difficult to investigate the "real" impacts of tourism in the area as any reality is dependent on the perception of people experiencing that reality. Perception is difficult to define but the models discussed serve as a framework for the research. The concept and the meaning of the sense of place has also been considered and adds to an understanding of sustainable tourism. Human agents are not absolutely confined by structure, but can interpret the world within their own personal frame. When groups of individuals collectively value something they will mobilise themselves to defend what they believe is important. Through this action they may influence and alter structure. An understanding of the actions and attitudes of the human agents is thus fundamental to this dissertation, however, this must be positioned within an understanding of the broader structures operating in the study area.

This theoretical and conceptual outline has taken into consideration:

- Sustainable development and the concept of sustainable tourism development.
- Collaborative planning and the concept of communicative rationality.

- Humanism and the concepts of perceptions and attitudes.

The three theoretical concepts have outlined a framework from which a successful outcome to tourism can be established. Chapter 5 examines the social, economic, environmental, institutional and policy frameworks impacting on the study area.

CHAPTER 5 CASE STUDY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter examines the socio-economic and environmental aspects of the study area. It further investigates the institutional and policy framework impacting on stakeholders in the area.

5.2 The Region

The study area is in the Northern Drakensberg area of KwaZulu Natal and shares borders with Lesotho and the Free State (see map 1 & 2). The surrounding area in South Africa form part of the magisterial district of Bergville, which falls under the jurisdiction of the uThukela Regional Council. Within the study areas a diverse range of groups are represented. The area is home to 40 000 Amazizi people, the majestic Royal Natal National Park (RNNP) under the management of the KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services (KZN NCS), numerous hotels and resorts and commercial farmers.

Historically the study area has been divided between the former KwaZulu homeland and Province of Natal. Today this historical division is still reflected in the demographics and the socio-economic features of the different communities in the study area.

5.2.1 Historical Background of the Study Area

The first farms in the area were established after 1837 by Voortrekkers. However, many of these original farms were later bought by English speaking settlers. In 1849 the colonial administration defined clear boundaries for white farming areas and for an adjacent Native Reserve which later became the Upper Tugela Native Location. At the turn of the century the area of the RNNP and surroundings consisted partly of so-called Bantu Reserve, partly of farms which were surveyed and bought and partly by unoccupied farms that belonged to the

State. These unoccupied farms were declared a park in 1906 and later other farms were purchased to form the RNNP as it is today. By 1910 the area was completely surveyed and farms delimited according to the boundaries existing today. These white-owned farms became part of the Bergville district of the province of Natal and were administratively separated from the Native Location (Pearse, 1989).

The Amazizi are a tribe of the Embo Nguni group which settled in the foothills of the Drakensberg about 300-400 years ago. At various times during their history, the Amazizi were forced to flee different pressures and resettle in different areas. As mentioned above, at the turn of the century their land was a reserve and later, during the apartheid period, it was incorporated into the Upper Tugela Native Location (renamed Okhahlamba) belonging to the Kwazulu homeland (Pearse, 1989). After the change in government in 1994 the Amazizi were included in the Bergville district, which comprises areas belonging to the former Kwazulu homeland and the province of Natal.

The former KwaZulu homeland areas in the Bergville district (including the Amazizi Tribal Authority) are rural and they portray all the features of underdevelopment that characterise the black rural areas of South Africa in general. These characteristics include widespread poverty, lack of infrastructural and industrial development, a high rate of male migrant labour and poor health and welfare services. These areas are also characterised by high population numbers, high population growth rates and high density levels.

5.3. Demographic and Social Profile

5.3.1 Population

The disparate history of the study area is also mirrored in the demographic data for the surrounding communities. Specific data for the tribal authority or for the surrounding farm communities is not available. It is assumed that the district demographic data is a reflection of the demographics of the local communities. Census data is available from the 1991 census, however, as the communities were

part of two different administrative entities: the Bergville district (previously part of Natal) and the Okhahlamba area (previously part of KwaZulu), two sets of data will be utilised.

The total population of the Amazizi Tribal Authority is approximately 40 000 people. The two wards bordering the RNNP, Obanjaneni and Busingatha, have an estimated population of 8 202 and 4 902 respectively. The exact population levels for the surrounding white farms are not known but they are estimated to be much lower than for the tribal authority areas

The age distribution of the population of the local white farms is reflected in the Bergville district statistics, and that of the tribal authority in the Okhahlamba area statistics (Table 1).

Table 1: Age Distribution for Study Area

Age Group (Years)	Percentage for white farms (Bergville District)	Percentage for Tribal Authority (Okhahlamba)
0 - 4	15.5	18.5
5 - 14	28.2	32.9
15 - 64	52.1	44.4
65	4.2	4.2

Source: HSRC - GIS Unit, 1998.

From the above data it is clear that there are different patterns within the two communities. In the tribal authority area there is a rapidly increasing population with 51.4% of the population in the pre-reproductive cohort and 44.4% in the reproductive cohort. The population on the white farms is not increasing as the pre-reproductive cohort is smaller. These patterns are also reflected in the population growth rate for the two areas. From 1970 to 1991 the growth rate for the Natal Bergville district has been 0.65% per year and for the Okhahlamba area of the KwaZulu homeland it was 5.08% (HSRC, 1998). More recent studies undertaken in 1995 show that in the tribal authority areas the growth rate is estimated at 3% (Donnelly, 1998).

5.3.2. Socio - economic Factors

The study area is partially developed and as a consequence, employment opportunities are limited. Formal employment opportunities for the large population of the Amazizi tribal authority are offered mainly by their neighbours either in tourism related activities or in agriculture. Some employment opportunities also exist within the community in schools, clinics and in local administration. However, based on the interviews in the community, unemployment is regarded as a major problem.

Besides formal employment there are other sources of income in the tribal authority area such as subsistence agriculture, but this is rarely the primary source of income for the local community (Donnelly, 1998). It is used as a precaution against potential income loss and as a survival strategy. Small businesses such as retailing and hawking of crafts, clothes and furniture exist. Other general income-generating activities include sewing, weaving, building, plastering of mud houses, and selling of firewood, beer, chickens, grass, and meat (Donnelly, 1998).

Employment in the surrounding farmer community is mainly related to agriculture. There is a great disparity between the skills and the level of employment of the workforce from the area. Usually the lack of skills disables the local black people from obtaining higher skilled jobs, with better wages, which is reflected in the income levels.

Table 2 compares socio-economic statistics for the two communities as extracted from the 1991 census data. Again this data is available only for the two administrative entities to which the two communities belonged in 1991.

Table 2: Socio-economic data for Bergville District (Natal) and the Okhahlamba Area (KwaZulu)

Socio-economic data	Bergville - Natal	Okhahlamba - KwaZulu
Unemployment Rate (%)	22	61
Per Capita Income (Rands)	3,395	740
Dependency Ratio	2.75	4.8
Migrant Labourers	626	20,915
Female/male Ratio	1.06	1.27

Source:HSRC - GIS Unit, 1998.

These statistics underline the differences in the socio-economic status of the local tribal community as opposed to the farmer/tourism entrepreneurial community and these trends have been perpetuated to the present.

5.4 Land Use

There are three main land uses in the area: residential, conservation and recreational (linked to tourism), and agriculture

5.4.1 Residential Land Use

Residential land use is not significant in the commercial farming and conservation areas. In the tribal authority areas, however, residential land use is important for all five wards of the Amazizi. Three nodes of residential land use are identified in the study area and these nodes coincide with the wards of the tribal authority: Obanjaneni, Busingatha and KwaMiya. Dwellings are concentrated along access roads and some dwellings from the Obanjaneni ward border the Royal Natal National Park directly. A few dwellings from all wards are also scattered in the mountains.

Map 2 shows that the area previously belonging to the Natal province and the areas which were initially established as farms are privately owned. The title-deeds are as follows:

- The Cavern and Sungubala owned by the Cavern Properties CC - developed for tourism with one resort - The Cavern Berg Resort;
- The Ledges owned by Cavern Properties CC - not developed, used for cattle grazing;
- Trilby owned by Karos Leisure Pty Ltd - developed for tourism with one resort - Karos Mont-aux-Sources;
- Oliviershoek owned by the Du Toit family - a cattle farm with a camp/caravan facility;
- Onverwacht owned by Cavern Properties CC - cattle farming with a resort under construction;
- Wan Hoop owned by the Stein family - farm cattle and soya. Hlalanathi Cottages & Caravan Park is situated on a sub-division of this farm,

Areas previously belonging to the KwaZulu homeland and which are under the control of the tribal authority are administered through the traditional structures of the Nkosi and the Indunas. There is no private land ownership as entrenched by a title deed or deed of grant. Land is allocated by the Induna of the ward to individual families and attains the status of privately owned land. Under certain circumstances, as punishment members of the community could lose their claim to land.

5.4.2 Agricultural Land Use

There are two forms of agriculture practised in the area: subsistence agriculture by the Amazizi communities and commercial agriculture by white farmers. The crops cultivated for subsistence include maize, onions, tomatoes and potatoes and are produced in small-scale individual gardens. The communal tribal areas of the Amazizi wards are used for grazing mainly by cattle but there are also smaller numbers of goats. Commercial agriculture is practised by white farmers and is mainly represented by cattle farming. The only commercial crop planted in the area is soya on the Wan Hoop farm.

5.4.3 Recreational Land Use

Areas used for conservation and recreation increased as the importance of tourism in the local economy grew. This evolution is linked to the existence of the RNNP, which promoted and opened up the area for tourism. It should be noted that on the majority of the farms in the study area, agricultural land use is becoming secondary to recreational land use. This is the case of the tourism developments bordering the RNNP: The Cavern, Karos Mont-aux-Sources and Hlalanathi, all of which have been developed on agricultural land which obviously impacts on land use and land management, with the result that natural areas especially large open grassland tracts dominate the landscape.

Within the study area there are a number of facilities/resorts for tourists. They are listed below:

- **Karos Mont-aux-Sources** - hotel/timeshare chalet facility (max. 150 guests);
- **Hlalanathi** - cottage/caravan resort which has 50 caravan sites and 56 beds which attracts upper income tourists;
- **Cavern Berg Resort** - hotel resort which has 150 beds and attracts upper income tourists;
- **Alpine Heath** - luxury chalet accommodation which can sleep a maximum of 600 guests;
- **Royal Natal National Park and Hotel** - KZN NCS accommodation for approximately 600 people;
- **Rugged Glen** - KZN NCS camping facility;
- **Drifters Camp** - rustic accommodation for 20 people;
- **Montusi Mountain Lodge** - under construction for 60 upper income tourists;
- **J. Ball Bed and Breakfast** - small scale camping and B & B accommodation for 10 people.

5.5 Infrastructure

5.5.1 Education

There are seven schools in the Amazizi Tribal Authority area: 3 high schools and 4 primary schools. The farming community uses the schools in Bergville and otherwise boarding schools outside the study area. With regard to education facilities, the education centre inside the Royal Natal National Park must be mentioned. This education centre is available for the use of schools and for other environmental education activities.

5.5.2 Health Facilities

In the tribal authority area there are two clinics and a varying number of mobile ones. There are no hospitals under the jurisdiction of the Bergville Local Authority. The nearest hospital is Emmaus Lutheran Hospital near Cathedral Peak. Severe medical cases are referred to larger hospitals in Estcourt, Ladysmith or Harrismith.

5.5.3 Transport and Roads

The access road to the study area and the main road in the area is the R74. It is a tarred road, in good condition and permits easy access. This road links the study area with the N3 highway. Most secondary roads between farms and tourist facilities are tarred. However, the roads inside the tribal authority area are gravel roads in a very poor condition.

There is no public bus service serving the local community. Private cars and taxis are the major form of transport. The local community is serviced by taxis and three main taxi ranks have been observed along the main road.

5.5.4 Electricity

Electricity provision differs in the study area. All farms, tourist facilities and the Royal Natal National Park are connected to the electricity grid. However, in the Amazizi authority area electricity provision varies between the different wards. Electrification is in progress and Eskom has a permanent camp at Dukuza in the Maphophomane ward. The Maphophomane and the Obanjaneni wards are partially

electrified, however, the Busingatha ward claims to have no electricity. In this ward electricity is provided only for the local school. The reliability of the power supply is considered to be good, with the exception of occasional failures, mainly during heavy storms.

5.5.5 Communication

The farms and tourist facilities do have telephone connections. However in the Amazizi authority area there are only three public telephones and a limited number of private ones - including some in shops and in the Thandanani Craft Market. One of the motives for entering the RNNP given by people from the surrounding wards is the use of public telephones inside the RNNP. Telkom is planning to install digitally enhanced cordless telephones in which transmission is done on a frequency basis. However, the costs for telephone instalments will have to be borne by the consumer.

5.5.6 Police

There are no police stations in the area. The closest police station is at Oliviershoek approximately 40 km from the study area.

5.6 Environmental Profile

The study area is characterised by the duality in environments between the KZN Nature Conservation Service conservation areas, hotels and resorts, commercial farm land and the communal land of the Amazizi people. The former area is characterised by well managed indigenous forests and grassland with little evidence of environmental degradation. The remaining exotic forests of wattle are in the process of being eradicated by the 'Water Wise Program' leaving patches of scorched earth which are in the process of natural rehabilitation.

The communal land of the Amazizi people has been subjected to massive overgrazing with the resulting increased run-off and gully erosion. Little indigenous forest remain with the wood having being used for fuel.

5.7 Institutional Framework

There are various institutions operating in and impacting on the study area. They operate at national level, parastatals of the government, provincial government level and various civic organisations and associations. They all have various power bases, mandates and responsibilities and represent different sections of the broader community in varying degrees.

5.7.1 South Africa Tourism (SATOOR) is the tourism promotion arm of the government. It has been undergoing reorganisation and transformation since early 1997, when a new board was appointed. Despite radical changes, and many workshops and discussion documents, few in the industry believe that there has been a significant improvement in the overall effectiveness of SATOOR; its inadequate budget being cited by many as the major reason for this. SATOOR is, however, forging ahead with a project to rebrand itself and with a major commitment to develop an information technology architecture to support its function (Grant et al, 1998)

5.7.2 KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Service (KZN NCS). In April 1998 the Natal Parks Board and the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation amalgamated to form KZN Nature Conservation Service under the KZN NCS Act of 1997. The KZN NCS is an autonomous parastatal body appointed by the Premier. Under the KZN NCS Act provision is made for Local Boards to regulate protected areas which will have included in their membership representatives of the Traditional Authorities, Regional Councils, Community Based Organisations, Local authorities, Farmers Associations, business sector and local environmental groups (uThukela Regional Development Plan, 1997).

The KZN NCS is responsible for the management of 80 protected areas, totalling 694 753 hectares, about 11% of the surface of KwaZulu-Natal. Within its protected areas there are 24 camps providing 2421 beds and 30 campgrounds which can accommodate 9880 people (Grant et al, 1998)

5.7.3 *uThukela Regional Council (TRC)* is situated in Ladysmith. It is currently battling with administrative capacity and this problem is further exacerbated by budgetary constraints. Under the Planning and Development Act, 1998, it is in the process of becoming the local authority for the study area.

5.7.4 *Bergwatch* is a non-governmental organisation with a mandate to promote community based tourism, increase community environmental education and act as a monitoring body for developments in the Drakensberg.

5.7.5 *Provincial Government* under the National Constitution is the level of government at which tourism falls. Since 1994, most of the provinces have therefore seen extensive changes and realignment of institutional structures affecting tourism. But there remains some overlap and confusion about the respective roles of central government, province and regional council. Most players in the tourism industry believe that government is a long way from recognising the contribution tourism can make to the country, the economy, and to job creation in particular, even though most would argue that the latter is South Africa's most pressing challenge. There remains optimism that tourism will receive the national priority, funding for development, and the co-ordinated attention it deserves across all government departments (Grant et al, 1998).

5.7.6 *Northern Drakensberg Biosphere (NDB)* is an emerging Biosphere initiative in the study area. It is represented by all members of the community, including the Inkosi of the Amazizi community.

5.7.7 *Drakensberg Resorts Association (DRA) and the Drakensberg Tourism Association (DTA)* are a loose affiliation of resorts members from the Drakensberg region which have the interest of their constituency at the forefront of their agenda.

5.7.8 *Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF)* is a civil society forum. Before the 1994 elections there were five administrative structures in the area. The Transitional Local Council (TLC) said that there was a need to get involved in

community development. The Natal Provincial Administration, the TLC, the white farmers association, the black farmers association and Bergnet formed a task force. From these core meetings the Bergville District Development Forum emerged.

5.8 Policy Framework

Policies are formed for different purposes at various levels. They are formed at a broad based international level, exist in national government legislation and are developed for more specific provincial and regional contexts. Each of these policies play an important role in forming a framework for environmental management in South Africa.

The Drakensberg area has been the focus of numerous conservation initiatives which have mainly been focused on commercial farming areas or where land has been owned by the State or conservation agencies. It is only in the past 10 years that efforts have been made to try and give areas of traditional tenure system similar attention. Since South Africa has been readmitted into the international community, it has been possible for South Africa to become signatories to many of the international conventions, such as that of the World Heritage Site Status, and Man and the Biosphere, and to attract international assistance and support for such initiatives.

5.8.1 International Context

The first international initiative has to be ratified by the United Nations Council, whilst the second is an initiative established between South Africa and Lesotho. Both initiatives would boost the study area as a destination of international importance and therefore affirms the attainment of a successful outcome for tourism in the study area which this dissertation is engaged in.

The World Heritage Conservation

The KZN Nature Conservation Service has applied for the Natal Drakensberg Park to be declared a World Heritage Site. This declaration would be in terms of the

Convention for the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, which was negotiated under the auspices of UNESCO in 1972. The Natal Drakensberg Park consists of protected areas that have been set aside for conservation within the Drakensberg. If approved the nomination will be one of only 20 such sites in the world with both cultural and natural world heritage making it more attractive as an international ecotourism destination.

Roof of Africa Initiative

The Roof of Africa proposal considers the development of a tourist route in the Drakensberg. This tourist route would have a regional focus encompassing the Golden Gate area, Lesotho, the Natal Drakensberg and the Eastern Cape. The main aim of this initiative is to join the development nodes in these areas and to improve access to the entire Drakensberg. This will increase the marketability of these destinations.

KZN Nature Conservation Service will support this initiative as there is great potential for this concept in the Natal Drakensberg Park. The initiative is sustainable as it provides tourism opportunities as well as economic opportunities for the surrounding communities. The Roof of Africa initiative would result in a tourism package with a wider range of experiences, thereby increasing market value.

5.8.2 National Context

Constitution

The South African constitution states in chapter 2, section 24 that:

“Everyone has the right -

- a) to an environment that is not harmful to their health or well-being; and
- b) to have an environment protected, for the benefit of present and future generations, through reasonable legislative and other measures that -
 - i) prevent pollution and ecological degradation;
 - ii) promote conservation; and

- iii) secure ecologically sustainable development and use of natural resources while promoting justifiable economic and social development.”

Environmental Policy

The Environmental Management Policy gives effects to the rights in the Constitution that relate to the environment. These include rights to the environment, governance, administrative justice, accountability and public participation. The policy also defines sustainable development as a combination of economic, social and environmental factors. The policy entrenches environmental sustainability in policy and practise. It taking ownership of sustainable development as the accepted approach to resource management (Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism, 1997).

The policy has set out seven strategic goals for achieving sustainability and integrated environmental management. These are:

- effective institutional framework and legislation;
- sustainable resource use and impact management;
- holistic and integrated planning;
- participation and partnerships in environmental governance;
- empowerment and environmental education;
- information management;
- internal co-operation.

Sustainable resource use and impact management seeks to promote equitable access to, and sustainable use of the natural and cultural resources and promote environmentally sustainable lifestyles. It also seeks to integrate environmental impact management with all developments (uThukela Regional Development Plan, 1997).

Environmental Conservation Act

The Environmental Conservation Act 73 of 1989 (ECA) can be regarded as one of the most important statutes in terms of environmental law in South Africa. Section 2(a) of the Policy for Environmental Conservation highlights the need for the

“protection of ecological processes, natural systems and the natural beauty” of the environment (ECA, 1989).

Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Regulations

On 5 September 1997 the Department of Environmental Affairs and Tourism brought out new regulations regarding Environmental Impact Assessments (EIA) which are now attached to the Environmental Conservation Act. These regulations identify activities that may have a detrimental effect on the environment. It stipulates that all activities listed in Schedule 1 are subject to an EIA. Schedule 1 refers to the “construction or upgrading of public and private resorts and associated infrastructure” (Environmental Conservation Act, 1997).

Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) Guidelines

The IEM procedure was proposed to the Minister of Environment Affairs by the Council for the Environment in 1989. It was formalised in the formation of a series of IEM guideline documents and the inclusion of parts of the procedure in sections 21, 22, 23 and 26 of the Environment Conservation Act 73 of 1989 (DEA, 1989). A discussion document on IEM was released in April 1998. One of the intentions of this document is to legislate the entire IEM procedure in section 2, rather than including only the parts pertaining to EIA in sections 21, 22, 23 and 26 of the ECA (DEA&T, 1998).

The procedure is designed to ensure consideration of the environment in a streamlined, proactive planning procedure (DEA, 1989). If it becomes clear during the “develop proposal” phase that a proposal is going to have significant environmental impacts, or if it is included in the checklist of activities or environments set out in the guidelines, an impact assessment is required.

The first phase of the impact assessment is scoping. This stage identifies the major issues of concern and the procedure that should be followed. This is done in consultation with interested and affected parties. The investigation phase is guided by the decisions made during scoping and is intended to provide authorities with

enough information to make an informed decision. Finally, a report is drawn up in accordance with the report requirements set out in the guideline documents.

5.8.3 Provincial Context

Planning in KwaZulu-Natal has undergone substantial change since 1994. Changes in legislation which affect the implementation of planning and development in the Province are still underway. These changes are attempting to replace the wide range of legislation which affected development in the past, and which are still being used to a varying degree in the present, with one overarching piece of legislation, the Planning and Development Act. Apart from the Town Planning Ordinance, 1949, other pieces of legislation which will be replaced relate to the development in the Traditional Areas and in previously black communities.

Planning Legislation

Ms Lubke, of Local Government and Housing, stated that in terms of the current Town Planning Ordinance no. 27 of 1949, planning permission for development has to be obtained from the department of Local Government and Housing. However, this legislation is in the process of change. The new Planning and Development Act (PDA) was Promulgated in July 1998 and in terms of this, all developments on state land will be subject to approval by appropriate planning authority which in this case will be the uThukela Regional Council, once their Regional Development Plan is approved. However, the regulations, which can be considered as the 'teeth' of the Act, and which detail the requirements of the Act, have not yet been finalised. Until these are approved by the Provincial Government, existing pieces of legislation are still in place. In addition the national Development Facilitation Act, 1995, has also been adopted in this Province.

Special Case Area Plan (SCAP)

SCAP has been enacted under section 26(1) of the KZN Planning and Development Bill, 1997 (PDA) in order to ensure that development pressures that are being imposed on the Drakensberg will not destroy those features which have made the region special in the first place. SCAP will have the following end products:

- A Plan for the Drakensberg area which regulators and decision makers can use to guide development in the area;
- Regulations for the Special Case Area once promulgated (Drakensberg Special Case Area Plan, 1998).

Tourism Legislation

The KZN Tourism Act of 1996 is the primary legislation guiding tourism in the province. This act provides for the creation of the KZN Tourism Authority as well as the Regional Tourism Fora. The functions of the KZN Tourism Authority include:

- the promotion and marketing of tourism in KZN;
- the co-ordination of bodies, organisations or institutions operating within the tourism industry, providing advice and services;
- the granting of recognition to suitable tourism operations and ventures, and;
- the undertaking of research and sourcing of funds for tourism purposes (uThukela Regional Development Plan, 1997).

5.8.4 Regional Context

uThukela Regional Council

There is a final Regional Development Plan for the uThukela Region. The Drakensberg is likely to be classified as a special case area after the Planning and Development Act comes into effect. A Special Case Area Plan for the Natal Drakensberg Park and its buffer areas is in its early stages of development.

The tourism vision for the uThukela Region is that by 2020 uThukela would have significantly increased its current limited share of the domestic tourism market. In addition it will be recognised as an important centre of international tourism rivalling the Kruger National Park and Cape Town. The growth in tourism will have had direct and significant benefit for disadvantaged communities and will have empowered many members to become effective and confident entrepreneurs within the sector (uThukela Development Plan, 1998).

The plan states that at the regional scale the lack of tourism organisations outside the Transitional Local Council areas are a problem, especially in the rural areas where there are opportunities for the expansion of the tourism market, but where people are not linked into the system. Related to this issue is a severe lack of rural education and facilitation of opportunities and benefits for rural tourism development. An active strategy has to be put in place to inform and assist rural communities to become actively involved in the tourism industry. Furthermore, the tourism industry should be seen as an emerging small, medium and micro economic sector. (uThukela Development Plan, 1998).

Drakensberg Approaches Policy

The Drakensberg Approaches Policy provided nodes for tourism development, prescribes densities of recreational units allowed within the nodes, a zoning system with associated preferred activities in the former Natal Drakensberg area. The study area falls within the Babangibone development node. It is currently being updated and revised by the Government Department of Town and Regional Planning and is incorporated in the new Special Case Area Plan. The old policy, though outdated, is still useful for guiding development in the region.

5.8.5 KwaZulu-Natal Nature Conservation Service Policy

It should be noted that the following information is from unpublished policy documents that are available from the Natal Parks Board Headquarters at Queen Elizabeth Park, Pietermaritzburg.

Natal Parks Board Mission Statement

The Mission Statement aims "to conserve the wildlife resources of Natal and the ecosystems and processes upon which they depend, and assist all other public and private groups in ensuring the wise use of the biosphere."

This involves:

- the provision of public access to protected areas and appropriate services;
- the support of KwaZulu-Natal's ecotourism industry by providing, on a self funding basis, visitor facilities and experiences.

Integrated Environmental Management

Policy states that in the implementation of projects involving development within protected areas, there is a risk that adverse effects on the environment could occur. Realising this the application of the IEM procedure allows for, amongst other things, the modification of design on the early stages of planning to avoid or reduce negative impacts.

Neighbour Relations Policy

This policy attempts to develop joint participation in conservation programs and appropriate shared responsibilities between the KZN Nature Conservation Service and the communities that live adjacent to protected areas. An aspect of this involves the promotion of economic and social development. This is done by addressing basic social needs, encouraging preferential employment, involving local entrepreneurs and undertaking internal staff training in skills required for neighbour relations projects.

Ecotourism and Protected Areas

The KZN Nature Conservation Service recognises that tourism is a growing market and that ecotourism provides economic opportunities which are especially important in rural areas where few opportunities exist. Ecotourism development has the potential to create employment and generate entrepreneurial opportunities for people with a variety of backgrounds, skills and experience. The involvement of neighbouring communities in the planning and management of ecotourism will contribute to capacity building and the creation of entrepreneurial opportunities among protected area neighbours.

Community Opportunity

This policy states that every opportunity should be used to promote the participation in the design, construction, operation and management of visitor facilities in protected areas.

5.9 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the socio-economic, environmental, institutional and policy framework impacting on the study area. It has shown the duality of the study area with the 40 000 people living in the Amazizi community historically marginalised from the benefits of tourism development in the study area. In contrast the aforementioned initiatives will place the Drakensberg on the global tourism map, and it is anticipated that large numbers of additional tourists will be drawn to the Drakensberg region if the relevant authorities capitalise on this through marketing campaigns.

The attitudes and perceptions of the stakeholders in the study area are examined next in chapter six. The understanding of these attitudes is crucial to collaborative action, the resolution of environmental problems and sustainable tourism development.

CHAPTER 6 PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES REGARDING TOURISM

6.1 Introduction

This chapter attempts to understand the differing attitudes and perceptions amongst stakeholders as they influence the way they behave or act and so are crucial in the successful outcome for tourism in the study area. What are the perceptions and attitudes regarding tourism, the environment in which they live and institutional frameworks, of the Amazizi people, commercial farmers, Hotel and Resort owners / managers and the KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Services (KZN NCS) and other interest groups in the study area?

As indicated, there are a diversity of groups with a variety of conflicting and overlapping attitudes and perceptions. The groups and associations whose opinions were sought are:

- Amazizi Community,
- Hotels and Resorts,
- KwaZulu Natal Nature Conservation Society (KZN NCS),
- Northern Drakensberg Biosphere (NDB),
- Commercial Farmers,
- Drakensberg Resorts Association (DRA),
- Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF),
- Bergwatch,
- Department of Local Government and Housing, and
- uThukela Regional Council.

In this chapter the varying interested groups' attitudes and perceptions are outlined with respect to:

- Environmental Regulations
- Tourism and the Amazizi Community
- New Planning Initiatives
- Land Reform and Tourism
- SATOUR and Rural Tourism
- Conflicts in the Area

6.2 Environmental Regulations

The issues that were raised by the various stakeholders in terms of the planning regulations and framework for sustainable tourism development are:

- The need for regulation in the study area as environmental protection and conservation is an important aspect of tourism.
- uThukela Regional Council (which lacks administrative capacity) through the Planning and Development Act is to become the local authority for the study area allowing civic organisations to take on a proactive monitoring role.
- The Drakensberg Approaches policy, which is outdated, is replaced by the Special Case Area Plan which has raised the debate of nodal versus dispersed tourism development.
- The Integrated Environmental Management/Environmental Impact Assessment procedure is slow, beauracritic, unevenly applied, lacks monitoring capacity and is applied with little consultation between government and tourism developers.
- The Regional Development Plan is seen as positive by the community.
- The uThukela Regional Development Plan is seen as deficient in promoting "casino/cable-car" developments in the Drakensberg by the KZN Nature Conservation Service and Bergwatch.

Around each of these issues there are differing perceptions and attitudes amongst the interested and affected parties.

There was a need for regulation in the area as environmental protection and conservation are important aspect of tourism in the study area, but the Amazizi community were battling with human survival.

This was the dominant response from the groups interviewed. Inkosi Miya, the Traditional Council and members of the Amazizi community accepted the need for environmental protection and conservation but emphasised their priority concern with employment, clinics, water and libraries.

uThukela Regional Council, which lacks administrative capacity, is to become the local authority for the study area through the Planning and Development Act. This allows civic organisations increased space to engage in proactive monitoring roles.

According to Provincial Government the Planning and Development Act of 1998, which applies to the entire Province, is taking control of development away from the Town and Regional Planning Commission (TRPC) and devolving it to the local authority. The local authority, for the study area, would then resort to the uThukela Regional Council. This would result in the falling away of the centralised TRPC, with less development applications, thus speeding up the development process. This allows increased space for individuals and groups to take on a monitoring role. Furthermore it allows for the applicant to control the development process. However, according to the uThukela Regional Council and Province the administrative capacity at the Council would have to be increased to deal with the increased authority. Furthermore, the Integrated Environmental Management and Environmental Impact Assessment could not be dealt with at the uThukela Regional Council as they would lack the capacity and therefore the development application process would be dealt with at two separate authorities - one at Provincial level and the other Regional.

This procedure is in a transition phase and is experiencing administrative problems. However, the uThukela Regional Council, Provincial Government and tourism developers see this streamlined process in a positive light and as an improvement on the old procedures.

The Special Case Area Plan has replaced the outdated Drakensberg Approaches policy raising the debate of nodal versus dispersed tourism development.

The respondents all agreed that the Drakensberg Approaches Policy was old and outdated and therefore the Special Case Area Plan (SCAP) was a timely update. However the KZN Nature Conservation Service and Bergwatch argued that the SCAP leads to the creation of high intensity areas on the edge of the Drakensberg Park which have high and negative environmental impacts. Instead, policy should promote dispersed, low impact development across a wider area.

The Drakensberg Resorts Association and Regional Council believe the Special Case Area Plan is not in line with the uThukela Regional Plan as it does not allow for higher intensity development further into the mountains thereby benefiting the marginalised communities through facilitating an environment for job creation. The uThukela Regional Council also believes that the consulting process for the SCAP has been inadequate.

Furthermore, according to the uThukela Regional Council the Special Case Area Plan is of lesser legal status than the Development Plan for the region and therefore will have little controlling authority. However according to the Provincial Government and Bergwatch, SCAP is a concept for a unique feature of the country and the process is meant to have extensive consultation. According to the Provincial Planning and Development Act (PDA) of 1998 the Minister can prescribe a Special Case Area under section 31 of the Act which has legal status over a Regional Plan.

The Integrated Environmental Management /Environmental Impact Assessment (IEM/EIA) procedure was seen as slow, bureaucratic, unevenly applied, lacks monitoring capacity and is applied with little consultation between government and tourism developers.

The majority of hotels, resorts and farmers in the area had numerous problems with the IEM, EIA and development procedures. The opinion of the smaller resorts was that the IEM was forced on them by dictating bureaucrats. The Northern Drakensberg Biosphere believed that the past laws of South Africa had protected land owners with enormous power over their own land. This attitude had become entrenched over a long period of time and therefore it is not easy for some people in the area to accept increasing government control. The hoteliers saw the EIA process as a painstakingly slow and frustrating, but necessary exercise. However, the unnecessary detail in the procedure needed to be trimmed for an easy application process. The Provincial government was seen as 'out of sight , out of mind'. They stated that more consultation was needed between authorities and tourism developers on the ground. They questioned what qualifications one needed to do an EIA and why the "layman's" (sic) credibility was not accepted and what qualifications the assessors had. The attitude was that the legislation was applied unevenly as some resorts and hotels do exactly as they like, while large resorts, which have a huge amount of money, do not do EIA's. Furthermore the hotels and resorts questioned the fact that they had to apply for development with a prolonged EIA process when the Amazizi people could do as they pleased with possibly greater environmental impacts. Two new schools with "huge blue roofs" were built in the "approaches" to the Royal Natal National Park and Amphitheatre in the Amazizi area. They questioned whether these had an EIA and suggested that a blanket authority was needed for all the development in the area.

The majority of the hoteliers and commercial farmers believed that there was a need for regulation in the area but were cynical as to its effectiveness. The case of a hotel in the area which had extended its accommodation facilities without planning permission onto KZN Nature Conservation Service land and was not prosecuted was frequently mentioned. They were concerned about who would monitor the development and who had the authority to stop large capital development from

ruining the area in light of the prevalence of corruption in government. The Northern Drakensberg Biosphere did play a minor regulation function in that its members abided by the Drakensberg Approaches Policy and many of the development proposals passed through the biosphere before reaching Local Government. However a number of people stated that individuals in the area started out with honest intentions until the “chips were down”-referring to capital outlay needed for development.

Furthermore, it was felt that the IEM procedure did not account for small, medium and micro economic tourism promotion. The attitude is that the small, medium and micro economic (SMME) sector, which dominates the tourism market, creates 80% of the employment opportunities in the area. Each tourism SMME in the area employs between one and 100 people. The large tourism operators, such as the Sun International and Karos Group, only create 20% of the permanent employment opportunities in the area. Furthermore, during construction and development, labour and skills are imported from outside the area with little benefit to the marginalised host communities.

The paradox is that those in the tourism industry who are creating the majority of the employment opportunities for the marginalised community can least afford the “expertise” of an independent consultant. Therefore the Integrated Environmental Management process is destroying the SMME employment creation potential of the tourism industry in direct contrast to government rhetoric.

Regional Development Plan is seen as positive by the community.

The uThukela Development Plan is seen to have positive implications by the community in the study area. The general attitude was that the only two sectors which have any potential for development are agriculture and tourism which the plan addresses. The concept of marketing the Drakensberg as the “Roof of Africa”-Transfrontier park and World Heritage Site in the Development Plan is seen as a positive strategy. With its regional focus the main aim of the Transfrontier Park would link the Golden Gate area, Lesotho with its major water schemes, the Natal Drakensberg and the Eastern Cape. The main aim of this proposal is to join

development nodes and improve access to the entire Berg, making holidays more marketable.

The development nodes will each be set aside for different purposes, and each would be marketed for those specific purpose. The nodes would be:

- Babangibona (case study area) - tranquillity and relaxation,
- Cathkin - highly developed facility based,
- Himeville/Underberg - family orientated, and
- Mweni valley - cultural.

The uThukela Regional Development Plan was seen as deficient in promoting “casino/cable car” developments in the Drakensberg by the KZN Nature Conservation Service and Bergwatch.

The KZN Nature Conservation Service and Bergwatch believed the concept of a “casino-cable car” is inappropriate due to the lack of funding, marginal threshold tourism population and not enough detailed stakeholder analysis. Furthermore the Mweni area, where this is proposed, is seen as an environmentally sensitive area for such a development. From prior research done by Bergwatch, the people of the Mweni area have not been consulted at the ground level and do not seem supportive of the idea. The Regional Development Plan should not raise expectations of the people living in the area as it sets a process in motion which may be premature and unfeasible.

The Drakensberg Resorts Association (DRA) believes that the environmental lobby has an overwhelming preservationist attitude at the expense of tourism growth. The attitude is that the environmentalists operating in the area at both NGO (Bergwatch) and policy promotion (i.e. SCAP and EIA) are narrow minded and do not see the balance that is needed between employment and the environment.

The Regional Council, DRA and hotels and resorts in the area believe that the area needs a major “must-see” tourist attraction. The idea is for a casino/cable-car in the Mweni valley area which would link to a five star hotel in Lesotho and the Roof of

Africa concept (this concept links the Drakensberg Park with the highlands of Lesotho and the Golden Gate area). The perception is that the overseas tourist market expect to be able to venture into the mountains, similar to the Alps in Europe. The “cable-car” idea was mentioned in the Singati valley as a means of attracting people to the area making the Amazizi people proud, and providing employment to the community

6.2.1 Synopsis

The dominant attitude of the host community is for environmental regulation that should benefit tourism through the protection and conservation of the environment. The uThukela Regional Council, through the Provincial Planning and Development Act, is to become the local authority for the study area thereby streamlining development processes. Furthermore, the limitations of environmental legislation have been exposed whilst the increasing monitoring role of civic organisations has been highlighted.

The difference between the developmental approach of the Regional Council/hoteliers/Amazizi community/commercial farmers and the environmental approach of the KZN Nature Conservation Service/Bergwatch has been highlighted. The “casino/cable car” idea, in this regard, is one of the specific development proposals around which there is the greatest contention.

The congruence in vision between the Amazizi community and the hoteliers has been revealed, highlighting the fact that there is no fundamental difference in opinion but there are certainly differences in terms of priority. Whilst these two sectors obviously have different interests, they are both primarily concerned with development which would bring profits for the hoteliers and employment for the community.

6.3 Tourism and the Amazizi Community

These are the issues that were raised in terms of tourism and the Amazizi community.

- The greatest threat to sustainable tourism development was poverty, therefore there was a huge need for employment creation in the study area.
- The lack of exposure to tourism of the Amazizi community.
- The increasing awareness of the environment and the benefits of tourism to the community.
- The cultural gap between the Amazizi community and tourism.
- The Amazizi community as an attraction for tourists.
- Education and skills training for the Amazizi community is an imperative for ensuring participation in environmental and tourism initiatives.

Around each of these issues there are differing perceptions and attitudes amongst the interested and affected parties:

The greatest threat to sustainable tourism development was poverty therefore there was a huge need for employment creation in the study area.

The attitude of those outside the Amazizi community was that the greatest threat to the area came from outside the protected area of the Royal Natal National Park, hotels and resorts and commercial farms, in the form of poverty. Sustainable resource utilisation would only be achieved in the area when poverty was effectively tackled. Consequently there was a huge need for employment creation in the study area.

The lack of exposure to tourism of the Amazizi community.

People in the Amazizi community generally saw their trips to Durban and Gauteng to find employment as part of being tourists. Teachers in the area felt that sending school trips to Durban was also involved in tourism. The majority of people, however, said they had a lack of exposure to tourism and had never been to the

hotels in the area, even though they were neighbours. They felt that “their minds were not yet free to go on holiday”.

The general perception of the community was that tourists came to the area for the view and aesthetics and to get away from the noise and “maddening around them”. The general attitude was that tourism was good for the area and never encroached on their “space”. The perception was that the community liked to meet people from different cultures and talk to them but in the past they had been very reserved with tourists and “amalungu” (i.e. whites).

The increasing awareness of the environment and the benefits of tourism to the community.

The KZN Nature Conservation Service believes that there is a high level of environmental awareness within the Amazizi community. There has been a willingness on the part of the chief and other community members to become more involved in the park’s management as well as requests for environmental education from the local schools. The general community’s perception is that they are responsible for protecting the environment and are proud of their heritage. The majority of the community do realise the importance of protecting the environment as they had been told about soil erosion and the water wise program but most were not aware of the connection between the environment and tourism.

The Amazizi community’s perception is that they were beginning to realise the potential of tourism. People are starting to realise that money can be made in tourism especially those who make handcrafts to sell during the holidays. Inkosi Miya stated that they were happy that there were visitors in the area as they bring in money and employment. The community was benefiting and were quite accustomed to tourism as it had been in the area for a long time. He believed that the community could be involved in tourism by the selling of goods to the resorts and hotels, Zulu dancing exhibitions, inviting people to the horse racing in the Amazizi community and in being tour guides. A few members of the community stated that if you built a hut maybe some tourists would like to stay in it or others suggested they would like

to develop a cultural tourism village which showed people how the Amazizi people live

The cultural gap between the Amazizi community and tourism.

The general perception was that there was a wide cultural gap between tourists in the area and the Amazizi community. The majority agreed that tourism had historically not respected the culture of the people living in the area but was changing in orientation in seeing the tourism value in local culture. The community was increasingly being exposed to tourists as people from overseas were interested in the culture of the local community. Local leadership was historically not included in tourism development but channels of communication had been open for some time.

The Amazizi community was seen as an attraction for tourists.

The majority of the hotels and resorts interviewed agreed that the Amazizi community was an attraction for foreign visitors. The community was seen by them as being friendly and grateful for the employment opportunities provided by tourism.

Education and skills training for the Amazizi community was imperative for ensuring participation in environmental and tourism initiatives.

The general attitude was that the community needs education in understanding the value of tourism and what is involved in catering for tourists. Environmental education should be an enabling process, promoting action and teaching people to become active in conservation. Some of the resorts and the Northern Drakensberg Biosphere suggested that they could provide education on what hotels do to promote tourism helping to end the “them and us” attitude of the local community.

Environmental education had previously been the responsibility of the KwaZulu Department of Nature Conservation (KDNC) and teacher workshops had been run by the Royal Natal National Park to promote environmental education in the schools. However this activity seems to have stopped. In the past, environmental education by the KZN Nature Conservation Service focused on the natural

environment. There is now a more holistic approach to the environment. Education should thus be broadened to include the social, political and economic environment of the area. This is important as the community needs to have enabling structures in order to positively contribute to any form of conservation.

The attitude of the community was that they needed to be educated about “what is tourism?”. The women in the community also said that they lacked skills training and some of them expressed a desire for help with marketing their handicraft to tourists. People “need to clear the mist” that tourism offers opportunities and that they do not “just have to become teachers, nurses or policemen”.

Bergwatch stated that the community have asked to be assisted in regards to the promotion of tourism in the area. Bergwatch believes that they seek a genuine cultural exchange between the local community and tourists. The local community do not want to end up as a “cultural zoo”. They believe the local community needs to be treated with humility based around interactive communication in a process that has cultural sympathy and environmental sensitivity. The process should start with the capacities of the local people and should not superimpose “our” preconceived concepts of what a cultural experience is. This process should preferably be facilitated through NGO’s, such as Bergwatch, at the ground level. The groups and individuals facilitating the process need to be responsible for a “gentle introduction” to tourism development, due to the lack of education of the local community.

The Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF) stated that the local community was in desperate need of training and skills. The BDDF did not have the funds and capacity to train people as they were a civil forum. Training was seen as not just a process of imparting knowledge but that in order to train local people effectively, one needs to “walk beside them” and help them through the learning process until they can cope on their own. This requires a great deal of time and effort, and that it was unfortunate that there are very few people willing to put in the time and effort required to train rural people.

6.3.1 Synopsis

Possibly the greatest threat to sustainable tourism development and a successful outcome to tourism in the study area is poverty. This has been exacerbated by a lack of exposure to the importance of the environment and tourism by the majority of the residents of the study area. This is further enhanced by the cultural ignorance of both tourists and the host community.

This, however, is against a positive background of increasing environmental awareness and benefits that tourism can provide with partnership potential between the Amazizi community and tourism operators. Allied with these positive aspects is an increasing awareness of the value of the Amazizi culture to tourism in the area and the importance of skills training and education for the Amazizi community.

6.4 New Planning Initiatives

The issues that were raised in terms of new planning initiatives are:

- New planning initiatives were seen as practical steps to protect the environment.
- Greater partnership potential between the KZN Nature Conservation Service and the Amazizi community.
- KZN Nature Conservation Service (KZN NCS) has legislated community involvement in conservation through the formation of local boards.
- Money collected through a Nature Conservation Service levy will be allocated to the Amazizi community by local boards for community development.
- Problems have arisen in the implementation of the local boards.
- The area needed to become a “low key” development tourism destination with good tourism infrastructure with interesting surroundings in a safe, attractive environment.
- The formation of South African Community Tourism Association (SACTA) at Regional level and its negative relationship with the Drakensberg Tourism Authority (DTA).
- The Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF) is seen as an appropriate structure which could incorporate the local community into tourism.

Around each of these issues there are differing perceptions and attitudes amongst the interested and affected parties.

New planning initiatives were seen as practical steps to protect the environment.

The Amazizi community had little knowledge of new planning initiatives in the study area. However parastatals, hoteliers, commercial farmers, NGO's and government institutions saw the creation of biosphere's, the South African Community Tourism Association, the creation of local community boards, the constitution of a Transfrontier Park which would link the conservation areas in the Drakensberg with Lesotho and the proclamation of the Drakensberg Park as a World Heritage site as practical steps that could be taken to protect the environment.

Greater partnership potential between the KZN Nature Conservation Service, the Northern Drakensberg Biosphere and the community.

Amazizi community members said that in the past the community felt alienated from conservation. The relationship between the old "Parks Board" and the community was poor and there was little communication between the two group. This resulted in a lack of trust and apathy towards the "Boers". They implied that people from the community would go into the park and steal. Their attitude was that the amalgamation has paved the way for a better relationship resulting in a partnership between the KZN Nature Conservation Service and the community. The Amazizi Traditional Council and the Nkosi did state that they have the desire to create partnerships with the KZN Nature Conservation Service (KZN NCS) around tourism.

The KZN NCS believe that public/private partnerships need to be developed with marginalised communities to promote local economic development opportunities. Joint ventures of this nature have increasing political support from communities, NGO's and government. In addition they would like to develop partnerships around community conservation areas on communal land.

The Officer in Charge of the Royal Natal National Park meets irregularly with representatives from the community to discuss issues that arise. Inkosi Miya thinks the relationship with the KZN Nature Conservation Service is amicable and they think that they are doing a good job. The Amazizi council do work together with the Regional Council but there is no formal structure and transport is a problem. They have also attended Northern Drakensberg Biosphere meetings and participate with the hotels and resorts through this structure.

The Bergville District Development Forum stated that the political structures of the community in the area were very fluid and changed all the time. Inkosi Miya is Inkatha Freedom Party aligned but is not strongly political. He is seen as enthusiastic and is very pro development. The perception was that people in the area tended to focus on development and not party politics. The potential for good in the area is great if the traditional structures are respected as Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF), "respects the community leaders because the community respects them".

A concern was raised by some of the hotels and resorts that the Amazizi people were inherently suspicious of approaches for interaction and development. A cautious approach was needed especially to ensure that the community does not get jealous of individual achievers.

KZN Nature Conservation Service (KZN NCS) has legislated community involvement in conservation through the formation of local boards.

According to the KZN NCS, under the new Nature Conservation Management Act of 1997, South Africa will be the first country to legislate community involvement in conservation through the formation of local boards or local protected area boards. There will be three boards in the region: North, Central and South boards.

At present the formulation of these boards is still in the planning stage. Communities will elect people to sit on the board and the final decision will be made by the Minister. The local boards will monitor and develop management plans for the conservation areas at a provincial level. The local boards will also have input into

management decisions of the KZN Nature Conservation Service and members of KZN Nature Conservation Service will serve on these boards in an official capacity.

The Amazizi community felt that the local boards were a very good idea as the community could get something out of tourism. They felt it was important to work with the KZN Nature Conservation Service as the money should help with them getting some of the things they need, such as VIP toilets, clinics etc. as this was part of environmental protection. Those who were involved with the community boards knew about the structure of the boards and that they could apply to KZN NCS for development funding.

A few of the resorts and hotels suggested that the community needs to become involved in tourism as there was definite potential for interaction. The Northern Drakensberg Biosphere suggested that the core members would be willing to contribute capital to local community development.

Money collected through a KZN Nature Conservation Service levy will be allocated to the community by the local board for community development.

The local boards will call for nominations of projects and using a priority list will choose the projects to be funded. It is estimated that 90% of the money collected through a KZN Nature Conservation Service reserve will go to the community directly adjacent to the reserve. The other 10% will go into a capital fund as part of a trust of discretionary money. This money will be allocated to poor communities which border reserves that do not bring in high levies. These boards are likely to come into operation in early 1999.

Problems have arisen in the implementation of the local boards.

The process of amalgamation has taken time and there are still issues to be resolved. Firstly, the definition of who is the community and who will benefit from the levy requires research. Secondly, visitors tend to object to having to pay "hidden costs" on top of the normal tariff and believe that they pay taxes and thus do not want to pay extra to the community. International tourism law stipulates that all costs

need to be included in the total price. This is not done with KZN Nature Conservation Service because of an accounting problem, but will be dealt with.

The area needed to become a 'low key' development tourism destination with good tourism infrastructure in interesting surroundings in a safe, attractive environment.

The resorts, hotels and the Amazizi community envisaged a framework for growth revolving around tourism as an industry. The area needed to be known as a destination with good tourism infrastructure in a safe, attractive environment. They envisaged services such as banks, clinics and schools for the Amazizi community near the roads with the mountain being left in a pristine condition for tourism. They stated that there was a need for potable water, clinic, libraries, education and increased agriculture land. Their attitude was that not all visitors to the area were hikers and so became bored. The purist nature based Drakensberg holiday was not sufficient to entertain the new generation of tourists as they did not hold the same value for nature based tourism. Therefore the area needed to combine forces to create an interesting environment in which people could go out and be entertained. The community craft centre, "Tower of Pizza" and the golf course were mentioned as attractions to the area. The resorts, hotels and farmers all agreed that they did not want an area that was overdeveloped with 'casino' developments, similar to Cathkin valley. They wanted low key development which would not compromise the mountain areas and keep in 'character' with the area. Increased local community involvement was seen as positive.

The uThukela Regional Council believes that the government should recognise the tourism potential of the uThukela region by including it in a Spatial Development Initiative. This would include the Battlefield sites, Weenen biosphere and the Drakensberg linked by the Tugela river with the Spioenkop and Woodstock dams. The Council also promotes the link between tourism and the informal market with the emphasis on cultural tourism.

The formation of the South African Community Tourism Association (SACTA) at Regional level and its negative relationship with the Drakensberg Tourism Authority (DTA).

The uThukela Regional Council sees its role in providing an institutional framework for tourism development. The actual process of promoting tourism in marginalised communities should be at the community level through the South African Community Tourism Association (SACTA). This is perceived to be a strong, unified body linking tourist information offices, such as the Drakensberg Tourism Authority (DTA), local authorities, and regional and district councils. SACTA's role is to help communities establish tourism offices, to implement tourism at local level and to create a nation-wide network of reliable tourist information offices. SACTA would provide a platform for the launch and implementation of national initiatives.

According to the Drakensberg Resorts Association and Bergwatch the Drakensberg Tourism Association is not seen in a positive light by the local community. The local community view the Drakensberg Tourism Association (DTA) with resentment and the relationship is characterised by friction and misunderstanding. The DTA is a venture subsidised by the local resorts in the area as a means of promoting their own interests. It is not seen by them as a community tourism venture. Individuals and organisations are welcome to join the DTA as long as they pay their fees.

The Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF) is seen as an appropriate structure which could incorporate the local community into tourism.

A suggestion was made by a few hotels and resorts that the community should be involved in the Drakensberg Tourism Association (DTA) as members. However the Northern Drakensberg Biosphere stated that the DTA's aims and purpose were commercial and had a conservative attitude. It is not seen as a development or outreach orientated institution.

The Northern Drakensberg Biosphere (NDB) suggested that the Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF), as an outreach and development association, was an appropriate structure which could incorporate the local community into tourism as it

was an umbrella organisation for the development of Bergville and the surrounding community. It has linkages with the uThukela Regional Council and acted as a conduit for funding from the Provincial Government. All local interest groups were represented at the BDDF.

These include:

- Bergville TLC,
- Northern Drakensberg Biosphere,
- Drakensberg Tourism Association,
- Bergville Farmers Union,
- Tribal Authorities, and the
- new Bergville Business Advice Centre.

6.4.1 Synopsis

Although the majority of the people living in the study area had little knowledge of new planning initiatives, civic organisations, parastatals and government believed that these initiatives were practical steps towards the protection of the environment. It is however only once the detailed implications of initiatives become apparent that meaningful opinions will appear. The disparity in information has again highlighted the need for increased tourism awareness amongst the host community.

Greater partnership potential has emerged between the KZN Nature Conservation Service, the Northern Drakensberg Biosphere and the community paving the way for public/private partnership ventures in the study area. Furthermore, the KZN Nature Conservation Service has been proactive and visionary in including the host community in the management and economic benefits of the Royal Natal National Park. The formation of the local boards is seen as a positive step towards ensuring community participation in tourism by all groups in the study area. The initial problems in implementation have been exposed but these will be dealt with appropriately.

The congruence in development vision between the hoteliers and the Amazizi community has again been highlighted stating that the area needed to become a

“low key” development tourism destination with good tourism infrastructure in interesting surroundings in a safe, attractive environment.

The misguided efforts of South African Community Tourism Association as a means of promoting community based tourism in the area has been highlighted, and is an issue that needs to be addressed at Regional level. The Bergville District Development Forum, which lacks funding, was mentioned as a vehicle for ensuring tourism participation by marginalised communities as it was well represented in the area.

6.5 Land Reform

From analysis it is possible to identify the following issues revolving around land reform in the area:

- There are three lands claims by the Amazizi people.
- The Amazizi people would like to be compensated for this land by the government buying farms adjoining the communal land. This land would be used for subsistence agriculture, cattle grazing and housing.
- The KZN Nature Conservation Service and the Amazizi community already have reached an agreement on the management of a portion of communal land.

Around each of these issues there are differing perceptions and attitudes amongst the interested and affected parties.

There are three lands claims in the study area by the Amazizi people.

In the study area land reform was not generally raised as a serious issue although the Amazizi people had put forward three land claims, namely; Vergelegen, Langlaagte and a section of the Royal Natal National Park (Rugged Glen).

The Amazizi people would like to be compensated for this land by the government buying farms adjoining the communal land. This land would be used for subsistence agriculture, cattle grazing and housing. However, other groups had differing attitudes.

The Amakhosi see this land as a benefit for people as it would result in more land for cattle, farming and housing families. They stated that they recognise the conservation value of these areas and do not wish to claim the land back. Instead they would like to receive some sort of compensation. It is the view that the government should buy land adjoining the existing locations to compensate the community for the land lost in the park. Members of the community did know of land reform in the area and believed that the land should be used for agricultural use. The attitude was that "where are our children going to live". Others believed that this was a bad attitude but said however that people were 'stubborn' and could not be educated

The KZN Nature Conservation Service (KZN NCS) believe there are a number of land claims in KZN NCS protected areas. Land reform was seen as a means of raising community equity in nature based tourism. They see these claims as an opportunity for community involvement but state that KZN NCS need to formalise strategies and development plans for such action. The KZN NCS attitude is to stay out of land claims and the perceptions is that the Amazizi people have not been subject to forced removals and the current claim appears to be based on the shortage of land. Bergwatch believes that land claims in the area should not be allowed on marginal land as it does not allow for future development.

The farmer that borders on the Amazizi communal land did imply that he had thought about subdividing his farm into small viable farming plots to sell to black farmers in order to form a buffer zone between his farm and the Amazizi people. He saw this as a means of empowering people in the area and decreasing his stock and crop thefts.

The KZN Nature Conservation Service and the Amazizi community already have reached an agreement on the management of a portion of communal land.

There is an agreement between the KZN Nature Conservation Service and Nkosi Miya of the Amazizi people regarding the management of the “Lion” (see Map 2) which borders the Royal Natal National Park and the Amazizi communal land. People from the community have declared that the land within the park belonged to them, but as far as the KZN NCS is aware, nothing further has been done about this claim. With regards to the “Lion” it was made clear that the land belonged to the Amazizi people and is only managed by the KZN NCS. The land came under their management when the KZN NCS put eland onto the land. Nkosi Miya was asked permission to fence off the area so that the eland did not mix with the cattle. Nkosi Miya agreed to this but he still maintains his right to carry out a traditional hunt on the land annually. It was stressed that there must always be clear documentation stating that the land belonged to the Amazizi.

6.5.1 Synopsis

Three land claims have been submitted in the area but this is not widely known. The Amazizi people generally feel that they must be compensated for this land by the government with commercial farm land adjacent to the communal land which can then be used for grazing, farming and housing their families. The KZN Nature Conservation Service and Bergwatch, on the other hand, see land claims as an opportunity for community based tourism and a threat to the future developments of placing people on marginal land. This difference in attitude could lead to potential conflict in the future.

However, there has already been co-operation, between the KZN Nature Conservation Service and the Amazizi community, with the management of land which bodes well for the future.

6.7 SATOUR and Rural Tourism Development

From analysis it is possible to identify the following issues revolving around SATOUR and its impact on the study area.

- **The consensus of respondents was cynical towards SATOUR who they believed had a declining influence in the tourism market.**

The general attitude was that SATOUR had a declining influence on tourism which was largely attributed to a lack of capital injection on the part of Government with the R46m given to SATOUR being used for administration costs. This is in spite of the fact that tourism has been promoted as a growth sector and is being touted at the Job Summit. Furthermore, overseas tourist offices have been closed leading to large tourism operations such as Southern Sun International, Protea, City Lodge, Three Cities etc. withdrawing from SATOUR and setting up a R150m private promotion venture.

The small resorts in the area have little to do with SATOUR and had no time to attend meetings. A few hotels felt that SATOUR provided an objective standardised means of star grading system for the hotels. They stated that SATOUR's effectiveness in promoting South Africa was dropping as overseas offices had closed and government funding was diminishing. The hotels in the area belonging to bigger chains stated that they belonged to a private tourism promotion venture and had little need for SATOUR. It was generally felt that KwaZulu-Natal tourism authority and the uThukela Regional Council was doing more for the promotion of tourism than SATOUR.

6.7 Conflicts in the Area

From analysis it is possible to identify the following conflicts in the area:

- Differing attitudes towards Special Case Area Plan (nodal versus dispersed tourism).
- The difference in approach between the environmentalist/preservationist attitude of KZN Nature Conservation Service and Bergwatch and the Special Case Area Plan in relation to the developmental attitude of the uThukela Regional Council, Hoteliers and the Amazizi community.
- The implementation of South African Community Tourism Association and the Tourism Authorities as a vehicle for ensuring community involvement in tourism.
- Potential conflict around the issue of land claims.
- Tension between commercial farmers and the local community.
- Potential for conflict between nature based tourism and stock farming (both commercial and sustainable).
- Conflict around access to the RNNP by the Amazizi people.
- Employment of 'outsiders'.
- Theft in the area.

Around each of these issues there are differing perceptions and attitudes amongst the interested and affected parties.

Differing attitudes towards Special Case Area Plan (nodal versus dispersed tourism).

As mentioned in 6.1 there is a difference in attitude over the approach which the SCAP should adopt. Bergwatch and the KZN Nature Conservation Service believe that the plan should promote dispersed tourism throughout the Drakensberg region as opposed to the Regional Council which supports nodal development.

The difference in approach between the environmentalist/preservationist attitude of KZN Nature Conservation Service, Bergwatch and the Special Case Area Plan in relation to the developmental attitude of the uThukela Regional Council, Hoteliers and the Amazizi community.

As mentioned in 6.1 the difference between the developmental approach of the Regional Council/hoteliers/Amazizi community/ commercial farmers and the environmental approach of the KZN Nature Conservation Service/Bergwatch has been highlighted.

The implementation of South African Community Tourism Association (SACTA) and the Tourism Authorities as a vehicle for community involvement in tourism.

As mentioned previously in 6.4 the misguided efforts of South African Community Tourism Association as a means of promoting community based tourism in the area has been highlighted and is an issue that needs to be addressed at Regional level.

Tension between commercial farmers and the local community.

There is evidence of tension between white commercial farmers and local black communities in the case study area. The main tensions are around cattle straying onto farm land, the cutting of fences to allow cattle and goats access to commercial farms and stock and crop theft. Commercial crop farmers stated that they had to stop growing maize as it was stolen and instead they had resorted to soya. The farmer bordering on the local community said that he has a good relationship with the Amazizi people and any problems he had were discussed with the Tribal Authority.

Certain members of the community said that they have enough land especially in the mountains but did not care for it. They stated that people who were anti-KZN Nature Conservation Service (KZN NCS) and the commercial farmers were community cattle owners who had overgrazed their land and now wanted to overgraze KZN NCS land. Others stated that only people who were irresponsible with their cattle got upset with the KZN NCS and farmers. Conflict over land was not

seen as genuine but the perception was that people did need education to increase conservation in the area and restore degraded land.

Another problem identified by the community is stock theft through the Royal Natal National Park into Lesotho. It was agreed by the KZN NCS that the community should raise money to carry out patrols along the routes where thieves drive cattle. As yet not enough funds have been raised, and the stock theft continues.

Potential for conflict between nature based tourism and stock farming.

An attitude raised was that there is the potential for conflict between the interests of nature based tourism and stock farming, both at the subsistence community level and commercial stock farming. However, it was noted that commercial farmers were increasingly entering the tourism market. A perception raised regarded the communal ownership of land and the “cattle culture” in the Amazizi area which led to a degraded environment due to the “tragedy of the commons”. This had also resulted in pressure for heavier land use by the Amazizi community which may lead to injudicious land use.

Conflict around access to the Royal Natal National Park (RNNP) by the Amazizi people.

From the Amazizi perspective conflict arose around the issue of access to RNNP. Only people living in the Obanjaneni ward adjacent to RNNP have free access (see Map 2). A problem with access into the park has arisen due to the lack of phones in the community. Many people have to go into the park in order to use the pay phones at the reception and are made to pay the normal entrance fee. This is seen as unfair by the community and has been raised as a concern.

Employment of “outsiders”.

The employment of “outsiders” was also a contentious issue. The local community expected to be employed by the hotels and resorts and were not happy when “amakwerakwera” (i.e. foreigners) took their jobs. Part of the problem was seen as the lack of training for the community, especially by the larger hotel groups who tended to hire skilled people from outside the area.

Theft in the area.

The KZN NCS and the resorts have a problem with petty theft. An attempt has been made to deal with this problem with the community representative group. The outcome was a suggestion that a watch system run by the community be introduced. The idea is that the community partaking in the project would benefit in the form of tips from the public. This decision was taken in early 1997, however little has materialised.

6.7.1 Synopsis

There are numerous potential and real conflicts in the study area. Some are of lesser importance than others, but they do highlight the fact that there are diverse and ranging attitudes and perceptions in the study area which have to be dealt with in a co-operative manner to arrive at a sustainable tourism outcome.

6.8 Conclusion

The Humanism approach has demonstrated that attitudes and perceptions influence the way we behave or act, and so are crucial in the resolution of environmental problems, which is fundamental to this research. This chapter has therefore examined the attitudes and perceptions of the stakeholders in the study area in order to facilitate a framework for sustainable tourism. It has been noted, however, that attitudes and perception are difficult to define but the models discussed in chapter 4 have served as a framework for this research.

Furthermore, it has been noted that key stakeholders (e.g. Bergwatch, hoteliers, KZN Nature Conservation Service, Provincial government) in the study area are not absolutely confined by structure, but can interpret the world within their own personal frame. Through this action they may influence and alter structure. An understanding of the actions and attitudes of key stakeholders is thus fundamental to this dissertation. This, however, must be positioned within an understanding of the broader structures operating in the study area which have been examined in chapter 5.

This outline has furthermore taken into consideration:

- Sustainable development and the concept of sustainable tourism development.
- Collaborative planning and the concept of communicative rationality.

The next chapter will examine collaborative action and sustainable tourism development.

CHAPTER 7 COLLABORATIVE PLANNING AND SUSTAINABLE TOURISM DEVELOPMENT

7.1 Introduction

As tourism continues to grow in the study area, there is a need to develop systems to shape tourism development, anticipate changes and impacts, and to manage consequences and conflict. This chapter attempts to understand how it may be possible to incorporate diverse and varying attitudes and perceptions into a collaborative planning framework that leads to a productive and successful outcome for tourism development in the area.

According to lessons learnt in the theoretical outline, sustainable tourism frameworks have a better chance of succeeding when they:

- involve the historically marginalised residents of the area through active participation and provides for a degree of local control.
- are planned in an integrated manner with government, non-government organisations and residents of the area.
- educate both visitors and local stakeholders.
- they make a positive contribution to the host environment by providing a percentage of profit to the host community.
- give access to a fair distribution of impacts and benefits especially amongst marginalised people. It should maximise the flow of revenue to the host region through employing local residents, using local building materials, purchasing local food and handicrafts, increasing local ownership in the tourism industry.
- are undertaken with intra-generational equity in mind.

Furthermore, this study has proposed that through communication, collaborative planning strives towards reaching consensus, shaping places in fragmented societies and managing coexistence in shared spaces. According to this discourse, collaborative action has a better chance of succeeding when it:

- focuses on achieving mutual understanding whilst being aware of diverse and varying perceptions.
 - takes into account diverse interests, lifestyle choices and expectations.
- Intercommunication involves respect for different forms of knowing and implies recognising, valuing, listening to, and searching for translative possibilities.
- allows for community learning during policy development and implementation.
 - allows for the inclusion of all stakeholders.
 - grasps the diverse range of viewpoints and find ways of compromising between competing claims without devaluing them.

In light of the above, and for reasons of clarity and integration, it is proposed that three principles are used to create a conceptual framework for achieving sustainable tourism development through collaborative action. These principles are: procedural equity; distributional equity; and intergenerational equity.

The principle of procedural equity ensures that the planning process is impartial and just and accounts for the principles of collaborative action. Within this framework the following sustainable tourism development principles will be examined:

- Active participation and local control
- Integration in planning
- Education and training

The principle of distributional equity ensures that there is fairness and collaborative action regarding the impacts and benefits of tourism development, especially amongst marginalised people. Within this framework the following sustainable tourism development principles would be examined:

- Distribution of impacts and benefits

This will include a discussion of social and economic impacts and benefits of tourism in addition to an examination of land reform in the study area.

Lastly, the main aim of the principle of intergenerational equity is to ensure that tourism does not have a detrimental effect on future generations to the benefit of the people living in the area at the present.

7.2 Procedural Equity

The principle of procedural equity ensures that the planning process is impartial and just and accounts for the discourse of collaborative action. It would involve the historically marginalised residents of the area through active participation and provides for a degree of local control. It would ensure that the area is planned in an integrated manner with government, non-government organisations and residents of the study area. Furthermore, facilitating tourism awareness and the education of both local stakeholders and visitors is imperative to ensure that all stakeholders in the community have an opportunity to participate in an equitable manner.

Procedural equity recognise that all individuals and groups in the study area have a constitutional right to participate in the decision making process. All interested and affected parties with an interest in a sustainable tourism development need to be included through all stages of the planning process, and previously disempowered groups, such as marginalised women, should be provided access to power to influence decisions which effect their livelihood and quality of life (Healey, 1998 ; O'Riordan, 1998).

Essentially participation in sustainable tourism development should involve a process aimed at reducing power relationships, and thereby ensuring social and environmental equity among the different groups in the community (O'Riordan, 1998). Therefore, according to Healey (1998) this becomes an interactive process that builds consensus and local culture. Through this process concerns regarding the social and natural environment can be allocated to the various stages of the development process in order to ensure a sustainable tourism outcome.

Community participation in the planning of tourism development can help identify potential problems, successes and failures. Therefore assessing local attitudes, perceptions and expectations of tourism can facilitate decisions relating to the development and promotion of tourism (Harrison, 1996). The process of establishing a planning framework for tourism development therefore requires recognition of social differentiation and a respect of different forms of reasoning and diversity (Healey, 1998).

All parties involved in establishing a framework for tourism development should be accountable to their constituencies; to make decisions and participate on their behalf; and undertake to feed back information to them. They also need to be accountable to the process they have agreed to establish (O'Riordan, 1998).

In order that all parties be allowed to promote their interests in a non-threatening environment, the use of a facilitator, neutral venues and a translator is advisable. The goal is to move towards understanding the viewpoints of others and building consensus around the outcomes of the development process. Participation in such a manner allows for the sustainability of the process when it moves into implementing the outcomes of the process. This will provide a human rights culture in which all participants are able to speak freely, promote their own interests and hold decision makers in the community accountable (Oelofse, 1997).

The process of reaching a framework for tourism development should be open, transparent and subject to public scrutiny and therefore there needs to be free and open access to all information. Participation requires active engagement which implies co-operation, dissent, debate, problem solving and negotiation. Mechanisms for appeal, mediation or conflict resolution procedures should be available in the absence of consensus (Anstey, 1991).

However it must be noted that whilst these principles have been well documented in literature and incorporated into certain legislation, actually implementing such principles to achieve procedural equity is a difficult and lengthy process that requires enthusiasm, stamina, creativity and a commitment from all participants

regardless of opposing interest. Whether this process is viable in the study area is open to debate, especially in an area characterised by limited NGO activity and scarce funding from the private sector.

Furthermore a collaborative planning process incorporating procedural equity would have to account for the unequal power relations, distorted communication and the naive belief that participants in such a planning process are both capable of, and desire the achievement of, consensus in the study area. However, there is no alternative. If a planning framework for sustainable tourism is desired, then the choice is to return to the top-down, technical, anti-democratic approaches or pursue more open, transparent and democratic forms of collective action. Emerging planning initiatives in South Africa have shown that it is possible to plan through debate and this framework needs to be entrenched in planning initiatives in the study area.

7.2.1 Active Participation and Local Control

There has been a broad consensus in the planning field that there is a need for new ways of making decisions in relation to the environment and development issues in a consensual fashion that promotes active participation and local control.

According to Healey (1998) the struggle of engaging in communicative action is to grasp the diverse range of viewpoints and find ways of compromising between competing claims without devaluing them until they have been explored. The inclusion of all stakeholders rises from a search to find an enduring, legitimate and stable process for addressing problems of coexisting in an area.

This has been accompanied by a realisation that when dealing with problems of sustainable tourism development, existing government and decision making structures do not provide appropriate vehicles for active participation and local control. There has been a call for the development of alternative decision making frameworks, which move away from existing vertical structures towards horizontal mechanisms that cut across government line functions, and hierarchical planning structures. Thus Healey (1998) suggests that communicative rationality realises,

'that public policies which are concerned with managing coexistence in shared spaces which seek to be efficient, effective and accountable to all those with a "stake" in a place need to draw upon, and spread ownership of, the above range of knowledge and reasoning' (Healey, 1997:29).

O'Riordan (1998) believes that in the new political dispensation of South Africa new conceptions of citizenship and civil rights in terms of the South African constitution provide powerful nodes around which communities are gathering. In terms of these rights previously marginalised communities are now defining themselves as citizens and in relation to the rest of society demanding the restitution of inequalities across a broad spectrum of issues.

A planning framework that incorporates diverse and varying perceptions of a community should ensure social and environmental justice in order that all participants have the opportunity to participate and influence the outcome of tourism decision making. However, it is also important to realise that issues of environment and development are intensely local and spatial. As such the way in which the participation process is designed and played out in each locality differs in relation to the spatial and social processes operating in each place. Each locality is characterised by a particular set of environmental characteristics and contingent conditions which create a specific local outcome to the operation of broader structural forces and the action of human agents (Oelofse, 1997). Evidence of this exists in the study area in that it has a number of structural agents (e.g. KZN Nature Conservation Service, Northern Drakensberg Biosphere initiative, hoteliers) with diverse, fluid and overlapping attitudes and perceptions that interact with each other to form a unique outcome to tourism.

Harrison (1996) further suggests that in terms of rural tourism development, residents of different rural communities may vary in their response to tourism development. As a result, just because one community favours tourism development does not mean that another, similar in history and social structure, will accept the same tourism development proposal. This is evident in the differences between the

Amazizi community in the study area and the people living in the Mweni valley area who view tourism as a threat to their illegal “dagga” trade.

Community participation and empowerment is critical to the success of a sustainable planning framework for tourism. In each community people and groups respond to issues that directly effect them or are of interest to them. These responses relate to existing situations, such as the relationship between the Amazizi people and the KZN Nature Conservation Service, or to future developments, such as the attitudes of developmental orientated individuals or groups to Integrated Environmental Management.

The mechanisms whereby bottom-up participation occurs are very different to government dictated participation using statutory participation mechanisms. These bottom-up grassroots organisations form political alliances around local issues. (O’Riordan, 1998). The Bergville District Development Forum initiative could be seen as a form of political alliance or community based organisation (CBO). CBO’s are characterised by few resources and in a pre-apartheid era were formed to oppose apartheid injustice and inequalities as manifested in the living environment.

With governance becoming democratic, there is a tendency for some of the community based organisations to reconstruct their agendas around environmental issues which cut across class, race and culture. Territorial placed-based identity, especially when combined with environmental justice has become the basis for progressive political mobilisation (O’Riordan, 1998).

The local community boards being established by the KZN Nature Conservation service could be seen as emerging community based organisations. They are based on the principles of collaborative action and will include in their membership representatives of the Amazizi Traditional Authority, Regional Councils, community based organisations, Local Authorities, Farmers Associations, business sector and local environmental groups.

The local boards will monitor and develop management plans for the conservation areas at a provincial level, have input into management decisions of the KZN Nature Conservation Service and provide capital to the community through a KZN Nature Conservation Service levy. This structure will provide active participation and local control to the Amazizi community. This community based organisation should also focus on achieving mutual understanding and finding ways of compromising in order to deal with the conflicts that arise between the stakeholders in the study area over access to the park, cattle grazing, theft and the employment of "outsiders".

However, the implementation of these boards has taken time and there are still issues to be resolved. Firstly, the definition of who is the community and who will benefit from the levy requires research. Secondly, visitors tend to object to having to pay "hidden costs" on top of the normal tariff whilst the extent to which women are included in the local boards is not obvious and needs to be addressed.

Non-Government Organisations often provide resources and channels for community participation and resistance around an issue. For example Bergwatch serves to build capacity in communities, facilitates community involvement in nature based tourism and acts as a monitoring body in the Drakensberg region.

Recognition of such a body by corporate sponsors is evidence of the high profile of environmental struggles in the political arena.

Another form of bottom-up participation is through conservancies, which seek to ensure that environmental rights are upheld. The tendency is however for these bodies to focus on natural environmental issues for conservation and preservation purposes to secure the use value of natural habitats and to enhance living environments (O'Riordan, 1998). The Northern Drakensberg Biosphere initiative could be seen as such a venture in that its aim is to protect the area for nature based tourism activities. Local environment and development forums differ from conservancies in that they engage more directly with development processes which are related to environmental issues at grassroots level (Oelofse, 1998).

According to Ouchi (1980) in Hjalager (1996) tourism regulation can shift away from government or markets and towards self-regulation by groups of locals. These groups or “clans” would rely to a large extent on socialisation as a means of mediation or control. These clans can be very efficient in mediating transactions between interdependent individuals and groups. The importance of self regulation and monitoring has increased with the Provincial Planning and Development Act in which the monitoring role of civic organisations has been highlighted.

The Northern Drakensberg Biosphere could be seen as a step towards fulfilling this role. The Biosphere is intended to fulfil three complementary functions: a conservation function to preserve resources, ecosystems and landscapes; a development function, to create sustainable economic and human development; and a logistic support function, to support demonstration projects, environmental education and training.

The biosphere initiative could be a system for achieving a collaborative planning framework in the study area. It would have to allow for the inclusion of all stakeholders, focus on achieving mutual understanding whilst being aware of diverse, fluid and overlapping attitudes, allow for community learning during policy development and implementation and find ways of compromising. The extent to which this is possible is open to debate. Firstly, from the attitudes and perceptions gauged in the study area contention already exists between the interests of stock farmers (commercial and subsistence) and nature based tourism. Secondly, the lack of funding and capacity in the area may be a hindrance. Thirdly, due to the apartheid duality imposed on the area strong attitudes towards segregation, of certain groups and individuals in the study area, have to be overcome.

7.2.2 Integration in Planning

According to O’Riordan (1998) in the political and social restructuring in the post-apartheid era in South Africa, opportunities have arisen for new processes to emerge and new ways of achieving outcomes at all levels of society. An important area of change is the statutory inclusion of public participation processes in all

development issues. The first major step was the development of the Integrated Environmental Management (IEM) procedure as a set of guidelines for ensuring that environmental concerns are integrated into project planning and implementation (Department of Environmental Affairs, 1992). Furthermore, government departments regulating resources and land use, such as the Department of Water Affairs and Forestry, have begun a process of developing guidelines for public input into resource monitoring and decision making with the establishment of monitoring committees and advisory panels (Scott and Oelofse, 1998). This process is still in the planning stage, with all parties learning to engage with environmental and development issues in a constructive and co-operative manner. Furthermore, the Environmental Conservation Act, 1989 (Act 73 of 1989), requires that developers undertake Environmental Impact Assessments for many new developments or expansions in order to regulate environmental impacts in project specific developments. The new legislation greatly increases the access and rights of interest groups affected by development to participate in the decision making process.

According to O’Riordan (1998) these changes in legislation represent a move, in democratic societies, away from a model of representative democracy to one of participative democracy. Within this paradigm shift, there is an important role for skills and knowledge relating to co-operative problem solving, consensus building and dispute resolution (Anstey, 1991). These are essential capacities to the restructuring of decision making, which allow people to become meaningfully involved at a local level with issues that effect them and that lead to better solutions.

However, community participation differs considerably according to whether they are initiated by a top-down government process or a bottom-up grassroots social movement. Communities are increasingly being co-opted into the participatory planning process via the implementation of national government policy and legislation. Development policy in the post-apartheid era aims to channel development spatially so as to redistribute the benefits of economic growth and in so doing provides for community participation in tourism development processes (O’Riordan, 1998).

At the same time principles of sustainable development have been accepted at national, provincial, regional and local level of government. This has been matched by amendments to existing legislation which attempts to give protection to the natural environment and the right to a healthy environment in terms of the South African constitution (Scott and Oelofse, 1998). However environment and tourism development conflicts, which occur within this policy and legislative framework, are difficult to resolve and require a trade-off between development needs in marginalised rural areas and environmental concerns. Within existing governmental and statutory frameworks, mechanisms to determine trade-offs did not exist and are not yet in place. This has resulted in conflict where different stakeholders display oppositional attitudes in relation to the issues and value the environment differently (O'Riordan, 1998).

The concern with conflicts, territoriality, oppositional attitudes and trade-offs lies at the heart of humanism discourse and a collaborative planning framework. The underlying belief in the development of plans and procedure in South Africa such as the Planning and Development Act, Special Case Area Plan and the Integrated Environmental Management procedure, is that there is a common good and public interest which must be addressed in achieving sustainable development and therefore implicitly sustainable tourism development.

However the conflict that will arise between the Special Case Area Plan (SCAP) and the uThukela Regional Plan needs to be addressed. Which authority will have control over the study area? If the SCAP becomes the local authority for the area will it incorporate the development ideas of the uThukela Regional Council, hoteliers and the Amazizi community? How will the plan account for differing attitudes towards nodal versus dispersed tourism development?

Money obtained through the KZN Nature Conservation Service for the Amazizi community will probably be invested in community infrastructure development. Would the SCAP take into account these development interests of the Amazizi people? Furthermore the conflict that may arise between the South African Community Tourism Association, Drakensberg Tourism Association and the

community as a means to promote tourism in the region also needs to be addressed.

Collaborative planning provides an answer in that it involves an attempt by the different stakeholders in the study area, with different agendas and attitudes, to achieve a level of understanding about each others perceptions, and to arrive at least at a transitory accord around particular concerns.

'It would reflect efforts at honesty and openness without losing a recognition of the layers and range of meanings present among those concerned with the issue at hand. It would acknowledge with respect the limited scope for mutual understanding between diverse discourse communities while struggling to enlarge that understanding' (Healey, 1993 in Harrison, 1998:341).

Healey's argument is that the processes of conflict mediation and resolution, consensus-building and stakeholder partnerships encourage mutual learning, and over time, build up a store of social and intellectual capital which can be beneficially drawn on in future processes.

This argument also needs to be applied to the Integrated Environmental Management procedure. It supposedly seeks to promote equitable access to, and sustainable use of the natural and cultural resources and promote environmentally sustainable lifestyles. It also seeks to integrate environmental impact management with all developments. However it has been criticised for being slow, bureaucratic, unevenly applied, lacking monitoring capacity and applied with little consultation between government and tourism developers. Furthermore, if community based tourism initiatives are to be encouraged then the Environmental Impact Assessment procedures will have to be re-examined in order to facilitate rural community tourism initiatives.

7.2.3 Education and Training

In order to ensure that all stakeholders in the community have an opportunity to participate in an equitable manner and allow for community learning during policy development and implementation an education, tourism awareness, training and information sharing process is needed to ensure sustainable tourism development. There needs to be a commitment to the integration of local and scientific knowledge in an interactive, ongoing process between an informed community bringing their local knowledge and "scientific experts" into the tourism planning framework. Participation should therefore involve some form of capacity building which would empower the historically marginalised people in the area with increased intellectual and institutional capacity.

The Amazizi community has traditionally had very little exposure to the concept of tourism and understanding of issues relating to tourism and a sustainable tourism development. With tourism being painted as a lead development sector, there is a concern that the Amazizi community may interpret tourism as a panacea to their developmental and employment concerns, thus creating unrealistic expectations. Conversely, the limited tourism awareness of the Amazizi community may mean that tourism attractions within the local community, whether nature based or cultural, are not recognised and developed, thus denying the community a sustainable income generating activity.

Educating Host Communities

The community, government and the tourism public sector will need to lead the way in host community education, tourism awareness and skill training. In the study area this implies collaborative action between KZN Nature Conservation Service, hoteliers, NGO's and government structures. It has been noted that the larger hotel groups in the area tend to hire "outsiders" and then train them into positions rather than train people from the community. The incentive to conduct training programmes resides in the need to maintain community support for tourism and to minimise the negative impacts on tourism's social contact on the local community (Orams, 1996; Pearce, 1995; Chambers et al 1994).

However, *'for sustained attitude change to occur individuals must pay attention to and actively process the information being presented. Active or mindful processing occurs when individuals modify existing knowledge or construct new categories for dealing with the incoming material'* (Pearce, 1995:151).

Therefore rural communities would be more interested in tourism and environmental education when they perceive it to be compatible to broadening their survival strategies. Interest in learning new techniques that are environmentally sound usually exists only to the extent that they will maintain or increase levels of production. There is also an interest in learning about alternative income generating activities that may not be nature based (Chambers et al, 1994). This was seen in the study area as the Amazizi people were interested in what opportunities tourism could provide for them.

Educating Tourists

According to Chambers (1994) education should seek to manage people's behaviour so that the way they behave is respectful of the potential impact their actions may have on the environment. In order to prompt behaviour change, tourists must be convinced of the reason why they should change through providing examples of human activities that are harming the environment. An education programme should attempt to "throw people off balance" by attempting to create questions in peoples minds. People should find themselves asking themselves, how, why and when questions?

The incentive and motivation to act is based on the idea that "we can make a difference". These are critical messages which should form a central part of the education program. Attitudes and perceptions are influenced by topics such as conflict and social relationships in an area. These are emotional issues for humans and therefore interest and emotional response to other living things and people struggling with these same issues is likely. A critical element of any education program is an assessment of its effectiveness, which could include questionnaires and interviews, and a feedback of the results into the education program (Orams, 1996; Chambers, 1994).

Orams (1996) suggests the following general approach for a tourist education program:

- (1) Establish the objectives of the program (e.g. reducing inappropriate tourist behaviour on site, producing financial/moral support for the attraction).
- (2) Select the specific themes or messages that the program wishes to convey (e.g. leaving paths causes erosion, principles of a biosphere).
- (3) Select the specific technique that will be appropriate in the specific tourism situation (slide shows, brochures).
- (4) Build in the features of the education model outlined above.
- (5) Design a feedback mechanism to assess the effectiveness of the programme.
- (6) Utilise the information from (5) to improve the education program.

The importance of skills training and education has been noted by a number of stakeholders in the community, whilst the KZN Nature Conservation Service and the Northern Drakensberg Biosphere have stated that education is one of their aims. A more effective, comprehensive and strategic approach to education and skills training would involve communication between the interested stakeholders in the study area. However, the extent to which aims are actually turned into constructive action in the study area is open for debate.

7.3 Distributional Equity

The principle of distributional equity ensures that there is fairness regarding the impacts and benefits of tourism development especially amongst the marginalised community. It ensures that the marginalised and vulnerable members of the community should not have to bear the cost or share less of the rewards of tourism. It takes into account the historical background of the area, distribution of power and politics, attitudes and perceptions and existing conflict in the area. Furthermore it must recognise the differences between the direct impact on primary stakeholders and the interests of secondary stakeholders (Bedingham, 1998).

If tourism development in the area is to be sustainable it should minimise the social impacts of tourism. Furthermore it should maximise the flow of revenue to the host region through employing local residents, using local building materials, purchasing local food and handicrafts, increasing local ownership in the tourism industry and provide a positive contribution to the host environment by providing a percentage of profit to the host community.

As social space is not homogenous tourism affects different sub-groups in the community in different ways resulting in communities having different levels of living, access to resources and political power, and different interests (Cock, 1996). Those people with fewer resources and little political power are the most vulnerable and at risk. Some groups benefit from tourism, while others may bear more of the costs. Different individuals and groups in the community weigh the benefits and costs of tourism in distinct ways leading to different perceptions of tourism and its impacts (O'Riordan, 1998). This is evident in the study area where historically the Amazizi people have borne the costs of tourism and the preservation of the Royal Natal National Park, whilst as a subgroup, women in the community have little access to power and therefore to the benefits of tourism.

7.3.1 Social Impacts

Craik (1995) argues that the social consequences of tourism development on host communities is largely ignored in the face of economic considerations. Tourism development in the study area, which is being promoted as a destination area by the Special Case Area Plan and other initiatives, is going to be increasingly intrusive and dependant upon the destination community. Allied with this is an increasing awareness of the value of the Amazizi culture to tourism in the area whilst cultural ignorance on behalf of both tourists and the host community has been highlighted as a threat to sustainable tourism development in the study area.

The wide range of potential negative impacts (undermining of local traditions and way of life, cultural drift and commodification, displacement of traditional residents, theft etc.), which has been well documented in literature (see e.g. Cialdini, 1981;

Furnham, 1984; King, 1993), outweighs the list of potential positive impacts on destinations.

Craik (1995) argues that there are four broad categories of impacts which have been identified. Firstly, tourism may change the characteristics of the destination community. The consequences of restructuring in terms of opportunities for employment and entrepreneurship alters the economic and political profile of the community. Secondly, tourism may change the destination culture. Thirdly, tourism may introduce external elements and finally may disrupt ways of life.

In order to ensure distributional equity the changes and consequences of tourism on the culture of the study area should be central to sustainable tourism development. Craik (1995) offers social indicators as a means to monitor changes and the impacts of tourism on the study area and the Amazizi community. They are designed to assist policy makers, community based organisations etc. to plan and manage their tourist industries and destination areas. They are not intended to be a rational, scientific matrix to predict impacts, but rather a guide for identification and management on a case by case basis.

Social Indicators of Tourism Impacts

1. Degree of Economic Dependence on Tourism

- (a) economic value of tourism compared with other industries;
- (b) identification of opportunities and opportunity costs;
- (c) provision and cost of tourism infrastructure.

2. Distribution of Economic Benefits across a Destination Community

- (a) employment opportunities and profile within destination workforce;
- (b) unemployment patterns;
- (c) impact on tourism related small business;
- (d) patterns of local ownership and investment in tourism;
- (e) increased cost of living;
- (f) loss of public access to sites or areas.

3. Degree of Public Involvement and Consultation in Planning Policy Making and Management

- (a) transparent and accountable planning process;
- (b) consultative mechanisms and performance indicators of effectiveness;
- (c) right of public comment;
- (d) IEM procedures;
- (e) comprehensive and balanced information and education.

4. Degree and Forms of Commercialisation and Commodification of the Destination Culture for Tourists

- (a) impact on art production and cultural development;
- (b) characteristic of souvenir industry;
- (c) performance of cultural tourism initiatives;
- (d) acceptability of new cultural activities and products;
- (e) creation and packaging of heritage sites and attractions.

5. Perceived Environmental Degradation, Significant Loss of Amenity, or Unacceptable Modification of Destination Site

- (a) impacts on national parks and protected areas;
- (b) significant transformation of environmental character and values;
- (c) pollution;
- (d) visual pollution;
- (e) changes to local environment, natural landmarks or heritage sites.

6. Sense of Autonomy, Self-confidence and Cultural identity of Destination Community

- (a) indicators of cultural stimulation;
- (b) indicators of cultural pride;
- (c) development of unique forms of local tourism;
- (d) changing educational and skill profile of community.

7. Intrusiveness of Tourism on Destination Community and/or its Lifestyle

- (a) crime patterns related to tourism;
- (b) increased prostitution;
- (c) site-use conflicts;
- (d) invasion of privacy and disruption of daily life;
- (e) perceived exploitation of people and/or culture, especially indigenous groups.

8. Incompatibility of Values and/or Inability or Unwillingness to Accommodate the Habits, Lifestyles and Attitudes of Tourist Groups

- (a) indicators of hostility, tension and conflict towards tourists;
- (b) public concern about characteristics of habits of tourist groups;
- (c) expression of anti-tourist sentiments.

9. Exacerbation of Conflicts and Tensions Within the Destination Community or Between Constituent Groups

- (a) racial conflict or discrimination;
- (b) rising expectations and assertiveness of indigenous or minority groups;
- (c) rising tensions between tourism inspired lifestyles and traditional lifestyles;
- (d) increasing political activism or conflict relating to tourism

According to Craik (1995) planners, developers and communities can use the indicators as a means of assessing changes that may occur with tourism development. Some are of more relevance than others, depending on the nature of the locality, space and the perceptions and attitudes of the community. They are a tool which can enable tourism to be built as a partnership in which all interest groups can proactively develop the destination as a tourist resource, plan the preferred type and scale of tourism, and develop management and monitoring programmes.

In light of the cultural indicators Pearce (1995) argues that host communities, in trying to achieve sustainable tourism development, have to move from scenario 1 to scenario 2 in table 7.1. In this way sustainable tourism development, in the study area, has a greater chance of being achieved.

Table 7.1 Future socio-cultural scenarios for tourism

Key Group	Scenario 1: Reactive situation following enthusiastic growth model	Scenario 2: Proactive situation following a planned and patterned growth model
Host community without direct involvement in tourism	Culture Shock Prevails: Rising tide of personal and community impact. Specific concrete cases of unacceptable tourist behaviour: myths and hostility generated.	Culture Exchange Prevalent Known, predictable pattern of tourist behaviour, tourism places and tourist length of stay. Buffer zones and times created which control the amount of contact.
Tourism community professionals: -tourism workers -tourism planners/owners	Failure as Cultural Brokers: Blamed by community for tourism impacts. Try to develop and plan services to meet visitors needs as they arise. Unable to always deliver the cultural experiences promoted.	Effective Culture Broker Role: Range of tourist-host contact situations promoted. Tourist information and services produced to a goal of a spectrum of socio-cultural contacts.
Visitors -incidental interest in culture	Cultural Arrogance and Cultural Shock Prevails: Unwittingly commit culturally arrogant acts. Find themselves in uncomfortable situations, powerless to avoid.	Culture Adjustment Possible: Able to select or reject cross cultural encounters. Able to learn cultural rules at own pace.
Visitors -committed culture seekers	Cultural Arrogance, Cultural Invasion: Desperate scramble to see the authentic cultures under threat. Attempt to minimise their own impact but prepare the way for others.	Culture Exchange Possible: Able to select desired cross-cultural encounters. Responsible tourist behaviour encouraged.

7.3.2 Economic Impacts and Benefits

Research has indicated that possibly the greatest threat to sustainable tourism development and a successful outcome to tourism in the study area is poverty. Therefore economic equity ensures that the marginalised and vulnerable members of the Amazizi community should not have to bear the cost or share less of the rewards of tourism. In this light, sustainable tourism development should provide a positive contribution to the host environment by providing a percentage of profit to the host community, maximise the flow of revenue to the host region and increase local ownership in the tourism industry.

The KZN Nature Conservation Service has been proactive and visionary in including the host community in the economic benefits of the Royal Natal National Park. The formation of the local boards is seen as a positive step towards ensuring community participation in tourism by all groups in the study area. This initiative could possibly be extended to include the private hotels and resorts in the study area.

In the study area, partnership potential has emerged between the KZN Nature Conservation Service, the Northern Drakensberg Biosphere and the community paving the way for community based tourism and public/private partnership ventures. According to the KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority and the Development Bank of South Africa the manner in which communities might participate in tourism varies. The most common examples of community participation are listed below.

Community Participation

- **Sale of Community-Owned Land:** community land is sold to an investor, who then develops a tourism venture on the land. This constitutes limited participation, and results in the community foregoing any long term direct benefit from tourism for a once-off gain.
- **Lease of Community Owned Land to Investor:** the community may lease their land to an investor who then develops a tourism venture on the land. The community receives rental from the tourism venture.
- **Employment in the Tourism Industry:** community members may be employed in a tourism business that is located within the area. In this form, individual community members benefit through income.
- **Participation in Support/Supply Business:** community members may not participate directly in the core tourism business in the area. However, they may participate in the tourism industry as entrepreneurs supplying goods and services to tourism, or as employees of those entrepreneurs.
- **Community/Private Sector Joint Venture:** the community or community members, through a legal entity, can enter into a joint venture with an external investor to develop a tourism business. This form of participation requires that the legal entity formed by the community and the external investor contributes to the partnership. The legal entity

holds equity shares in the joint venture that may correspond with the value of their contributions, or as agreed in negotiation with the joint venture partner.

- **Community Sole Venture:** in this form of participation, the community or community members, through a legal entity, are the sole shareholders of a tourism business.

While community based tourism initiatives have the potential to impact on the Amazizi community in a beneficial way, they must be financially sustainable. The projects do not necessarily have to make enormous profits, but they cannot make sustained losses without putting the whole initiative at risk.

Although various forms of participation have been identified that could be appropriate for including the Amazizi people in the economic benefits of tourism, most are not mutually exclusive, and a combination may be found. It must also be noted that not every community member is able, or wants to participate in tourism development. There are therefore different levels of "participation" with those indicated above establishing direct forms of participation.

Whatever form of participation emerges in the Amazizi area the initiatives will have to account for diverse interests, lifestyle choices and expectations. Collaborative action between the stakeholders would allow for the different forms of knowing and allowing for the recognition, valuing, listening to and searching for translative possibilities.

7.3.3 Land Reform

To what extent do land reform initiatives hold a solution to distributional equity in the study area? At a regional scale land reform is the one issue around which there is the least consensus. It is a politically contentious and difficult process with many differing attitudes. It is beneficial to some and extremely threatening to others. The land reform program has been implemented in the uThukela region without provoking much conflict but differences of interest and attitudes remain. It is arguably possible to accelerate the land reform process, but to do so in a way that addresses the concerns of those that are fearful by linking land reform to the

promotion of small scale agriculture, taking cognisance of the carrying capacity of land, more careful planning and linking it to economic development is not easily possible. (uThukela Regional Development Plan 1997)

The Amazizi community have a vision of more land to alleviate their current shortage and do not see land reform as a means of entering the tourism market. The commercial farmers and the KZN Nature Conservation Service see land reform in the area as a means of empowering the local community, appeasing the host community and raising community equity in nature based tourism. Whilst there is a divergence of opinion there are areas of potential compromise. A land reform program which promotes small scale agriculture, opens up community tourism opportunities and focuses on environmental concerns would be more acceptable in the area. However, how this is achieved in light of the present land reform program is not clear?

7.4 Intergenerational Equity

Intergenerational equity is difficult to define but the main goal is to ensure that tourism development does not have a detrimental effect on future generations to the benefit of the people living in the area at present. Impacts that occur in the social and natural environment as a result of tourism development must be considered, since if they are negative, they may prompt a decline in the tourism industry. The area would then deteriorate and in this way the secondary impacts become more important than those associated with the initial tourism development.

It therefore implies a level of tourism development monitoring with a sustainable development framework managing the study area.

7.5 Conclusion

This chapter has shown how it may be possible to incorporate diverse and varying attitudes and perceptions into a collaborative planning framework that leads to a productive and successful outcome for tourism development in the area.

This study has proposed that through communication, collaborative planning strives towards reaching consensus, shaping places in fragmented societies and managing coexistence in shared spaces.

In light of the above, and for reasons of clarity and integration, it was proposed that the principles of procedural equity; distributional equity; and intergenerational equity were used to create a conceptual framework for achieving sustainable tourism development through collaborative action. The principles examined were active participation and local control for the community, integration in planning initiatives, education, tourism awareness and training, and finally the distribution of social and economic impacts and benefits.

The concluding chapter will answer the questions this dissertation set out to examine and the extent to which these issues can actually be included into a planning framework.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

8.1 Introduction

This dissertation has been based on the argument that, in an area reliant on tourism to generate opportunities, understanding and accounting for divergent attitudes and perceptions of tourism increases the prospect of sustainable tourism development. Collaborative action, which takes into account the divergent attitudes and perceptions of the host community, would allow for “fragmented societies” to foster positive tourism-community relationships and hence sustain tourism.

This concluding chapter will examine the questions posed by this dissertation:

What could be proposed as a successful outcome for tourism development in the case study area?

Throughout the theoretical and conceptual outline the underlying aim has been to achieve an understanding and facilitate a process for reaching a framework for a successful outcome for tourism. In the process the discourses of sustainability, collaborative action and humanism has been utilised to engage with the concepts and principles of sustainable tourism development, collaborative action and “lifeworlds”. This section sets out what could be *proposed* as a successful outcome for tourism development in the study area taking into account the principles of sustainable tourism development, communicative action and the humanism discourse.

In light of the tourism vision for the region, development guidelines, policy, institutional frameworks and tourism initiatives for the study area, tourism development should adhere to the ethical principles of procedural equity, distributional equity and intergenerational equity.

The principle of procedural equity ensures that the planning process is impartial and just and accounts for the principles of collaborative action and sustainable tourism development. It recognises that all individuals and groups in the study area have a constitutional right to participate in the decision making process.

A successful outcome for tourism would involve the historically marginalised residents of the area through active participation and provide for a degree of local control through community based monitoring and regulation. Tourism development should be planned and managed in an integrated and collaborative manner with government, non-government organisations and all residents of the area. A community forum should be responsible for developmental and environmental plans and initiatives, taking into account community based initiatives..

In order to facilitate this process skills training, tourism education and awareness would have to be emphasised in the area to promote information and capacity building, sound environmental ethics as well as mitigate against the possible negative impacts of tourism within the community. Labour intensive practises using local labour would have to be promoted with appropriate skills training provided to the local community so that they are able to compete equally with "outsiders" for employment. Education and skills training should be aimed at formal education structures as well as local leadership and adults.

The principle of distributional equity accounts for the concepts of collaborative action and sustainable tourism development. It ensures that there is fairness regarding the social and economic impacts and benefits of tourism development, especially amongst marginalised people. According to the above criteria a social impact assessment process is outlined. In addition there would have to be some form of capital commitment from the rewards of tourism to the host community. Public-private partnership and community-based tourism opportunities would have to be explored and promoted with the marginalised community using communal land, labour and culture as an equity share. Land reform should be seen as an opportunity for the expansion of rural tourism development.

The principle of intergenerational equity ensures that tourism does not have a detrimental effect on future generations to the benefit of the people living in the area at the present. Intergenerational equity is difficult to define but should ensure tourism development accounts for the negative externalities and impacts on the future generations. It should account for secondary impacts which implies that a management structure should be in place and ensures that a monitoring process is part of the framework for tourism development.

What are the perceptions and attitudes of the stakeholders and other interest groups in the study area and to what extent do the perceptions potentially support or undermine the proposed successful outcome of tourism development?

Furthermore, how is it possible to incorporate these diverse and varying perceptions into a planning framework for the area?

And finally, how do you incorporate marginalised communities into sustainable tourism development and what do marginalised communities need to do in order to ensure participation in tourism?

The planning framework has been constructed around the principles of procedural equity, distributional equity and intergenerational equity. Within this framework the following issues have been examined and will be discussed below:

- Active participation and local control,
- The level of integration in planning for rural tourism development,
- Education and skills training,
- Social impacts and benefits,
- Economic impacts and benefits, and
- Intergenerational equity.

Active Participation and Local Control

There is a need for new ways of making decisions in relation to the environment and development issues in a communicative manner that would promote active participation and provide for a degree of local control for the Amazizi community. Participation in the process should reduce the power relationships in the area and become an interactive process that builds consensus and local culture.

At the Regional level the active participation and degree of local control of the Amazizi community through South Africa Community Tourism Association has been questioned. The potential does nevertheless exist for active participation with the marginalised community through a more representative and participatory body, such as the Bergville District Development Forum.

The attitude of the community is that they are beginning to realise the potential of tourism but have not fully appreciated the link between the environment and tourism. The community is presently only involved, to a limited degree, through selling crafts, limited services and their labour to hotels, resorts and the KZN Nature Conservation Service. The contribution of the hotels and resorts in the area has been limited in respect to actively involving the Amazizi community but increased community involvement in tourism was seen as a positive outcome.

The KZN Nature Conservation Service have initiated a framework for local community boards which will provide a degree of management, control and a fair distribution of benefits to the host community. Furthermore, the participation of the resorts and hotels in contributing to the community boards was seen as a possibility by both the KZN Nature Conservation Service and the hoteliers.

The above synopsis represents an area that is coming to terms with its historical legacy of separate development of white tourism interests, preservationist conservation ideas and a marginalised host community. An emerging limited framework has been initiated in the area that would provide for active participation and a degree of local control.

The attitudes and perceptions of the residents in the area support the proposed successful outcome of tourism development. However, the extent to which this process is successful depends on the level of collaborative action and a number of important factors. The least of these will be defining the community, identifying appropriate members from the community to serve on the board, ensuring an accountable and transparent process, managing power struggles that may develop in the local community through communicative action and conflict resolution and ensuring a process that facilitates hotel and resort participation.

The proposed successful outcome for tourism development suggests that a community forum should be responsible for developmental and environmental plans and initiatives in the area, taking into account community based initiatives. Furthermore, community based tourism monitoring and regulation should be promoted.

At the Provincial level the new KwaZulu-Natal Planning and Development Act allows increased space for individuals and groups to take on a monitoring role. The majority of the stakeholders in the area see the Integrated Environmental Management application procedure as bureaucratic and chaotic with little communication between the Local Authority and tourism developers. The procedure does little to promote small, medium and micro tourism opportunities and is applied unevenly between the old areas of KwaZulu and Natal. It is also characterised by a lack of monitoring capacity and the development process is seen as being onerous. However, the process does allow civil society and therefore the community to order themselves and control and monitor the development process through empowering communities and their representative bodies.

The institutions operating in the area have a similar vision for tourism development which is characterised by low key tourism developments supported by interesting tourism facilities with development for the Amazizi area focusing around cultural tourism and the provision of services.

The congruence in vision between the Amazizi community and the hoteliers has also been revealed, highlighting the fact that there is no fundamental difference in opinion but there are certainly differences in terms of priority. Whilst these two sectors obviously have different interests, they are both primarily concerned with development which would bring profits for the hoteliers and employment for the community. Furthermore the area is characterised by people who focus on development and not party politics.

The congruence in vision of the people living in the area supports the establishment of a community forum which could enhance the opportunity for a successful outcome for tourism. The area has emerging channels of communication between KZN Nature Conservation Service and the local community boards and between Northern Drakensberg Biosphere and the community.

There are however numerous obstacles which need to be overcome such as the inclusion of women, conflict resolution, identifying stakeholders, maintaining interest, education and tourism awareness etc. What ultimate form this forum should take is open to debate, but it should rely on open, honest communication, interaction and debate between all interested and affected parties.

Integration in Planning

Emerging planning initiatives in South Africa have shown that it is possible to plan through debate, which implies co-operation, dissent, problem solving and negotiation. These are essential capacities to the restructuring of decision making, which allow people to become meaningfully involved at a local level with issues that affect them and that lead to better solutions.

As a national and international tourism marketing institution, SATOUR seems to have lost credibility as a means of promoting South African tourism and therefore has little impact in the area in terms of promoting rural tourism development. This problem seems to have been addressed at the Job Summit and plans have been unveiled for a R150 million to R180 million marketing fund. The uThukela Regional Council through "Timeless Africa" is in the process of amalgamating with the

KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority and is seen as a credible structure for tourism promotion in the region.

At the Regional level there appears to be a difference in opinion regarding the institutional structure for community tourism development. The uThukela Regional Council has established the South African Community Tourism Association, which is affiliated to the Drakensberg Tourism Association, as a means of promoting tourism in communities. However this is in direct contrast to the attitudes of the communities, Northern Drakensberg Biosphere and Bergwatch. The perception is that the Bergville District Development Forum is a representative forum for the area and is therefore a more appropriate structure for community development. The South African Community Tourism Association, as an active strategy to inform and assist rural communities to become actively involved in the tourism industry, is therefore not an appropriate structure at this stage. The institutional framework of South African Community Tourism Association would potentially undermine the proposed successful outcome of tourism development in the area and possibly in the region as a whole.

Furthermore there is clearly a difference of emphasis and approach between the development thinking of the Regional Council, Amazizi community, hoteliers and the environmentalists. The "casino/cable car" idea, in this regard, is one of the specific development proposals around which there is the greatest contention. This difference in approach is further mirrored in the Special Case Area Plan and the Integrated Environmental Management application process. The tourism sector believes that the process inhibits small, medium and micro economic promotion, there is insufficient communication with the appropriate government department and in its present form is impossible to regulate.

Clearly the above scenario does not lend itself to tourism development that is facilitated, planned and managed in an integrated manner with government, non-government organisations and the people in the area. The lack of integration in planning is a result of non-communication. Although not entirely undermining tourism development this framework does very little to promote and support a

successful outcome for tourism in the area. The lack of integration in planning does not assist the Amazizi community in being incorporated into sustainable tourism development. The process of conflict mediation and consensus building between the stakeholders will encourage mutual learning which will increase social and administrative capacity.

Education and Training

A successful outcome for tourism in the area would involve the marginalised community in an education, tourism awareness and skills program. Tourism education should also be directed towards tourists visiting the area to facilitate appropriate social, cultural and environmental behaviour. Environmental and tourism education would have to be emphasised in the area to promote access to information, allow for community learning during policy development and implementation and facilitate sound environmental ethics within the community.

The majority of interested and affected parties in the area agreed that tourism and environmental education was an important facet for a successful tourism outcome. The communities attitude was that they needed education on “what is tourism” and what opportunities it could provide? There were numerous requests for environmental education at the local schools whilst the resorts, hotels and the Northern Drakensberg Biosphere stated an interest in providing education on what hotels and resorts do in terms of tourism.

The attitude is that environmental education should be an enabling process, promoting action and teaching people and tourists to become active in conservation. Education should include the social, political and economic environment of the area. This is important as the community needs to have enabling structures in order to positively contribute to any form of conservation.

It has been recommended to the KZN Nature Conservation Service recently by a group of independent consultants that environmental education activities should be restored targeting both schools and adults from the community in order to improve the relationship between the community and the KZN Nature Conservation Service.

The attitudes of the interested and effected parties potentially support the proposed successful outcome for tourism development in terms of providing education and skills to the community. It should be taken into consideration that education and mentoring of the community requires an enormous amount of time and effort. There is an obvious potential for an education programme in the area, however, this would entail communication and co-ordination between the community, KZN Nature Conservation Service, hoteliers and the Northern Drakensberg Biosphere. The extent to which this would happen on a sustainable basis is open for debate.

Social Impacts and Benefits

Social consequences of tourism development are often ignored in the face of economic considerations whilst research has shown that tourism development in an area has greater potential for negative impacts than positive. The proposed successful outcome for tourism ensures that there is fairness regarding the social impacts and benefits of tourism development, especially amongst the marginalised community.

Tourism development in the study area, which is being promoted as a destination area by various international, national and regional initiatives, is going to be increasingly intrusive and dependant upon the destination community. Allied with this is an increasing awareness of the value of the Amazizi culture to tourism. Research has also shown that there is little awareness and severe lack of knowledge among the stakeholders of the negative impacts of tourism development, other than the ever present environmental concerns.

A set of social indicators have been proposed to ensure that the consequences of tourism should be central to a framework for a successful outcome for tourism. . There needs to be collaborative action in order to mitigate against the above scenario, but the extent to which the social impacts of tourism in the study area are going to be taken into consideration is open for debate. Furthermore, the extent to which “planning” for tourism initiatives takes into consideration social impacts is also questionable.

Economic Impacts and Benefits

Research has indicated that possibly the greatest threat to sustainable tourism development in the area is poverty. A successful outcome for tourism would explore and promote public-private partnership and nature-based community tourism opportunities with the Amazizi community using communal land, labour and culture as an equity share. In addition there would have to be some form of capital commitment from the rewards of tourism to the host community

The Amazizi Tribal Authority have stated a desire to create associations with KZN Nature Conservation Service which is mirrored by the KZN Nature Conservation Service's emphasis on creating public/private partnerships. The community seek interactive communication resulting in genuine cultural exchange between the local community and tourists. However, public/private partnership opportunities between hotels and resorts and the local community were not raised, although individuals from the community had received entrepreneurial support from certain resort owners.

The attitude of the KZN Nature Conservation Service and the Amazizi people is that there is an opportunity for joint ventures in the area. However, this is a time consuming and complicated process which is possibly reflected by the lack of enthusiasm shown by the hoteliers in the area.

Limited successful precedent has been set in this regard in a South African context with NGO's, private sector and parastatals providing information, research and expertise in trying to unlock the opportunities of joint ventures. The KZN Nature Conservation Service could play a role in facilitating this process. This opportunity needs to be explored if the area is to achieve the proposed successful outcome for tourism development.

The Amazizi community have a vision of more land to alleviate their current shortage and do not see land reform as a means of entering the tourism market. The commercial farmers and the KZN Nature Conservation Service see land reform in the area as a means of empowering the local community, appeasing the host

community and raising community equity in nature based tourism. Whilst there is a divergence of opinion there are areas of potential compromise. A land reform program which promotes small scale agriculture, opens up community tourism opportunities and focuses on environmental concerns would be more acceptable in the area. However, how this is achieved in light of the present land reform program is not clear?

Intergenerational Equity

The proposed successful outcome for tourism development suggests that intergenerational equity should ensure that tourism in the area does not have a detrimental effect on future generations to the benefit of the people living in the area at the present. This implies a level of good management which may be hindered by a lack of trust of government, NGO's and interested parties.

The uThukela Regional Plan, Special Case Area Plan, Integrated Environmental Management etc. and other interested and effected parties have shown that government, NGO's and individuals have thought about the future consequences of development. What impact these planning frameworks and attitudes have on the intergenerational equity of the area is difficult to quantify.

However, the outline above for a successful outcome involves the concept of sustainable tourism development and collaborative action in which planning for rural tourism development, active participation of the marginalised community, public-private partnerships, education and training, community regulation and monitoring, social impacts and land reform initiatives have been included. Hopefully this scenario would promote some level of intergenerational equity.

APPENDIX 1

People and Groups Interviewed

Amazizi community (focus groups)

- Nkosi Miya and the Amazizi Tribal Authority
- Amazizi womens' sewing and vegetable group
- Amazizi women employed in the tourism industry
- Principal and teachers of the Amazizi High School

Amazizi community (key informants)

- Mr Nkobes- Chairman of the Obanjaneni Development Committee.
- Mr N. Nkabinde - representative of the Uthukela Regional Council

Hotels and Resorts

- Alpine Heath All Suite Resort
- Cavern Berg Resort
- Hlalanathi Drakensberg Resort
- Montusi

Farmers

- Bergville Farmers Association (C.H. Shepard)
- Mr J. Ball

KZN NCS

- Ecotourism Planner (D. Munster)
- Director (Dr. George Hughes)
- Community Conservation Officer (S. Roberts)

Bergwatch

- M. Pfothauer

Uthukela Regional Council

- Director of Tourism (C. Fouche)

Provincial Government (PMB)

- M. McKenzie
- V. Lubcke

Bergville District Development Forum (BDDF)

- M. Holst

Northern Drakensberg Biosphere

- R. Aitken

Drakensberg Resort Association

- R. Tungay

KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority

- J. Seymour

APPENDIX 2

Interview Questions

Questions for Commercial Farmers

- Why do you choose to live here?
- To what extent are farmers in the area moving into the tourism market?
- What is the relationship between farmers and tourism?
- What is the relationship between farmers and the Amazizi people?
- How far should tourism be regulated in this area?
- What plans do you know about for this area?
- What do you think about the Regional Development Plan for this area?
- What impact will these developments (RDP) have on the area? (neg and pos)
- How does the the Need & Desirability application and the new Environmental regulations involving an EIA affect development in the area? (positive and negative influences on tourism)
- How should one balance the need for growth and development and the need to protect the environment?
- How much future expansion should happen in this area? (Amazizi area vs the farming/resort areas)?
- What sort of tourism facilities should be allowed in this area and where?
- How do you see tourism in this area in the next 10 years?
- What conflict in the area (real or potential) is affecting tourism?
- Are there any labour issues that will effect tourism development in this area?
- Is land reform in the area an issue?
- Does it effect future plans for farming/tourism? (positive and negative effects)

Questions regarding perceptions towards tourism for the Amazizi community

- What does tourism mean to you?
- Have you ever been a tourist?
- Do you go on holiday? (when, why, how often?)
- What are the good things about tourism?
- What are the bad things about tourism?
- What are the bad things that tourists do that might upset you?
- Does tourism in your area respect the culture of the Amazizi people?
 - Do you think that tourism respects the way of life and traditions of the Amazizi people? (e.g. grazing rights; hunting, grass harvesting)
- Do you think that your Nkosi and Indunas of the Amazizi community are part of the tourism development in this area?
- What type of tourists should be attracted to this area?
- What type of tourism development would you like to see in this area for the Amazizi people?
- Do you ever meet any tourists when they come to this area? Where?
- As Amazizi people do you feel that you are involved in the tourism ?
- Do you think that you have any control over the tourism in the area?
- Do the Amazizi people have a fair share of the benefits of tourism?
- How do you think the Amazizi people can become more involved in the tourism industry?
- What do the Amazizi people need to do to make sure they are more involved in tourism?
- Do you think that people from outside the Amazizi area should be employed in tourism?
- Do you feel that the environment should be protected?
 - What are 4 things people should do to protect the environment?
- Do you think that the protection of the environment is important for tourism?
- Do you think that the people in the area (KZN NCS, hotels, farms etc) are protecting the environment? (e.g. Water Wise program)
- Do you think that the Parks Board are doing a good job of protecting the environment?
- Do you know about the local community conservation boards?
- What do you think of the local community conservation boards set up by the Parks Board?
- Do you think that the government should control what the Amazizi people do, to protect the environment in this area?
- How do you think the environment should be protected?
- Who should protect the environment?
- Do you know of any land claims in the area?
- What do you think should be done with this land?

Questions for hotel and resorts

- What does SATOUR do for tourism development in this area? (positive and negative influences)
- What plans do you know about for this area?
- What do you think about the Regional Development Plan for this area?
- What impact will these developments (RDP) have on the area? (neg and pos)
- How does the the N&D application and the new Environmental regulations involving an EIA effect tourism development in the area? (positive and negative influences on tourism)
- How do you think SCAP will effect development in this area?
- What is required to attract tourists to this area?
- How far should tourism be regulated in this area?
- What are the key attractions of this area?
- How should one balance the need for growth and development and the need to protect the environment?
- How much future expansion should happen in this area? (Amazizi area vs the resort areas)?
- What sort of tourism facilities should be allowed in this area and where?
- How do you envisage tourism in this area in the next 10 years?
- What conflict in the area (real or potential) is affecting tourism?
- Are there any labour issues that will effect tourism development in this area?
- Is land reform in the area an issue?
- Does it effect future plans for tourism? (positive and negative effects)
- What do you think should happen to this land?
- Do you think there are institutional arrangements or legislation that could ensure broad based participation in the tourism industry ?
- What do you think the local Amazizi people need to do in order to ensure that they become seriously involved in tourism development?
- How should they be involved?
- How should this participation be structured?
- Does tourism in the area respects the culture and the traditional way of life of the people of the area?
- Do you think that tourism in the area allows for participation by the local leaders?

Questions for KZN NCS

- What does SATOUR do for tourism development in this area? (positive and negative influences)
- What do you think about the Regional Development Plan for this area?
- What impact will these developments (RDP) have on the area? (neg and pos)
- How does the new Environmental regulations involving an EIA and IEM effect tourism development in the area? (positive and negative influences on tourism)
- What impact will SCAP have on tourism development in the area?
- Do you think that the SCAP plan is an improvement on the Approaches policy? Why?
- What is the proposed World Heritage status trying to achieve?
- How do you see the relationship between SCAP, RD Plan and proposed World Heritage Status?
- How far should tourism be regulated in this area?
- What are the key attractions of this area?
- How much future expansion should happen in this area? (Amazizi area vs the resort areas)?
- What sort of tourism facilities should be allowed in this area and where?
- How do you envisage tourism in this area in the next 10 years?
- What conflict in the area (real or potential) is affecting tourism?
- How do you think one should balance the need for growth and development and the need to protect the environment?
- What type of participation should the marginalised community have in tourism?
- How should they be involved?
- How should this participation be structured?
- Does tourism development in the area takes into consideration the culture and the traditional way of life of the people of the area?
- Does tourism development in the area allow for local leadership ?
- What is it that marginalised people in the area need to do in order to ensure that they become serious actors in tourism development?
- Are there any labour issues that will effect tourism development in this area?
- Is land reform in the area an issue?
- Does it effect future plans for tourism? (positive and negative effects)
- What is required to attract tourists to this area?
- Do you think there are institutional arrangements or legislation that could ensure broad based participation in the tourism industry ?
- What do you think the local Amazizi people need to do in order to ensure that they become serious actors in tourism development?

Questions for Bergwatch, Drakensberg Resort Association and Northern Drakensberg Biosphere, Bergville District Development Forum and KwaZulu Natal Tourism Authority.

- What does SATOUR do for tourism development in this area? (positive and negative influences)
- What do you think about the Regional Development Plan for this area?
- What impact will these developments (RDP) have on the area? (neg and pos)
- How does the new Environmental regulations involving an EIA and IEM effect tourism development in the area? (positive and negative influences on tourism)
- What impact will SCAP have on tourism development in the area?
- Is SCAP is an improvement on the Approaches Policy?
- What impact will World Heritage status have on this area?
- Do you see any conflict of interests between SCAP, the regional development plan and World Heritage status?
- How far should tourism be regulated in this area?
- How should one balance the need for growth and development and the need to protect the environment?
- What are the key attractions of this area?
- How much future expansion should happen in this area? (Amazizi area vs the resort areas)?
- What sort of tourism facilities should be allowed in this area and where?
- How do you envisage tourism in this area in the next 10 years?
- What conflict in the area (real or potential) is affecting tourism?
- Are there any labour issues that will effect tourism development in this area?
- Is land reform in the area an issue?
- Does it effect future plans for tourism? (positive and negative effects)
- How should marginalised people be involved in tourism?
- How should this participation be structured?
- Does tourism respect the culture and the traditional way of life of the people of the area?
- Does tourism development in the area allow for indigenous leadership ?
- What is required to attract tourists to this area?
- Do you think institutional arrangements or legislation are required to ensure broad based participation in the tourism industry ? What type?
- What do you think the local Amazizi people need to do in order to ensure that they become serious actors in tourism development?

Questions for Uthukela Regional Council: Director of Tourism

- What does SATOUR do for tourism development in this area? (positive and negative influences)
- What are the Regional Council Plans for this area?
- What do you think about the Regional Development Plan for this area?
- What impact will these developments (RDP) have on the area? (neg and pos)
- How does the new Environmental regulations involving an EIA and IEM effect tourism development in the area? (positive and negative influences on tourism)
- What impact will SCAP have on tourism development in the area?
- Is it better or worse than the Approaches policy? Why?
- How do you see SCAP relating to the RD Plan?
- How do you see SCAP and the RD Plan relating to the proposed World Heritage site status?
- What are the key attractions of this area?
- How should one balance the need for growth and development and the need to protect the environment?
- How far should tourism be regulated in this area?
- What type of participation should the marginalised community have in tourism?
- How should they be involved?
- How should this participation be structured?
- Does tourism development in the area respect the culture and the traditional way of life of the people of the area?
- Does tourism development in the area allow for indigenous leadership?
- What do you think marginalised people in the area need to do in order to ensure that they become seriously involved in tourism development?
- How much future expansion should happen in this area (Amazizi area vs the resort areas)?
- What sort of tourism facilities should be allowed in this area and where?
- How do you envisage tourism in this area in the next 10 years?
- What conflict in the area (real or potential) is affecting tourism?
- Are there any labour issues that will effect tourism development in this area?
- Is land reform in the area an issue?
- Does it effect future plans for tourism? (positive and negative effects)

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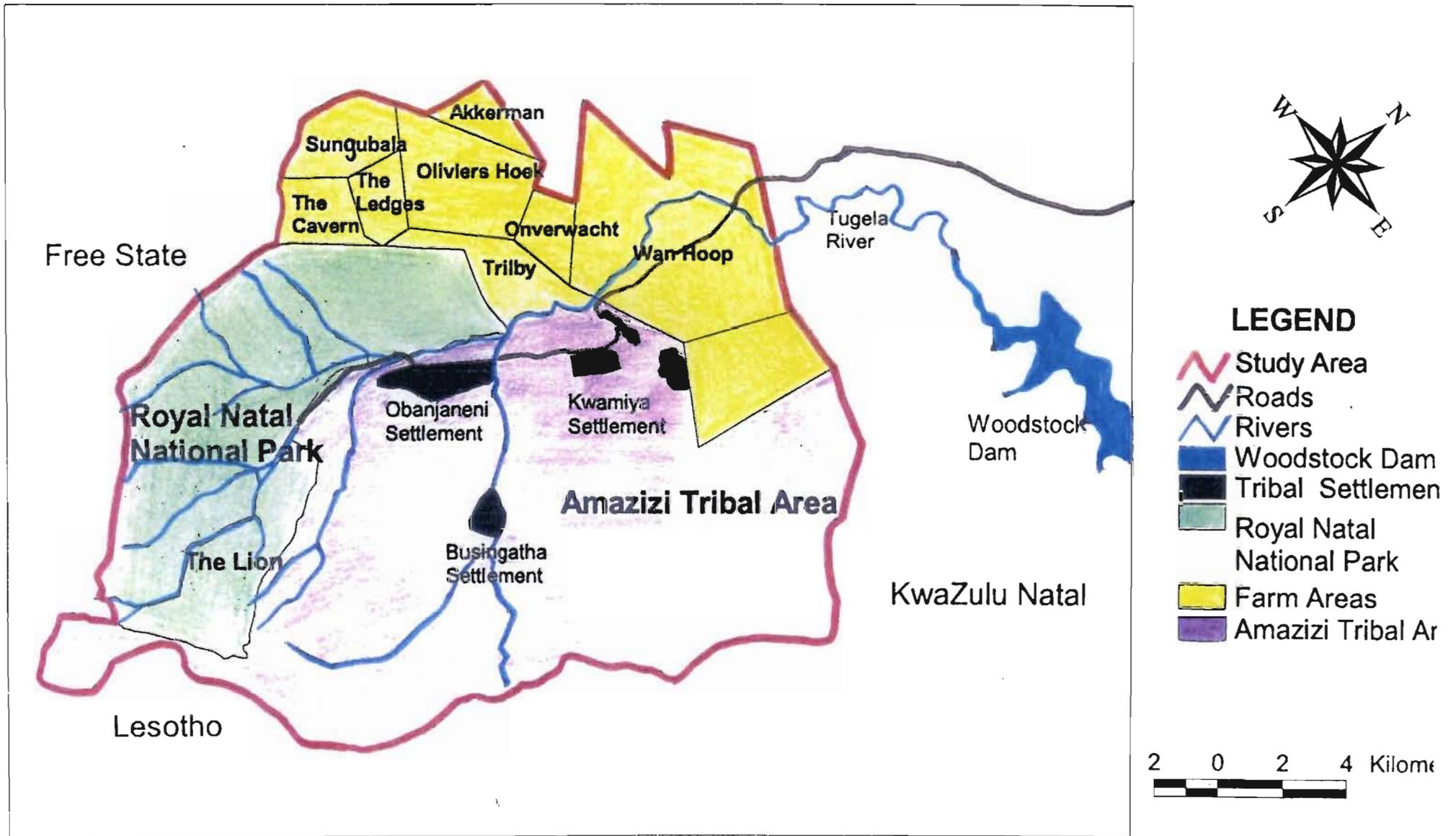
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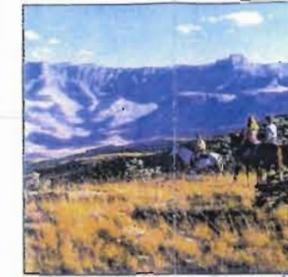
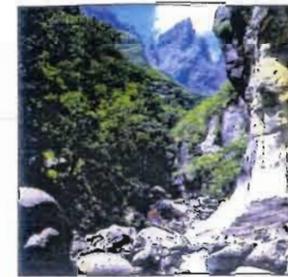
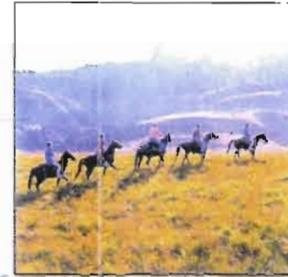
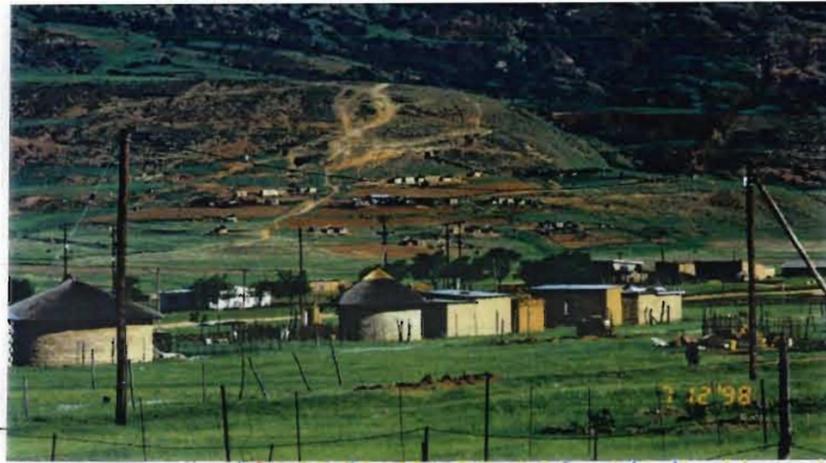
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MAP 1 : The Royal Natal National Park, the Surrounding Farms and the Amazizi Tribal Authority

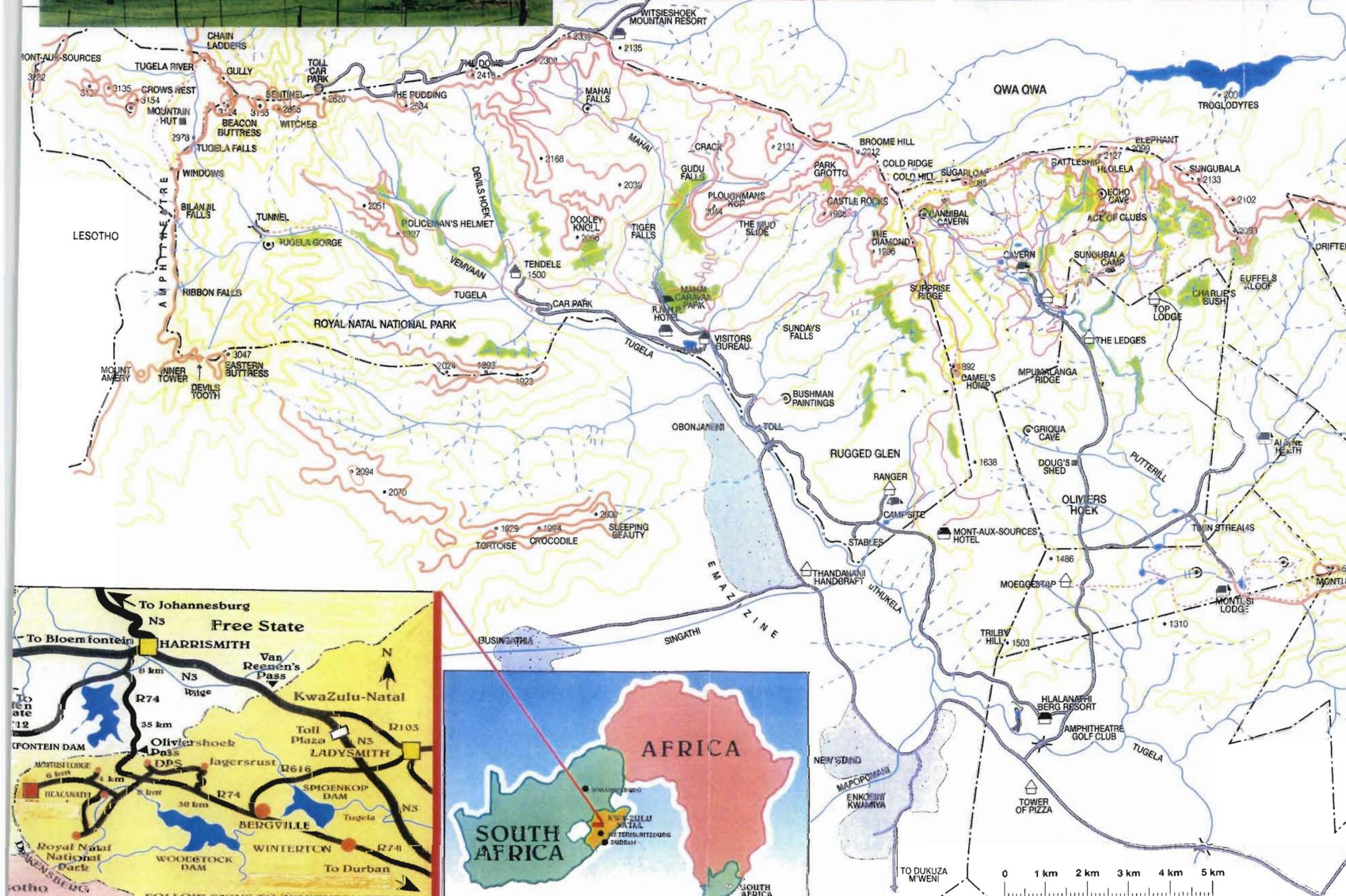
SCENES FROM THE STUDY AREA

Northern KZN Drakensberg

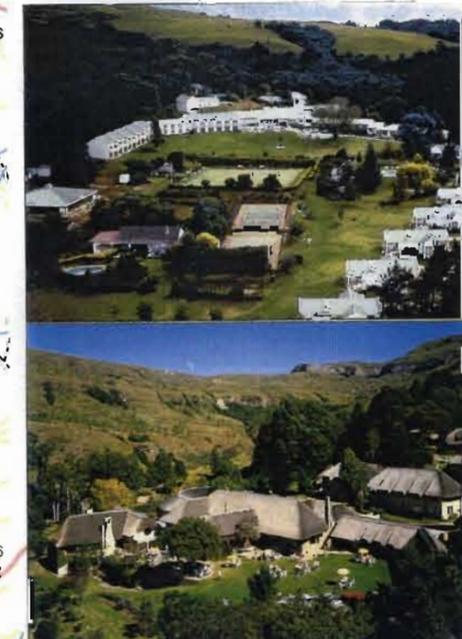


LEGEND

- ESCARPMENT
- STEEP SLOPES
- RIVERS & STREAMS
- ROADS
- TRACK
- PATHS
- ROUTES
- CONTOURS
- CAVES/ OVERHANGS
- DAMS/PONDS
- BUSH/FOREST
- HEIGHTS IN METRES
- BUILDINGS
- BOUNDARY



Scenes From The Study Area



MAP 2

Table 2.1 Sustainability and Marketing

- Customer interest in and demand for peace, quiet, tranquillity, and the opportunity to relax and unwind from the stress of modern living relate to the experiences of the natural and built environment of the destinations' environment.
- Customer interest and demand for access to culture, social customs, the way of life of residents, heritage, museums, and the visual and performing arts
- Customer interest, in particular eco-tourism products. This can be seen as a demand for environmental quality .

- Customer avoidance of intrusive environmental negatives based on pollution or evident damage to natural resources.
- Customer avoidance of ugly, overbuilt, overcrowded and inadequately kept resorts.
- Customer avoidance of destinations where the attitudes and lack of welcome from residents and the quality of service indicates resentment and dislike.

Table 2.2. Goals of Ecologically Sustainable Tourism

- To improve the material and non-material well-being of communities.
- To preserve intergenerational and intragenerational equity.
- To protect biological diversity and maintain ecological systems.
- To ensure the cultural integrity and social cohesion of communities.

Table 2.2 Characteristics of Ecologically Sustainable Tourism

- Tourism which is concerned with the quality of experiences.
- Tourism which has social equity and community involvement.
- Tourism which operates within the limits of the resources- this includes minimisation of impacts and use of energy and the use of effective waste management and recycling techniques.
- Tourism which maintains the full range of recreational, educational and cultural opportunities within and across the generations. Tourism which is based upon activities or designs that reflect a character of a region.
- Tourism which allows the guest to gain an understanding of the region visited and which encourages guests to be concerned about, and protective of, the host community and environment.
- Tourism which does not compromise the capacity of other industries or activities to be sustainable.
- Tourism which is integrated into local, regional and national plans.